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COMPARATIVE CRIMINOLOGY : AFRICA

Suzanne Arcand and Yves Brillon

I. CRIMINOLOGY IN RAPIDLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The International Centre for Comparative Criminology has undertaken to develop criminology on a cross-cultural, comparative and international level in order to promote an administration of justice better adapted to today's socio-economic conditions throughout the world.

Crime and delinquency, having assumed considerable proportions, have become major social problems for most governments — social problems all the more acute in that customary methods of prevention, defence, repression and treatment have shown themselves less and less effective in checking the increase in anti-social behaviour. The result is a progressive deterioration of community life which threatens, over the long term, to upset the balance of society, particularly in highly urbanized centres.

In the face of this threat, which transcends the limits of a city, a country or even of a single continent, it has become essential to develop a close solidarity among all nations. In fact, it is only through intensive international cooperation that adequate solutions can be found, capable of assuring a peaceful existence and improving the quality of life in our modern industrialized societies.

Here and there, in all parts of the world, numerous and praiseworthy efforts are being made to identify and analyze crime-inducing factors, to try to better adapt the systems of justice, to improve the methods of fighting crime, and to make various methods of treating criminals more effective. It is to unify these attempts, often scattered and isolated, and to make it possible

for each to benefit by the experience of the other, that the I.C.C.C. was created.

In addition to the annual symposia, regional seminars and the numerous comparative studies which constitute the major portion of the Centre's activities, it is particularly important here to emphasize the efforts devoted to technical aid and cooperation with rapidly developing countries.

One of the Centre's objectives, in fact, is to help specialists in these countries develop research and reforms already undertaken in other countries.

Increase in population, exodus from rural areas, development of marginal classes, unemployment, a widening gap between an intellectual or administrative elite and the masses, student protest, terrorism, etc., are all disturbing elements that seriously threaten public order, and consequently, socio-economic development. It is therefore necessary to analyze the specific elements resulting from rapid social, economic and political change in developing countries in order to determine and evaluate their consequences and their importance in relation to crime or the criminal phenomenon.

The Fifth International Symposium in Comparative Criminology, to take place in May 1973, will consider needs and perspectives in relation to socio-economic development, criminal justice, and crime in these countries. It will adopt a world-wide criminological approach. The participants will study the crime-inducing factors, as well as the various organizations for social defence in developing countries. The object will be threefold : to improve the efficiency of the machinery of justice, to suggest a more rational distribution of public funds in order to attain greater social stability, and finally, to initiate social progress that will help end sources of conflict and deviance.

In addition to this event, and in terms of the experience already acquired at the School of Criminology of the University of Montreal, the technical aid given and the cooperation with rapidly developing countries will help create and develop centres of teaching, research and criminological expertise serving the whole field of the administration of justice.

These regional centres of criminology will form a scientific nucleus where researchers from all continents can engage in

research. Rapidly developing countries will make a new and original contribution, essential to the development of a true comparative criminology on an international scale.

A first achievement has recently confirmed the efforts of the I.C.C.C. in this direction. With the assistance of the Canadian International Development Agency, a grant, extending over a period of three years, was given the Abidjan Institute of Criminology. The Centre, which helped initiate this project, is thus taking part in realizing a desire, often expressed by the United Nations, to create a regional Institute of Criminology south of the Sahara.

II. AFRICA : DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIETY

The rapid economic development now taking place in Africa involves profound and important social and cultural changes. Traditional social and family structures are frequently unstable and are breaking down under the influence of the values and techniques which characterize industrial and consumer societies. Urbanization, industrialization, education, improvements in health and welfare are progressive elements, but because of the sudden changes they involve, they sometimes tend to become sources of unbalance and conflict.

This socio-economic evolution does not occur without having a direct or indirect effect on anti-social behaviour. Some forms of traditional crime, often associated with sorcery and witchcraft, and whose importance cannot be under-estimated, are taking place side by side with classic forms of crime, while new forms which, up to now were characteristic of advanced societies, are beginning to emerge.

Confronted by these phenomena, an effort must be made to isolate the causes of this complicated state of affairs, in order to provide suitable solutions, taking into account the ethno-cultural differences in each State. On the other hand, in view of the increase in delinquency and crime, and the many new forms of deviance, the time has come to concentrate on the organization, functioning and efficiency of the system of social defence, which should assure the prevention of crime and the treatment of delinquents.

In this regard, the First West African Conference in Comparative Criminology¹, held in Abidjan in June 1972, and whose general theme was « Needs and perspectives in the matter of crime prevention and the treatment of delinquents in West Africa », studied the specific elements that are emerging due to social, economic and political changes in the countries of West Africa. Their object was to weigh their consequences and their effect on the entire criminal situation ; the crime-inducing factors could then be identified and a more rational and profitable use made of the institutions intended for the protection of the citizen, and to guarantee his basic rights.

1. CRIME AND DEVELOPMENT

There is very little general data at present on the nature, volume and types of crime in West Africa. The statistics are often incorrect, unmethodical and incomplete, so it is difficult to distinguish the main characteristics of anti-social behaviour and to estimate their import and seriousness for the community as a whole.

Moreover, the accelerated development of the African countries is upsetting the old structures and values more and more — structures and values which, in the past, constituted a framework strong enough to maintain a state of equilibrium and stability within the tribal groups. The changes these groups are undergoing are, without question, a source of anomie, maladjustment and deviant behaviour.

It is necessary, then, for criminologists to study these social, economic and cultural changes, taking note of their consequences in terms of possible psychological and social maladjustment in the individual, and especially in terms of criminal behaviour. It is a matter of isolating a certain number of indices closely related to the process of acculturation, and then comparing them with the criminological data. This scientific approach will establish the correlations which can clarify the relations between crime and development, and define the specific characteristics of crime in Africa.

As stated during a seminar on West Africa², held in Montreal, whose participants were specialists in various fields, it seems that

1. See *Premier colloque de criminologie comparée d'Afrique occidentale* (1972), Centre international de criminologie comparée, Montréal.

2. See *l'Afrique occidentale : développement et société* (1972), Centre international de criminologie comparée, Montréal.

the most important indices of the acculturation process to consider are those of an economic, demographic, educational and familial nature.

Economic development has introduced the norms and new production techniques of the most advanced societies, and at the same time, the values of these societies. This alien contribution has resulted in a confrontation between two types of social organization which can only be brought into harmony by first going through a long process of dissociation and readjustment. Modern technology has caused unemployment where labour was abundant, and the mass media has stirred up a desire for consumer goods by creating new demands. Industrialization and urbanization are also creating a problem of migration that is causing instability in the rural areas and under-employment in the cities, it is causing poverty and parasitism, thus creating conditions conducive to delinquency and crime.

The introduction and generalization of hygienic and medical measures is reducing the death rate in most parts of Africa, whereas the birth rate remains the same or is even increasing. In the villages, the attraction of the city has caused an exodus of the youngest and most vigorous inhabitants, undermining the ancestral social structures and economy of the villages.

In the urban centres, most of the population — the result of the rural exodus — find themselves unqualified and unable to find work. They have been relegated to outlying districts where shanty-towns are growing up. City life, furthermore, has created a certain demographic imbalance. There is an increase in celibacy, broken homes, adultery and prostitution. The isolated individual, uprooted from his clan and his place of origin, finds himself in a precarious situation, and is therefore more inclined towards deviant behaviour.

Schooling can be considered another disturbing factor, as it is often unsuited to the needs of labour and to the economic priorities of the country. Many schools offer general and professional training, leading to administration, public affairs or special careers, whereas the greatest demand is in agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing. As openings in public affairs are few and far between, this creates a great deal of frustration on the part of the students, which may explain certain violent confrontations. Literacy in the villages plays a considerable role in turning the youth from agri-

culture or manual work, and is one of the main motivations for the rural exodus. These young people are ill prepared for urban life, and their adjustment often engenders psychological or social problems.

The transition from the tribal and rural family to the urban family has been slow and laborious. In some cases, the superimposition of two family structures has had serious consequences : separations, divorces, refusal of the wife to continue assuming her traditional role, etc. These conflicts inevitably affect the children, who can no longer rely on the active and affective participation that the tribal family provided.

On the other hand, the city family, whose revenue is often very modest, cannot sustain all its obligations and responsibilities towards the members of the clan. These obligations are sometimes so great that in order to fulfill them, some people have begun to resort to theft, bribery, swindling, issuing cheques with insufficient funds, or embezzlement of funds.

These several social factors — the effects of accelerated development — contain elements that could become crime-inducing. They must be analyzed in depth and an assessment made of their negative influence on the community as a whole.

2. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Ever since the end of the Second World War, there has been an increase in juvenile delinquency throughout the world, as well as an increase in the number of crimes and offences committed by minors. Unfortunately, the West African countries are no exception.

In West Africa, the spreading of juvenile delinquency has coincided in a general way, with economic development, and consequently, with the acceleration of urbanization and industrialization.

In addition, when examining the causes or specific factors underlying this fact in the African context, the first hypotheses that come to mind and which largely remain to be shown, are the disintegration of traditional family structures, the uprootings from the rural milieu, detribalization, and living conditions in the large urban centres.

Adolescents are particularly susceptible to the culture of post-industrial societies — a culture that challenges the traditional

values of their group and which, through the information media, stimulates hope of a new type of life and a desire for the acquisition of consumer goods. The magnetism of the large cities, as well as the newly acquired schooling, is inciting the young to leave their villages ; this is depriving the rural areas of the dynamism necessary for their survival and is contributing to further jeopardizing the already precarious social stability. As a result, some of the African youth is finding itself at the crossroads between ancestral values, which are gradually disappearing, and western values, which they are not able to assimilate completely. This anomic, uncomfortable and insecure situation can cause confusion and psychological and social maladjustment.

In some African cities, there is an almost insurmountable problem caused by the influx of children and adolescents from the interior of the country, and even of children from neighbouring countries, who enter the country in secret. This engenders vagrancy and delinquent behaviour, individual or in gangs.

This delinquency, due to the total state of abandonment of these young people, and the severing of their ties from their own milieus, often leads to crime, which the lack of the family and social environment is fostering everywhere. The home disunited, insufficient family resources, bad housing conditions, unemployment, maladjustments in school, unorganized leisure, the development of crime-inducing neighbourhoods, are classic factors found at the base of deviant and anti-social behaviour.

From a criminological point of view, the working out of a policy for the prevention of juvenile delinquency should be a priority objective for governments. Only to the extent that the authorities concerned attack the social causes of maladjustment, and are interested enough in the needs of the individual to develop institutions and means for treatment, can crime be kept to a minimum.

To achieve this objective, there must be an insistent demand for the development of jurisdictions and legislations especially for minors, the creation of observation and re-education centres, and the training of specialized personnel who can assume a therapeutic role. It is essential to avoid punitive measures and imprisonment as often as possible and substitute measures for protection and re-socialization.

3. PENOLOGY

Because the African States are relatively new, they could undeniably be innovators in the field of penology, and particularly where penitentiaries are concerned. Contrary to the European and American countries, most of them have not made use of huge, cumbersome penitentiary institutions, a distant heritage of the Classic School, which considered imprisonment the perfect punishment. Under the influence of the Positivists, who introduced security measures in the nineteenth century, and more recently, with the impetus of the social defence movement, which very strongly advocated the idea of individualization of punishment, penology is gradually relinquishing its idea of punishment and intimidation in favour of treatment and re-socialization.

The research and experiments carried out in Europe and America should help the African States avoid the errors and failures which had to be surmounted in other countries.

Penology must make every effort to establish a continuing relationship between the criminal and his own milieu in order to avoid the possibility that the legal sanction will contribute to widening the already existing gap between the offender and his people. The different attitudes of social protection and reeducation assumed by the authorities who maintain order and prevention, have the advantage of being based on scientific knowledge of the sociological and psychological characteristics of people, and make it possible to assess the probabilities of their re-socialization. This point of view is based on the idea of « social responsibility » of the community vis-a-vis its anti-social members.

To date, because of urgent economic and social needs confronting the African governments, the study of crime and the means to counter it are hardly priority subjects. Institutional and penitentiary equipment is often lacking, and diversification of measures is very limited because there is no specialized personnel to put it into effect. However, the increase in delinquency and crime threatens to hinder economic progress in the long run, and to be a source of social conflict. This view has led those responsible for social defence to take cognizance of criminological problems, and such awareness was responsible for the creation of the Institute of Criminology at Abidjan ; it is concrete proof of the willingness of the West African countries to take the measures necessary to improve their penal system.

This being the case, it would be well to take a look at the present state of penology in West Africa. This study should include a review of the organization and functioning of jails, prisons, penitentiaries and labour camps for adults ; an analysis of the conditions of detention, diagnostic and treatment services, and an inventory of the various forensic, psychological and social services ; evaluation of punishments other than imprisonment, such as fines, remission of sentence, probation and parole ; information on community resources with regard to parole, receiving centres and after-care institutions ; and finally, an account of specialized institutions for specific types of criminals (sexual psychopaths, the mentally ill, drug addicts, etc.).

This inventory of the penal system will provide a report on the various experiences of the African countries and, without doubt, permit recommendations for improvements and new methods.

4. THE POLICE AND THE COURTS

While criminology devotes a good part of its attention to the criminal and to crime-inducing social factors, for some years now, an increasing portion of its energy is being spent on the analysis of the social defence system itself. All the efforts made to fight crime and to re-socialize delinquents will be of no lasting value if the organizations at the disposal of the administration of justice are unsuccessful in rehabilitating criminals and providing justice that is at once scientific and more humane. This explains the interest of criminologists in the study of the functioning of the police forces and the courts. The research undertaken in these sectors particularly stressed rational organization and the planning and distribution of costs in order to attain more productive and effective results.

The police forces, responsible for maintaining public order, play an important role in the protection of the citizen. Often, however, they are viewed in a bad light by the man on the street, who persists in seeing only the repressive aspects of their work.

Because the police are in direct contact with crime, and it is part of their duty to detect it, they are in great part responsible for the defining of deviant behaviour for a given social group. They have certain discretionary powers which permit them to decide whether or not to call upon the intervention of the penal

system. In addition to their anti-criminal duties, the police also have social duties. To the extent that the cost of maintaining and equipping the police increases, it becomes necessary to choose between the different duties they perform, assuming that some of these will eventually be taken over by auxiliary or social services.

An analysis of the recruiting, training, duties and social role of the police forces should be completed by a study of the importance of their different functions in terms of personnel, equipment and budget. This approach is necessary in order to evaluate their effectiveness, and to better define the services that will be expected by the society of the future for keeping the peace to the maximum degree possible.

The courts, too, reflect public sentiment vis-a-vis crime and criminals. For a number of years now, humanist thinking has been trying to change the punitive and vindictive attitudes which still prevail in sentencing. If the changes hoped for are a long time coming, it is because the courts are often brought to a standstill, either by congestion due to an increase in the volume of criminal cases, or by a lack of specialized personnel to compile the personality files essential to scientific sentencing.

The results of such a situation can sometimes counteract the most basic objectives of criminal justice. There occur preventive detentions that are too long, hasty judgments founded more on the nature of the offence than on the offender, a too frequent recourse to imprisonment and inequalities in defence and protection opportunities for underprivileged citizens.

Without wishing to generalize, these lacks and defects are nevertheless of a nature that calls for an objective examination of the functioning and organization of the courts. The organizational chart of the judicial apparatus, the number of cases that go through the various procedures, the training of judges, legal assistance, the determining factors in sentencing, a statistical analysis of the sentences, their nature and the possibilities at the disposal of judges in the choice of punishment — all these are elements that must be kept in mind in order to judge the functioning of the courts, and to be able to make recommendations for improving their efficiency.

Criminology is a science of innovation and is endeavouring to contribute to the improvement of penal institutions — an im-

provement whose object is to guarantee all citizens a greater respect for their individuality and their rights.

Society has a duty toward its criminals : a duty to judge them with objectivity, to understand their inner motivations and to participate actively in their rehabilitation within society. These duties can only be assumed seriously insofar as the institutions of social defence respond and adequately adjust to the particular needs of each socio-cultural context. This is why there is a need to promote the development of a truly African criminology.

III. CRIMINOLOGICAL ACTION : ABIDJAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

1. BACKGROUND

The Institute of Criminology, recently created in the Ivory Coast, is the culmination of patient and persistent efforts to endow Western Africa with a centre for teaching and research in criminology. As far back as 1962, at the time of the XIIth International Course in Criminology in Jerusalem, the countries represented recognized the need for establishing regional institutes in the rapidly developing countries for scientific teaching and the study of crime.

This idea took root slowly and was finally defined in 1966 at the XVIth International Course in Abidjan. All the participants hoped that the government of the Ivory Coast would create an institute of criminology at the University of Abidjan, one capable of serving Madagascar and francophone countries south of the Sahara.

Monsieur Alphonse Boni, President of the Ivory Coast Supreme Court, and one of the prime movers of the project, did everything possible to bring this plan into being. In this task, he was strongly encouraged by Professor Denis Szabo, Director of the Department of Criminology of the University of Montreal at the time, who undertook to support the University of Abidjan and to extend to it his close cooperation and assistance. Such efforts could only lead to success, and in December 1969, a decree of the Ministry of National Education officially established the Institute of Criminology. Doctor Marcel Ette became its director.

In November 1970, the government of the Ivory Coast requested technical assistance from the Canadian International De-

velopment Agency with special emphasis on the cooperation of the International Centre for Comparative Criminology in Montreal. Professor Denis Szabo, Director of the Centre since its inception, became the advocate for this Institute in its dealings with the Canadian Government. He pleaded its cause so effectively that in June 1971, Canada granted the Abidjan Institute substantial financial aid to be spread over a period of three years. The International Centre undertook to sponsor the Institute of Criminology. Close cooperation and an intensive series of exchanges will thus unite professors from Canada and the Ivory Coast in the pursuit of a common goal during the next few years; Abidjan will be made a first-rate centre of criminology in the heart of French speaking Africa, while Nigeria is beginning to perform the same function on behalf of the English speaking countries of Africa.

2. OBJECTIVES

The creation of the Institute of Abidjan is the answer to the desire of several African countries to find adequate solutions, as soon as possible, to the complex problems involved in the administration of justice. This perspective immediately gives a multinational dimension to the Institute whose fundamental objectives can be defined as follows :

The object of this Institute is to complete, by appropriate instruction, the training of magistrates, members of the Gendarmerie, the police, the corrections services, the personnel for detention homes, members of social services and, more generally, of people who plan to work in crime prevention and the treatment of delinquents.

It will also conduct research and will publish material concerning its discipline.

It insures the coordination of research projects, and eventually the training of research workers interested in criminological studies in the Ivory Coast and in other African countries.

Thus the Institute of Abidjan, in addition to being a university teaching centre which also trains personnel, is also a centre for promoting systematic scientific research in all aspects of African criminology. In this, it is at the service of African and foreign scholars, and is expected to become an outstanding centre for important studies in comparative criminology.

3. PROGRAMME OF COOPERATION

The programme of cooperation between Canada and the Ivory Coast, of three years' duration, establishes close ties between the International Centre for Comparative Criminology, University of Montreal, and the Abidjan Institute of Criminology. They will collaborate in initiating multidisciplinary criminological studies at the University of Abidjan.

To attain this general objective, some of the elements of the programme include : a) that a representative of the I.C.C.C. stay in Abidjan for a period of two years as coordinator of the programme ; b) that professors and experts in the field of criminology be sent to Abidjan for about three months to advise the local professorial staff at the Institute and help in the organization and initiation of multidisciplinary teaching ; c) the organization, both in Canada and the Ivory Coast, of seminars on preparation, research and evaluation in order to define the requirements of the programme and determine what direction it should take ; d) the organization of practical field work in Canada for teachers from the Abidjan Institute of Criminology ; e) grants, in Abidjan, for Africans from different French-speaking countries, and in Montreal, for students from the Ivory Coast who are interested in criminology ; f) the establishment of joint research to furnish the necessary elements for the organization and realization of the teaching and training programme.

In general, during the first year — the establishment of the Institute — all the efforts of the I.C.C.C. were directed towards setting up and advising the local professorial staff. It was considered necessary to first create favourable conditions for the smooth functioning of the Institute and to create a Research Centre. For this reason, the first step of the programme was seen above all as one of training. The first year having served to set up the necessary lines of communication between the I.C.C.C. and the Abidjan Institute, close ties were established and research and exchanges are now in progress. This second year of the programme, one of development, so to speak, is directed towards intensifying collaboration and technical assistance, now that the ground has been prepared.

The third step, consolidation, will be concerned with consolidating the structure and operation of the Institute of Abidjan and its research activities. In addition, everything possible will

be done to assure it greater autonomy and broaden its scope in French Africa. Regional seminars, bringing together a number of African countries, and study grants offered to nationals from neighbouring countries will contribute towards making the Institute an organization actively engaged in the study and analysis of all the urgent problems arising from delinquency and crime in Africa.

We believe that after these three years, the Ivory Coast project, with the help of the Canadian International Development Agency, will have given West Africa an institute of criminology that will play an important role in all penal and correctional reforms made throughout much of Africa.

4. ACADEMIC PROGRAMME

The Institute of Criminology has a two year academic programme of 420 hours of courses. Half of these courses deal with the basic background of criminology, and the other half, though general, is more specifically oriented towards applied criminology.

During the two year programme, the professors of the Institute of Abidjan, assisted by professors from the Institute of Criminology of the University of Montreal, deal with the main chapters of criminological and penal sciences : descriptive criminology, comparative criminology of Africa, political and penal institutions, police sciences, forensic medicine, clinical criminology, criminal psychology and sociology, penology, research methods, statistics, penal law, criminological theories and juvenile delinquency. In addition to these courses the students take part in practical work and supervised field work. These courses started in January 1971, and some forty students participated.

5. ROLE OF THE INSTITUTE AS A CENTRE OF RESEARCH

Research will be one of the essential activities of the Institute of Criminology, both in order to have dynamic teaching, closely linked with social reality, and so that the institute can play an active role in the modernization of the social defence apparatus.

These two functions of criminological research define the two guidelines that should form the basis of the Research Centre of the Institute of Criminology :

a) Within the framework of the theses and papers presented by the students for their degrees in criminology, specific and

through research, making an original contribution to the knowledge of endemic crime, will be undertaken under the direction of the professors of the Institute.

b) Besides this, and apart from the strictly academic studies, the institute will attempt to answer the needs of the various sectors of the administration of justice, in terms of research and the gathering of data on crime. The object of this orientation, as opposed to that of university research devoted to scientific questions, would be to place at the disposal of organizations and institutions working within the legal apparatus, the police, the penitentiaries, etc., a professional research service capable of answering their needs. Research undertaken for an institution or a government department could be subsidized by the organization making the request. The institute would thus play a leading role in the improvement and modernization of all sectors of the administration of justice.

To make sure that these activities are operative at the practical level, the Institute will organize periodical study sessions (either once or twice a year), bringing together people who work in the field of criminology and are willing to contribute, directly and concretely, to the formation of a modern social defence policy. These meetings would enable various practitioners to compare their experiences, to their mutual benefit, and to express their needs and particular concerns.

These study sessions would also undertake to take an inventory of all persons and organizations, far and near, who are engaged in crime prevention and the fight against delinquency, and to create an Ivory Coast Society of Criminology. This society would be autonomous, but would necessarily be closely associated with the activities of the Institute. The study sessions would afford the establishment of bases of collaboration between practitioners (magistrates, jurists, policemen, prison guards, penitentiary administrators and others) and the academic world. Education of the general public, a necessary factor for progress in our field, could also be undertaken through close collaboration with the new media about the activities of the Society.

Study sessions have already been organized by the Institute of Criminology. The object of these first meetings was to make the various sectors of the administration of justice aware of the need for research. It was a question of becoming acquainted

with the most acute problems which confront practitioners in their particular field of work, as well as the services which the Research Centre of the Institute can render in providing adequate solutions to these problems.

Among these objectives, there are : a) elaboration of a uniform and complete system of reporting and gathering criminological data ; b) establishment of research priorities ; c) the drafting of a method for bringing about innovations and improvements in the various social defence organizations ; d) taking note of possible collaborators in all sectors of the administration of justice.

The research activities of the Institute of Criminology, then, both for teaching within the university and for the entire administration of justice, will constitute an essential agent for bringing about any functional and profitable changes in the field of social defence.

At the present time, efforts are being made to set up the structure of a research centre and to define subjects for study which would correspond to the needs of those in charge of the administration of justice, as well as practitioners working within it.

Following the various seminars, conferences and meetings which took place in Montreal and in Abidjan, priorities were listed as follows :

a) *Juvenile delinquency*. This form of criminality seems to present a particularly serious problem in the Ivory Coast. The clandestine arrival of children coming from adjacent countries is a matter of concern to the administrative authorities. The children, without family and without work, wander about and gather in gangs, thus creating milieus conducive to crime.

Besides this aspect of juvenile delinquency that is due to immigration, research could be done in Abidjan to locate particularly delinquent areas. This could result in isolating some of the causes of juvenile delinquency : poverty, ethnic conflicts, family conditions, etc.

Research could also be undertaken on the children in the rehabilitation home in Dabou. Studies of this type could engender

a therapeutic approach and promote the staffing of the institution by personnel with criminological and clinical training.

b) *Adult criminality.* It would be best to first try to study and analyze the various characteristics of the prison population. This would make it possible to identify the main social sources of crime, for example, to find out the importance of the rural exodus.

The most frequent crimes requiring special attention are : robbery, breach of trust, issuing cheques with insufficient funds, fraud and counterfeiting. In large cities like Abidjan, « wily » crimes seem to assume more and more importance.

c) *Prostitution.* Research on this type of female criminality should reveal many aspects of the crisis among African youth. It seems that prostitution is looked upon as a means of emancipation and social advancement for young girls who adopt it on a temporary basis. Once established in the big city, they fall in with the norms of the city life.

d) *Relations between common law and criminal law.* The criminal code of the Ivory Coast is largely inspired by the French code. The transition from common law to criminal law cannot be made without creating certain difficulties, particularly in rural areas. All these problems could be subjects of research. Many crimes, for instance, are not known to the proper authorities because the old cultural and social structures absorb them.

e) *Judicial and police administration.* The object of research here would be to study the functioning of these institutions in order to evaluate their effectiveness and their cost, this type of research being essential to evolving institutions better adapted to conditions in the Ivory Coast.

f) *Crimes particular to Africa.* This would involve an analysis of traditional types of crime that still persist today : ritual crimes, crimes related to magic, poisoning, infanticide, etc.

The Institute of Abidjan is now in a position to undertake certain studies, the first results of which will be presented at the Fifth International Symposium in Comparative Criminology, whose theme will be *Needs and Perspectives : Socio-economic Development, Criminal Justice and Crime in Rapidly Developing Countries.*

6. THE INSTITUTE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND RECYCLING

An institute of criminology, above all, must be a centre of academic teaching. However, it should also strive to give professional courses specifically designed for persons already working in one of the sectors of the administration of justice and who want to acquire additional professional training.

A programme of recycling courses was thus introduced by the Institute. Candidates who fulfill all the requirements of this programme are awarded a Certificate of Criminological Studies (C.C.S.) by the Institute of Criminology.

The programme of professional training or recycling is directed towards giving employees and officials of the police services, the police forces, the penitentiary institutions and other social or legal services, a general training in the criminological sciences, with a view to helping them work more effectively with delinquents and criminals.

The Institute must stress its role of training personnel already working in organizations devoted to the prevention of crime and the treatment of delinquents, for it is through them that reforms and innovations can be made.

7. RELATIONS WITH ORGANIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTITIONERS WORKING IN ALL SECTORS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The Institute will organize regular meetings, seminars and discussion groups with a view to informing the public of important criminological matters.

The Institute will also make use of publications in its courses and research. Every effort will be made to have the scientific data of the Institute serve the various organizations of the administration of justice.

In addition, the personnel of the Institute will make a special effort to make available to all levels of the legal apparatus and penal institutions the instruments necessary for gathering data on crime, criminality and criminals. These instruments are essential in forming an adequate infrastructure for all research activities.

8. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The Institute will also direct its activities so that it can become a centre of international information within a regional

area. To this end, it has already invited and will invite more bordering countries to participate in regional seminars. However, the Institute of Criminology of Abidjan is a scientific instrument which is not for the exclusive use of the Ivory Coast and bordering countries, but is at the service of research workers from all over the world — just as its creation was the result of international cooperation. It came about mainly because of the understanding of the government of the Ivory Coast and its willingness to fulfill the wish expressed by many countries undergoing rapid social and economic changes. This project could not have been launched under such favourable conditions had it not been for the interest of the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, Mr. Houphouët-Boigny. Similarly, it was the financial aid extended by the Canadian International Development Agency which made possible the exchange programme and collaboration between the International Centre and the Institute of Abidjan. With assistance of this kind, there is no doubt that the Institute of Criminology of Abidjan is destined to play a most important role in contemporary African criminology.

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