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AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS**

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**COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION
(with particular reference to the planning
and implementation of medical, police
and social programmes)**

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Contents

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
I. THE SCOPE OF COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION	1 - 5
II. THE PLANNING OF COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION	6 - 21
III. THE PLACE OF THE MEDICAL PROGRAMME IN PREVENTION	22 - 33
IV. POLICE SERVICES AND THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY	34 - 53
V. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SERVICES TO PREVENTION	54 - 69

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I. THE SCOPE OF COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION

1. As traditionally used, the term community implies a relatively small group of people living in a particular area and bound together by mutual interests. In this sense, it is possible to identify rural communities with single villages or clusters of inter-dependent villages, or urban communities such as neighbourhoods or wards or precincts, or sub-urban communities which are city oriented and are ecologically dependent on the city but which are characterized by greater spaciousness and a more relaxed pattern of living than obtains in the city proper. The term community is used also in its larger sense of a collectivity of people bound together by certain common symbols of allegiance, sharing certain broad cultural patterns of living, and working through shared social institutions of business, commerce, agriculture, industry and the like. In this sense, the community becomes identified with that of the nation.

2. Community preventive action in the field of social defence is here taken to embrace action programmes planned and implemented at both the local and national levels. It is admittedly difficult to regard these as exclusively discrete areas of action because local preventive action is often motivated by national action, and sometimes instrumented by personnel operating through national administrative agencies. Conversely, national preventive action may be motivated by local efforts, and local personnel may be involved in concerted planning and action on the national level. Wherever possible, however, the terms local and national will be used in discussing crime preventive policies and programmes so as to give a reasonably clear perspective of what can be realistically planned for, and perhaps achieved, on the local and national levels; the totality of local and national action will be the community's preventive efforts in the field of social defence.

3. In considering the ways by which community crime preventive action, whether on the local or the national level, can be initiated or improved, it is necessary to bear in mind that a community combines three basic and closely related elements, namely, function (agriculture, industry, business, trade, etc.), structure (social relationships, sub-groups, social hierarchy, leadership, etc.) and pattern of living.^{1/} Change in any one of these affects the others. On the local level for instance, a programme of urban renewal which is undertaken in a specific city with the purpose of clearing up slums and blighted areas and replacing them with housing

^{1/} Community Development and National Development, United Nations Sales No.: 64.IV.2, page 30.

projects will certainly change the functions of that particular neighbourhood, alter the social structure existing previously and change the patterns of life or culture of that neighbourhood. The change could produce a community with higher standards of behaviour and values; it could, on the other hand, produce a community in which interaction is mechanical and impersonality is a way of life. Again, on the national level, a programme of school educational reform which is undertaken to better equip children to cope with the complexities of modern life will almost certainly result in changes in occupational patterns in that country, lead to the emergence of new types of leaders and administrators, and alter their value and behavioural patterns. When community preventive action is contemplated, therefore, it is important that its impact on the three constitutive elements of the community be carefully assessed lest the action either fail to bring about the desired results, or produce contrary and unexpected results.

3. Community crime preventive action encompasses a wide variety of programmes in almost every field of social activity. In fact, there are many who argue that any programme which is designed to improve society, be it through more equitable distribution of income, better education, more social welfare services, elimination of forms of discrimination, or any other, is crime preventive in that it tends to rectify social injustices and thus remove or lessen their criminogenic influence. The thesis cannot be proved, or disproved. But this does not mean that such broad programmes should therefore be curtailed or held in abeyance; they are required in society and can stand on their merits.

5. In other papers prepared for the Stockholm Congress, attention has been focussed on a number of areas of community action both in the field of prevention of crime and that of the treatment of offenders. In this paper, attention will be confined to three areas of community action, namely police, medical and social services.

II. THE PLANNING OF COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION

6. Community crime preventive action, if it is to achieve maximum efficacy, has to be directed towards specific objectives, and to be co-ordinated with other types of social action so that they complement these latter programmes. The specificity of direction and the co-ordination permits not only a maximum application of resources in those areas where they are most needed, but minimizes duplication of community effort and misuse of human and financial resources. Too often, however, programmes of community action against juvenile delinquency are undertaken in the form of mass indirect programmes aimed at youth in general, and without co-ordination with other programmes of social action. Such an approach, while it will possibly reduce a certain amount of juvenile delinquency by absorbing the energies of some delinquents, might leave untouched and unaffected the bulk of delinquents either because such programmes do not appeal to them or because they offer no solution to the underlying factors producing their delinquent behaviour. Further, the programme, which would have required the creation of some kind of administrative structure, need never have been undertaken at all because it might well be that there were other agencies which could have more effectively shared the work. A mass programme of jobs for youth, for instance, could have these results.

7. It would seem, therefore that an essential requisite for the organization of pointed and co-ordinated programmes of preventive action on the national level is the establishment of a central body responsible for planning preventive programmes and preventive policy as a whole, supervising implementation, and evaluating results^{2/}. Only if there is a central body does it become possible to gather all the information for an evaluation of the results of the action in one place, to circulate co-ordinated general instructions relating to the methods to be followed so that there is little or no overlap with other programmes, and to establish the criteria for the evaluation of the results obtained. Further, this central body will enable a chain of command to be set up between the preventive agencies and the policy making authority which lays down the general lines of social policy and provides the administrative and technical resources for carrying out the programmes of direct action.

^{2/} For a development of this thesis, see Chapter III of the report of the European Seminar on the Evaluation of Methods Used in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, Frascati, 14 to 23 October 1964. United Nations document SOA/ESWP/1962/3.

8. The issue then immediately arises as to what form this central body should take. At the Frascati Seminar where this issue was discussed in some detail^{3/}, some participants had in mind a body which would be essentially a research tool studying problems one after the other according to an order of priority decided upon by the authorities responsible for the preventive policy or general social policy. Others thought in terms of an autonomous advisory body on which anyone with a problem in the field of prevention could call for assistance, while yet others envisaged a co-ordinating body within the administration and attached to a ministry. All the participants agreed, however, that it was essential, in each country, to create such a body on the basis of whatever already existed, with provision for later expansion so that it would become a centralized programming agency. They thought, besides, that if the body was constituted in this way it would be easier to obtain the essential financial resources for the programmes and to distribute the public and private funds assigned for the prevention of juvenile delinquency more judiciously.

9. Certain countries seem to have realized the necessity for such a central body, and have taken steps to establish them. While citation of a national example must not be construed as an endorsed model, it is of interest to describe the role of one agency which seems to have been vested with some of the functions envisaged for a central body. Thus in India, for instance, the Planning Commission (a body which plans for the socio-economic development of the country) accepted the setting up of the "Central Bureau of Correctional Administration" as a project to be implemented during the period of the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) and provided for its further development during the Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966). This bureau which is now known as the Central Bureau of Correctional Services started functioning in 1961 as a subordinate office of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The activities of the Bureau embrace the whole field of social defence including jails and prisons, institutions for the detention, care and protection, training and rehabilitation of children and adolescents, women in moral danger, and vagrants; its functions include standardization and collection of statistics, co-ordination of work and development of uniform policy for social defence, exchange of

^{3/} SOA/ESWP/1962/3, page 70.

information between the constituent Indian States, provision of technical knowledge and assistance generally or on specific programmes, stimulating public interest through publications, and maintaining liaison with international organizations^{4/}.

10. Of particular interest from the point of view of the planning of community preventive action at the national level, is this Bureau's activities in relation to the co-ordination of work and the development of a uniform national policy for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. These activities fall broadly into three categories: (1) those in relation to the development of social defence schemes of the successive National Plans which India has initiated, (2) those in relation to the application of appropriate techniques in the field, and (3) those in relation to legislation and rule making. The Bureau is expected to examine the schemes submitted to it, prepare guide books and draw up detailed schemes, indicate standards, and give on-the-spot advice on specific issues and projects. Further, it checks on progress made toward the realization of Plan targets, provides model draft legislation, and comments on other draft legislation and statutory rules submitted to it.

11. Action at the national level must, however, be complemented by action at the local level. National action can allow for a pragmatic allocation of resources, can set standards, and can provide correct guidance. In this sense, national action is both a support and an inspiration. But if the action is to be effective in crime prevention, it needs the participation and the co-operation of the citizenry at the local level. The local community, be it a city neighbourhood or a simple village, is the locale of an individual's life, the environment from which he distils part of his values, and within which he often experiences the impersonal actions of governmental and other secondary agencies. Since this community is the world he understands best, and which exerts the strongest secondary acculturating forces, it would seem essential for any crime preventive programme to use it and work through it; the local community becomes in fact the testing ground of the policies and programmes which are nationally conceived and directed.

^{4/} Ray, D.N. "The Need for a National Agency to Promote Sound Policies for the Treatment of Offenders", International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 23.

12. The flow of guidance and innovation must not, however, be always conceived of as necessarily flowing from the national to the local levels. The relationship, it would seem, would have to be a two-way flow in which initiative and innovation at the local level can either change policy at the national level or force a shift in its emphases.

13. The kind of organizational structure which has to be set up to provide for national guidance, etc. and local participation and co-operation will, of course vary in different countries according to their size, population, political organization, political traditions, and the like. In some countries, such as the United States, where there is a strong tradition of local autonomy and of minimal direction from the centre, it would seem necessary for the community crime preventive organizational structure to reflect this. In other countries, as for instance several of the lesser-developed countries, there might be a need for a strong central organization because of the tendency of local units to look for direction as well as for resources from the central government.

14. In a number of countries there apparently exist organizational structures which seek to provide the national as well as the local elements. In Bulgaria, for instance, there is a Central Commission on Juvenile Delinquency which has authority for the whole country. Under it, there are the regional commissions, and under them, the local commissions. These regional and local commissions on juvenile delinquency include members of the regional and local soviets respectively, as well as other citizens who may be teachers, workers, pensioners, students, or from any other walk of life. The regional and local commissions on juvenile delinquency report both to the regional soviets and the local soviets respectively, as well as direct to the Central Commission on Juvenile Delinquency in Sofia. This central commission, therefore, exercises a sort of general supervision over the regional and the local commissions on juvenile delinquency, and co-ordinates their activities^{5/}. Again, in Japan, the new Juvenile Act has set up a Central Council at the Prime Minister's Office to deal with problems of juveniles, and made provision for the formation of local councils at the prefectural, city, town, or village level. Apparently, these Local Juvenile Problems Councils serve as liaison agencies between administrative agencies and private organizations.

^{5/} Statute for the Prevention of Anti-Social Behaviour of Juveniles of 14 February 1958 (amended 7 February 1961), Sofia. (Zakon za borba srestchn protivooobstchestvenite projavi na maloletnite u nepulnoletnite).

15. Co-ordination of official community crime preventive activity is one function which the above-mentioned organizational structure should discharge. Co-ordination of unofficial community preventive activity is another function which it can do.

16. In most countries there exist several types of national (with local affiliates) or strictly local agencies, clubs, associations and the like which have grown up to cater to various needs of people. Some of these are recreational or leisure-time groups, or religious or political or economic associations with perhaps only a tangential, and often ephemeral, interest in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Others are concerned with child guidance and protection, parent-teacher co-operation, child welfare activities and the like, and are thus somewhat more directly concerned with delinquency preventive action.

17. In some countries, this tendency of people to organize themselves into groups to carry out certain activities is more advanced than in others, and this makes it somewhat easier for official (governmental) agencies to get the co-operation and support of the people in delinquency prevention work. In Japan, for instance, a report which, inter alia, described community organization activities in the prevention of juvenile delinquency observed that there were 7,234 child welfare groups with 57,185 members, 5,200 child guidance groups with 50,000 members, 9,083 mothers' clubs with 515,022 members, 22,260 groups in regional women's organizations with about 700,000 members, and about 40,000 parent-teacher groups with about 15,000,000 members^{6/}. All these community groups, in one way or the other, were concerned with the proper training and upbringing of children, and with social environmental control, so that they could be considered as contributing to delinquency prevention. There were other specialized organizations, however, which were concerned directly with delinquency prevention. These were the Youth Aid and Guidance Committees, the youth departments of the Crime Prevention Associations, the School and Police Liaison Councils and others^{7/}.

18. One other issue may be raised in discussing the planning of community preventive action, and this is the matter of staffing. In many countries there seems to be an excessive reliance on paid, full-time employees to staff community

^{6/} Juvenile Delinquency in Japan: Characteristics and Preventive Measures, Criminal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice, Tokyo, Japan, 1958, page 37.

^{7/} ibid.

programmes either on the national or the local level, and a corollary reluctance to initiate new programmes because of the lack of such staff. It is granted, of course, that almost every programme requires paid, full-time, professional staff who are trained for such work, and that some programmes are perhaps so specialized that they need to be staffed only by trained professionals. Thus as a preventive programme such as a scheme of diagnostic centres for emotionally disturbed children would perhaps have to be run only by highly trained professionals. This would be true whether the scheme is organized on a national level by the Government, or whether it is merely a single project sponsored by a local organization for a specified locality. On the other hand, the organization of a national youth service corps which would try to use youth on socially constructive activities could possibly be run with a minimum of professional direction; it might even be best for such a programme to be run by volunteers.

19. Volunteers have been used successfully in social defence work in several countries. Such work is that which has come to be regarded in other countries as requiring special professional training. One such area of social defence work is probation. Another is after-care. In Japan, for instance, the probation system is based on the more than fifty thousand volunteer probation officers who undertake the care and guidance of the probationer. The professional probation officer merely supervises their work. The volunteer probation officers are usually men of distinction in their areas and are drawn from the ranks of teachers, successful businessmen, commercial and government employees and the like, and each supervises, on the average, two or three probationers. In the Netherlands too, the probation system is based on the use of volunteers. In the United Kingdom, volunteers are active in after-care work with discharged prisoners^{8/}. Similar use of volunteers in after-care work may be seen in the countries of the British Commonwealth.

20. The greater use of volunteers in both preventive and treatment work in social defence would seem to be particularly necessary in many of the lesser-developed countries. At a recent United Nations social defence seminar in Asia, it was recognized that trained manpower was most unlikely to be available in sufficient number to permit reasonable caseloads, and that sufficient money was unlikely to be

^{8/} Klare, Hugh, "The Organization of an After-Care Service Staffed by Volunteers", International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 22, page 73.

made available from government sources to provide complete and adequate professional correctional social work. Thus, sheer expediency alone made it essential that individual treatment on a scale large enough to provide any really effective treatment and prevention services must use the community resources which voluntary agencies and voluntary workers offer. Besides, in the Asian region, volunteers could offer an intimate knowledge of local customs, dialects, resources, family and clan systems, etc. which was unlikely to be possessed by professional workers^{9/}.

21. Of course, volunteers cannot be used, however great their enthusiasm, without some kind of training. The cost of this training would perhaps have to be met by Governments. It would, however, be a minimal investment with the probability of maximal returns.

^{9/} Report of the Asian Regional Seminar on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, UNAFEI, Fuchu, Tokyo, 1964, particularly paras. 52-53.

III. THE PLACE OF THE MEDICAL PROGRAMME IN PREVENTION

22. Medical authorities often emphasize that the medical contribution to the prevention of juvenile delinquency is properly an indirect one in that it is not aimed specifically at delinquency. It covers all forms of behavioural disorder including mental illness, alcoholism, sexual deviation and the like. Delinquency is not a description of a specific behavioural condition but rather a generic label which covers such a wide range of behaviour that it has practically no significance from the medico-psychological point of view^{10/}. In the first place, a number of criminal acts committed before the age of 18 represent only a very minor deviation from normal behaviour and in no way endanger the delinquent's future social life. Secondly, delinquency may be no more than a normal irregularity of behaviour, an incident occurring normally at a certain age in response to certain problems or situations; the real medico-psychological problem arises only in the case of more serious acts, persistent delinquency, evidence of character deviations foreshadowing a criminal career.

23. The prevention of juvenile delinquency is not, therefore, a main or direct concern of the medical services - and this includes neuro-psychiatric or medico-psychological services. It perhaps may be described as an associative concern deriving out of the medical interest in behavioural disorder which is the product of a pathological condition of the psyche or the physique.

24. From this standpoint, the medical contribution to the prevention of juvenile delinquency takes the following forms:

- primary prevention, which consists of the total avoidance of maladjustment and comprises a series of measures designed to influence whole populations or groups;
- secondary prevention, which consists of the early detection and treatment of maladjustments and behaviour disorders foreshadowing delinquency; and
- tertiary prevention which consists of the prevention of complications and sequelae of criminogenous maladjustment, and limitation of its transmission to others.

^{10/} Gibbens, T.C.N. Evaluation of methods of prevention of juvenile delinquency; the medical contribution. Paper submitted on behalf of WHO at the Frascati Seminar, October 1962. Working paper UN/SOA/SEM/8/WP.3.

25. It has been pointed out^{11/} that, among primary measures, particular attention should be paid to those seeking to alleviate the consequences of maternal deprivation and the emotionally destructive effects of the family milieu. The removal of a child from its home and its placement in an adoptive family or a children's home raises a difficult problem; it can both prevent the child from becoming immediately delinquent, and at the same time be indirectly instrumental in creating subsequent difficulties in the establishment of human relationships.

26. As far as secondary prevention is concerned, the principal objective of medical action is the early treatment of behaviour disorders manifesting themselves in delinquency, the main symptoms of which are repeated lying, stealing from home, sex offences, cruelty to animals and to other children, vandalism, running away from home and habitual truancy. Also, a great deal of attention must be paid to the impact on emotional development of such as prolonged physical disabilities, trauma or permanent physical handicaps.

27. Tertiary prevention is largely concerned with problems of treatment, and is preventive in the sense of the prevention of a repetition of the behaviour. There is one aspect of tertiary prevention, however, which has to be stressed because it relates to prevention. Increasingly, cases are not brought before the children's courts, but rather, are handled by police liaison schemes. The handling could be effective and could avoid unnecessary publicity, embarrassment, etc. But it also could have the effect of depriving the child of the actual treatment which his condition calls for, and which a proper judicial investigation might have prescribed.

28. It would seem that the planning and organization of primary medical preventive programmes would involve collaboration and co-operation at the national level inasmuch as the spectrum of activities which would have to be covered is wide and diverse. It would require the concerted efforts of social welfare personnel, mental health experts, public health officers, doctors (especially pediatricians) school teachers, religious leaders, community leaders, as well as town planners,

^{11/} id. pages 23-24.

economists and industrialists^{12/}. In short, since the object of primary prevention is the creation of a suitable mental health environment, the co-operation of specialists in these various fields of activity is necessary.

29. There are two reasons why primary medical preventive programmes might receive major attention in most countries, particularly the lesser developed countries, in the foreseeable future. In the first place, there seems to be a trend toward emphasizing group welfare as contrasted with individual welfare, and hence the provision of services which would improve society as a whole rather than services for individuals on a case-by-case basis. This does not mean that the individual as an entity is being ignored. Rather, it seems to mean that the perspective on the individual is somewhat different; he is part of a group and to be taken care of through the group. Secondly, there is not available in large enough numbers the medico-psychological personnel necessary to staff the diagnostic and treatment which would be required to carry out on a mass scale the detection and treatment of maladjustments and behaviour disorders foreshadowing delinquency. In the lesser developed countries, such medico-psychological personnel are in extremely short supply.

30. If the necessary medico-psychological personnel is available, the question arises as to how they can best be used, and what kind of facilities would seem to be necessary to diagnose and treat the maladjustments and behaviour disorders.

31. It is agreed that early treatment of delinquency rests on early detection. This has given rise to extensive efforts to predict the development of delinquent behaviour at a very early stage. This, in turn, has given rise to controversies on the social implications of such an approach. It is argued, on the one hand, certain fundamental questions concerning the rights of the child may be at stake, and, on the other hand, that such identification may be socially stigmatising and, indeed, delinquency producing. It might be better, therefore, to provide diagnostic and treatment services as part of an extended programme of medical prevention for the general population; their contribution to the prevention of juvenile delinquency could be through assessment of, and assistance to, children referred to them by either the family or the school, or the two actions in conjunction.

^{12/} T. Adeoye Lambo "The Mental Health Approach to the Problems of Juvenile Delinquency in Developing Countries". Paper submitted to the Third United Nations Congress (Stockholm) as a contribution from the World Health Organization, page 40.

32. In the area of the treatment of maladjustment and behavioural disorder - and it is presumed that such treatment will only be given when the syndrome is serious and persistent - there would seem to be an urgent need for the development of techniques and measures which do not require confinement of children in traditional psychiatric or correctional-type institutions. For the treatment of some cases, institutionalization will perhaps be an inescapable decision. But it would appear that, particularly in the lesser developed countries, there has been little attempt to find alternatives to the traditional psychiatric or correctional-type institution. Moreover, it is precisely in these lesser developed countries that there would seem to be an opportunity of using traditional ways of living, indigenous social institutions and customs in therapeutic schemes. In Nigeria, for instance, it has been reported that an experimental scheme of treatment of psychiatric patients has been developed round the concept of the therapeutic village; the scheme is reportedly based on the Nigerian idea of social integration with surrounding communities^{13/}.

33. Secondary medical preventive programmes are thus not only the most direct manifestation of medical interest in delinquency prevention, but they are also the programmes which are most visible to the local community. The active participation and co-operation of the local community must therefore be sought in order to make these programmes work effectively. Both in planning and in implementation of such programmes, it would seem best for the local community to be consulted, and to be asked to contribute, if possible, to the financing of such programmes. In this way, an interest at the local level could be created and sustained. This local interest and support is essential for whatever secondary medical preventive programmes are evolved, and wherever they are evolved, be they in the developed or in the developing countries. Without it, the early and effective treatment of maladjustments and behavioural disorders foreshadowing delinquency may not be possible.

13/ cf. Lambo.

IV. POLICE SERVICES AND THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

34. Historically, the police service was developed to meet an urgent need for a special body of men to investigate specific crimes, to apprehend wanted criminals, and to prevent crimes being committed, by patrolling the streets, investigating suspicious incidents, etc. The function of the police was specialized and direct. One might say that the role of the police was suppressive; alleged criminals and those who acted in a suspicious and furtive manner in public places were the objects of police attention. The development of the police force along these lines, while beneficial in many respects from the point of view of potential victims, nonetheless, seems to have also led to an increasing separation of the police from the public, a separation which, while not marked by strain and hostility in many countries, has, in others, been characterized by strain, suspicion and hostility. In such circumstances the police perform their traditional functions of investigation, detection and apprehension and the public does not seek more of them than that.

35. The development of the police along such lines, and the association of their work with deterrence and punishment may have been unavoidable with the growth of complex civilizations and the urban impersonality and anonymity they often bring, the specialization of work-roles, and with the profusion of laws to be enforced among ever-growing multitudes of people. It is unfortunate, however, that this image prevails in some countries to the virtual exclusion of any other; in fact, this image seems to have been cultivated and encouraged in some places by the police force itself.

36. The historical development of the role of the police notwithstanding, there seems to be in certain places a trend toward broadening the preventive function of the police by involving them in indirect preventive activities, which have no association with deterrence and punishment, concerning juveniles. Thus in New York City (USA) the Police Athletic League, which has now been in existence for some years, offers juveniles and youth a variety of recreational services in special centres and in playstreets, and has recently developed a new programme using a mobile staff with athletic equipment who set up on-the-spot recreational activities. Again, the Police Department in New York City organizes special summer programmes including the setting up of precinct youth councils to get young people off the streets and into some kind of constructive activity. In the United

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Arab Republic, there has been since 1962 a Juveniles Protection Bureau in each Governorate staffed by officers who have graduated from the Police Academy, and by male and female researchers; its main task is to prevent young people from becoming delinquent. To this end, it gives advice to the families of young pre-delinquents, it checks on the application of laws and regulations for the protection of minors in public places, it visits homes and uses all possible forms of conveying information including educational films, and co-operates with the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Public Federation for the Protection of Juveniles, the hospitals, etc.^{14/} In Israel, the police are reported to do a good deal of social work among young people and, among other activities, they organize visits of school-children to police institutions, give talks in schools, take part in sports events with local youth clubs, etc.^{15/} In Western Australia, prevention of juvenile delinquency is carried out by the Federation of Police and Citizens' Youth Clubs throughout the State^{16/}. Similar youth clubs are reported to have been organized in Denmark, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, several Indian States, Sweden, and other countries^{17/}.

37. Such an involvement of the police in preventive work is, however, viewed with reservation by some people. At Frascati, for instance, the United Nations social defence Seminar was unanimous in commending the intention underlying preventive action by the police, but was divided in its views as to whether the police should create and administer guidance and recreational services in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. While some participants favoured the police playing a role in delinquency prevention, others expressed a preference for the mere intensification of police surveillance of places where, and on occasions when, young people are most exposed to danger. Speaking specifically on the matter of youth clubs organized by the police, a number of participants expressed the opinion that such club

^{14/} The Role and Future of the Police in the Field of Crime Prevention, document submitted by the International Criminal Police Organization to the Stockholm Congress, August 1965, pages 18-19.

^{15/} Special Police Departments for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, document submitted by the International Criminal Police Organization to the Second United Nations Congress, London, 1960, page 33.

^{16/} *id.*, page 20.

^{17/} *id.*

activities are outside the competence of the police. Further, it was not perhaps really advisable that the police should set up such clubs in places where youth clubs are organized by other authorities or services more directly and exclusively concerned with the prevention of juvenile delinquency; it perhaps would be preferable for police officers to collaborate with youth clubs or groups organized by other agencies^{18/}.

38. In certain countries, the broadening of the objectives of the police to include prevention of juvenile delinquency has led to the creation of special police departments which are concerned exclusively with juveniles. This does not, however, preclude the regular police force from dealing with juveniles and their problems. It means that, when preventive or enforcement action has to be taken by the police, such action is as far as possible entrusted to the special police departments. In a report prepared from the Second United Nations Congress, the International Criminal Police Organization reported the creation of such departments in several countries including Austria (Vienna Federal Police Headquarters), Belgium (certain large cities), Chile (Santiago), India (some large cities), Israel, Italy, Japan, the Philippines, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America (several jurisdictions)^{19/}.

39. The concern of such police departments can of course be merely the processing of juveniles detained in connexion with alleged delinquent activities; the processing would be to ensure that the rights of the child are respected, and that the processing does not become a traumatic experience for the average child. On the other hand, the concern of such police departments can, as is the case in some countries, be also general prevention of juvenile delinquency. Thus, it was reported at the recent Asian social defence seminar in Fuchu, for instance, that in Indonesia the police themselves take on the supervision of delinquents, while in the Philippines the police run institutions for delinquents^{20/}.

^{18/} European Seminar on the Evaluation of Methods Used in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, United Nations Document SOA/ESWP/1962/3, pages 52-56.

^{19/} Special Police Departments for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. Report submitted by INTERPOL to the Second United Nations Congress, London, 1960.

^{20/} Report of the Asian Regional Seminar on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, March 3-13, 1964, United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, Fuchu, Tokyo, page 18.

40. Where the role of the police has been extended to encompass an inquiry into the social factors surrounding the offence and the offender or, further, the application of social measures designed to prevent continued difficulties, special emphasis has been placed on the necessity for the police to have the required skills for this type of work. These skills are to be acquired not only through special training courses provided within the police system but also through general training programmes for dealing with social problems; such programmes are most likely to be obtained in schools of social work. It is often contended, in this connexion, that the skills of the police need extend no further than a capacity to identify individuals in need of special social treatment, along with a knowledge of community resources, on the principle that the police should refer such cases to social agencies rather than themselves attempt social treatment.

41. While the case for the involvement of the police in indirect prevention of juvenile delinquency, and that for the creation of special police departments to handle juveniles, could be argued on their own merits, there does not seem to be any disagreement on the vital necessity, in the interests of crime and delinquency prevention, of ensuring maximum co-operation between the police and the public.

42. In many countries, as has been pointed out by the International Criminal Police Organization in its reports prepared for the Second and the Third United Nations Congresses, certain steps have been taken by the police to win the confidence and co-operation of the public. For the most part, these have been by providing information via the radio, television and the press, by getting police officers to participate in discussions with community groups, by providing special training courses for police personnel, by organizing "Courtesy Weeks", etc.

43. In rapidly changing societies where life has had inevitably to become more complex, a host of new restrictions and requirements involving many aspects of public life has emerged. Most of these restrictions and requirements are to be enforced by threat of penalty to the non-observer. Here, the police is placed in the especially unenviable position of "harassing" a public on matters that, in isolation, are considered as minor, inconsequential or, at any rate, un-understandable to large elements of the public. The licensing of street vendors, and the prohibitions against the employment of juveniles in street trades is a case in point. Perhaps there is an excessive tendency to rely on a "police approach" to gain compliance with necessary new requirements of modern life. Indeed, one may observe

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that, in many instances, the police themselves have taken the initiative to find other approaches; the educational campaigns conducted by the police, using the media of radio, films, and informal discussions with youth at schools, and with out-of-school groups is an indication of this. All this may suggest the advisability of pursuing a policy of devising imaginative educational, non-punitive approach to gaining public compliance with necessary new restrictions and requirements rather than resting so heavily on the enforcement authority of the police.^{21/}

44. It has been suggested that one way of getting the public to appreciate the work of the police is by directly involving them in routine police activity. This might be done, for instance, by using citizens as volunteer policemen for routine work such as patrolling; citizens in a community could, perhaps, spend one night or one week-end working with the police even donning the regular police uniform for the occasion.

45. In the Soviet Union, public participation in routine police work has taken a somewhat different form, namely, the organization of popular voluntary detachments for the preservation of peace in the country, and this has apparently been recognized officially^{22/}. The main task of these voluntary detachments, which have been set up in factories, collective farms, transport undertakings, and the like, is reportedly to prevent hooliganism and disorderly conduct; they patrol the locality and maintain contact with the militia. The detachments may also summon parents for the disorderly conduct of their children, or for child neglect.

46. Another way of eliciting public appreciation and confidence might be that of establishing certain machinery for investigating the frequent allegations of the public that the police have been unnecessarily rough in handling situations, or been aggravatingly insensitive to public complaints. There may be, in fact, recourse in law of which the public can avail itself. But, unofficial conciliation machinery may be more effective. Indeed, the very availability of such machinery might be enough to minimize allegations and counter-allegations which would otherwise not have been appraised and might have therefore been given credence.

^{21/} For a related discussion, see Sections IV and V of the Secretariat working paper on Social Change and Criminality prepared for this Congress.

^{22/} Enactment of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 2 March 1959.

47. Some machinery along these lines have apparently been tried out in a few cities in the United States. Thus, in 1958, a civilian police review board was set up by mayoral order in Philadelphia; the board was supposed to study civilian complaints against the police, and recommend remedies and punishments. A similar board was set up in Rochester (New York).

48. Although there seems to be a need for establishing some machinery which would help smooth out any estrangement and hostility between the police and the public, it would seem necessary also to ensure that this machinery is not used to undermine police morale and efficiency, or to become a convenient vehicle for harassing police officers and driving them to virtual inaction.

49. The techniques for eliciting public appreciation and public co-operation will, of course, have to depend on the cultural traditions of the country and the administrative structure it has, and examples of success in one place do not necessarily mean that transplants will be as successful. But it does appear as though experimentation and innovation in this field is urgently needed.

50. In some of the developing countries, there would seem to be an opportunity for some kind of social experimentation in law enforcement and the preservation of peace. In almost all these countries, police systems have been imported; the imports have included organizational structure, uniforms, training, mannerisms and traditions. In some of these countries, however, the systems have not firmly established themselves except perhaps in urban areas. Police characteristics of strict separatism, stern authoritarianism and legalized force may not therefore have impressed themselves in the mind of the people. Thus it might be possible to create a new type of law enforcement agency which has a new image. One might even go further and investigate the possibility of establishing a police force which was moulded round a core of professional officers who would be trained in criminal investigation and detection, but which was based on a concept of national service; citizens-at-large being asked to spend a few weeks each year serving in such a force. It may be observed, in this connexion, that the ordinary citizen is called upon to serve as juror in criminal trials, and thus made to feel that he is a part of the system of administration of justice; the same could be true of a role in law enforcement. Again, it has been observed that in times of crisis, particularly civil disturbances and war, the public is drawn into law enforcement through the organization of civilian patrols, corps of air-raid wardens, and the like. It might not be premature to consider similar systems vis-à-vis normal police work.

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51. It would seem reasonable to argue that in every society there is a basic respect for the law even though the individual might not like it, and might even not know what exactly it is; the respect would be for the concept of law, be it customary law or codified law. If each individual can be made to feel that he is, even in a limited capacity, part of the enforcement machinery, perhaps the law-abiding community can emerge.

52. It cannot be overlooked that much of the difficulty which arises in a number of countries concerning the role of the police stems from a contention that the police embrace a separate philosophy and pursue a separate policy from others working in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. Rightly or wrongly, police are charged with an excessively harsh approach and with exceeding their authority and competence. Conversely, those responsible for the treatment of offenders are charged with maintaining an unrealistic, indulgent and ineffectual attitude toward the handling of offenders which allegedly undermines the functions of the police. While the accuracy and gravity of such disputes vary markedly from country to country, it appears fairly certain that this hiatus is narrowed significantly in those countries where the police have been drawn closely and consistently into the processes of social defence policy formulation. Indeed, it appears that there is no great impediment to the development of such collaboration and, where effectively achieved, this has been done with remarkable ease.

53. Perhaps a major reason for the persistence of this hiatus is the absence, in so many countries, of suitable machinery for the elaboration of a comprehensive social defence policy in the first place. Isolated elements of service in the social defence field move forward in their conceptions and techniques for effective handling of offenders with little or no communication with other elements. Under such circumstances, it is little wonder that these other elements, in discovering the new developments, greet them with incomprehension, suspicion, and even hostility. The perfection of consultative and co-ordinating machinery would contribute in many ways to the advancement of a consistent social defence policy, not the least of which would be the identification of the most effective role of the police in the scheme of things^{23/}.

^{23/} See, in this connexion, the discussion on the development of an effective and consistent policy toward bail in the Secretariat paper on Measures to Combat Recidivism prepared for this Congress.

V. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SERVICES TO PREVENTION

54. In different countries and cultures, the terms social services, welfare services and social welfare services are used interchangeably; they are used also in two different senses. Sometimes, they are used in a relatively extensive sense to refer to a broad spectrum of programmes in such fields as health, education, labour, community development, and the like. Services in all of these fields contribute more or less directly to human welfare or well-being; the concept of welfare or social services is used in an inclusive way to apply to all of them. Alternatively, the concept may be used in a relatively restricted manner to refer to a variety of more or less specialized programmes, activities or functions" ... which are designed to enable individuals, groups and communities to meet their needs and solve their problems of adjustment to a changing pattern of society, and through co-operative action to improve economic and social conditions"^{24/}. In a considerable number of countries, social workers and other personnel are specially trained to administer such programmes or carry out such functions. In other cases, there may be no separate and identifiable services; the functions are identified with other programmes or facilities, and personnel are trained in other fields such as health or education.

55. From the point of view of discussing the contribution of social services to the prevention of crime and delinquency, the term social services will be used in its relatively restricted sense of a variety of more or less specialized services. This is not to deny, however, the possible usefulness, from the point of view of general crime prevention, of the "social service" contributions in the broader fields of education, health, labour and the like.

56. In another paper prepared by the Secretariat for the Stockholm Congress, it was pointed out that no society is truly static, that all societies experience economic and social change, and that such change can have harmful as well as beneficial effects on families, children and youth^{25/}. Humanitarian reasons aside, therefore, it becomes incumbent on a government to provide the specialized

^{24/} The Development of National Social Service Programmes, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 60.IV.1, para. 6 (Preface).

^{25/} Social Change and Criminality.

social services designed to prevent, or at least to ameliorate, the harmful effects of such change. The problems of a child in trouble may be partly within the individual himself but they are usually related as well to his environment, including his immediate family. The social welfare measures required to provide appropriate help are relatively well-developed in the more industrialized countries, but are available only to a very limited extent in most developing countries. An important need in countries with scarce resources is to devise programmes that involve a balance between preventive and curative approaches to delinquency; otherwise available resources are likely to be invested exclusively in treatment programmes with consequent neglect of less costly preventive action. The objective should be to combine prevention and treatment through an integrated approach involving individual counselling, group programmes and comprehensive community action. Such an approach allows for appropriate emphasis on prevention and may be conducive as well to simplified administration.

57. Families, children and youth are not only beneficiaries of economic and social development programmes, but are a vital human resource for such programmes. Investment in services for them thus becomes essential for long-term economic and social development. From the strictly social defence point of view, such investment is needed if only to prevent the possibility of gains in one sector being offset by increases in the economic and social costs of crime; families, children and youth who are harmed by change may well fall into criminality as a reaction against a society which ignores them, or as a method of sheer survival.

58. The social services which could be provided for families, children and youth to counteract the harmful effects of social change would seem to fall into two broad categories (a) services supporting the family, and (b) services designed to substitute for the normal home life of children and youth. The primary purpose of the former is to strengthen the internal unity and safeguard the integrity of the family, to support and enhance the capacities of parents and other family members, and to facilitate the participation of the family in the economic and social life of the community. The purpose of the latter is to take care of their families through adversity, neglect or abandonment, or those who have deprived themselves of the assistance of their families for personal reasons and who need the assistance without which one consequence might be turning to delinquency.

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59. The services supporting the family are varied and many; it is not the purpose of this paper to examine them in detail^{27/}. Some of these, however, and the countries reporting them are homemaker services^{28/} (Belgium, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Norway), homemaker advice and training^{29/} (France, Germany, Mexico, Portugal, Spain), visiting nurse services^{30/} (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Greece, Israel, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Spain), special feeding services for adults (Brazil, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, USSR), family counselling^{31/} (Australia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece) citizens' advice bureaux^{32/} (Bulgaria, Bolivia, France, Australia, USSR, Costa Rica, Japan, Peru, Senegal, Argentina, Italy), and recreational services^{33/} (Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Gabon, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Portugal, Spain). It must be observed, however, that in some

^{27/} A world-wide coverage is provided in two publications of the Division of Research and Studies, Social Security Administration, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. These are Social Security Programs Throughout the World, 1964, and Social Services Provided by Social Security Agencies, Members of the International Social Security Association. The material in this paragraph is taken from these publications. See also the U.N. Secretariat Report on Family, Child and Youth Welfare Services (E/CN.5/AC.12/L.4 of 8 February 1965).

^{28/} These are services made available to families where the mother is temporarily unable to carry out her usual household activities due to child-birth, overwork, illness or absence. They may also be used to enable aged or chronically ill persons to remain at home.

^{29/} The kinds of service provided include health and sanitation information, care for pregnant women, lectures and courses in child care, training courses for young girls who have completed their educational requirements, and household advice for farm families.

^{30/} This is a health service rather than a social service, although visiting nurse services frequently have functions similar to those of homemaker services.

^{31/} This is a service through which social workers can inform and advise the family on the availability and use of family welfare facilities.

^{32/} This is a service which provides information regarding social insurance benefits or other services. Sometimes, it is also a broad referral service to other available community services.

^{33/} A service which pays for, or subsidizes, the costs to the family of such activities as attendance at concerts and plays, summer camps for children, membership in cultural groups, and vacations at holiday resorts.

of these countries the coverage is limited either to cities or to employed persons, while in others the recipients have to pay nominal fees; in some countries these services are governmental activities, while in others they are voluntary.

60. The services designed to substitute for the normal home life of children and youth are for the most part those of the establishment and operation of institutions. They include, however, programmes for non-institutional care and protection such as foster-home care, adoption, referral and placement, and the like.

61. Institutional care and protection for those children and youth who have no home to which they can turn, or want to turn, is perhaps the most direct and visible contribution of social services to the prevention of delinquency. In many of the developing countries, it is also the most immediately required contribution. In these countries, where poverty remains a major problem, and beggary is an inescapable alternative to starvation, or where urbanization and industrialization attract migrant youth, an increasing number of children and youth who are in need of care and protection force the attention of the community on themselves. Because of the numbers involved, institutions have to be called into existence.

62. Such institutions are of a diverse variety because of the different needs and groups to which they have to cater. For children who have been orphaned, abandoned or neglected, there would have to be special types of institutions which could accommodate and care for children on a long-term basis. For youth who have migrated to towns in search of employment there might have to be hostels and other group-living arrangements which would provide food and shelter. Such institutions would, presumably, have a high residential turnover. For children and youth who are mentally or physically handicapped there would have to be special institutions which, again, would have to take care of them on a long-term basis.

63. Institutional care, therefore, requires clear and carefully thought out distinctions in objectives and programmes; the needs and problems of destitute children, of handicapped children, of disturbed children, and, of course, of migrant youth, are substantially different. With these distinctions, however, this paper cannot be concerned; it will suffice to call attention to the necessity of making them.

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64. A recourse to institutions must not, however, be regarded as the primary solution to the problems and needs of such children and youth. Other things being equal, the most favourable environment for the emotional, social and intellectual development of the child is likely to be in a family setting. Hence, where possible, an attempt should be made to find such a setting. In some countries, children without families of their own are frequently placed in carefully selected foster-homes, and the foster-family is in some cases reimbursed for the cost of the child's maintenance. Such a placement might in fact be easier in countries where extended kinship ties or clan or tribal loyalties are yet relatively strong.

65. Again, in countries where custom and law permit, an arrangement which may be made to provide for the upbringing of a child is adoption. However, if the interests of the child are to be adequately protected, the adoptive parents must be carefully selected, and legal procedures are required not only to vest parental rights in them, but also to confer on the child full and equal status as a member of his new family. It is regrettable that in some countries where these safeguards have not been observed, adoption of orphaned and indigent children has in practice meant child slavery.

66. Even as far as providing residential facilities for migrant youth is concerned, the answer need not always be that of building hostels. It might be possible - and probably cheaper too - for agencies to arrange for such youth to be boarded with families, and to pay for, or subsidize, the costs of such room and board.

67. Thus far in this section, attention has been focussed particularly on two rather specialized groups of services, namely, services supporting the family and services substituting for the normal home life of children and youth. These are often identified as being among the more formalized or "professionalized" services for which governments do, or are expected to, assume a responsibility. Their objectives are so general in character that their inclusion in national social policy need not - and in fact does not - rest upon their demonstrated capacity to prevent crime and delinquency.

68. There are, of course, many social service programmes which have arisen in direct and specific response to identified needs in the crime prevention field. Voluntary movements involving workers prepared to offer guidance, moral and material support, shelter, etc., to adult offenders, both incarcerated and upon release, occupy a distinguished place in the history of social defence. Comparable programmes with respect to juveniles have taken root in a number of countries.

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69. Yet, in recent times in some countries, trends to professionalize such services and to place them in the hands of career, generic or "multi-purpose" workers, has brought into question the place of many of the original programmes and the volunteers who manned them. Some after-care societies have been integrated into programmes having wider terms of reference, and given at least an element of government administration as well as a considerable degree of professionalization. The same applies to "prison visitor" groups and workers with youth delinquents. There is no consensus whether this has come about merely by default, whether the advantages of the new approach fully outweigh the special qualities of the old or, indeed, whether this represents a fixed and widespread trend. As noted earlier in this paper, in many countries today, including countries with a significant number of highly qualified professional workers, a well-defined place has been assured for the services of the voluntary worker who specializes in assisting the individual offender to regain and maintain an acceptable place in society. Particularly in the context of community action and the involvement of the public in crime prevention, a strong argument can be made for preserving a significant role for the volunteer in these special social services.

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