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THE ROLE OF THE POLICE  
in terms of their crime prevention and social activities

Report submitted by the General Secretariat  
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## I - INTRODUCTION

The present report is a contribution to the debate on the subject listed as Item III on the Agenda for the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

"The Emerging Roles Of The Police And Other Law Enforcement Agencies, With Special Reference To Changing Expectations And Minimum Standards Of Performance."

This report will attempt to highlight some aspects of the image of the police, by an analysis of those activities that can be considered indicative of the police role in society. In this respect, the extent to which the police engage in crime prevention activities and public service and social activities is believed to be especially revealing.

Examining the role of the police on the basis of the duties assigned to them is a valid research method because the relationship of the police with the society in which they operate grows out of the contacts between the two. The contacts themselves are affected by the activities performed by the police. The duties incumbent upon the police thus constitute the predetermined framework within which police attitudes towards other groups, and vice versa are formed.

The fact that certain duties are or are not assigned to the police indicates that the legislators and administrators who make the relevant decisions have a certain view of the police. Moreover, in societies where the legislative and administrative framework is fairly flexible, the police sometimes have rather broad discretionary powers to determine what their own responsibilities shall be, so that the use they make of their own freedom of action is a reflection of the police self-image. In determining what duties shall be performed by the police, the authorities can be guided, to a greater or lesser degree, by what the general public expects of the police. In such cases, the duties to be performed by police officers are determined by various cultural concepts of what a police force should be.

It seems reasonable to assume that a study of the situation in the so-called socially developed countries would provide a series of indicators of what the police role will be at some future time in countries currently on the verge of attaining a higher level of development. Furthermore, new trends in police activities may possibly indicate general tendencies and admit of extrapolations for forecasting future roles for the police.

To obtain the information necessary for preparing this report, the I.C.P.O.-INTERPOL General Secretariat sent out a questionnaire to INTERPOL National Central Bureaus in 28 of the Organization's member countries. Replies were received

from 15 countries in various parts of the world, all of which have a recognised degree of social development and police forces that have reached a fairly advanced level.

In the questionnaire, the NCBs were asked to provide information on the following topics:

- Police forces' crime prevention responsibilities; those introduced within the past five years; evaluations of activities conducted to fulfill the responsibilities.
- Police forces' public service and public relations activities; those introduced within the past five years; their effects on the police's law enforcement and crime prevention activities.
- Planning crime prevention for the future, on the basis of national crime policies or other established guidelines; the criteria for determining police responsibilities for crime prevention and public service activities; the priorities assigned to various crime prevention duties, in comparison with priorities given to other police duties; the general public's conception of what the police's role in society should be; the police conception of what role in society is emerging for the police.

This report is not intended either as a description of the situation in given countries or as a comparison of situation in various countries; its purpose is to synthesise the information received from a group of countries whose police forces have reached a certain level of development and then go on to compose an "international image" of the police in terms of police activities. Consequently, names of countries furnishing particular items of information will not be given; emphasis will be placed on the similarities and dissimilarities of police activities among the countries in question, and attempts will be made to bring current trends to light.

While working with the information sent in, some difficulties were encountered, in the following areas: the scope and range of police activities, which sometimes vary considerably in countries having federal or decentralised systems; terminology (e.g., the terms "prevention" and "services rendered to the public" apparently represent different concepts in different countries); determining in some instances precisely what actual police activities are indicated by a given expression; incomplete information, inasmuch as some countries did not answer all parts of the questionnaire.

Consequently, this report must necessarily contain a number of generalities and must remain vague on a number of points.

## II - POLICE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR CRIME PREVENTION AND PRIORITIES FOR CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

In all the countries from which information was received, crime prevention is one of the tasks assigned to the police.

Some of the countries indicated that crime prevention is incumbent upon the police by virtue of general laws or regulations (e.g., the laws might assign to the police the responsibility for "preventing crime", or the police officer's code might require him to "use all legal means to prevent crime").

In many countries, crime prevention provisions in laws or regulations may contain stipulations about police enforcement. Thus the police are sometimes called upon to carry out administrative measures in connection with various laws concerning, for example, firearms, some types of economic matters, drugs, prostitution, motor vehicles and road traffic, certain occupations and professions, and public meetings and entertainment functions; sometimes they are also in charge of issuing administrative permits.

In some countries, however, the police have been able to go beyond legislative provisions - at least in some respects - to conduct crime prevention activities even when the legal basis for doing so is weak or even non-existent.

In seven of the fifteen countries replying to the questionnaire, crime prevention is considered to be a high-priority responsibility. It should be noted, however, that several of these seven countries included detection and identification of criminals among their crime prevention duties, apparently because of the deterrent effect of such activities.

Three other countries stated that they were paying ever-increasing attention to crime prevention; two of these three indicated that they were trying to strike the right balance between crime prevention activities and other activities. One country regretfully acknowledged that it gave priority to handling actual criminal cases but that, in spite of this, it took advantage of every available opportunity for engaging in crime prevention activities.

## III - CRIME PREVENTION SCOPE AND PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

It is only natural that police forces' prevention efforts should be concentrated on those areas where developments in crime call for police reaction. The measures taken against any given type of crime thus reflect the authorities' preoccupation with the problems inherent in and arising from that particular type of crime.

Some of the preventive measures mentioned in the replies to the questionnaire are either not applicable to specific types of crimes or do not lend themselves to interpretations of this sort. Nonetheless, it can be deduced from the reported information that the countries in question have recently been concentrating - either by using new preventive tactics or by stricter application of standard operating procedures - on the following types of crime: unlawful interference with aviation; acts of terrorism; hostage-taking; syndicated criminal activities; theft (armed robbery, pocket-picking/purse-snatching, breaking and entering, motor vehicle theft, etc.); drug trafficking; economic crimes, especially those involving cheques and market shortages; juvenile delinquency.

It would be interesting to know whether the introduction of preventive measures against a given type of crime is the result of planning that anticipates an increase in that particular crime, or whether crime prevention measures are reaction to actual crimes committed. Anticipatory planning presupposes that forecasting techniques have been used to evaluate the qualitative and quantitative aspects of crime trends over short or long periods of time.

In this connection, three countries indicated that they had conducted no crime forecasting studies; in two other countries, such studies were limited to parts of the national territory only. One country stated that such studies had been conducted but it gave no further information on them. One police force reported that it tried to keep abreast of crime trends abroad, for the purpose of data analysis.

In five countries furnishing information on the subject, crime forecasts are extrapolated from the trends indicated by crime statistics. One of these countries pointed out that this method could be used only with great caution. Moreover, it seems that this method is more suitable for determining quantitative changes in existing crime patterns than for determining the qualitative aspects of the overall crime situation. Some countries in fact reported that they used their crime forecasts particularly as a basis for police recruitment and deployment, and for budgetary planning.

In three other countries, analysis of crime statistics is supplemented by an analysis of socio-economic factors, in an attempt to obtain more accurate forecasts; one of these three countries stated that it was developing a viable method of predicting crime trends accurately. A fourth country took the following factors into consideration: criminals' range of operations, the tendency for crimes to be committed with greater swiftness, and the increased seriousness of offences.

In one country replying to the questionnaire, the authorities computerise new data on crimes and criminals for the purpose of keeping abreast of crime patterns. The data include information about different kinds of crimes, changes in their geographical distribution, criminals' migrations, etc. and studies are also conducted to provide information on offences not reported to the police. On the basis of such information, the authorities seek to direct their crime prevention and other activities to the right quarter and to bring to light as quickly as possible all dangerous criminal trends.

There is apparently only a rather limited number of countries using scientific methods to forecast crime patterns. In these circumstances, crime prevention measures can usually only be introduced in the light of crimes that have actually been committed; they cannot take into account crimes that may be committed in the future.

#### V - POLICE FORCES' CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

Under this heading we shall discuss the different types of measures taken by police forces in the context of their crime prevention activities, with emphasis on relatively recent trends in these activities. The term "new measures" will be used to designate police measures introduced within the past five years.

Certain difficulties arise in determining what can be called a "new measure". A police measure newly introduced in a given country may be long-standing practice elsewhere. Also, considerable disparities may exist between police forces in different parts of a given country if the various regions have a certain degree of operational autonomy, or if the country has several independent police forces, each responsible for

conducting its own crime prevention activities. Furthermore, some countries indicated that certain crime prevention measures, although originally introduced some time ago, had recently been considerably reinforced, or used more frequently, or extended to additional parts of the national territory, thereby rendering these measures somewhat "new", if only by virtue of having been modified in some way. In addition, many of the replies to the questionnaire were clearly incomplete, either because the responding authorities felt it was impossible to list all the crime prevention activities conducted by the police and therefore did not do so, or because the meaning of some of the terms used in the questionnaire varied from country to country.

Clearly then, under these circumstances, all quantitative indications in this section must be considered approximations, of mainly illustrative value. It is recommended that greater attention be focused on the qualitative aspects.

The first and second sections of this chapter will be given over to a discussion of "traditional" crime prevention measures (detection of offences, crime investigation and patrolling) used by the police to deter potential criminals by convincing them that their eventual apprehension is inevitable. The next section will focus on application by the police of administrative measures forbidding or proscribing certain activities and designed to make it more difficult to commit certain crimes. The consideration will be given to recognizedly more "advanced" crime prevention activities, by means of which the police exert a preventive influence on persons in danger of becoming first-time or repeated offenders. Following this, there will be a section on activities intended to sensitize possible victims to the risks they run and to encourage them to protect themselves, particularly by using special security devices and other safeguards.

In many respects, it is difficult to make clear distinctions between these different groups of activities on the one hand, and on the other hand, to distinguish between police activities conducted specifically for crime prevention purposes and those which have an incidental, indirect impact on the prevention of crime or merely facilitate police work in general. Most activities of this latter type are of a social nature, they include services rendered by the police to the public and activities intended to bring the police into closer contact with the public and improve police/public relations. All these distinctions might seem somewhat arbitrary inasmuch as, first, some kinds of crime prevention patrolling can also help personalise relations between police officers and the inhabitants of a given area and thus create a certain public image of the police and, secondly, police officers' off-duty memberships in various organizations and their participation in various other social activities not directly connected with crime prevention can give them access to important crime information that they might not otherwise be able to obtain. However, these basically social police activities will be discussed in a separate section of this report.

a) Crime detection and investigation.  
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It is clear that in all the countries responding to the questionnaire, detecting and investigating crimes and apprehending criminals are among the oldest responsibilities of the police. In some countries, moreover, the police are called upon to put the case for the prosecution in court cases.

The deterrent and therefore preventive, effect of such activities remain uncontested for many years. Recently, however, the advent of a more "progressive" viewpoint has shaken people's faith in the deterrent effect of law enforcement activities.

Without dwelling on that problem, it is nonetheless interesting to note that ten of the fifteen responding authorities mentioned among their police crime prevention activities either crime investigation duties or activities directly designed to make

such investigations more effective. The police authorities of one country clearly stated that, in their opinion, crime investigation and patrolling were the two most important ways in which the police could contribute to crime prevention.

The countries in question sometimes referred to the deterrent effect of police investigation in general, and sometimes to the same effect produced by police powers in the context of crime investigation (e.g., personal detention; searches of premises; publication of wanted persons' photographs, particularly on television; criminal identification methods), or to the deterrent effect of investigative methods (e.g., infiltration of criminal circles; examination of evidence or sometimes to law enforcement and crime investigation equipment (firearms, telecommunications facilities, computerised crime investigation, etc.), or, as in one reply, to police contingency plans for use when some kinds of serious crime (riots, prison breaks, hostage-taking) occur. Several countries indicated that they had special police units for investigating various types of crimes. In one country, to increase the deterrent and educational effects of criminal proceedings, the police and the judicial authorities co-operate in arranging to try cases at each defendant's place of employment.

The replies to the questionnaire indicated that the following measures were considered new, in this matter: establishment of separate special branches for handling drug-related cases, juvenile delinquency, and economic offences (in one country); improvements in police communications, armaments, and transportation (in another country); use of computerised crime investigation techniques (in a third country); establishment of intelligence services to combat terrorism, syndicated crime activities, drug-related cases, counterfeiting, and economic offences (in 2 countries).

Apparently some of the countries continually seek to improve their police forces' crime investigation methods, although this conclusion can be derived only indirectly from their replies to the questionnaire; also, some activities conducted by the police were not, apparently, provided for by law until very recent times.

To summarise, it seems reasonable to assume that deterring criminals by police investigation and by crime detection and thwarting methods is still firmly considered by the police to be a part of crime prevention tactics, even though, as we shall see, police forces have also begun to give prominence to a number of activities that many people who have adopted the "progressive" point of view would consider more promising for preventive purposes. This topic will be discussed more fully in a subsequent section of this report.

b) General and special patrolling and surveillance.

General police patrolling of public places and particular surveillance of specific places, either to protect persons or property at risk or because of the high crime rate in specific places, are two more "traditional" police duties. Many authorities consider such activities to have a high preventive value, inasmuch as they create insecurity for criminals and increase the likelihood that they will be apprehended in the act of committing their crimes or immediately afterwards.

All the authorities replying to the questionnaire reported that their police forces conducted activities of this type. Fourteen countries stated that police officers were stationed in public places and that non-specific police patrolling was conducted. Thirteen countries reported that their police forces sometimes exercised special surveillance for well-defined reasons.



There are many ways for the police to conduct general patrols. Usually they are accomplished by police officers on foot or in motor vehicles; one country, however, indicated that mounted patrols were used. Two countries stated that trained dogs accompanied patrolmen on some beats. Other authorities reported that patrolling methods included police saturation or increased patrolling in specific areas, assignment of patrolmen to a more or less permanent beat, assignment of police officers to teams to patrol a specified beat together, etc. Sometimes patrolmen also give advice on crime prevention.

New developments in this area pertain mostly to techniques. It appears that some countries have rediscovered the advantages of having foot patrols, as opposed to vehicle patrols (greater contact with the public, more thorough knowledge of the area being patrolled). Two countries' replies to the questionnaire indicated that improved patrolling had been achieved by redefining patrol areas (e.g., including suburbs under the jurisdiction of a unified city police force; or mapping out smaller beats to which groups of police officers are habitually assigned). In one country, a crime prevention unit had been set up to have charge of patrols, which were radio-equipped and used unmarked vehicles on some beats; another country's authorities reported that its patrol activities had been increased. Two countries' authorities reported that they were using a system of selective patrolling; the authorities in one of these countries stated that computerised crime geography data was used to determine the areas where larger numbers of patrolmen should be on duty to achieve the maximum crime prevention effect.

The replies to the questionnaire indicated that the reasons for special patrolling and surveillance could be grouped under several headings, as follows:

- protection of objects and buildings especially exposed to danger because of their value or nature, such as airports, aircraft in flight, public buildings, vital installations, banks and credit establishments, post offices, vehicles transporting funds and works of art on exhibition;
- protection of high-ranking public figures;
- crowd surveillance: in streets, at transportation terminals and transit stations, at public entertainment functions; etc.
- general road traffic control, especially near schools at the beginning and end of the school day;
- surveillance of places likely to attract criminals, such as gambling establishments, nightclubs, bars, and drug addicts' meeting places;
- patrols conducted for miscellaneous reasons: to combat vandalism; for hotel registry checks or other administrative reasons; for police saturation operations in specific places or sectors frequented by criminals, with intensive checking of all persons present; etc.

The authorities replying to the questionnaire specified the following measures as being new in this area:

- surveillance of airports, reported by four countries, one of which stated that police officers were sometimes assigned to protect aircraft during flight;

- surveillance to detect terrorist activities, reported by one country, which included police saturation of some city neighbourhoods;
- patrol operations in areas with high crime rates.

Overall, there seems to be a tendency to introduce general patrolling techniques of a more rational and effective nature and this, in one respect, reduces the distinction between these patrols and special patrol and surveillance activities. As for special patrol and surveillance activities themselves, it seems that police forces' "traditional" duties are being performed and are sometimes even being reinforced, but it also seems that there are no truly new developments in these activities, apart from the recently felt need to anticipate terrorist activities and attacks against aircraft.

In conclusion, it should be noted that many of the police activities mentioned in this section not only help to prevent crimes from being committed by the sheer presence of a police officer, but also help in the detection of crimes that have been committed and in the apprehension of criminals; these two activities can be considered forms of crime prevention through law enforcement (cf. IV-a).

c) Applying administrative measures for crime prevention.

In many countries, it is the responsibility of the police to apply legislative and regulatory provisions designed to make it more difficult for some kinds of crimes to be committed, or to keep criminogenic conditions under control through a wide variety of restraints and administrative measures.

In ten countries' replies to the questionnaire, it was specified that the police were called upon to enforce one or more of the following measures:

- precautionary searches of passengers and baggage at airports;
- surveillance of, and checks on, certain professions and persons engaging in certain occupational activities sometimes subject to licensing, including arms and explosives dealers, persons handling pharmaceutical drugs, hotelkeepers, night watchmen and private security guards, car-rental agents, pawnbrokers, curio and antique dealers, etc.;
- administrative measures to combat black-marketeering and market-cornering, and to control foreign currency dealing, cheque passing, etc.;
- issuance of certain permits and licences, such as those for road use, for engaging in certain occupations, and for carrying and using firearms;
- checks to ascertain that certain permits and licences have been obtained (road use permits, weapons permits, hunting licences, etc.).
- checking on prostitution.

Four countries reported that they had recently instituted the following administrative measures:

- One country had introduced baggage searches at airports to prevent attacks on aircraft and passengers; this activity had also enabled the police to discover drug shipments. (Other countries are believed to have introduced

similar measures in recent times, but they did not so specify in their replies to the questionnaire).

- Two countries had adopted administrative measures in connection with firearms. (One of these countries reported that the police were in charge of issuing firearms licences and permits.)
- Two countries reported that duties in connection with administrative measures on drugs had been delegated to the police. (One of these countries specified that the duties concerned enforcement of material security relations concerning pharmaceuticals and drugs.)
- One country reported that the police were responsible for enforcing regulations on locking unattended motor vehicles.
- One country reported that its authorities were currently undertaking to fingerprint the entire population. (This project was launched several years ago and is not yet completed.)

Clearly, then, there is a tendency in some countries for the police to be given responsibility for enforcing administrative regulations designed to prevent crime - especially, it seems, when such measures are clearly related to traditional police responsibilities and when the police forces are capable of accomplishing the tasks. The scope of work of this type also seems to be getting wider, as indicated by the authorities in one of the responding countries, who reported that they were contemplating including locksmiths among the people whose occupations were subject to administrative regulation, and enacting administrative regulations requiring buildings to be outfitted with protective devices against burglary.

However, the replies received from two countries make it clear that there is also a tendency toward relieving the police of administrative duties not directly linked with the fight against crime. In these countries, the police have complained about assigned administrative duties with little or no crime prevention significance. Delivering official letters, issuing various certificates and documents, conducting divorce case and non-support case activities, handling name changes, and administering motor vehicle tax regulations are some of the more notable examples of such duties. One of these two countries reported that within the past few years its police had succeeded in not having any new duties of this type assigned to them.

It should be borne in mind that many of the legislative and regulatory crime prevention provisions incorporating measures such as those mentioned above, must necessarily have enforcement provisions written into them. Since violations of these provisions have to be dealt with by the police, the situation again becomes one of preventing crime by deterring offenders. Furthermore, a proliferation of legislation instituting crime prevention measures could lead to an unwieldy number of penal laws and to the various attendant consequences.

- d) Crime prevention activities directed toward persons liable to become first-time offenders or recidivists.

Whereas the preceding sections (a, b, and c) pertain to situations involving police use of coercion (primary police powers such as the right to arrest and search people; secondary powers relating to the verification or checking of

personal identity, possession of required permits, etc.) to preventing crime, either directly or indirectly, this present section will focus on a variety of situations which might occasionally lend themselves to use of coercion but more often require the police to eschew such tactics and try instead to use persuasion on the persons involved and solicit their collaboration. These methods will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Three of the countries answering the questionnaire indicated that their police forces conducted surveillance of an unspecified nature over persons known to have committed crimes or adjudged likely to do so. The authorities in one country stated that their police had the power to bring persons to court when it was considered probable that those persons would commit offences in the future; the court could then oblige the probable future offender to put up a bond as a guarantee of good behaviour. The police in two countries, according to the responding authorities, could take preventive measures against vagrants and persons having no visible means of legally ensuring their livelihood. The authorities in one country reported that the police there could initiate preventive measures against persons with psychological disorders, alcoholics, and drug addicts, and refer them for treatment; in addition, the police of two responding countries referred minors in moral or physical danger to the appropriate authorities or organizations for care or assistance. One of the responding countries indicated that the police, instead of initiating court proceedings against road traffic law offenders, may require them to take driving lessons.

In various other situations, the police try to obtain the co-operation of the persons involved, or try to give them a better understanding of the socially detrimental nature of their acts. The authorities in one country, responding to the questionnaire, indicated that they had instituted a system in which police warnings were given to persons liable to be dangerous to society. In one country, it was reported, juvenile offenders and their parents could be given such warnings and could be asked to undertake to comply with certain directions relating to training or rehabilitation issued by a panel whose members include a police officer. A similar system exists in another country, although that country's authorities did not specifically mention it in answering the questionnaire (the police may give a formal warning or a minor offence but decide not to bring charges). One police force reportedly obtained satisfactory results from an experimental program in which courses on police/society problems conducted by police officers were offered to school drop-outs in danger of turning to crime. Two countries' authorities reported that the police cooperated with prison services in helping released inmates re-enter the social structure, especially as far as finding employment was concerned. In some countries, released prisoners can obtain help from social welfare services; this will be discussed in a subsequent section, on police engagement in general social work.

It can be assumed that the police are more deeply engaged in the type of crime prevention measures described above than the replies to the questionnaire indicate, inasmuch as, when they discover persons running the risk of becoming offenders, the police are often responsible for warning the authorities or services that can take crime prevention measures. Quite clearly, the police are often in the best position to know who is "at risk", even though they are not usually equipped to track persons considered dangerous.

While it cannot be said that all young people are attracted to crime, it is nonetheless true that they are fairly impressionable and that they can be led astray to deviant behavior by certain harmful influences which would have no effect on other persons. When viewed in this light, juveniles can be considered as especially "at risk" toward whom special crime prevention activities must be directed. Ten of the fifteen replies to the questionnaire indicated that police officers gave lectures

on the following topics in schools: the importance of laws and of obeying the law; the consequences of breaking the law; the possession of drugs; the importance of obeying the road traffic regulations. Other police lectures in schools pertained to civic duties and general knowledge of the law. According to reports from two countries, instruction on civic duties and obeying the law was provided through police youth clubs, which will be discussed in a later section of this report.

Although police forces have apparently expanded such activities within recent years, and although - as pointed out in one response to the questionnaire - what used to be unofficial police practice has now become a legal obligation, only a few measures have been introduced, some of which have already been mentioned, such as courses for school drop-outs (in one country), lectures on drugs and road use (in another country), referring drug addicts for treatment (in a third country), and issuing warnings to juvenile delinquents and their families (in a fourth country).

It should be noted that the practice of subjecting persons of sound mind and with no criminal record to coercive crime prevention measures simply because those persons are believed to be in danger of committing offences, opens up a whole realm of crime policy problems. It would seem imperative to devise safeguards against abuse of these powers.

a) Crime prevention activities directed toward potential victims.

There is an increasing awareness that the police, restrained as they are by de facto limitations (personnel and financial restrictions, procedural rules), cannot succeed in their efforts to combat crime without the public's willing co-operation. Actual victims of crimes will probably be the most willing to co-operate, to protect themselves in future. Here, protection of property is the principal area for crime prevention measures, which usually focus on special security systems. Other preventive measures deal with highway safety; in this connection, some schools invite the police to speak to student groups and make them more aware of highway dangers.

The police can approach crime prevention activities of this type in one or both of the following ways: they can passively make themselves available to members of the public looking for information and advice, or they can actively seek out the public. Both these approaches will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

According to the replies from nine of the countries answering the questionnaire, the police make themselves available to the public in various ways, to supply advice or direct enquiries to information sources. Five of the countries indicated that there were police advisory services to supply members of the public with information about how to protect themselves against armed robberies, burglaries, motor vehicle thefts, etc.; one of the responding authorities reported that a police officer was available to answer questions on crime prevention over a regularly-scheduled public radio program in their country; in another country, according to its authorities, police officers answered telephone enquiries on crime prevention. Two countries indicated that the police, on request, would visit premises to advise property owners on protection, and two countries reported that businesses, post offices, banks, etc. were able to have alarm systems with direct hook-ups to police stations; in one of these countries, even private individuals could avail themselves of this service for their homes. Four countries reported that their police forces set up public exhibitions enabling interested persons to obtain information on technical aspects of protection. In two countries, police forces were prepared to give training to private security forces members. In another country the authorities could grant subsidies to some businesses

if they employ security guards, and awards could be given to persons whose efforts had contributed significantly to the prevention of crimes.

Many replies to the questionnaire made it clear that these activities had been expanded within recent years.

In some instances, measures such as the following had been introduced within the past few years: establishment of police advisory services (reported by two countries); availability of police officers to answer the public's questions over the radio (reported by one country); direct security-alarm hook-ups between private residences and police stations (reported by one country); police training for private security force members (reported by one country); subsidies for employing security guards (reported by one country); establishment of advisory services in more cities (reported by one country) and organisation of mobile services of this type for areas that had previously not had easy access to them (this mobile service system could also be considered as one of the methods used by the police to seek out potential victims of crimes; the police in yet another country, in fact, conduct mobile crime prevention campaigns).

When the police actively seek contact with potential victims, their activities can be classified in several categories:

- Ten responding authorities stated that their police forces distributed crime prevention information via the mass media, special publications, and posters. (In this connection, two countries indicated that campaigns on specific aspects of crime prevention were conducted regularly, one country reported that television was used in road use crime prevention programs, etc.)
- Four responding authorities indicated that their police forces kept in close touch with professional groups (businessmen, insurers, unions, etc.) and other organisations in order to promote crime prevention and establish a basis for satisfactory co-operation. (One country reported that it had a highly organised, nationwide crime prevention association working closely with the police at all levels, especially in conducting three annual crime prevention campaigns).
- Two responding authorities reported that their police forces, on their own initiative, inspected commercial, industrial, and residential buildings for security features and contacted department stores, banks, jewellers, etc., to make unsolicited crime prevention recommendations.
- One responding authority said that police officers on patrol would give advice on crime prevention and check that house doors were locked, and the authorities of another country reported that policewomen visited private residents and provided them with crime prevention counselling.

Many replies to the questionnaire did not contain information on the actual substance of police recommendations to the public, or they mentioned only general recommendations on the use of technological devices and on locking unattended buildings and motor vehicles. The following specific recommendations, however were mentioned in various replies to the questionnaire: marking personal property and merchandise to make items more easily identifiable in case of theft; drawing up inventories of such items; drawing up inventories, with photographs, of works of art and historical artifacts; paying closer attention in buying low-priced items in order to avoid abetting persons dealing in stolen property; recording full identification on

persons presenting cheques for payment; constructing buildings with crime prevention in mind; offering more favourable insurance provisions to property owners who have taken security precautions.

Several responding authorities reported that their countries' police forces' efforts to contact potential victims of crimes had been intensified over the previous few years and that crime prevention campaigns were continually being conducted. They also reported that the following new measures had been introduced : crime prevention campaigns aimed at specific types of crime (reported by one country); published security guidelines for businesses handling drugs (reported by one country); adult education classes on highway safety (reported by one country).

As previously mentioned, some schools invite the police to speak to student groups in an attempt to strengthen juveniles' resistance to crime (cf. IV-d). Police visits to schools are also used as opportunities for the police to students of how to avoid becoming victims of crimes. According to information in the replies to the questionnaire, the subjects on which the police most often speak to student groups are drug use and road traffic accidents. In one country, student contests on road traffic safety are held and student road traffic patrols are set up while in another country, schools compete in contests on road traffic themes. In yet another country, the police speak to student groups on the danger of sexual assault.

#### V. RESPONSIBILITY FOR ORGANISING AND CONDUCTING CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

The questionnaire did not include any questions on responsibility for organising and conducting crime prevention activities. Some of the replies, however, included information on the subject.

First, it seems that almost all police services and sections are at least partially involved in crime prevention work (e.g., a crime investigation unit might initiate preventive measures to protect the children of a family involved in a crime investigation, or make recommendations on protecting property. Special police units handling any given type of offence (drug offences, airport security violations, juvenile delinquency, etc.) are often responsible both for law enforcement and for crime prevention.

There are special crime prevention units in some countries, often focusing on juvenile delinquency or on instilling the idea of self-protection among potential victims of crime. Sometimes these special police units engage in social service and public relations activities.

The information received in the replies to the questionnaire indicates that there is a trend toward more sophisticated organisation of crime prevention activities. Several police forces have recently set up crime prevention divisions or other special crime prevention units; representatives of other police forces have served on various crime prevention commissions and councils within the past few years, along with government officials, members of professional associations (representing business and industry), and interested private citizens. Experts often lend their assistance to commissions of this type. The replies included two which stated that the responding countries were both in the process of setting up a crime prevention service or council on the national-government level, with nationwide jurisdiction.

## VI - EVALUATION OF CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES; CRIME PREVENTION PRIORITIES

Seven of the fifteen countries answering the questionnaire indicated that they had not undertaken to assess the actual preventive impact of the crime prevention activities they conducted. One of these countries contended that it would be impossible to do so. Nonetheless, it was felt in another of these countries that crime prevention activities actually reduced the incidence of crime, while the reply from yet another country said there was reason to suppose that the crime rate would have increased even more than it actually had if crime prevention activities had not been conducted.

One country reported that its authorities were devising methods for evaluating the crime prevention activities conducted.

Seven of the responding countries claimed that crime prevention measures had resulted in reduced crime; this finding was based on one or another of the following observations: there had been a noticeable drop in the number of crimes against which preventive activities had been directed; there had been a progressive reduction in crime and asocial behavior; there had been noticeably less crime in underprivileged areas after crime prevention measures had been introduced; there had been only a limited increase in crime in spite of socio-economic difficulties; crime statistics, field studies, and public opinion had demonstrated that preventive measures had had a desirable effect.

These quite divergent and sometimes contradictory replies indicate the major difficulties encountered in trying to evaluate or even scientifically measure the impact of crime prevention activity. It seems that we are apparently still acting on the basis of accepted opinion or reasoned assumptions or, at best, have merely taken the first few steps along the path of a truly scientific approach.

Evaluations of crime prevention activities are probably most reliable when they are derived from comparative crime studies of two like areas, in only one of which crime prevention measures were applied, and when the evaluations take into consideration factors other than just crime statistics. Even with this method, however, many unmeasurable or even unrecognized factors may influence the findings. In any case, it seems an unjustifiable over-simplification to attribute lower numbers of crimes or more slowly rising crime rates purely to the impact of crime prevention activities.

While it is difficult to measure the actual preventive impact of crime prevention activities, it is even more difficult, it seems, to establish priorities for conducting the various activities in question.

The replies to the questionnaire contain very little information on this topic. Two countries and one police force in another country completely disregarded the question. One other country and two police forces in other countries reported that they had not established any priorities for crime prevention activities. Replies from two other countries indicated that such priorities were established on the basis of local conditions in the various police districts.

Five countries and three police forces in other countries did not specify priorities, if any, given to specific types of crime prevention activities; however, they did specify the priorities they assigned to fighting various types of



crimes in part by conducting crime prevention activities (without specifying the nature of these activities). The following types of crimes were mentioned in this connection: illegal interference with aviation; hostage-taking; terrorist activities; drug abuse; organized crime; armed robberies, burglaries and other crimes against property; serious road traffic law violations (mentioned by one country); sexual offenses (mentioned by one country).

Six countries and one police force gave specific answers to the question. The authorities in two of these countries gave priority to crime prevention by means of patrolling and surveillance and the physical presence of policemen. For another country, the authorities stated that detecting law violators and patrolling had priority over informing the public about self-protection measures. In two countries, the authorities assigned priority to information campaigns, in one case to encourage the public to co-operate with the police in preventing crime and in the other case to make the public familiar with the penal laws (in the latter country, emphasis is also laid on strict enforcement of the law and public meetings to discuss law-breakers in their presence. In another country, priority is given to activities intended to mitigate the mass media's undesirable influence on young persons. One police force reported that public relations work in connection with crime prevention had priority over other kinds of crime prevention activities.

VII - Police activities designed to assist the public and to establish closer contacts between police and public.

Under this heading we shall be considering all the various activities carried on by the police, either with a view to assisting the public or in order to improve police/public relations. These activities may have some effect on crime prevention even though that is not specifically their aim. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to draw a clear distinction between the measures described above under IV b) to c) and those considered in this section (for example, a police exhibition may be aimed both at preventing crime and at improving police/public relations). Secondly, all the crime prevention and law-enforcement activities carried on by the police are, in the widest sense, means of assisting the public and can be considered as services rendered. These activities, when properly carried out, can improve police/public relations.

We find, in fact, that police activities form a closely knit whole; they do not fall neatly into different categories and all classifications will appear more or less artificial. Having said this, we shall be discussing below services which are non-coercive and concerned with social welfare or which are designed to render assistance; we shall consider the involvement of the police in community life in general where the police officer often plays the role of a citizen rather than that of an official; finally we shall deal with police officers' attempts to integrate themselves in society, instead of leading a separate existence.

These police activities will be described below, under the following headings: first, the services that stem from the general police mission to protect life and limb and to safeguard property; second, police participation in various associations; third, police/public relations and the provision of information; fourth, the involvement of the police in what we may call purely social work, much of which is also handled by other institutions and a number of miscellaneous activities which do not fall into any particular category.

a) General assistance to the public.

In addition to protecting the public from the damage or losses resulting from criminal activities, the police are often called upon to protect the population in a large number of situations where there is a risk of people or property being harmed in any way. From the historical point of view, such activities have long been the responsibility of the police, although other bodies have important roles to fulfil in this field. It seems quite natural that police officers who are equipped to combat many types of danger and are always available to render assistance rapidly, should intervene in this type of situation.

Eight of the fifteen countries answering the questionnaire indicated that their police forces were involved in one way or another with this type of protection. Each of these countries mentioned one or more of the following: rescue work in connection with road, mountain, river or sea accidents; assistance at the scenes of major disasters, rendering dangerous objects harmless; emergency assistance for the sick; assistance for persons being taken to hospital or provision of escorts when patients, accident victims or medicinal drugs have to be transported; assistance with fire-fighting (in one country the fire brigade is part of the police force); detection of pollution; break-down assistance for motorists.

Certain types of surveillance intended to enable the police to render assistance more rapidly when accidents occur are also included in these activities (for example, surveillance of beaches and swimming pools by police life-saving experts).

Two countries stated that their police forces took part in general civil defence. Three countries mentioned searches for missing persons and lost children. In two countries the police forces carry out certain duties with regard to lost property. There seem to be grounds for believing that police forces engage in the activities mentioned in this paragraph in more countries than would appear to be the case judging from the replies to the questionnaire.

In two countries, tourists are assisted by the police. This is the only measure described as "new" among those mentioned in this section.

Lastly, in all countries, traffic control is a police responsibility and may be considered as a form of service rendered to the public. However, few of the replies actually mentioned this.

b) Police participation in various associations.

One way in which the police can play an active part in society and establish personal links with the population is by participating in associations of all types. Such forms of participation can be at police force level or at the level of the individual police officer, acting either as an officer or as a private individual. The police force (or police officer) may often be no more than an ordinary member but sometimes a leading role may be played.

In the replies received it seems that the police forces in seven out of fifteen countries have contacts with youth clubs. Only in one country is the setting up of a police youth club a new feature. Two countries mentioned that the police play an administrative role in such clubs. In other associations and at leisure centres, particularly during holiday periods, police officers run various forms of cultural and sports activities; one country indicated that the police was involved with the boy-scout movement.

In organising leisure activities for young people, the police attempt to lead them away from the harmful influences to which they would frequently be exposed if left to themselves, to offer them the possibility of expressing themselves in a socially acceptable manner, to inculcate in them a positive attitude towards society and the police, and, in general, to educate them by personal example and by supplying information.

In one country, there are "neighbourhood associations" which meet at the police station and help to establish close personal contacts between the population and the police.

One country mentioned the participation of its police force in parents' and teachers' associations, another indicated that the police took part in church activities. In yet another country, the police force organises legal and criminological discussion groups as well as car and motor-bike clubs in the schools.

In three countries, the police are involved with other types of association but no details were given.

Two of these countries stated that police participation in associations had increased over the past few years. In a large area of one of the countries concerned in this section, police involvement in this type of social relationship is a recent development.

c) Police/public relations and the provision of information.

Clearly, the activities described under this heading are very closely connected with crime prevention measures proper and cannot really be separated from them. Police publications, the use of the mass-media, lectures by police officers and police exhibitions can all be used to emphasise a particular aspect of prevention but they also make for improved police/public relations by making available to citizens the information they need and giving them a better understanding of police work and requirements. Under this heading, the reader will therefore sometimes find measures that have already been mentioned in a different context although no further mention will be made of measures whose aims are primarily preventive.

From the replies received, it appears that the police forces of thirteen of the fifteen countries engage in certain public relations activities and attempt to keep the population informed about their work in one or more of the following ways:

- Information published by the police: This was mentioned by six countries; one country specified that it was referring to a police journal, another country had published a document on police planning and crime trends, a third country published an annual police report. Some police forces have published booklets with titles such as "Know your police officer" or "Your friend the Policeman".
- Use of the mass media and contact with the public: Three countries referred to general use of the news media in the public relations context and to mass media broadcasting of about the police information and talks by police officers on subjects of social interest; one of the police forces in a fourth country has set up a public relations department responsible for liaison with the news media (in that country there is a radio programme during which a police officer may be questioned by the public on various police matters and a children's programme is broadcast in which the police officer's role as a public servant is emphasised).

In four countries, the police give talks designed to keep the public informed about police matters or subjects of social concern, but the replies did not indicate whether these talks were broadcast by the mass-media, or were given at public meetings. In three other countries, the police organise meetings with various sectors of the public (for example, police officers lecture at the meetings of various professional groups; public discussions are arranged; the public are invited to come and discuss problems with the police).

- Exhibitions: Six countries mentioned the use of exhibitions as a means of informing the population about police work. Sometimes the exhibitions are mobile, or the police may take stands at a big commercial event (for example, at fairs); to illustrate police activities, equipment, training etc. In two countries the public are invited to visit exhibitions set up in police premises. In one country there is an annual police open-day.
- Provision of entertainment which may sometimes have an informative value: Such entertainments were mentioned by five countries and included free concerts, parades, riding displays and participation in cultural activities, especially musical and sports functions. In three countries, these activities sometimes take on the form of a full-scale police fête with a varied programme including demonstrations of horsemanship, police dog training, a concert by a police band, sports events, etc.

Of all the above-mentioned activities, only the following were reported as being "new": in one country the holding of police exhibitions was a new feature; another country had started organising police fêtes; a third country had recently set up a police/public relations department and started a radio programme during which a police officer could be asked questions about police matters.

#### d) Police social work and other activities.

Police activities of a purely social welfare type were mentioned by seven countries.

In one country, a police force considered that one of its duties was to assist all those who needed help or found themselves in difficulties, while another police force co-operated with community welfare organisations on projects designed to assist the less fortunate members of the community. One country stated that its police force participated in activities designed to help the handicapped and less-favoured or minority groups. Visits to old people's homes are included in the police activities of another country. In one country, the police assist persons in distress or danger and women police collaborate with the Red Cross and similar associations.

In three countries, the social welfare work of the police consists mainly in giving guidance and information to members of the public seeking help in difficult situations. In one of these countries, the police give information of all types; in another, liaison offices for dealing with young people have been set up, not purely to prevent crime but rather to provide guidance for young people with problems. In the third country, the population, and young people in particular, can seek advice and guidance from the police about their problems and requirements (to facilitate this type of contact, a telephone consultation service has recently been set up).

Apart from this telephone consultation service, none of the social welfare measures mentioned were described as "new".

Similar activities to those mentioned in this section, and which we have classified as "other activities", were mentioned by four countries in two countries police give motor-vehicle driving lessons; in another they give first-aid instruction. Lastly, one country mentioned the part played by the police in blood donor campaigns.

#### VIII - EFFECTS OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ACTIVITIES (VII) ON CRIME PREVENTION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

The recipients of the questionnaire were asked how the performance, by the police of tasks designed to assist or render service to the public or to improve police/public relations affected the more traditional fields of police work such as crime prevention and detection. Thirteen countries replied.

In none of these countries was it really possible to assess these effects accurately. Nevertheless, in almost all the countries, police officers are convinced that their participation in this type of activity has a generally favourable effect on their work. In the replies, one or more of the following comments were made to back up this view: the police had improved their image in the eyes of the population; police/public relations had improved; contacts and understanding between the population and the police had increased; the police position had been strengthened; the population had become more co-operative and willing to assist the police; confidence and solidarity had grown up between police and public.

Some countries imply, while others state, that these effects make it easier for the police to perform their traditional tasks; they emphasised the co-operation and support the police obtain from the public, facilitating police work in all fields; it is felt that close contacts between police and public make it less likely that ordinary citizens will break the law.

One police force stated that the barrier which previously existed between police and public had disappeared without any loss of prestige.

Another police force noted that there had been an improvement in relations with the population but complained that the force now had less time to devote to basic police tasks.

One country reported that the recruitment of police officers had been made easier as a result of this "rapprochement" between police and public.

#### IX - CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY THE POLICE

The aim of the present report is to show to what extent the role of the police can be isolated and defined by reference to activities involving contacts with the public because it is through such contacts that the role of the police in society gradually emerges. Only occasionally, therefore, has mention been made of changes within the police that have not had any immediate external effect.

However, we may perhaps be permitted to devote a few paragraphs to information on the development of research within police forces. We are not concerned with research on criminalistics or forensic science, which has been carried out by police forces for many years, but with criminological research conducted by police staff.

It appears from the replies sent in by five countries that criminological research has been, or is being, conducted by a number of police bodies. Two countries specifically pointed out that such research was undertaken by newly created research units, and the replies of two other countries suggested that the importance attached to research was quite recent. Two countries stressed the fact that the police had taken on staff with university training for this purpose (for example, people with degrees in criminology, sociology, psychology, economics, anthropology and law).

It seems that the research carried out or begun is usually connected with operational aspects of police work and focused on questions of practical interest. One country stressed the fact that, in this context, the police were in a privileged position regarding the possession of data on crime, especially when such data was processed by computer.

At a time when criminologists from outside the police have a growing tendency to concentrate on the functioning of police forces and legal systems, these developments within police forces might spark off a new trend which could have indirect repercussions on the role of the police in general.

X - RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE POLICE AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS ENGAGED IN CRIME PREVENTION  
ASSISTING THE PUBLIC OR SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

As far as its law-enforcement duties are concerned, the police normally have an almost total monopoly over crime detection and investigation, as very few other government agencies have responsibilities of this type and they are usually restricted to very special fields, such as customs or taxation. This situation can hardly lead to problems.

On the other hand, when we consider crime prevention, emergency assistance or social welfare work and similar tasks carried out by the police, we find a large number of organisations, both official and private, working in the same fields. This may lead to problems regarding the distribution of responsibilities and may have an effect on the role of the police.

The I.C.P.O.-Interpol questionnaire therefore included questions designed to discover the criteria used for assigning tasks discussed in Section VII to the police rather than to other institutions, and also to find out whether there was any formal policy regarding the allocation of preventive and social duties between the police and other institutions.

The answers to the questions suggested that no country had a clearly defined policy in this respect.

Three countries reported that police duties were defined by law or by the local authorities but they did not indicate the criteria on which the definitions were based. Five countries and one police force stated that there were no clear criteria or established policies on the respective spheres of activity of the police and other institutions. One country pointed out that, as far as crime prevention was concerned, coercive measures involving intrusion into the private lives of individuals could only be enforced by the police - a legal argument which is certainly valid in many other countries as well.

A number of replies included one or more of the following comments : the police have a good working relationship with other crime prevention, emergency or social welfare institutions; the sharing-out of duties is based on mutual agreement; the police deal with problems they are competent to handle and which are compatible

with the tasks they already have to perform; no other institution could assume responsibility for certain duties, is represented throughout the country, would have been able to solve a specific problem more economically, etc.

Some of the services rendered by the police, especially those of an emergency nature are considered as traditional, or natural, tasks arising from any police force's mission to protect, support and assist fellow-citizens.

In some countries, social welfare activities seem to have been accepted by the police with certain definite aims in view of improving their relations with the population and gaining its confidence, obtaining the co-operation they need if they are to fulfil their other missions satisfactorily, bringing the police out of isolation but without any clear explanation of why one specific activity should be undertaken by the police and another by other institutions. However, in two countries, it is thought that the police has a general duty to assist members of the population who find themselves in difficulties. The most common situation in this field seems well summarised in one reply which stated that the criteria for determining spheres of competence have not always been officially defined and that the action of police services is often developed on an empirical basis, notably as a result of the practical facilities available and the needs arising from specific shortcomings or circumstantial requirements, the general motto being "protect and assist".

#### XI - THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE POLICE

We shall not attempt to speculate here about possible changes in the police role, instead, we shall consider two factors which are likely to have a concrete influence on the future role of the police. First, assuming that the authorities wish to satisfy their people's expectations, we shall consider these expectations as they appear in the replies we have received. Secondly, we shall consider the opinions of police forces themselves as expressed by the departments which drafted the replies, and the intentions of those departments with regard to future police activities; in view of the fact that most of the answers to the questionnaires were prepared by ministerial departments or similar agencies, it seems likely that their opinions and intentions will have some influence on the definition of the role to be played by the police in future years.

##### a) Public expectations

The question asked referred to the results of any surveys designed to determine what activities the public expected the police to engage in.

Four countries communicated the results of such surveys, three of which had been carried out recently (1973 and 1974).

In one of these countries, a majority of those questioned had been in favour of the police taking preventive measures, particularly by increased patrolling, combating juvenile delinquency and taking measures against gangs operating protection rackets. In a second country, the surveys carried out in the areas covered by two police forces showed that 60% of the population in one case and 70% in the other were in favour of preventive measures but no questions were asked about the type of measures desired. In a third country, 71% of those questioned thought available resources should be concentrated on crime prevention and 80% stressed the importance of warning potential victims; however, in juvenile delinquency cases, it was felt that the police should only intervene as a last resort. In a fourth country, several

local surveys had shown that population expected the police to provide general protection, to apply criminal laws strictly but with reasonable discretion being exercised over minor offences, and to prevent crime (but it was not possible to give order of priority for these expectations, although it was thought the public wanted the police to be involved in community activities as the police officer was viewed as someone to whom one could take one's problems).

In another country, surveys had only covered the social acceptability of a particular crime prevention measure. In the case in point; it was large-scale checking of the identity of people gathering in certain public places in big towns, a measure which could certainly inconvenience law-abiding citizens. The surveys showed these operations were considered acceptable; between 80% and 92% of those questioned hoped they would be continued or increased.

In one country, unspecified empirical studies had shown that the reputation of the police was based on the extent to which public order and safety was guaranteed. An increasing percentage of the population was favourably disposed towards the police.

Surveys conducted in another country gave reason to believe that the public expected the police to intervene more rapidly when offences were committed, with a view to arresting the offenders, to maintain public order, to have more contact with the public and to play a more important part in rescue work when major disasters occurred.

The remaining countries did not indicate whether any surveys or studies had been carried out on what the public expect of the police. Some of them however said they knew what the public expected as opinions could be expressed through various channels.

One of these countries pointed out that liberal policies had been adopted by those responsible for criminal matters although it was not certain that that was what the public wanted. Public opinion fluctuated under the influence of the latest events on the crime front. In general, the population wanted offenders arrested, but interest in crime prevention was increasing.

In another country, the authorities reported that the public generally wanted the police to maintain public order and safety and to prevent crime; however, when public opinion was aroused by specific criminal offences, some groups tended to emphasise the importance of the law enforcement aspects of police work, hoping these would have a preventive, deterrent effect.

The other countries assumed the public expected:

- a police presence in the streets, and effectiveness in bringing offenders to book;
- concentration on crime prevention together with firm measures against offenders;
- intensification of crime prevention without any drop in law-enforcement; the public expected private security organisations or social workers etc. to play a more important role; it was not felt that the police should undertake any new tasks.



b) The opinions of the police

Seventeen of the departments that replied to the questionnaire, representing thirteen countries, expressed the following opinions about the future role of the police :

- In one country and in one part of another country no important changes were expected.

- In nine countries and two parts of another country it was felt increasing importance would be attached to crime prevention activities; however, three countries and the two parts of another country mentioned above considered it important not to neglect crime detection, or measures designed to deter offenders, in any way (one country specified that it would be a question of striking a better balance between law-enforcement and crime prevention); one of these countries saw crime prevention is being increasingly based on technical safeguards; other countries, to achieve crime prevention aims, intended to concentrate more on contacts with the population and seek for increased public co-operation (these countries are therefore also included in the following group).

- In four countries and three parts of another country it was assumed that the role of the police would develop to include tasks of a social nature. In four cases, increased co-operation with the public was mentioned, sometimes with an indirect preventive aim (cf. group above); on three occasions more intensive police involvement in social welfare activities was mentioned; two countries referred to police/public relations and supplying the public with information.

- One country contemplated - with a certain amount of hesitation - a future role for the police involving all types of social welfare work; the population would want guidance, assistance and protection in all types of circumstances.

- One country considered the future role of the police would depend on the degree to which individual freedom could be safeguarded while ensuring the police had the necessary powers to maintain law and order.

XII - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Starting from the hypothesis that the role of the police emerges and assumes its form during the course of contacts between the police and the population, we have, in the present document, considered this role in terms of the crime prevention and social welfare activities which involve direct contact between police and population. As the role of the police also has many other facets, it must be emphasised that the purpose of this document is merely to provide a certain amount of information which can then be fitted into a wider picture.

For this purpose, we therefore had to describe those crime prevention and social welfare activities in which the police are really involved, sometimes considering in passing associated trends and crime policy. In order to grasp the trends that might lie behind recent developments in these activities, or which are liable to have an effect in the future, it seemed relevant to consider which of these activities have been the responsibility of the police for less than five years (activities which have been classified as "new" or "recent") and to examine forecasting techniques, public expectations and the intentions of the police in this respect.

With this aim in view, we processed information collected from the Interpol National Central Bureaus of 15 countries which have achieved a certain level of development in police matters, disregarding national contexts and without mentioning any country by name, the intention being to produce an "international image" of the police.

Henceforth, therefore, the term "police" will refer to all the different police forces in the various countries mentioned. As can be seen from the divergences and disparities between the various countries - and these have been noted in the text - none of the individual police forces is engaged in all the activities which have been "listed" here, but each is involved in a substantial number and contributes in this way to what we have called the "international image" of the police. It should be borne in mind that we are considering countries where police forces have attained a fairly advanced level of development.

Subject to reservations concerning possible gaps in the information obtained and the difficulties encountered in processing it, it may nevertheless be considered that the text gives a fairly complete panorama of the crime prevention and social welfare activities actually undertaken by the police and which afford opportunities for the police and population to meet. What is the "police image" in terms of crime prevention and social welfare activities? The police appear to be engaged in a wide range of these activities, including both the most traditional and the modern or progressive. The police apply measures designed to deter and coerce, but also have recourse to persuasion and voluntary collaboration. Lastly, there are a number of activities which are purely social or which are connected with rendering assistance in emergencies. It seems that the following image of the police can be compiled:

a) Detering would-be criminals by demonstrating that there is a real risk of their being detected and brought to court still has an important place in police thinking on crime prevention.

This deterrent effect may be the result of crime investigation and/or of police patrolling and surveillance. At this level, it seems that the police are constantly seeking to improve their methods, equipment and organisation in order to increase their efficiency, particularly in those areas of crime where new problems have arisen.

Even when other crime prevention and social welfare duties have been assigned to the police this does not seem to have led, so far, to any reduction in their efforts to prevent crime by deterring criminals. It is difficult to forecast future trends in this respect; but there is reason to believe that, however far the police move into new fields, they will not neglect their traditional activities.

b) The police are responsible for enforcing many administrative measures designed to prevent crime and there appears to be a tendency to assign other tasks of this type to the police.

On the other hand, it looks as though various other administrative authorities tend to consider that they can use the police as a number of "auxiliaries" to perform "alien" tasks, that really have no connection with police work as such. The beginnings of a reaction against this state of affairs seem to be apparent.

c) The police are involved in crime prevention activities aimed at people who are liable to relapse into their previous criminal habits. A large number of these activities are concerned with assisting and educating young people.

In certain situations, the police have coercive powers to deal with potential criminals but, in many cases, they have to rely on persuasion and on voluntary co-operation. In some situations of this type the police merely initiate action by other institutions. There do not seem to have been any particular important recent developments in this field.

d) One aspect of police crime prevention activities consists of supplying information and advice to potential victims so that they can protect themselves. Most of the recommendations are connected with crime against property and with mechanical safeguards.

From the information collected, it seems that there has been a tendency recently to step up and widen the scope of this type of activity.

e) Apart from their activities with direct effects on crime prevention, the police assist the population in a number of ways - particularly in emergency situations. Police officers participate in community life in general and, more particularly, within the framework of various associations: they use public relations techniques to develop closer contacts with the population. The aim of these activities is generally to facilitate, however indirectly, the performance of other tasks.

General assistance to the population, including rescue work and protection, may be considered as part of the traditional police mission. There have been hardly any new developments in this field.

On the other hand, police participation in community life in general and all forms of public relations activities undertaken by the police are generally considered to stem from a modern, progressive approach to the problems the police have to solve. Police forces are now engaged in many activities of this nature and officers seem to be convinced that their work benefits. However, in spite of this assessment, it appears that relatively few new developments or recent changes have been reported. Although there are grounds for thinking that as the years go by, the police may give increasing emphasis to greater involvement in social welfare activities, it would be wrong to deduce from this that they are at the threshold of a revolutionary development which will transform their identity.

On the whole, we are left with a picture of the police attempting slowly but surely to extend their range so that they can cope with the various forms of crime they meet in their day-to-day work. With this aim in view, they are intensifying some of their activities and expanding others in a step-by-step process which may take them beyond their traditional fields of action. At the same time, however, they are trying to increase their efficiency in their traditional rôle. It appears that this process is being carried out quite empirically, as there does not seem to be any general rule, or clear criterion, underlying the allocation of specific tasks between the police and other competent bodies and, on the whole, it seems that there are no accurate methods for forecasting crime trends or assessing the preventive value of various police activities. At the same time, within police forces, there is apparently a new tendency to encourage criminological research dealing primarily with subjects that have a practical bearing on police work.

Here we must mention in passing some of the crime policy questions that spring to mind when we contemplate this fresco of police activities:

1) Very often, the preventive impact of measures taken by the police depends on completely external factors such as how the legal system operates (the length of time taken to complete proceedings, the degree of probability of an offender being convicted, the type of sentences passed and conditions in which they are served, etc.), or what kinds of task are assigned to the police (efforts to establish good relations and a climate of co-operation with the public are bound to fail if police officers are obliged to enforce measures which bring them into daily confrontation with considerable sections of the population; if some road traffic offences, for instance, become a bone of contention, perhaps they could be handled by another agency). It seems necessary to consider police functions of this type in a wider context, so as to avoid conflicting trends and efforts.

2) A more solid scientific basis seems to be needed for policy decisions regarding the order of priority of crime prevention measures and their assignment to specific agencies. Likewise, these decisions should be based on accurate crime forecasts and evaluations.

3) The police have to face the basic question of whether they should take on social welfare tasks only for utilitarian purposes, insofar as they facilitate the performance of other activities directly designed to combat crime, or whether they should attempt to take on a new identity, that of a social welfare agency assisting members of the public with all their difficulties and willing to look into any grievance so as to guide those concerned towards an appropriate solution.

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**END**