

**Towards Effective Juvenile Delinquency
Prevention Strategies and Policies in Abu Dhabi
Police: An Investigation of Critical Factors**

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Mohamed Al Ali

ABSTRACT

Crime and other kinds of anti-social behaviour are viewed as serious social problems. These issues exist in all countries, but they are especially prevalent within the UAE, a country that recently has undergone rapid social changes within a short period of time. There is a vital need to identify appropriate preventive programmes suitable to the surrounding culture, as well as factors that could lead to effective solutions. Because there is a deficiency of research on crime prevention within Arab countries, this study focuses explicitly on the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the UAE. It considers processes of implementing effective crime prevention strategies, approaches, and programmes.

This study uses qualitative methods, in the form of document analyses and semi-structured interviews. The first element of data-gathering is an exploration of the context of juvenile delinquency and juvenile crime prevention in Abu Dhabi, something which has not comprehensively been done before. The second part concentrates on participants from the Abu Dhabi Police force and other organisations involved in preventive work in the area of juvenile delinquency, in order to obtain extensive and detailed information about the dynamics of juvenile crime and potential strategies of prevention.

The findings of this research offer several recommendations that could help to implement successful prevention strategies in the Middle East in general and in the UAE in particular. This study identifies and explains critical risk factors, and explores the cultural considerations that must be taken into account when designing and implementing prevention programmes. It identifies several requirements that should be considered for the formation of partnerships in the prevention of juvenile crime. It includes some important recommendations for the Abu Dhabi Police force for its future development and improvement. It also contains some general recommendations for the Government of the United Arab Emirates. Further research directions are also suggested, in light of this study's findings and its potential limitations.

DECLARATION

I, Mohamed Al Ali, hereby declare that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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1 Chapter One: Introduction

My research focuses on a theme judged to be extremely important by many contemporary scholars: the prevention of juvenile crime. I will begin this chapter by addressing the constructions of childhood, the importance of the category of “youth,” as well as the characteristics that make young people susceptible to deviant behaviour. Next, I will address the seriousness of juvenile crime and antisocial behaviours, as well as their negative effects upon individuals, victims, families, and communities. Then, I will illustrate the importance and preferences of prevention, particularly on the part of the police and the government. I will also explain crime prevention policies and the need for research to address ways of making such policies effective. I will describe the objectives and benefits of preventive programmes for young people, including those who engage in criminal behaviour and those who do not. There is a particular need for studies of Arab communities in this type of research; and this chapter will elaborate upon the reality of the prevention of juvenile crime in Arab countries in general and in the United Arab Emirates in particular, particularly as these regions pass through periods of political, economic, and social change. This chapter will also explain the research problem and objectives sought by this study, as well as the particular questions that this thesis seeks to answer. I will outline the importance of this research for the Arab States, the United Arab Emirates, the Abu Dhabi Police force, and designers of preventive programmes. Finally, this chapter will summarise the research and its contents from the beginning of Chapter I (Introduction) through the end of Chapter VII (Conclusions).

1.1 Constructions of Childhood

The French historian Aries (1962, cited in James and Jenks 1996: 317) promulgated the argument that the concept of "child" has been perceived in many different ways throughout history and among different cultures. For example, the concept of a child during the seventeenth century in England was very different from that of a child in the twentieth century, in terms of his or her material conditions, obligations, and restrictions. Today, the UN Convention on children's rights –Article 1- defines a child as “anyone under the age of eighteen unless, under the laws of his or her country, the age of majority comes sooner” (Jackson and Scott 2006: 221). According to Qvortrup (2008), there are three types of criteria separating children from adults: (1) political ones (the government sets the age of marriage, voting rights, and legal working ages), (2) cultural ones (based on informal standards), and (3) economic ones (including levels of poverty, income, education, and unemployment) (cited in Wyness 2012: 33-36). Additionally, concepts of childhood may vary according to considerations such as social class, age, sex, race, and living situations, including residency in both urban and rural areas, as well as exposure to disabilities or ill health (Jackson and Scott 2006: 217 and James and Jenks 1996: 317).

Regarding constructions of childhood, Wyness (2012: 31-32) has noted that children are considered a marginalized group, often invisible or hidden away. Therefore, since the 1980s in Europe, there has been some concern about positioning childhood within a particular social structure. According to this same researcher, however, locating children within a particular social group can be difficult for the following reasons: (1) childhood is often considered to be a temporary period of transition; (2) children generally are seen to

have no agency; and (3) the category of “child” is often hidden within broader categories such as home, family and school. This, in turn, takes children out of community groups. Therefore, one of the main objectives of a major European-wide project of recent decades, “Childhood as a Social Phenomenon”, was through national reports from each participating state to “bring children into view by establishing children as categories in their own right rather than marginal adjuncts to other individuals and groups within the broader society.” The way that children are seen is important; as James and Jenks (1996: 319) have argued, “If childhood is a social construction which provides both form and content to children's experiences, then the ways in which children relate and are related to in everyday life is, inevitably, in terms of the conceptual structures through which they are previously envisaged.”

Social scientists have identified many social constructions of childhood. Some view children as “passive recipients of knowledge” or as “adults in waiting.” Such perspectives could lead to the idea that children do not have their own rights, which could negatively impact their lives. Nutbrown (1996: xiv) states that “perspectives on childhood that include the concept of children as 'adults in waiting' do not value children as learners and therefore create systems of educating and design curricula, that can be narrow minded rather than open minded and which transmit to children rather than challenge children to use their powers as thinkers and nurture their humanity.” In addition, a particularly widespread approach in modern times has been the conceptualisation of children as innocent and vulnerable (James and Jenks 1996; Mills 2000). The conceptualisation of the child as “innocent” began during the eighteenth century (Jackson and Scott 2006:

220). From this perspective, children are seen “as lacking responsibility, having rights to protection and training but not to autonomy” (Ennew 1986, cited in James and Jenks 1996: 318). International declarations have also emphasised that “the child remains a special category of person who is entitled to protection from harm by virtue of their specific vulnerabilities” (Wells 2009: 33). One feminist perspective on this argues that women and children are entitled to protection because of what is perceived to be their inability to care for themselves. It posits that women and children are more vulnerable to poverty because of their limited access to work, which is valued and compensated by payment (Wyness 2012: 42-37).

However, recently the concept of childhood innocence has become more controversial, one major example being public and policy reactions to the violent murder of the British toddler Jamie Bulger by two other children in 1993. James and Jenks (1996) conducted research about the social contexts of the waves of people's reactions to this event. Through analysis of feedback from the public in the media, they provided evidence that there had been a radical transformation of the concepts of "child" and “childhood” in part because of the children’s violent crimes. Therefore, traditional concepts of childhood can be seen to have been shifting away from innocence and dependency. In spite of this, children still could be seen as devils or angels, and those who commit such crimes excluded from the scope of innocence and considered to be demons (Jackson and Scott 2006: 229). Constructing the child as passive, vulnerable, innocent, and lacking agency has a dark side. It depicts the child as passive and as lacking the ability or the power to possess meaningful agency. It fails to capture the complexity of children’s lives and it has

been argued that this leaves them open to exploitation, the flipside of protection. Furthermore, the child whose behaviour is seen as criminal enough to remove them from this category of protection may easily become demonized.

More recently, the delinquent child has been constructed within the categories of “juvenile” or “youth”. The definition of “youth” in criminal justice systems internationally is quite surprisingly varied. It may extend as far as a “young adult” offender, who for research purposes may include even those up to age twenty-six (Fraser et al 2010: 2). More commonly though, justice systems and research focus on the group aged from fourteen to eighteen, with “child” offenders being defined as age eleven to fourteen.

This discussion has briefly examined the sociological and criminological literature relevant to my study, which considers how concepts of "childhood" and "youth" have been constructed, particularly in terms of depicting children as passive actors. This construction is important for understanding how the criminal justice system conceptualises and responds to youth crime. These insights should be taken into account when we consider the role of the police in how society empowers and protects young people.

Young people are important in any society because the future success of society lies in their hands (Sadhan, 2005: 186; Mills 2000: 17; Muncie 2009: 11). The period of youth is particularly important because the attitudes and values formed during this time may be fixed for the rest of one's life (Cohen 1986: 6). According to Newburn (2007b: 576) and Siegel and Welsh (2008: 3), this age group has certain characteristics, especially during

the stage of adolescence. For example, its members often experience anxiety, rapid biological, moral, and sexual development, and a host of external factors, making them susceptible to delinquency. Badr (2007: 147) describes young people as: (1) possessing flowing and fresh energy, and (2) serving as strong future pillars of the community. Muncie (2009: 64) describes adolescence as “a period of life between childhood and adulthood which has its own particular problems of emotional adjustment and physical development.” This stage is often considered a troublesome one because it is popularly associated with “uncontrolled freedom, violence, irresponsibility, vulgarity” (Muncie 2009: 4). In the same context, Al Feki (2003: 131), Cohen (1986: 6), Jafar (2004: 207), Millie (2009: 159-160), and Talib (1997: 406) conclude that adolescence is a difficult period when young people need to be helped, advised, and supported professionally until they pass this stage. These researchers also point out that identifying causes of crimes must be one of the first priorities in crime prevention policies. For example, the 2007 annual report for a boys’ social education centre in the UAE interpreted the high rates of cases in the fourteen to eighteen year age group as due to the fact that the children were going through adolescence. In addition to the physiological changes involved, adolescence may have the greatest impact upon young people’s behaviours, and lead to an explosion of problems, particularly if it occurs during circumstances of family conflict or family separation. It could underlie the bullying that often leads members of this group to delinquency. Abdel-Fattah (1992: 94) reports that identifying causes of adolescent delinquency is extremely important, especially in developing countries, because this knowledge may combat the increase in the number of crimes associated with industrialization and urbanization (this issue will be explained in greater detail later).

For the purposes of delineating the parameters of this study, it is necessary to conclude here that this research will focus on juveniles under the age of eighteen for several reasons: (1) this age-group is distinctive and important; (2) early crime prevention methods are widely regarded as effective in reducing or ending criminal careers; and (3) according to the UAE Federal legislations (see Chapter Three), "juveniles" are defined as those between the ages of seven and eighteen.

Therefore, the definition in Article 1 of the UAE's Federal Juvenile Act will be adopted, and so the terms "juvenile" or more colloquially "young people" will be used in this thesis to refer to that group aged under eighteen. The focus of the thesis is broader than "offending", so "delinquency" will be the term used to refer to the anti-social and criminal behaviours of this group. The designations "youth" and "youth offending" will be used when these are the terms adopted by the research or the criminal justice body or process under consideration.

1.2 Youth Crime and Antisocial Behaviour

The interest in the category of young people was and is still one of the primary concerns of adults. The fact that members of this category often are perpetrators of criminal behaviour is not a new phenomenon (Read and Rogers 2011: 7). Historical discourse is important in understanding the contemporary view of youth offending. Pearson (1983) in his classic work *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* argues that throughout history it can be found that youth crime has always been constructed as a problem which led older citizens to fear them. Part of this has been the historical role of young people as

harbingers of change and as responsible for the sweeping away of existing social orders. So, fear of young people has a long history.

Community and security have been particularly highlighted by Arab researchers studying juvenile delinquency. For several decades, youth offences and other antisocial behaviour have been singled out as affecting and undermining the stability of society because they often violate the rules of law as well as the values and moral standards generally accepted within a community (Al Saati 1983: 14; Zaaid 1987: 150). Social and economic development cannot be achieved in a society in the absence of security (Lolo and Qubash 1997: 221). This is one of the contemporary issues that is ubiquitous in both developed and developing countries. Therefore, the study of juvenile delinquency during this time is very important and should be prioritized, since it could affect an entire society in social, economic, and psychological ways (Sadhan 2005: 186; Siegel and Welsh 2012: 9). In the UAE in particular, Al Ketbi (2010: 22) points out that young people constitute a relatively high percentage of the population (see Chapter 3), and thus should be given special care in order to develop their roles in society and take advantage of their potential to the highest possible extent.

There are several studies of juvenile delinquency, but all of them lead us to regret the outcome of the behaviour of many young people for whom society had many hopes and dreams. Today, we feel for the young people deposited in social care (juveniles), and others who spend many years behind prison bars for the heinous crimes they have committed. It is difficult to know whom to blame—the parents for their inability to look after them, or the educational institutions, which must take the place of parents in

embracing children as students and rearing them. Or it could be the fault of the youth centres, which often have inadequate activities and programmes, and do not attract young people to spend time there? Or is it the fault of the criminology scientists and researchers who do not focus on prevention research, or the fault of the government, which is not interested in prevention strategies, and neglects to give this issue top priority? Or can the blame be laid at the feet of the wider society: do problems of, for example, social inequality, unemployment, lack of opportunities, or class bias and other forms of discrimination play a role?

It is well known that preventions are, in general, better than cures. The following story emphasises the importance of caring about original causes in order to prevent problems from occurring:

A man is walking by the riverside when he notices a body floating down stream. A fisherman also notices the body, leaps into the stream, pulls the body ashore, gives mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, saving the person's life. The same thing happens a few minutes later, and then again and again. When yet another body floats by, the fisherman this time completely ignores the drowning man and starts running upstream along the bank. The observer asks the fisherman why he is not trying to rescue the drowning body. "This time," replies the fisherman, I'm going upstream to find out who the hell is pushing those poor folks into the water (Bartollas, 2003: 354).

Efforts should be made toward the prevention of crime before it happens, because crimes have psychological, social, and economic effects on victims and their families, as well as

the families of the offenders. For example, if a married father commits a crime and is put in jail, this has a significant impact on the offender's wife and children, who are in need of care and the provision of basic needs to live (Al Atyan 2005: 157). In the same context, Al Faki (2003:75) concluded that crime caused substantial material loss to individuals and their family because when arrested and placed in prison or correctional institution, there is a consequent loss of work and source of income. This problem multiplies in relation to the period of stay in prison. In addition, there is a hidden problem behind this: the community's rejection of the criminal's children and not wanting to hire convicted criminals when they are released from prison, society seeing them as essentially wicked and immoral, leads to avoidance and thus reducing their opportunities to find a job or to be reintegrated into social life (see also Knepper 2007: 127-130).

Offenders also affect the police and state budgets. Al Faki (2003: 77) argues that there are significant losses to the state because of criminal activities, summarised as follows: (1) the expenses of preparation and employment of human resources that will be employed in the field of prevention of crime, investigation procedures and also dealing with criminals, (2) the expenses associated with buildings and equipment for police, prosecution, court, prison and correctional institutes, (3) the expenses of correctional facilities, including food, clothing, education and materials and equipment for this, and finally (4), the presence of these criminals behind bars means that they are not in the market for work or government jobs and this, in turn, is a great loss to the state. For instance, jail costs are very high, so keeping someone in prison in America for thirty years could cost up to \$1.3 million (Abdul-Hamid 1995: 148). In the same context, according an Audit Commission

report (2004) “early intervention to prevent young people offending could save public services more than £80 million a year” (cited in Read and Rogers 2011: 65).

Based on the aforementioned concerns, I have chosen to focus on the prevention of juvenile delinquency rather than its treatment.

1.3 Importance of Crime Prevention

Social scientists and pioneers turned their attention, a long time ago, to the importance of the prevention of crime. They urged society to consider the need to fight against ignorance, superstition and poverty, as well as the need to provide care for abandoned and homeless children and reform the criminal justice system, including prisons and the police (Al Faki 2003: 129; Lösel 2012: 986). See above the section on the child being constructed as vulnerable, passive and innocent.

Furthermore, there is clear interest, at both national and international levels of policymaking, in the issue of crime prevention and there have been many adopted resolutions and recommendations giving support to the necessity of implementing it and suggesting various means of doing so. For example, the United Nations holds a permanent conference concerned with the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, especially juvenile delinquents. This permanent conference is held every five years and aims to present and discuss different crime prevention policies, programmes, plans and preventive strategies and to encourage progress and development in this area. It can be considered as a main international forum for representatives of national governments,

specialists in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice, key scientists in these areas and members of international organizations from all over the world. In this conference, the participants exchange information and experiences, as well as presenting benchmarking for criminal justice practices and seeking to find practical and applicable solutions regarding crime and criminals. Decisions and recommendations that result from this conference influence the policies and practices of governments in the field of criminal justice (Al Feki 2003: 130).

Similar major programmes are pursued elsewhere at international level. There is a clear interest on the international level in the issue of prevention of crime through: (1) the establishment of a department of social defence and prevention of crime by the United Nations, (2) the establishment of the International Committee for the Prevention of Crime, (3) the establishment of specialized institutes to address this problem such as the Institutes of Rome, Tokyo, Helsinki and Costa Rica, and (4) the declaration of the Milan Plan of Action (1958) which focused on the necessity of developing a comprehensive prevention policy and the transition to the planning and design of preventive programmes and implementing preventive plans in the economic and social development strategies because it was considered that prevention of crime was related to direct contact and an inclusive social policy (Jafar 2003: 200).

In Arabic-speaking contexts, there is also a significant focus on crime prevention at the Arab level through the League of Arab States which established the Arab Organization for Social Defence (Jafar 2003: 201). The aim of this organization is to develop a preventive policy and co-operation in the prevention and fight against crime. Interest in

this issue has also been shown by the conferences of the Arab Interior Ministers. In addition, the Arab Centre for Security Studies and Training in the city of Riyadh has been established as a technical body belonging to the Council of Arab Interior Ministers. This centre aims to conduct scientific research relevant to the protection of Arab society from crime and delinquency.

From the above mentioned, it is clear that crime prevention has a significant importance for policymakers and governments in the international and the Arab communities.

1.4 Police and Prevention

In particular, this research will discuss the critical factors in successful juvenile delinquency prevention strategies in the Abu Dhabi Police force. This is very important since the police play a key role in preventing youth crime (Read and Rogers 2011: 2) and in protecting society (Siegel and Welsh 2008: 286). According to the Oxford Policing Policy Forum (2010: 1), “The relationship between the police and young people is important. Young people experience crime, as perpetrators and victims, more than any other sector of the population, with the most persistent offenders often those most at risk of victimisation.” The social role of the police varies from one community to another. Its role is no longer limited to protecting people and property, as well as maintaining security and order, but has expanded to include social services, domestic reform, mediation, and resolving problems between individual citizens (Lulu and Ghobash 1997: 66 - 67). The job of the modern police force is no longer restricted to following up on a crime after it occurs; it is also concerned with the prevention of crimes and can do so

through: (1) attempting to reconcile two disputing parties which avoids the problem escalating, (2) care for at-risk young people to protect them from becoming criminals, something that can be achieved through a variety of prevention programmes applied by specialist people in this field, and (3) the presence of police officers throughout public spaces which is popularly held to foster a feeling of being safe and secure, especially on the street. These issues will be discussed in more detail later.

1.5 Crime Prevention Policies

There are many crime-prevention policies world-wide and these regularly evolve or transform. For example, the British approach to crime prevention during the 1950s and 60s was that of penal reform. However, after the Second World War it tended towards focusing on the welfare state (education, health care, housing and minimum income) in order to achieve a cohesiveness and stability for the society (see Knepper 2007: 3-18). It was believed that this by itself would address the conditions that led to crime, thus reducing crime and reducing the need to develop and test policies of focused crime prevention.

This however proved not to be the case (see, for example, Bottoms and McClintock 1973; Clarke and Cornish 1975). Nowadays, there are varieties of prevention policies that have been proven to be effective (see for instance, Koehler et al 2013 and Ross et al 2011). Crime prevention has become a major concern for modern governance and there is a great deal of interest in the prevention policies and practices (Evans 2011: 8). According to Muncie (2009: 310) the issue of crime prevention “has been given more focused and

sustained attention from policy-makers and academics alike since the latter decades of the twentieth century.” Over the past twenty years there have been major progresses in prevention science research (Elliott 2013: 297). In any effective strategy for addressing juvenile delinquency, prevention must be one of its main components (Lipsey, et. al, 2010: 11). In this sense, Redding, Goldstein, and Heilbrun (2005: 14-15) conclude that policy-makers believe that studies of effective prevention and rehabilitation programmes are cost effective. These studies can identify types of interventions that have achieved the most important and promising effects (Utting and Vennard 2000: 18). Therefore, effective programmes can be very beneficial and helpful for any police organisation in order to increase its ability to control and reduce disorder problems and crimes within a community (Scott 2005: 387). In addition, Farrington, et al (2006: 66) conclude that the financial benefits of effective offence-reduction programmes such as “general parent education, parent management training, pre-school intellectual enrichment programmes, child-skills training, teacher training, anti-bullying programmes, and multisystem therapy” outweigh their financial costs. These findings will be discussed in greater depth later in this thesis.

There are many juvenile delinquency prevention programmes that deal with young people who have either been in trouble, or who are at risk of becoming young offenders. The primary goal of prevention programmes is to prevent the emergence and spread of the causes conducive to crime and delinquency, and also to prevent the emergence of criminal propensities or inclinations so that young people will not engage in anti-social or offending behaviour (Talib 2001: 21). Offering at-risk youth the chance to engage in

positive activities has the ability to reduce the risk of being a victim, reduce juvenile arrests, give youths as much help as possible to stay out of trouble, and reduce juvenile recidivism (Morgan and Newburn 2007: 1034-1036). A considerable number of studies have concluded that young people who participate in prevention programmes commit fewer crimes (Millie 2009: 160). However, despite the spread of crime prevention programmes in many countries across the world, their application within the Arab world is still weak (Talib 2001: 80). Al Atyan (2005: 160) notes that reducing crime strategies in the Arab countries focuses on the application of deterrent penalties after the commission of criminal behaviour, rather than on prevention before the commission of crimes. He emphasises that there is a need for studies that investigate and highlight the effectiveness and importance of preventive programmes. Hence, the topic of this thesis is particularly apposite to policing research in Arab states.

1.6 Preventing Juvenile delinquency in the Arab World

The focus of this study is the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the UAE. This society holds many factors in common with other Arab societies, including religion, language, customs, culture, traditions, ethics, values, and common goals (Al Mushedani 2005: 96). Therefore, the results of this study could be useful to many of these culturally similar countries.

For the last four decades, the UAE has witnessed many social, cultural, economic, and political changes. Particularly after the discovery of oil, these changes have transferred the UAE from a traditional society to an urban one, with many complexities and

dilemmas (see Chapter 3). Although social change could bring with it enhanced quality of life, at the same time, it could be difficult for citizens of the UAE to cope with such changes and to avoid its negative effects and disadvantages. Al Ketbi (2010: 22) believes that the changes experienced in this region have influenced the behaviours and actions of its young people, and could lead to forms of violence, including tendencies to rebel against society's values and standards, which may affect the country's security and stability.

Critchley (1978) and Ascoli (1979) emphasise that in order to control social problems stemming from a country's rapid development, it is essential to concentrate on crime prevention issues (cited in Wright 2002: 9). Similarly, Al Omoosh (2006: 204) has reported that the UAE has undergone rapid social changes, which its citizens are not used to, and these changes have had a strong impact upon families in general (for example, family breakdowns) and on youth in particular (for instance, juvenile delinquency). Such outcomes have led to the need to conduct studies focused on protecting these young people from the negative impacts of these changes. Abdel-Hamid (1995), through a meta-review of previous studies, has found that crime rates in Arab countries are growing. These societies have become more dangerous and societal integration has become more complex as a result of the social, political, and economic growth and development within Arab societies. Adding to the need to conduct such research, Abdel-Hamid (1995: 147), Al Rifai (1996: 153), Al Atyan (2005: 160), and Al Omoosh (2006: 207), reviewing a considerable number of studies both in the UAE and in other Arab countries, report that there has been an increase in the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency in the Arab

community over the past four decades. They emphasise the need to review current practises in juvenile delinquency prevention in order to develop and improve them. However, while Al Rifai (1992: 131) indicates that this has been a concern of social scientists and scholars interested in security issues, Al Atyan (2005: 157 and 161), through reviews of Arab studies in the field of crime, has found that there is a lack of studies in the prevention of crime in Arab countries. He has found also, that there has been a remarkable development in methods of deterrence; however, there have been no parallel developments in crime prevention strategies.

Again emphasising the need for studies to focus on prevention issues, the Family Development Foundation's 2010 study included a sample survey of 2% of the population of UAE nationals (a total of 3000 questionnaires) to identify and assess the needs of the community. 72% of respondents called for greater attention to the general needs of the community. In particular, the report concludes that there is a need for attention to preventive policies, especially in family arenas, as a large number of cases of domestic violence are unreported. Women are afraid and reticent about reporting domestic violence and exposing their husbands, fathers, or brothers, and there is a tacit acceptance of physical and mental violence against women. This report also reached the conclusion that 8% of the cases of divorce are due to domestic violence (Community Needs Report 2010). Another empirical study conducted by the UAE University shows that 78% of convicted paedophiles commit their offences against their own family, including drivers and servants, while 65% of the perpetrators commit offences against persons close to the family, and 18% of the perpetrators are relatives (UAE University 2010). The report of

the Social Welfare Home for Girls (2008) recommends the need for a preventive plan to combat crime adopted by several private and government agencies, and also studies the work of contributing to the success of this plan. From the above studies, it appears that there is an urgent need for effective programmes to prevent crime and educate individuals.

There is undoubtedly a major focus on crime prevention in the work of the Ministry of Social Affairs. In a recent announcement of policy objectives, the Minister of Social Affairs stated, “The Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Social Affairs includes a number of operational initiatives for the years 2011 to 2013, enhanced social protection. The most important initiatives are: the hotline, the traffic campaign, community education, Children International conventions, as well as summer clubs.” (Alittihad Newspaper 2012). She also emphasised that the plan includes a rehabilitation programme to restore juveniles to schools and it provides for student military courses. These initiatives aim to protect young people and make them use their leisure time as effective as it can be in integrating them into UAE society and inculcating what are seen as UAE cultural values. These initiatives also aim to reduce the emergence of the phenomenon of “paralysis of youth” that has contributed to the high rate of recorded juveniles’ crimes. She concluded, “We are facing an overwhelming flood of invasion by the media, which may lead to some negative phenomena such as violence”.

However there are some questions which arise: (1) Are these initiatives based upon social scientific research and evidence? (2) Do these initiatives fit with the majority culture of the UAE? (3) Do they take into account the factors required for success? and (4) if there

are partnerships, do they take into account the factors required for success of the partnerships? If the answer is no, this research (my thesis) could be extremely important for the success of these kind of initiatives.

1.7 Research Problems, Aims, and Objectives

In summary, the delinquency of young people is one of the most pressing contemporary social problems, not only in developed countries but also in developing countries such as the UAE. It has a negative impact on victims, society, adolescents, and their families. In recent years, there has been a growing focus on effective practices for preventing juvenile delinquency, but unfortunately in the UAE and in many other developing countries, this issue has not been given significant attention until recently.

On one hand, a review of existing Arabic studies aiming to examine juvenile delinquency such as Al Khany (1989), Al Motawa (1990), Helmi (1990), Al Bahar (1991), Abbas (1993), Abdoh (2000), Al Kitbi (2002), Al-Mutlag (2003), Al Askah (2005), Haleeqa (2006), Al Omoosh (2008), Al Braimi (2010), and Al Kitbi (2010) indicates that: (a) in the majority of Arabic countries, there has been an increase in juvenile delinquency; (b) most studies have paid attention to treatment rather than prevention; (c) most previous studies have been based on methods of document analysis; and (d) many researchers have suggested the importance of conducting further research in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention. On the other hand, an investigation by Nssar and Abd Al Khalik (1999: 5) has found that one of the challenges facing crime prevention agencies in developing strategies in the UAE is a lack of awareness in the implementation of

prevention programmes. This suggests that there is a need for further study. In the same context, the available data has shown that programmes of juvenile delinquency prevention have been used in many countries worldwide as an essential part of overall crime prevention strategies; however, there is a lack of research examining the issues surrounding the application of these kinds of programmes within Arabic-speaking contexts in general and the UAE in particular. Therefore, this research will focus upon the areas dealing with the issue of implementing effective crime prevention strategies, approaches, and programmes.

Although in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) the problem of the increase in recorded juvenile delinquency is, comparatively, a new phenomenon, a general review of the official statistics of crime suggests that there has been an increase in the rates of juvenile delinquency over the last two decades. For example, the number of juvenile crimes in the period between 1995 and 2005 has increased by 17.5 % (Amir 2007: 95). This increase in the juvenile crime rate is due to various factors, but it is primarily thought to be caused by processes of social transformation and related problems. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Finally, from the above discussion, the continued increase in juvenile crime rates and the lack of research dealing with preventive aspects in Arab countries, it is clear that further studies in the prevention of juvenile delinquency are needed, particularly in Arabic countries. Therefore, this study is responding to this lack of research.

As outlined in the introduction, the main aim of my research is to investigate critical factors contributing to the success of juvenile delinquency prevention strategies in Abu

Dhabi. In order to achieve this, it will:

1. Provide a general overview of crime prevention, risk factors, and juvenile delinquency prevention approaches that have been evaluated in criminological and policy literature.
2. Identify and analyse the currently available information on the situation in Abu Dhabi (juvenile crime statistics, risk factors, and strategies in preventing juvenile delinquency).
3. Analyse a set of semi-structured interviews carried out with (a) managers and specialists in youth-crime related fields in the Abu Dhabi Police force and with (b) representatives of agencies that have already been (or could be) involved in the prevention of juvenile crime, in order to gain deeper insights into their opinions and experiences.
4. Draw upon criminological literature and research findings, and provide suggestions for the development of new strategies for the Abu Dhabi Police.

These aims can be formulated in the following key Research Questions:

1. What information is currently available that is pertinent to juvenile delinquency and prevention in Abu Dhabi? What of value can be identified from this research and data? What is absent from this research and data?
2. In criminological literature, what strategies have been identified as most likely to be successful in juvenile delinquency prevention? Why? What factors maximize the chances of successful juvenile delinquency prevention strategies and projects?

- What must be taken into consideration when evaluating these for their implementation in Abu Dhabi?
3. What views do policing and partner actors in Abu Dhabi juvenile delinquency strategies hold regarding juvenile delinquency prevention? What do they identify as critical factors for the success or failure of juvenile delinquency prevention strategies and projections?

1.8 The Importance of this Study

Crimes play a very dangerous role in society; this danger is even worse when it relates to young people, as it may destroy their lives. Therefore, research that concentrates on the evaluation of programmes for prevention of juvenile delinquency should be significant for social science and social policy research in the field of crime prevention in the UAE. At the eighth United Nations Conference of the Crime Prevention and Treatment of Offenders (Havana 1990), it was stressed that conducting research in the field of crime prevention is one of the factors that is indispensable in the preparation and design of crime prevention programmes, especially with regard to organized crime, as well as studies related to determining the reasons that lead to crime which provide an opportunity to adopt preventive measures in the planning stage (Jafar 1998: 205). In the same context, Lulu and Ghobash (1997: 268–269) have reported that, in general, such academic studies are important for the police in order to prevent crime and apply initiatives effectively, because these kinds of studies play a significant role in: (1) discovering new means, methods, and programmes for the prevention of crime, whether primary, secondary, or

tertiary; (2) ensuring the validity of current methods through scientific reviews and assessments; and (3) ensuring the effectiveness of preventive programmes, and determining whether or not they fit with the culture of the community, especially those that have been adapted from other cultures, which ultimately leads to the success of these programmes and saves money.

This research becomes even more important when it touches new, sensitive, and critical areas that have not been covered previously, or about which little is known. Therefore, what makes my study distinctive is that it is the first time there is an exploration and examination of the kinds of crime prevention programmes that may be applied to young people that is commensurate with the culture of the UAE community. Abdel-Hamid (1995: 159) comments that when developing countries (such as Arab countries) would like to benefit and learn from the experiences of developed countries, they must make sure that all of the practices that they wish to adopt are suited to their own situation and culture—otherwise they will not work effectively. It is also the first time there will be an exploration and examination of the essential components identified by research as needed for a crime prevention programme to be effective in the UAE (Andrew, et. al 1990; McGuire and Priestley 1995; Lipsey 1995). In order to control delinquency and criminal behaviour, there is an urgent need for communities to determine the factors distinguished effective prevention programmes (Agnew 2009: 408; Lösel 2012: 996). Therefore, this research will try to answer - in the UAE context - the following important question, “what factors beyond the content of a programme may have an impact on the outcome?” (Lösel 2012: 996).

These issues have not been undertaken or investigated in any previous studies of the UAE, so this makes my study unique, particularly because it focuses on identifying what could best fit with the culture of the UAE, recognising that there is no ideal programme. Each society has its own particular characteristics, culture, and circumstances that must be taken into account when designing programmes (Talib 2001: 85). Therefore, this research may be important for designers of preventive programmes because it discusses critical risk factors that programmes should focus on (Andrew, et. al, 1990; McGuire and Priestley 1995; Lipsey 1995) and the potential obstacles that could arise in the application of such programmes.

My research is also significant for the decision-makers and commanders within the Abu Dhabi Police force, because it could raise their awareness of the extent of the problem, and explore the opinions and beliefs of their staff regarding prevention and its benefits. It could also help them decide what priorities should be given (prevention or reaction), and help them define the clarity of their prevention goals. It additionally investigates the opinions, beliefs, and impressions of participants from other organisations working in the youth field on issues such as the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in prevention, the requirements of effective partnership, and their own partnership with Abu Dhabi Police (determining pros and cons), and whether there are opportunities for improvement.

Practically, this study could potentially help social planners, youth agencies, and social policy makers (Gilling and Barton 1997; Crawford 1997) who would like to address and tackle this problem in the UAE in particular and in any other country with similar cultural characteristics.

Very few social science studies of delinquency have been performed in Arabic countries in general or in the UAE in particular; and all of the existing studies deal with the causes of delinquency (Abdoh 2000: 7; Al Omoosh 2008: 26). For instance, Al Khany (1989), Al Motawa (1990), Helmi (1990), Al Bahar (1991), Abbas (1993), Abdoh (2000), Al Kitbi (2002), Al-Mutlag (2003), Al Askah (2005), Haleeqa (2006), Al Braimi (2010), and Al Kitbi (2010) all explore and examine what factors underlie young people's tendencies to be delinquent. Therefore, some researchers (Al Shaali 1999; Talib 2001; Haleeqa 2006; Al Omoosh 2008) urge a greater focus on research dealing with the prevention of youth delinquency and crime. Even internationally, research into crime prevention has not been given the same levels of attention as its incidence, nature, motivation, and history, together with the criminal justice system's response to it (Cooper 1989:1 and Evans 2011: 1).

Moreover, the shortage of previous Arabic studies in this field using qualitative methods (Hager 2008: 136) and the diversity of samples including internal¹ and external² participants (for example, managers and professionals) with reasonable experience enabled me to draw more widely applicable conclusions, and gave further credibility to my study.

This study is a serious attempt to guide future plans in developing new prevention strategies for the Abu Dhabi Police to cope with situations in the UAE helping young people and deterring them from committing crimes. Policymakers are looking for effective and cost-effective prevention programmes benefitting juveniles in particular and

¹ Working in Abu Dhabi Police force.

² Representatives of other agencies.

broader society in general (Redding, Goldstein, and Heilbrun 2005: 14-15; Zigler, Taussig, and Black 1992: 1004).

Finally, the importance of my research may be summed up as follows: (1) it deals with preventive aspects of the issue of juvenile delinquency, which previous studies have not focused on; (2) it explores the issue of preventive programmes and the possibility of their application, as well as success factors in the specific region of the United Arab Emirates, where no research has previously been done; (3) it takes young people as its target group for crime prevention, and it is because of the importance of this category as well as the importance of early crime prevention that this research could be important; (4) this type of research may be considered important for citizens of the UAE because it takes into account the local culture of the UAE; (5) an increasing number of recorded youth crimes and the diversity of their forms, whether in the Arab world, or in the United Arab Emirates, increases the importance of this research; (6) it explores the views of the staff of the Abu Dhabi Police force regarding prevention, and examines the pros and cons of the current situation, including the views of other organizations for the Abu Dhabi Police. This is of extreme importance, as it can be used as a basis for future development and enhancement plans; (7) finally, there are concerns at the global level about this subject because of its effects both on individuals and on society.

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters, which may be summarised as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides a brief overview of the study and its importance, including descriptions of context and an outline of the main research problems.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the relevant literature and clarifies how this study relates to other academic work within the subject area. This chapter addresses key issues surrounding the subject of the prevention of youth delinquency and crime, including: types of crime prevention approaches, risk factors that lead to delinquency, and principles of effective prevention programmes. It also discusses the role of the police in preventing young people from crimes and their work in partnerships to achieve this goal.

Chapter 3: The Geography and Political, Economic and Social Structures of the UAE

The main objective of this chapter is to lay a foundation for the analysis in this thesis by bringing together key social data and juvenile delinquency legislation. Together these provide a picture of the current situation in the UAE (the context of this study). This chapter provides a brief background about the UAE and its political, economic, and social characteristics. It describes the key statutory regime governed by the Federal Juvenile Act in the UAE.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter explains the research design adopted in this study. It describes the data collection methods and the data analysis strategies. In this study, qualitative methods have been used in the form of documents analysis and semi-structured interviews with

participants from the Abu Dhabi Police and other organisations involved in preventive work in the area of juvenile delinquency to obtain extensive and detailed information.

Chapter 5: Research Findings and Discussion 1: Documents analysis

This chapter presents the results of the criminological meta-review of research and data in the UAE. It gives an historical overview of research on juvenile delinquency and its prevalence within the UAE. It presents official recorded statistics of crime in general and juvenile crime in particular in the UAE. It also gives an explanation of current strategies employed by the Abu Dhabi Police.

Chapter 6: Research Findings and Discussion 2: Interviews and Analysis

This chapter presents the results of data collected through the semi-structured interviews. These findings are classified under four themes: crime prevention programmes, partnership, the Abu Dhabi Police, and risk factors. In addition, this chapter discuss the empirical findings and links them to previously published studies. It examines whether or not the results of this study are consistent with other studies.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This chapter concludes the research by summarising the implications and findings of this study. It also provides some recommendations that might help to enhance the implementation of preventive strategies and programmes in the UAE. It explains the limitations of this research, the strengths of its findings and suggestions for further research and studies to be conducted.

2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to carry out an initial literature review of research on juvenile delinquency prevention. The chapter will begin by examining some definitions of crime prevention. Afterwards, theories of crime and criminal behaviour will be explored. Subsequently, it will consider the dominant classifications of crime prevention in the field. Risk factors that lead to crime will also be examined. Then, some principles of effective prevention programmes will be demonstrated. Finally, the role of the police in preventing juvenile delinquency will be elaborated on.

2.1 Crime Prevention Definitions

According to Greenwood, (2006: 5-6) prevention is defined as "the act of preventing". To prevent something is "to act in anticipation of the event," "to keep it from happening," "to make impossible," or "to put some obstacle in the way". All of these methods may be relevant to policing and crime prevention.

The concept of "crime prevention" has been defined in several, sometimes conflicting, ways. Brantingham and Faust (1976: 284) defined crime prevention as "any activity, by an individual or a group, public or private, that precludes the incidence of one or more criminal acts". Van Dijk (1990) provided a more contextualized but also rather idiosyncratic analysis by setting it outside the work of the police and courts. He suggests that crime prevention is "the total of all policies, measures and techniques, outside the boundaries of the criminal justice system, aiming at the reduction of the various kinds of

damage caused by acts defined as criminal by the state" (cited in Crawford 1998: 10). Ekblom (2005: 204) chooses a similar focus to that of Brantingham and Faust, while developing it by recognizing that crime prevention activities can ameliorate situations even when they do not entirely prevent criminal incidents. He defines it as "intervening in the causes of crime and disorder events to reduce the risk of their occurrence and the potential seriousness of their consequences". This definition focuses on measures aimed at tackling the root causes of crime. Perhaps the most comprehensive definition comes from Crawford (2007: 871) who suggests that crime prevention includes "all pre-emptive interventions into the social and physical world with the intention, at least in part, of alerting behaviour or the flow of events in a way that reduces the likelihood of crime or its harmful consequences".

Ekblom's definition is commensurate with the purpose of this research because it focuses and concentrates on the root causes of crime which, as will be shown in discussion of the related research, play an essential role in reducing risks and help in developing an effective prevention programme.

2.2 Stages of the Development of Crime Prevention

Talib (2001: 16-21) and Agnew (2009: 406-407), by reviewing crime prevention literature, concluded that the development of crime prevention has passed through three stages, namely:

1. Theorising stage:

At this stage, efforts of researchers and scholars, such as the pioneers of the traditional school in punishment and crime, Cesare Beccaria in the eighteenth century and Jeremy Bentham in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focused on reviewing the concepts of punishment and crime because they believed that the punishment should achieve a particular goal in the community or it will be administered in vain. So, they believed that punishment should achieve deterrence, therefore, protecting society from crime. Their focus therefore was on punishing crime rather than specific crime prevention.

Following on from this, the positive school in criminology, emerging from the work of Italian researcher Cesare Lombroso at the end of the nineteenth century, changed the direction from focus on crime to focus on the offender: in other words, focus on the perpetrator rather than the act (more details will be given later in the Crime Theories section). However, his focus was on biology, arguing that criminals were born, not made: again, there is little in Lombroso's work that contributes specifically to crime prevention.

After that, the school of social defence emerged, arguing that the community plays a key role in the creation of the criminal personality because it is considered as a source of the

factors that lead to crime. Since the community has a role in the phenomenon of crime, it should also have a role in its prevention (again, more details will be given later in the Crime Theories section).

This stage lasted until around the mid-twentieth century.

2. Stage of the preparation and application of prevention programmes; methods and models:

This phase began around the mid-twentieth century (particularly after World War II) after the previous stage of theory had matured. During this stage, research focused on applied models and methods in crime prevention with the participation of the different NGOs and governmental organizations.

3. Evaluation Stage:

The preparation and application stage predominated for about thirty years (to the mid-seventies), until researchers started to examine the feasibility of the prevention models, methods and programmes that had been applied, in order to determine their validity and the most effective and appropriate ones for different people. The findings from the evaluation stage are what will be given most attention in this and following chapters.

2.3 Theories of Crime

Introduction

In order to design effective crime prevention strategies and programmes, it is necessary to understand crime and criminal behaviour and what the causes are. According to Agnew (2009: 88-89) theories of crime are important for several reasons: (1) they help in clarifying the basic information regarding the reasons behind the commission of crimes, why some individuals are more likely to commit a crime than others and why there is an increase in the perpetration of crimes in certain periods of life, (2) they help in understanding different types of behaviours, and (3) assist in the control and prevention of crime in the community because prevention programmes are more likely to succeed if they focus on the causes of crime. In order to describe the meaning of theory, Agnew pointed out that “a theory is an attempt to explain something or describe the cause of something”. Vito and Maahs (2012: 8) stated that “theory represents the foundation on which all discussing of crime is built”... it is “a set of principles or statements that attempts to explain how concepts are related”. Many years ago, social scientists tried to explain the phenomenon of crime from several different perspectives, attempting to explain crime and delinquency from within their own fields of specialty. Some of them focused on the offender’s personality, either psychologically or biologically. Others focused on the offender’s surrounding environment and circumstances and social interaction (social theories). Also, some of them combined several approaches (integrative theories). Therefore, in order to understand the causes of crime, this section

will attempt to explore and address the relevance of these theories in different fields (i.e. sociology, criminology, psychology and biology). An overview of the theories with different divisions will be presented, taking into account that more details will be offered for those theories that are closer to the subject of this research.

2.3.1 Biological and Psychological Theories of Crime

These theories assume that criminality is caused by personal factors in the individual (individual causes of crime). Firstly, biological theories will be addressed, followed by an examination of psychological theories.

2.3.1.1 Biological Theories of Crime

According to these theories, there is a relationship between criminal behaviours and the physical configuration of the offender, leading to what was somewhat uncritically conceived of as the “criminal personality”, with little recognition of how crime and criminality are socially defined. As mentioned above, Italian doctor, Cesare Lombroso, was the founder and leading proponent of biological theories. He argued that there are some “somatotypes” in humans that make them born criminals (Bartollas 2003: 71-72; Khawaja, 2003: 80-82). For example, he argued that individuals who have “enormous jaws, high cheek bones, prominent superciliary arches, solitary lines in the palms, extreme size of the orbits, handle-shaped or sensile ears” also have some psychological traits such as “savages, apes, insensibility to pain, extremely acute sight” and, as such, are born criminals. So, initially, Lombroso assumed that there are some particular characteristics in people that make them criminals. However, after conducting further

studies, he concluded that besides somatotypes, there are some environmental factors could lead individuals to become criminals (Bartollas 2003: 71-72).

Subsequently, two Italian scholars, Enrico Ferri (1905) and Raffaele Garofalo (1885), elaborated on Lombroso's works. They, alongside Adolphe Quetelet (1911), the first statistical analyst of crime pattern data, might be said to be the "founding fathers" of criminology from the perspective of crime prevention. Enrico Ferri highlighted the role of the social environment in the production of crime. He argued that crime is the result of interaction between an offender's internal personal factors, external factors in the geographical environment and spiritual factors in social relations. In addition, Raffaele Garofalo argued that criminals are people who lack certain morals such as altruism, pity, probity and perception (Khawaja, 2003: 83-85; Newburn 2007a: 125-126). Through the work of both Ferri and Garofalo, it was emphasized that there is a relationship between the biological factors in the individual and the environment. In other words, the composition of criminal personality is based upon a combination of genetic characteristics and social conditions.

Biological theories also observe that there is a relation between intelligence and delinquent behaviour. Empirical studies conducted by biological researchers concluded that criminals were characterized by lower IQs. As a result, they argued that low intelligence is one of the causes of crime because what they deemed "feeble-mindedness" deprives those persons of the abilities needed to deal with the complex circumstances of society (Bartollas 2003: 75). In addition, with the development of science and in the course of further studies to prove the genetic effects on the composition of criminal

behaviours, through the study of chromosomes it was maintained that there is a relationship between chromosomal structure and criminal behaviours such as aggressive behaviour (Newburn 2007a: 137-138).

Although there are supporters for these kinds of theories, empirical studies since then have provided evidence that the role of biological factors in deviant behaviours is minor and that the greatest influence lies in social and environmental factors (Newburn 2007a: 143).

2.3.1.2 Psychological Theories of Crime

Psychological theories gave priority to the psychological factors in the formation of deviant behaviour. Crime, from this point of view, is activity that expresses the will of the criminal and the will is the essence of the interaction between psychological factors. Even if it comes to parents, friends, neighbours or school, ultimately it is the impact on the psyche of the individual that leads to displaying delinquent behaviour. Empirical studies conducted by psychologists concluded that criminals' personalities display antisocial characteristics (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 67).

Austrian physician Sigmund Freud was one of the first researchers in this area. He agreed with the biological theories that criminal behaviour is caused by individual factors; however, he believed that these factors are psychological, not biological. He argued that crime is an expression of instinctive energy that cannot be manifested in a way that is socially acceptable, prompting people to look for another way to express this energy

which is often not socially acceptable. Freud divided the human personality into three main components, the first being the unconscious personality, denoted by the term 'id', which contains innate and inherited preparations, the focus on seeking desires and pleasure, and satisfying instincts in any way possible, regardless of considerations for ideals, values and noble principles. The second component is the conscious personality denoted by the term 'ego'. The function of this part of the personality is to create a balance between tendencies and the requirements of the external environment with regard to ideals, values, ethics, customs and traditions. As such, it ensures that the actions of the first component of the personality (id) are socially accepted and do not conflict with the third part of the personality. The third component of the personality is the conscience and is denoted by the term 'superego'. It contains all the values, traditions and customs inherited from previous generations which guide the behaviour. It helps the individual to distinguish between what is socially approved and what is not (Bartollas 2003: 78; Newburn 2007a: 149; Burke 2008: 115). Therefore, Freud believed that individual behaviour depends on the relationship between these three components of personality. If the id part of the personality is controlled and the superego or ego is inadequate, the behaviour will be criminal. However, if the ego and superego are controlled, then the behaviour will be upright. In other words, if the individual is unable to deal with unconscious impulses effectively, he or she will commit criminal acts (Burke 2008: 115-116).

There are also a number of scientists who formulated interpretations in terms of psychological delinquency. For example, William Healy focused on the mental conflicts

resulting from poor family relations which could lead to deviation. August Aichhorn observed that the problems of youth can be caused by disputes between the parents. Kate Friedlander believed that there are antisocial characteristics in the personality, such as selfishness, recklessness and indifference, produced when the ego is weak and therefore the delinquency is an alternative way to achieve desires that could not be achieved legally (Bartollas 2003: 79). In addition, John Bowlby observed that delinquent behaviour is formed when a child does not enjoy his or her relationship with their mother in the early years (Burke 2008: 117).

Psychological theories can play a prominent role in the prevention of crime. According to these theories, prevention programmes should focus on improving the self-image and self-esteem of the young people as well as focus on decision-making skills which could help them to think and choose proper courses of action. In addition, there are some psychological tests that contribute to the diagnosis of the offender's situation and show whether they suffer from influences that can be traced back to their childhood, a factor which could help in preventing their reoffending.

Although the psychological explanations of crime and criminal behaviour have gained acceptance, it seems that psychological theories have overestimated the importance of psychological factors and failed to take full account of social factors (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 76).

The above presents a brief overview of the main theories which explain the phenomenon of criminal behaviour by focusing on the individual. The following section explores social theories which focus on links between deviant behaviour and social environment.

2.3.2 Social Theories

Among researchers who have played a major role in attempts to explain crime, social scientists have made valuable contributions. They have attempted to identify social causes or social indicators that contribute directly or indirectly to the growth of crime, working on the identification of indicators that are factors in this phenomenon in society. They have developed social theories trying to explain the causes of crime within a social framework, emphasizing their relevance to society's problems such as poverty and unemployment, as well as interaction resulting from the relationships between society members. In other words, social theories focus on the importance of the surrounding environment and social conditions in the development of criminal behaviour. They consider juvenile delinquency as a cultural and environmental problem rather than an individual problem, believing that its real roots can be found within society. In the following section, social control theory, general theory of crime, community disorganization theory, community disorder theory, community empowerment theory, community regeneration theory, differential association theory, theory of Anomie/ Strain theory and labelling theory will be explained.

2.3.2.1 Social Control Theory

In social control theory, Travis Hirschi posed the question "Why don't they do it?" rather than "Why do they do it?" According to Hirschi (1969: 16-26), this theory is based on the link between deviant behaviour and the level of the relationship between the individual and society. Criminal behaviour results when the relationship between the individual and society is weak or non-existent. In other words, a strong relationship between an

individual and social groups, such as the family, school and peers, leads to a reduction in the likelihood of displaying criminal behaviour. In this theory, social bonds consist of four main elements: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief (see figure 1). They are explained as below.

Attachment can be considered as the most important bond (Newburn 2007a: 232). It means that all people are concerned about how other people are thinking about them. This concern controls their acts and behaviour. According to Hirschi (1969: 18), “If a person does not care about the wishes and expectations of other people - that is, if he is insensitive to the opinion of others - then he is to that extent not bound by the norms. He is free to deviate”.

Commitment, in general, means that actions carried out by people are the result of the balance between their investment in time and effort and the potential consequences. Hirschi (1969: 20) stated that, “The idea, then, is that the person invests time, energy, himself, in a certain line of activity - say, getting an education, building up a business, acquiring a reputation for virtue. When or whenever he considers deviant behaviour, he must consider the costs of this deviant behaviour, the risk he runs of losing the investment he has made in conventional behaviour”.

The third bond is involvement. This refers to when an individual's preoccupation and heavy involvement in activities will not leave any time to engage in criminal acts. For example, involvement in family, school and recreational activities direct young people away from delinquent behaviour. According to Hirschi (1969: 21), “a person may be simply too busy doing conventional things to find time to engage in deviant behaviour.

The person involved in conventional activities is tied to appointments, deadlines, working hours, plans, and the like, so the opportunity to commit deviant acts rarely arises. To the extent that he is engrossed in conventional activities, he cannot even think about deviant acts, let alone act out his inclinations”.

The final bond is belief. This means that individuals are more likely to respect and conform to society's common moral values when they believe in them. Therefore, whenever a belief in society's common moral values is strong, the probability of violating them is weak.

Figure 1: Elements of the Social Bond



Source: reproduced from Siegel and Welsh (2007: 97)

Although many researchers support this theory (see Bartollas 2003: 141-143 and Siegel and Welsh 2007: 97-98), their arguments do display some shortcomings: (1) they do not specify events that lead to the weakening of the social bond; (2) they do not clarify the amount and type of deviant behaviour that results from the weakness in the social bond; in other words, why does a particular kind of criminal behaviour occur?; (3) a considerable amount of research supports two of the four bonds (attachment and

commitment); however, only a few researchers give consideration to involvement and belief; and (4) they cannot explain all criminal activity (Bartollas 2003: 143 and Newburn 2007a: 234).

2.3.2.2 General Theory of Crime

Later, Travis Hirschi and Michael Gottfredson, building on control theory, developed their general theory of crime (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). In this theory, self-control plays a crucial role in deviance. They argued that people with low self-control are more likely to commit crimes, while people with high self-control are less likely to commit crime and analogous acts (Rock 2012: 50). In other words, people will be more likely to commit a crime if self-controlling forces do not prevent them from doing so. They suggest that there are some characteristics that form the construct of low self-control, as an element of person's personality that inspires criminal behaviour. They are: "impulsiveness, risk seeking, physicality, self-centredness and low temper threshold". For example, as crime is exciting, people with low self-control will not hesitate to commit it and also people who are self-centred will not care about the pain caused by crime (Newburn 2007a: 235). The researchers theorised that low self-control was caused by unsuccessful child rearing. This could happen when parents do not care for their children, do not monitor their children's attitude properly due to their limited time and energy, do not recognise their children's improper behaviour, or are not able to apply effective discipline (Newburn 2007a: 236).

Although there are many empirical studies that have supported this theory, some criticisms remain. They are: (1) there is difficulty in measuring "self-control" in an

empirical study; (2) there is a doubt in the ability of this theory to interpret of all types of crimes; (3) the theory has ignored the role of gangs in the development of adolescent deviant behaviour, as well as the role of spouses in adults displaying criminal behaviour (Bartollas 2003: 146 and Newburn 2007a: 237).

Nonetheless, when these criticisms are taken into account it is still widely thought that the importance of control as a major aspect of criminality and criminogenic behaviour has been powerfully established and that the general theory has provided valuable insight for crime prevention. Taking together the arguments from the social control and general theory of crime, supporters who combine the theories argue that much crime and criminality can be explained by the absence of control, either external control (e.g. social bond: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief) or internal control (e.g. self-control).

There are four main crime theories related to the community. They are as follows: community disorganization theory; community disorder theory; community empowerment theory; and community regeneration theory. These theories are explained below.

2.3.2.3 Community Disorganization Theory

In this theory, sociologists Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1931) argued that rapid social change leads the community to lose the ability to control the youth living in it and therefore leads to delinquency and offending (Bennett 1998: 375). For example, in such communities, criminal gangs proliferate and, in a process known as cultural transmission, pass down from generation to generation, spreading fear, violence and drugs in areas of unemployment as well as poverty where communities are often in a state of economic collapse. All these factors lead to increased opportunity to commit crimes. As for organized societies, they are better able to manage and control – so called social control - through social control organizations, whether formal (e.g. police, court) or informal (e.g. home, school). These institutions are striving to help children to avoid involvement in gangs and keep away from criminal behaviour (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 86-89).

So, according to this theory, prevention programmes should aim to reorganize the disorganized areas to return social power to the residents to control young people and inculcate good behaviour (Bennett 1998: 375). Also, it is useful for the young in such communities to receive promotional programmes such as positive peer counselling (Burke 2008: 135).

2.3.2.4 Community Disorder Theory

In this theory Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued that disorder can lead to crime. Disorder takes two forms:

- Disorderly people: such as "*unpredictable groups, beggars, drunks, drug addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers and the mentally disturbed*".
- Disorderly physical conditions: such as "*abandoned property, abandoned vehicles, broken windows, litter and dilapidated public areas*".

Based on this theory, prevention strategies should aim to reduce disorder in order to reduce the crime rate (cited in Bennett 1998: 375).

2.3.2.5 Community Empowerment Theory

In this theory Cummings (1997) proposes that involving residents, directly or indirectly, in making decisions in their neighbourhood makes them more satisfied, interested in their area and more likely to take responsibility for the local social environment (Bennett 1998: 375).

2.3.2.6 Community Regeneration Theory

Taub, Taylor, and Dunham (1984) argued that people who have confidence in their community economy play an important role in the health of this community. According to this theory, the factors that determine the community's confidence are "the level of investment in the community, commercial interest in the area and the level of maintenance of the housing stock". People's confidence in their community encourages them to contribute to the establishment of preventive and rehabilitation programmes (cited in Bennett 1998: 376).

2.3.2.7 Differential Association Theory

In this theory, Edwin H. Sutherland modified Shaw and McKay's arguments and proposed that criminal behaviour is learned like any kind of behaviour (Khawaja, 2003: 137; Newburn 2007a: 193). According to Sutherland (1947 (cited in Bartollas 2003: 126-127) differential association theory can be explained by the following points: (a) deviant behaviour is not inherited, but is learned and gained from the surrounding social milieu; (b) deviant behaviour is acquired from involvement and communication with others; (c) close and warm (intimate) relationships have more influence on adolescents than any other kind of relationships; (d) when learning criminal behaviour, the criminals do not learn just the techniques, they also undergo acquisition of motives and incentives; (e) any individual can acquire both motives compliant with the law and motives that violate the law, and he or she becomes delinquent when his or her involvement with delinquent peers is more than with non-delinquent peers; (f) there are standards that define the extent

of influence on an individual according to contact, including age, frequency and duration of contact; (g) the mechanisms of learning deviant behaviour through involvement with criminals are the same as the mechanisms of learning any other behaviour; and (h) the needs and values for criminals and non-criminals are similar.

There is some support for differential association theory; however there are some criticisms. For instance, there are some vague terms which could make testing this theory empirically difficult (i.e. intimate personal group, motives, frequency, etc.). Also, there are some questions that this theory has not answered satisfactorily (i.e. “Why does one youth succumb to delinquent definitions and another does not? .. How did the first teacher learn delinquent techniques and definitions to pass on? ... What is the effect of punishment on delinquents?” (Bartollas 2003: 131).

2.3.2.8 Theory of Anomie/ Strain Theory

Anomie is a French word that means normlessness or, in other words, a lack or breakdown of social norms and values. It was popularized by the key French pioneer sociologist Emile Durkheim. His work was important, especially his analysis of society's social problems and consideration of some issues related to society's structures, norms and values. So, according to Durkheim, anomie can be created by rapid or sudden social change. This leads to a state of loss of integration and co-ordination and conflict between labour and the wage system (Newburn 2007a: 170-174). Durkheim's ideas had a great bearing on many theories such as strain theory.

Robert K. Merton, one of the USA's pre-eminent sociologists, adopted the idea of anomie and developed strain theory to explain delinquency and crime. He argued that anomie or normlessness occurs when individual goals cannot be attained by using any available means. This usually happens for those in the lower-class because their level of education and jobs is not as good as those in the middle and upper-classes. Therefore, as a result of the lack of opportunity to achieve and accomplish their needs, people become angry, frustrated and hapless which eventually leads them into delinquent and criminal behaviour. This kind of situation, according to Merton and other sociologists, is called strain (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 89). In addition, according to Merton, when individuals cannot achieve their goals by available means, there are five types of adaptation. They are: conformity (individual acceptance of goals and means to achieve these goals), innovation (individual acceptance of goals and rejection of means), ritualism (rejection of the goals and acceptance of means), retreatism (individual rejection of the goals and rejection of means) and rebellion (rejection of the goals and rejection of means and change) (Bartollas 2003: 107; Khawaja, 2003: 110-112).

Despite the massive impact of Merton strain theory, it has also received some criticisms. Even though Merton strain theory derived its key components from the Durkheim work which used the concept of anomie to refer to a state of normlessness, Merton used this concept in a different way to Durkheim. He used it to mean a legitimate opportunity for education and prestigious position. So, in this case, anomie no longer means normlessness. In addition, this theory did not explain some aspects: "the difficulty for Merton was how to explain the apparent over-involvement of people from lower social

classes in criminal and deviant activity if this cultural goal was universally accepted” (Newburn 2007a: 179). Also, Albert Cohen believes that Merton was unsuccessful in clarifying the nature of juvenile delinquency (Newburn 2007a: 180).

Albert Cohen followed Merton in his view regarding anomie theory. However, in order to study delinquency, he created the notion of culture (solving problems and difficulties by traditional methods) and subculture (solving problems that happen because of the unacceptable demands of culture) (Newburn 2007a: 196). He claimed that there are particular values dominant on the citizens of American society who wish to achieve. These values were called middle-class values and norms, such as independent activities and self-discipline. Teachers in the schools urge students to show commitment to these values. According to Cohen’s theory, lower-class individuals wish to achieve middle-class goals but they cannot. This leads to frustration and for this reason lower-class individuals commit deviant behaviour. This delinquent behaviour, according to their standards (subculture) is accepted (Bartollas 2003: 109; Khawaja, 2003: 116-119).

Cohen’s theory also received some criticism. It failed to explain many of the deviant types of behaviour of American adolescents and ignored young people who have committed delinquent behaviour on their own. There is no empirical evidence to support this theory and there are some ambiguous terms that make it difficult to test the theory (Bartollas 2003: 112). He also fails “to explain why it is that some members of delinquent subcultures eventually become law-abiding even when their social class position is fixed” (Burke 2008: 137).

Influenced by Edwin H. Sutherland, Robert K. Merton and Albert Cohen, Richard

Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin focused on the circumstances and conditions that lead an individual to experience tension (strain) and thus commit deviant behaviour as a solution to this. They argued that what prevents lower-class people from achieving their goals is limited opportunities. They want to achieve middle-class values, however what may prevent them is their gender, class, or ethnic background. This makes them feel angry and reject the values of the middle-class, leading to the committing of deviant behaviour which they have acquired from their environment (Newburn 2007a: 180).

Subsequently, sociologist Robert Agnew presented some points that affected the popularity of strain theory. He noted that: “it has tended to focus on lower-class delinquency; it has neglected all but the most conventional goals (middle-class status and wealth); it overlooked barriers to achievement other than social stratification (these might include gender, race, intelligence and many others); and it has found it difficult to explain why some people who experienced strain didn’t turn to criminal activity. Arguably, strain and frustration are experienced by many who continue to conform” (Newburn 2007a: 181). As a result, he decided to develop this theory into what is known as General Strain Theory. In this new idea, he identified other sources for strain which were not mentioned by Merton. He argued that the sources of strain are failure to achieve personal positively valued goals, removal of positively valued stimuli and presentation of negative stimuli (see figure 2). Regarding the achievement of positive goals, this means any individual who aspires to be wealthy and at the same time believes that achieving this goal is impossible. In this case, strain may occur. Also, it could occur when people compare themselves with others better than they are. Strain can also occur in young people when

they are being treated unfairly, especially by their parents. As for the loss of positively valued stimuli, it can happen in the event of the loss of a lover, a move to another neighbourhood, a separation or divorce of parents. And for presentation of negative stimuli, this means cases of pain, child abuse, being victims of crime, as well as failure in school. According to Agnew, all these cases lead to anger, frustration, depression, fear, disappointment and other emotions derived from strain. Although the effect of these feelings is different from person to person, it could lead to delinquency, drug abuse, violence and other kinds of antisocial behaviour or criminal activity. The reason for this is due to the desire of individuals for revenge, access to alternatives, the prevention of the occurrence or recurrence of the situation and avoiding the negative relations or stress which they face (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 90-91). There are some young people more vulnerable to being affected by strain than others. This could be for various reasons. Strain may come into effect and may lead to delinquency and criminal behaviour when it touches issues that are important and fundamental to an individual. Young people, whose coping skills are weak with regard to the law, are vulnerable to deviation because of strain. Also, people who suffer from poor social support, whether from family or friends, are easily drawn into committing criminal behaviour because they lack help and emotional support when they have any problem. Finally, strain also leads to crime and delinquent behaviour when the consequences of delinquency are less than the benefits gained (Agnew 2009: 111).

Figure 2: General Strain Theory



Source: reproduced from Siegel and Welsh (2007: 90)

Messner and Rosenfeld also developed their own strain theory called an institutional anomie theory and sometimes called the American Dream theory. It has similar ideas to Merton's theory. Their argument was based on focusing on the economy and wealth effect not only on economic institutions, but also on the non-economic institutions in society. When these non-economic institutions focus on the economy, their beliefs, values and commitments and therefore goals will be directed towards material success. Achieving economic success becomes their goal and anything other than that becomes irrelevant. For example, educational institutions will focus on the disciplines that serve

the labour market (marketplace) and also the family will be busy earning money, the father often staying away from his children for a long time for this reason. So, they argued that focus on the goals without worrying about the means (the end justifies the means) weakens social control and this in turn could foster anomie (Newburn 2007a: 182-183).

On the one hand, generally, there are important features of strain theory, such as: (a) it drew attention to the importance of social, economic and also cultural conditions in the committing of crime; (b) it focused on the relationship between social organization and different levels of crime; and (c) it drew attention to vulnerable categories, whether individuals in the lower-class or poor communities. On the other hand, there are a number of criticisms, such as: (1) it relies on official statistics to determine the nature of the crime; (2) it focuses on the crimes of the lower-classes and ignores the crimes of the middle-class which lead to insubstantial results; (3) there is a bias towards focusing on economic success; (4) it did not make a link between crime and socio-political conditions; and (5) it fails to explain certain crimes such as homosexuality and vandalism (Newburn 2007a: 183-184).

2.3.2.9 Theories of Subculture

Although many theorists have touched upon the concept of “subculture,” it should be given explicit treatment, given the heavy emphasis on youth subcultures as a primary means of explaining youth crimes and disorders.

Many subcultural theories build on the work of Merton. Most share the common perception that deviance is a consequence of persons conforming to the norms and values of the social group to which they belong (Burke 2009: 126). If a social group's norms differ from those of broader society, then its members will become deviant. A number of scientists have addressed these theories in their research.

Albert Cohen explains deviance as the outcome of a contradiction between two types of values and norms: those belonging to the middle class and those related to the working classes. He argues that the values and norms of the middle class are dominant, and used in assessing the success of all members of society. These cultural values and norms are considered to be mainstream within a society. Regarding the values and norms of the working classes, these are considered to belong to a sub-culture. Juvenile offences committed by those from working class backgrounds are viewed as resulting from feelings of extreme frustration about the low status of members of this social class. As the dominant culture in the society is that of the middle class, the lower class members cannot properly adapt, and thus become delinquents (Burke 2009: 127). According to Cohen, delinquency patterns have six characteristics:

- non-utilitarianism: when goods stolen for fun are given away or destroyed;
- malice: where destructive acts such as vandalism are accompanied by break-ins;
- negativism: when much delinquent behaviour actually inverts respectable values;
- short-run hedonism: manifested in acts of instant gratification by delinquent gangs;
- versatility: involving male gang activities, including theft, vandalism, and

- aggression; and
- group autonomy: where gang loyalty comes first, and other allegiances are subordinated (Downes and Rock 2009: 138).

Cloward and Ohlin have built upon Cohen's theories. They identify three different types of delinquent subcultures that young people can enter into: criminal subcultures, conflict subcultures, and retreatist subcultures.

Criminal subcultures: These tend to appear in areas where there are highly organised adult crimes, providing role models for young criminals and teaching them how to commit criminal acts. In these subcultures, young people can work their way up by committing more crimes. These subcultures are usually involved in utilitarian crimes, which bring financial rewards such as theft and robbery.

Conflict subcultures: These tend to appear in areas where there are low rates of organised adult crime. Instead of learning to commit utilitarian crimes, which generate financial rewards, young people focus on earning respect through gang violence or by fighting with other gangs.

Retreatist subcultures: These tend to involve young people who have failed in criminal subcultures. This sense of failure is doubled, as members tend to retreat to the consumption of drugs and alcohol to deal with the fact that they have been refused by the other subcultures (Bartollas 2003: 112-113; Burke 2009: 128-129 and Downes and Rock 2009: 140).

Walter Miller developed these ideas further. He argued that the norms and values of the lower classes lead them to have their own goals and desires for achievement. Miller called these goals “focal concerns.” According to Miller, these focal concerns include toughness, smartness, excitement, fate, and autonomy. Mixing these focal concerns can lead to a culture that accepts crime and deviance as normal (Burke 2009: 128). On the other hand, David Matza had another perspective. He argued that delinquent acts are not committed in order to breach the norms and values of society. They happen rather because of the state of “drift,” or loss of control. Delinquents soon feel remorse if they commit such acts. However, studies do not completely support Matza’s idea of drift because it is not compatible with the tendencies of chronic offenders (Downes and Rock 2009: 140-142).

2.3.2.9 Labelling theory

Labelling theory focuses on the idea that the reason for delinquents continuing to commit delinquent behaviours is that they have been treated as persistently delinquent, whether by formal institutions, such as the police and the courts, or informal institutions like a house and neighbourhood (Lundman 1993: 90). In other words, labelling theory “posits that society creates deviance through a system of social control agencies that designate, or label, certain individuals as delinquent, thereby stigmatizing them and encouraging them to accept this negative personal identity” (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 98).

Frank Tannenbaum noted that juveniles who commit delinquent behaviours such as breaking windows, stealing from shops and annoying people regard such behaviour as a

means of experiencing joy, pleasure, excitement, fun and adventure. On the opposite side, adults see it in a contrary way, regarding it as an expression of evil. As a result, the juveniles consider themselves to be evil. In addition, the forcing of juveniles into the criminal justice system gives them a bad image for themselves and they feel that they are labelled as criminals (Lundman 1993: 90-91). Subsequently, Edwin H. Lemert focused on social control bodies and violators of the rules and how they are labelled as criminals or delinquents. So, he differentiated between primary deviation (individual behaviours) and secondary deviation (the response to this behaviour by society) (Bartollas 2003: 160). Then, and in the same context, Howard S. Becker focused on when a juvenile has been caught and labelled as a delinquent or outsider, the impact of this on his or her identity to the public and how the treatment in correctional institutions increases the degree of delinquency (Lundman 1993: 90-91).

There are some bad effects that arise from being labelled. They are: (1) individuals face different treatment, whether at home or school, when they start being seen as people who have a bad influence on others; (2) others avoid dealing with them in the neighbourhood; (3) the offenders come to feel that they want to remain delinquent and may join gangs or criminal groups which could, in turn, increase their committing of delinquent behaviours (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 98).

To summarise the labelling theory, it is when an individual has committed a delinquent act for whatever reason and has been arrested and passed through the criminal justice system with its various organs and then labelled as 'delinquent' whether formal or informal. This label attaches itself to them and they start thinking of themselves as being

delinquent and continue in their criminal careers.

There are a number of important advantages to this theory. They are: defining the roles of institutions of social control in the accusation of delinquency; focusing on the issue that delinquency is based on a social interaction which led to the behaviour; the theory differentiates between delinquent behaviour and delinquent careers and acknowledges that they must be dealt with in different ways; and the theory interprets the reasons for individuals continuing to commit delinquent behaviours (Siegel and Welsh 2007: 99). However, there are some criticisms. For instance: (1) it focused too much on secondary deviation and did not care about the causes of primary deviation; (2) some studies found that labelling may lead to reducing the proportion of delinquent behaviours rather than increase it; (3) this theory has not answered the question: why do some types of sanctions lead to increasing the proportion of delinquency and others lead to a reduction in delinquency, while some do not have any effect? (4) It overstated the importance of social interaction, otherwise there would not be any delinquent behaviour; and (5) it exaggerated the concern to explain that delinquent behaviour is one of the correctional programmes' products (Newburn 2007a: 220-223).

The theory was also criticised by proponents of the radical criminological school, who took a Marxist approach. They built on the insights of labelling theory and subcultural theory but then argued that those theories did not acknowledge that society does not function in everyone's interests. Rather, the radical criminologists argued, it functions in the interests of one social class. Their empirical work (Hall and Jefferson 1976) became an important part of British criminology in advancing the understanding of subcultures

and labelling, but their Marxist critique could never be influential on government policy.

The previous section addressed social theories of crime. They highlighted that committing crime and displaying antisocial behaviour can be attributed to the surrounding environment and social conditions faced by the people. Adapting to these conditions varies from individual to individual. The importance of social theories is that the factors already mentioned in the biological and psychological theories may not necessarily lead to criminal behaviour unless they interact with the surrounding environmental conditions (Burke 2008: 130). Furthermore, social theories could influence and provide insight when designing preventive programmes by encouraging focus on employment opportunities, tackling poverty, improving living conditions and promoting social services. They also highlight the importance of seeking to improve family relationships and encourage parents to help their children to solve their problems and make them avoid undergoing strain. Emphasis should also be placed on programmes that provide counselling for young people to help them solve problems that they are suffering from and provide them with the necessary skills that will help them in dealing with members of the community. As for labelling, formal institutions and informal institutions should focus on avoiding the stigmatization of young people so as not to contribute to their determination to continue to commit crimes.

In addition, since this research is investigating the role of the police in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, these theories are important for this study because they focus on community, an element which police are dealing with on a daily basis. To succeed in their work, police must accommodate these theories. They can provide a guide for their

actions and explain to the public why they act in particular ways, thus encouraging support for what they do. When police have a good understanding of these theories, they can use it as a framework for setting crime prevention goals, developing procedures and programmes to achieve them, and tailoring training courses in ways that reinforce them. Also, people who work in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention should increase their knowledge and gain as much information as they can about these theories, with a view towards achieving success in their work. Some of the important social risk factors in delinquency will be discussed later.

2.3.3 Integrated Theories

One of the most enduring problems, not only for criminology but for sociology more generally, is developing theory which takes into account both structure and agency. In other words, the agency of the individual being their power to make choices and control their actions, alongside the structure of society and community and how that limits a person's agency. Structure includes not just social institutions but also social practices.

Based on the idea that there are many psychological and social factors that combine and lead to crime, there are a number of researchers who have developed theories that take this into account. In other words, by integrating theories, they developed new theories. That is, they believe that the cause of crime is the interaction between various factors that lead to criminal behaviour. In addition, these theories took into account cultural aspects such as values and community standards, as well as individual aspects such as motives, tendencies and desires. In the following sections, integrated social process theory, interactional theory and containment theory will be explained as examples.

2.3.3.1 Integrated Social process Theory

Elliott and colleagues (1979) interpreted criminal behaviour through the combination of the following theories: strain theory, social control theory and social learning theory. Strain theory and control theory can explain the beginning of the delinquency, but is not sufficient to explain the reasons for continuing, while social learning theory can provide an explanation. For example, in disorganized societies, weak bonds (control theory) lead to a high level of strain (strain theory) and both of them lead young people to become

involved with delinquent peers. These peers are considered as role models and they reinforce criminality, leading them to commit criminal behaviour (social learning theory) (Bartollas 2003: 146; Reid 2008: 172).

Although there is some supporting evidence, there are questions that are raised. For example, could this theory be applied to all types of delinquent behaviours (Bartollas 2003: 147)?

2.3.3.2 Interactional Theory

In addition, Terence P. Thornberry combined social learning, social bonding and social-structural theories to create interactional theory. The interaction of adolescents with others, whether in school, the neighbourhood, peer groups or any other social institution, results in certain behaviours through interactive learning. According to this theory, the influence varies according to the power of the adolescent attachment with the family, school or community and also the age of the adolescent. Ages of the adolescent, in this theory, were divided as follows: early adolescence (ages 11 to 13), middle adolescence (ages 15 to 16), and late adolescence (ages 18 to 20) (Reid 2008: 170).

Thornberry and colleagues conducted some supporting studies (e.g. Thornberry et al 1991) and there are some useful features of this theory, such as that it touched on the various social conditions in the life of young people. However, this theory is marred by certain flaws. For instance, it ignored gender issues and the clarification of the causes of delinquency in the middle-classes (Bartollas 2003: 149).

2.3.3.3 Containment Theory

Walter C. Reckless's containment theory can be considered as one of the early control theories (Reckless 1967). He argued that individuals are susceptible to many influences that may push them towards crime (social pressures). In modern societies there are some barriers that prevent individuals from committing a crime. He assumed that there are two types of containment: outer containment and inner containment. That is, these two containments can be considered as a protection against deviation from social pressures (Newburn 2007a: 230).

Outer containment is an external control system and a kind of social control because it refers to the influence of the community's social norms on the people and keeps them away from unacceptable behaviour. Whilst inner containment is an internal control system and refers to the ability of individuals to control themselves through the enhancement of their self-image and self-concept in order to maintain commitment to society's goals, values and laws (Reid 2008: 153).

Although, containment theory had an important impact, there are some vague terms, such as 'self-concept', which could make examining this theory empirically difficult (Bartollas 2003: 138; Newburn 2007a: 230).

From this drive to develop integrated theories, criminological theory mushroomed. The battle over structure and agency continued, as did the battle over whether to focus on traditional right-wing concerns such as poor parenting and poor self-control, or traditional left-wing concerns such as social inequality and social exclusion which cause people to feel left out of the social bond and have no stake in society.

As these remain unresolved, in contemporary theory, an important strand has become those which are of particular value for crime prevention research and so for youth policing.

2.3.4 Contemporary Theories

There are some contemporary theories that focus on the criminal event rather than the motivation, and look at the situational causes of criminal behaviour. In the following sections, rational choice theory and routine activity theories will be explained.

2.3.4.1 Rational Choice Theory

In this theory, Derek Cornish and Ron Clarke assumed that criminals want to obtain benefits, such as entertainment, fun, excitement and satisfying sexual lust, through criminal behaviour (Cornish and Clarke 1986). That is to say, they would like to gain the greatest amount of profit with the least amount of loss. Therefore, they realise that they should take the most appropriate and best decision they can, from their point of view, before committing a crime. In addition, they need to make a careful selection of the kind of offence that allows them to acquire precious and valuable things. There are a number of factors, whether psychological or social, that impact on this choice (criminal motivation). This theory focuses on identifying the motives that ostensibly led to the commission of the crime. In other words, what takes place in the mind of criminals before they commit a crime (Burke 2009: 50; Newburn 2007a: 281).

On the one hand, rational choice theory helps to build a modern style for the prevention of crime before it happens, by gaining an understanding of the way in which the decision of the criminal was taken (Al Atyan 2005: 182). On the other hand, it has not succeeded in clarifying the motives of the offender, as it is difficult for the offender to determine the real pros and cons behind committing a particular kind of crime (Newburn 2007a: 296; Vito and Maahs 2012: 64). In addition, this theory fails “to take sufficient account of the structural conditions within which individual decision-making takes place” (Newburn 2007a: 296).

2.3.4.2 Routine Activity Theory

Routine activity theory was initially developed by criminologists Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson. This theory is considered as one of the theories that focused on the status of the offender and the surrounding circumstances when a crime was committed. It began by arguing that social and cultural changes create opportunities to commit crime but are not the main causes of it. According to this theory there are three main factors affecting the committing of crime: the motivation of an offender to commit a crime, the suitability of the target of the crime and the situation regarding protection of the target through a capable guardian. That is, a crime may be committed when there is a highly motivated offender, a suitable target and lack of protection for the target. For example, highly motivated offenders commit a crime when they believe that there is an absence of a guardian and the protection is inadequate so they are unlikely to be deterred either by police, guards or the presence of persons in the neighbourhood and, in addition, there is a goal of value, such as money or jewellery which is easy to access and to move. The

absence of one of these factors prevents the commission of the offence (Gilling 1997: 57; Vito and Maahs 2012: 65). In addition, Felson (1994) linked the immediate circumstances that tend to lead to criminal events to wider social and historical changes in family life and in the place of youth. Family entail lower risk of criminal victimization because it enhances guardianship capabilities. According to the National Crime Survey, “young males who are single, living alone, and either in school or the labour force are several times more likely to be victimized than are older married females who keep house and live with others” (cited in Felson 1994: 40).

As with other theories, routine activity theory has been subject to some criticisms. One of these criticisms is based on “... the assumption that criminals are rational in their decision making. They may not use the same rationale as the person implementing the security measures. They may not even be aware of the situational crime prevention techniques put into effect. They may be under the influence of drugs or alcohol or, for whatever reason, they may simply not care about the security measures.” (The International Foundation for Protection Officers, 2010: 156).

Summary of the Previous Theories

Following the illustration of crime theories above, a general summary will be provided in this section. The focus of the theories was on clarifying the causes of crime and delinquency. Criminal, social and psychological scientists view the phenomenon of crime from different perspectives. At the outset, the biological theories that focused on the relationship of physical characteristics, IQ and genetic inheritance to the crime were described. Then, the theories that interpreted criminal behaviour from a psychological point of view were explained. These theories argued that delinquent behaviour relates back to psychological problems faced by individuals, whether in periods of childhood and caused by parents, friends and neighbours, or after that. The weakness of these relationships and problems suffered affect the psyche of individuals and thus lead to delinquent behaviour.

Subsequently, social theories developed these ideas by focusing on the relationship between crimes and the environment surrounding the individuals. Initially, social control theory was presented. This theory argues that delinquent behaviours are the result of poor relations (attachment, commitment, involvement and belief) between individuals and society (e.g. family, school, friends and neighbourhood). According to this theory, if individuals respected the thoughts and expectations of people towards them, this would keep them away from delinquent behaviour. Also, when people are busy and using their time and efforts in a positive manner, this would also direct them away from such behaviour. In addition, the same would happen if they become involved in various community activities. Also, belief in the values of society leads people to respect and

avoid violating those values.

After that section, the general theory of crime was explained. This theory argues that personal control plays an important role in the commission of delinquency. That is, low self-control leads to delinquency. Next, theories that focus on disorganized communities and its relationship to the composition of people who are delinquent were considered. These theories claim that the reorganization of society and reduction in the proportion of disorder, as well as the mandate of members to take care of the security situation of their community, have an important role to play in reducing the number of crimes and illegal behaviours. Then, the differential association theory was described. This theory argues that delinquent behaviours are learned from the environment by involvement and contact with others, especially intimate relationships. After that, strain theory was explained. According to this theory crime and antisocial behaviours are the result of the events and circumstances that cause strain for individuals. This theory claims that failure of individuals to achieve their goals leads to negative feelings that develop into cases of anger and thus produce crime and behaviour contrary to the law. According to this theory, young people are displaying delinquent attitudes in order to reduce strain through taking revenge on those who caused them to be in this state.

Subsequently, labelling theory was explained. This theory claims that delinquent individuals who are stigmatized and treated as delinquents reinforces this impression and leads to an increase in the likelihood of them continuing to commit delinquent behaviours. Furthermore, the integrated theories which combine a numbers of theories were presented. Firstly, integrated social process theory which brought together the

strain, social control and social learning theories was explained. Secondly, consideration was given to interactional theory, an approach which combines social learning, social bonding, and social-structural theories. Finally, the theory of containment, which argues that social pressures lead to crime and that outer containment (social norms) and inner containment (self-control) lead to the control of delinquent behaviours, was described. In addition, contemporary theories were explained. Rational choice theory, which claims that delinquent behaviour is the result of individual balance between the benefits and cost behind the committing of a crime, was also explained. Subsequently, routine activities theory was considered. This theory claims that crime occurs when there are three combined factors: a motivated offender, the absence of adequate protection for a target and a suitable target.

Conclusion

In the previous section, many theories that explain crime have been presented. The section focused on the most important theories from the perspective of crime prevention and gives only a partial image of the wide efforts being made by criminologists, social and psychological scientists to develop these theories. In addition, it has been noted that there is diversity of views and disciplines. This allows the research to conclude that the phenomenon of crime is complex. It is affected by several aspects of causes discussed by various theories. No consensus has been reached on the causes of crime, but nonetheless these theories help in understanding the phenomenon of crime and also criminal behaviour, which in turn eases the task of crime control and prevention. It has been

judged that much time and money could be saved if policymakers based their strategies on criminological theory because it seems that most of the ineffective policies in crime prevention are due to ignorance of criminological theory.

2.4 Classifying Types of Crime Prevention

According to Brantingham and Faust (1976: 284) there should be a division of the types of crime prevention into classified categories to reduce confusion. Also, specific classification helps to clarify crime prevention efforts and suggest suitable methods. For example, programmes offered to the whole public should be different, in terms of form and content, than programmes offered to those who are identified as at risk. Furthermore, individuals who have already committed a crime need different treatment and programmes. That is to say, determining a specific division is useful and also enables the creation of influential and effective crime prevention programmes.

Crime prevention can be classified in a variety of ways. However, there are two types which this research will argue are particularly useful and clear. Brantingham and Faust (1976: 284) make a distinction between three types of prevention: primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. These are as follows:

- Primary prevention: "directed at modification of criminogenic conditions in the physical and social environment at large".
- Secondary prevention: "directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individual or groups in criminogenic circumstances".

- Tertiary prevention: "directed at prevention of recidivism".

In primary prevention, actions are targeted to reduce opportunities for crime in a general population, without concentrating on people seemingly at risk, in order to prevent crime before it occurs. In this approach efforts should be directed at the prevention of the onset of criminal behaviour, taking into account poverty, poor housing, poor parenting and poor school attendance. In secondary prevention, actions are targeted to focus on those who are identified as being "at high risk" of committing crime and misdeeds. Identifying this category depends on the age group, place of residence and economic conditions. In tertiary prevention, actions target known offenders to prevent recurrence of further crime and delinquent behaviours (Read and Rogers, 2011: 77). Table 1 presents further details concerning these three types of prevention.

Table 1: Models of Prevention

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	
Environmental design General social and physical well-being programmes Crime prevention education	Early identification Pre-delinquent screening Individual intervention Neighbourhood programmes	Reform	Rehabilitation
		Community treatment	Training
		Institutional treatment	Support
		Punishment	Surveillance
		Incapacitation	
		Institutional custody	

Source: reproduced from Brantingham and Faust (1976: 289)

It can be noted that Brantingham and Faust's (1976) classification of prevention focuses on young people and their relationship to the committing of crime. However, there is another second classificatory approach to crime prevention worthy of consideration: the distinction between situational prevention and social prevention. This classificatory approach focuses on the type of prevention programme and method of application. According to Newburn (2007a: 566) the second model of distinguishing between forms of crime prevention is simpler, best known and most widely used in academic and governmental research. The next section considers this approach in more detail.

2.4.1 Situational Prevention

The situational approach to crime prevention was developed in the 1970s by the Home Office's Research and Planning Unit in the UK (Clarke 2005: 39). This approach has become a key influence in policy-making and has achieved widespread success in the UK since the early 1980s (Crawford 1998: 65). In the light of this, Pease (1997: 969-970) cites some empirical evidence for the success of this type of prevention. For instance, in one town the suicide rate decreased when the poisonous gas in this town, which was used as a means of committing suicide, was replaced with natural gas; the proportion of stolen cars fell after providing steering-column locks; and there have been many kinds of crimes, for example in underground stations, shops and on buses, which have been reduced by providing closed-circuit television cameras (CCTV). (For further examples, see Pease 1997: 969-971).

Situational crime prevention has been defined by its leading scholar, Ron Clarke, as "opportunity-reducing measures that (1) are directed at highly specific forms of crime, (2) involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in as systematic and permanent a way as possible, (3) make crime more difficult and risky, or less rewarding and excusable as judged by a wide range of offenders" (Clarke 1997: 4). In this context, situational crime prevention seeks to change the behaviour of individuals by adding things in or changing the physical world around them (Crawford and Evans 2012: 774-776).

According to Clarke (1995) it can achieve this in the following three ways:

1. **Increasing the amount of effort involved in committing a crime:** this can be done by making the target hard to reach.
2. **Increasing the perceived level of risk involved in committing a crime:** this might be achieved by making the person or persons who intend to commit a crime feel endangered by the action.
3. **Reducing the likely rewards of crime:** this decreases the likely benefits of committing a crime.

Later, Cornish and Clarke (2003) add:

4. **Reducing provocation:** this limits triggers which lead to committing a crime.
5. **Remove excuses:** this reduces any likelihood of any person claiming that they did not know that they had committed an offence or they did not have any alternative but to commit a crime. (Cited in Crawford, 2007, 873).

It can be noted that the idea of this kind of crime prevention was inspired by several previously mentioned theories; for example, routine activity theory and rational choice theory (Al Atyan 2005: 179; Crawford and Evans 2012: 774-776).

According to Clarke (2005, 42), opportunity plays an important role in the occurrence of criminal behaviour. Availability and ease of opportunity leads individuals, even if they are generally law-abiding, to commit a large proportion of crimes and to seek other opportunities. That is, the widespread availability of criminal opportunities and attractions can lead individuals to commit crime without prior propensity.

However, not all crime prevention theorists see this approach as uniformly successful. One of the most important criticisms of situational crime prevention is the assertion that it leads to displacement. This simply means that situational crime prevention measures do not deter offenders, they just make them change time, place, target, method or type of crime (Clarke 1997: 28). That is to say, this kind of prevention does not treat the root causes of crime; it just deflects crimes (Crawford 2007: 879).

According to Hakim and Rengert (1981) there are a number of different forms of displacement:

- **Temporal** –displaces the intended crime from one point in time to another.
- **Spatial** - displaces the intended crime from one place to another.
- **Target** – displaces the intended crime from one target to another.
- **Tactical** – Leads to committing the intended crime by using another method.
- **Functional** – Leads to changing to another kind of crime.

(Cited in Newburn 2007a: 582)

Later, from the same perspective, Barr and Pease (1990) added a further category of displacement called 'offender displacement'. An offender displacement situation could occur when new offenders take the place of offenders who have been arrested or have desisted from crime. According to Crawford (2007: 879), displacement can cause difficulty in evaluating the effectiveness and success of situational approaches. They are worth little if they only displace offender activity (Heal and Laycock 1986: 123). However, Ainsworth (2000: 60) suggests that it cannot be supposed that all crimes prevented will have been displaced. That is, if there are positive outcomes in some circumstances, situational prevention may be worthwhile (for evidence see Hesselting: 1994). Furthermore, Pease (1997: 977-978) argues that it is difficult to measure the displacement and to know whether it occurred or not. The reason for this is that there is no specific method to prove displacement; while some might claim that it occurred, others may believe it did not. Also, he observes that as it is possible to displace one crime to another, it is also possible to prevent another crime circuitously. This can happen when the benefits of prevention are diffused. For example, providing some homes with security equipment in one area may make offenders decide not to commit crime in this area because they do not know which homes are protected (for further details see Poyner 1991). When evaluating prevention programmes, it is therefore important to develop strategies for identifying displacement. This, however, is severely limited by the extent to which such strategies can be feasible and practicable. In many evaluations, funding and time limits, for example, make it difficult to build in reliable measures of displacement.

2.4.2 Social Prevention

According to Gilling (1997: 5) social crime prevention seeks "to change criminal motivations, which are perceived to lie in people rather than things, in the social environment". Social crime prevention programmes seek to: (i) reduce the motivation of people to become delinquents by social influences and social institutions, (ii) focus on the community, in general, as well as neighbourhoods and groups (i.e. family, school, friends and neighbours), in particular, to improve social relationships in the social environment (Crawford and Evans 2012: 781). This kind of prevention focuses on causes that lead individuals to crime, rather than preventing crime opportunities (Newburn 2007a: 583). According to findings analysed by the Home Office (2003, 9), social crime prevention can enhance and develop the quality of life for people in general and victims in particular. It can be divided into developmental prevention and community prevention. According to Farrington and Welsh (2007: 94), "developmental prevention" and "risk-focused prevention" have the same meaning, but the latter term is more commonly employed, so will be used in this research.

2.4.2.1 Risk-Focused Crime Prevention

This kind of prevention has had a huge impact since the 1990s. The basic idea of risk-focused prevention sounds deceptively simple: "Identify the key risk factors for offending and implement prevention methods designed to counteract them. There is often a related attempt to identify key protective factors against offending and to implement prevention methods designed to enhance them" (Farrington and Welsh 2007: 95). That is, in this

kind of prevention, interventions are designed to prevent the development of crime and disorder in individuals (Tremblay and Craig 1995: 151).

According to Homel (2005: 71), in order to prevent the onset of crime or other social problems, risk-focused prevention contains provision for approaches which focus on individuals, families, schools or communities. These interventions focus on young people, for two reasons. Firstly, a considerable number of crimes are carried out by youths. Secondly, youth is a transition period where young people are vulnerable and prone to antisocial behaviour and criminal activities (Crawford 1998: 109).

Programmes can be divided into universal and targeted. Targeted programmes can also be divided into selective or indicated. A universal programme is offered to the whole population, as in primary prevention. This type of programme applies to everyone without consideration of any risk factors. A selective programme is a special programme applying only to individuals or groups identified as being at high risk in order to prevent the onset of harm, as in secondary prevention. An indicated programme is offered to those who have already committed a crime in order to prevent recurrence of further criminal behaviour, as in tertiary prevention (Farrington & Welsh 2007: 93). In order to identify individuals at high risk, it is necessary to identify the risk factors that can be associated with the likelihood of young people developing behaviour problems.

Risk Factors

The delinquency³ of young people is a very complex problem. In order to suggest approaches and solutions to deal with such phenomena and to test previously mentioned theories of crime and criminal behaviour, many social scientists, criminologists and other researchers have attempted, by conducting empirical studies, to investigate and explain delinquent behaviour. Most of their studies (for example, Howell et al. 1995; Farrington 1996; Bright 1997; Rutter et al. 1998; Agnew 2009) concluded that delinquency is not motivated by any single factor, but by the combination of several factors. These factors, scholars argue, work together to provoke the onset of delinquency. In addition, Thornberry, Huizinga and Loeber (2004: 3) pointed out that a good understanding of the roots of delinquency is essential to develop effective prevention programmes and therefore, reduce delinquent behaviour and improve the quality of social life. There are two kinds of risk factors: personal and social. This research will focus on social risk factors because the police can deal with these factors. A common classification of family, peer groups, school and neighbourhood (environmental) factors will be adopted.

³ The habitual committing of criminal acts or offences by a young person, especially one below the age at which ordinary criminal prosecution is possible (Oxford English Dictionary).

The Family

The family is considered to be one of the main social institutions which have crucial functions in relation to young people; for example, transmission of culture, religious beliefs, and morals. According to Tappan, writing as far back as 1949 (133):

"More research has been devoted to the family as a factor of delinquency than to any other single influence. This is appropriate because of the vital significance of the family as 'the cradle of the personality'. During the early years in and through the family are established the basic reaction patterns of thinking and feeling, the norms and values that assert a durable, persisting influence upon the individual's subsequent life history".

This focus has continued to dominate much of the field. Wright and Wright (1994: 32) explained in their study that the family is a foundation of society and problems affecting a healthy home environment may make their children at the greatest risk of becoming delinquent. A study of Steinberg (1987) and also a 12-year longitudinal study of behavioural development conducted by Lacourse et al (2006) suggested that during adolescence, family environment is strongly related to the involvement with a deviant peer group. In this sense, Vitaro, Brendgen and Tremblay (2000), by examining the link between deviant friends and delinquent behaviour, found that strong parental attachment can protect children from the influence of delinquent peers.

Furthermore, Farrington (1996) concluded that the most common family problems that

may affect youth behaviour are parental criminality, poor parental supervision, child maltreatment, physical abuse, low family income, family conflict and parents' separation. Smith and Stern (1997) found that young people will be more liable to be delinquent if they suffer lack of warmth and support, the behaviour management skills of their parents are weak and they are exposed to violence and abuse. Also, Loeber (1990: 27) indicated that emotional bonding and support from parents have an important role in protecting youth in their childhood and adolescence against developing and displaying antisocial behaviour. A self-report questionnaire conducted by Claes et al (2005), based on a sample of 908 adolescents in Grade 11 (the number of girls and boys was equivalent), to examine the roles of parents and peers on the occurrence of antisocial behaviour, confirmed that there is a relationship between deviant behaviours and parental supervision and frequency of conflicts. However, Hoeve et al (2007) found that there is no relation between parents' supervision and attachment and criminal activity in young adulthood. Therefore, although the preponderance of research has demonstrated links between family and delinquency, the debate is not yet closed.

In general, however, it is thought that family cohesion and stability play a major role in creating positive behaviour in the child. The Chicago Youth Development Study demonstrated that low family cohesiveness was one of the most significant problems which could lead to violence (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Zelli, Ang Huesmann 1996 (cited in Farrington and Welsh, 2007, 64). Thornberry et al (1999), in their study, indicated that adolescents who live with unstable families are more likely to be involved in delinquency and drug use than adolescents who live in more stable families because they are more

susceptible to experiencing pressure which makes it difficult for them to manage any negative reactions, such as anger, and this may contribute to their involvement with delinquency or drugs. In addition, the virtuous behaviour of parents in front of their children makes them a good example to follow, because the behaviour and attitude of the children when they become adults is based on what they have learned from their parents when they were younger. This is confirmed by the research of McCord (1991) which showed that providing children with positive role models in the form of their parents leads them to behave better and to be better able to respond to temptations and keep them away from the clutches of crime.

It can be noted from the above-mentioned studies that most researchers support social control theory which argues that social bonds such as “attachment” can keep young people away from being delinquent.

School Factors

The school is clearly an important social contributor to a young person’s environment and it could influence an individual’s propensity to participate in crime. On the one hand, the school can be considered as one of the most significant bodies that can play a central role in preventing delinquency and antisocial behaviour (Siegel and Welsh 2008: 298). Many researchers have conducted studies on this and have asserted that there is a relationship between such factors as good performance, educational aspirations, school commitment and school bond that lead to protection from the risk of delinquency. For

example, Yoshikawa (1994), in his study, found that good performance in school and education contributes to a reduction in delinquency. Vazsonyi and Pickering (2003) highlighted the importance of educational aspirations and commitment to school in protecting young people from adolescent deviance. In addition, Spratt, Jenkins and Doob (2005), by using longitudinal data, found that there is a protective effect of a school bond, so a strong school bond protected children from violence and also could protect against the influence and impact of delinquent peers. One of the things which can play a vital role in protecting youth from being delinquent is early assessment of child behaviour by teachers. Lacourse et al (2006), in their 12-year longitudinal study of behavioural development, found that the early assessment of childhood behaviour by kindergarten teachers helps to protect young people from following a deviant peer group path. Therefore, they strongly encourage early intervention and prevention in order to reduce the negative influence of harmful peer groups.

On the other hand, researchers suggest that there may also be an association between school and young people being delinquent. According to Farrington (1996), the most common school risk factors that may lead a youth to be delinquent are lack of commitment to school, including truancy, disruptive behaviour, including bullying, low achievement and school disorganization. There are several studies that have identified the link between these risk factors and delinquency. For instance, according to Graham (1988: 47), studies have shown that there is a relationship between failure in school, and falling into criminal behaviour, so by comparing successful and failing students in school, it has been found that failing students are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour.

Maguin and Loeber (1996), in their meta-analysis of more than 100 studies, found that there is a relationship between poor academic performance and the prevalence, onset, frequency and seriousness of delinquency. Loeber and Farrington (1999: 138) maintain that "academic failure and poor academic achievement has consistently predicted later delinquent behaviour". The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's (OJJDP's) meta-analysis found that low academic performance, low commitment to schooling and low educational aspirations predicted the risk of involvement in juvenile delinquency and violence (Hawkins et al 2000). Also, Farrington et al (2006: 65) indicated that low school attainment is one of the most important childhood risk factors for offending.

Furthermore, engagement in school is crucial for academic success. This was confirmed by Hirschfield and Gasper's (2011) study which focused on the relationship between student engagement and delinquency. They found that emotional and behavioural engagement in school leads to success in school and also to students refraining from delinquent behaviour. On the other hand, Henry, Knight and Thornberry (2012) found that there is a relationship between school disengagement as measured by a warning index and prediction of serious problem behaviours, such as the problem of substance use, across the three developmental stages of middle adolescence, late adolescence and early adulthood. It should be noted that this study was conducted in an urban school district, so this result might not be replicated in suburban and rural school districts. In the same context, Graham (1988: 47) reported that there are three major aspects controlled by the school administration that contribute to positive impacts on students: "teaching skills

and teachers/pupils relations; rewards, sanctions and rule enforcements; pastoral care and pupil welfare”.

As for UAE literature, there are number of studies that support the idea that low achievement in school leads to delinquent behaviour. For example, Hashem (2005) conducted an empirical study on drug users (n=52) and found that most of them had not completed elementary school due to failure. Similarly, Al Braimi (2010) (sample n=43 of detainees in correctional facilities) and Al Kitbi (2010) (sample n=25 of detainees in correctional facilities), found that most of their sample were among those who usually fail in school. It should be noted here that the number of respondents in these studies, to some extent, is small.

Finally, it seems that the studies mentioned here are in line with strain theory which argues that an individual failing in achieving goals causes a state of anger which could lead to unlawful behaviour as a means of seeking revenge.

Peer Factors

Children who are part of a dominant age-grouping could affect each other in both positive and negative ways. This affect may depend on certain criteria such as the approval of peers and their encouragement or pressure, the extent of the relationship and proximity to them, as well as the length of time spent with each other. McCord, Widom and Crowell (2001: 80) pointed out that the impact of delinquent young people on their peers increases in the following cases: (1) if they believe that their friends accept their immoral acts, (2)

if their relationship is intimate, (3) if they spend a long time with them, and (4) if they exercise pressure to force them to commit delinquent behaviours.

Farrington, Loeber and Ttofi (2012: 58) acknowledged that “having delinquent friends is an important predictor of later offending”. Many studies confirm that there is an association between detrimental peer pressure and the development of delinquent behaviour. According to Pabon, Rodriguez, and Gurin (1992: 149), there are many studies indicating that there is a strong connection between peer relationships and young people’s criminal behaviour, especially substance abuse, and also researches highlight that prevention programmes should concentrate on these factors. One example of these studies, Brook, Whiteman & Gordon (1983), maintained that young people usually commit delinquent acts with support and encouragement from delinquent peers. In addition, Thornberry et al (1994), in their longitudinal study, and also Vitaro, Brendgen and Tremblay (2000), found that there is a strong relationship between association with deviant peers and delinquent behaviour. Keenan et al (1995), too, concluded that young people engage in disruptive and delinquent behaviour for the first time as a result of involvement with “deviant” peers. Research by Claes et al (2005) confirmed the same result regarding the relationship between deviant behaviours and orientation toward peers by conducting a self-report questionnaire for an equivalent number of girls and boys, their sample being 908 adolescents in Grade 11.

The nature of juvenile practices could have a strong affect on their peers. For instance, Pinchevsky et al (2012) concluded that youth who use marijuana have strong influences on their peers, especially in the age of late adolescence and young adulthood. Therefore,

they suggested that parents should focus on their children at that age and provide them with guidance upon friend selection.

There is little doubt, Hoeve et al's research aside, that parents can play an important role in protecting their children from the criminalising influence of peers. Poole & Regoli (1979) indicated that strong support and encouragement from parents can decrease the probability of young people's involvement with delinquent peers and therefore decrease the probability of them engaging in delinquent acts. In the same context, Steinberg (1987) found that the weaker the relationship between parents and their children, the more easily they adapted to delinquent behaviour, this being the largest factor in the influence of delinquent peers.

There are similar results in the Arabic literature: for example, Al Mutlag (2003), in his study on 103 juveniles involved in drug-abuse in Saudi young males, found that a peer group could have a negative influence, especially when the juvenile has interpersonal, psychological and socio-economic problems. In addition, a survey of 84 prisoners in Saudi Arabia found that one of the main reasons which had led them to commit shoplifting was the desire to "mimic their friends who have committed these kinds of crimes" (Al Sharani 2004 (cited in Al Kitbi 2010: 116). Also, Hashem (2005), through his studies on drug abusers, found that the majority of the samples' friends were from the same neighbourhood and had a criminal record for drug-related offences. Similarly, Al Braimi (2010) found that some friends of the sample had already committed deviant behaviour and 73% of respondents had committed a criminal act with the encouragement of their friends. In addition, Al Kitbi (2010) found that the majority of the sample

consisted of those who had chosen their friends independently without guidance or advice from their parents.

After considering these researches which found that there is a clear link between delinquency and peer pressure, it should be noted that these studies support some crime theories, such as differential association theory which argues that criminal behaviour is learned, rather than inherited, and gained from the surrounding social environment. This could happen through involvement with others, especially intimate relationships.

Neighbourhood / Community Factors

Disorganized and high-crime neighbourhoods are also seen to be of primary importance in the factors drawing young people into crime. McCord, Widom and Crowell (2001: 89) stated that “Growing up in an adverse environment increases the likelihood that a young person will become involved in serious criminal activity during adolescence”. In particular, they pointed out that “living in a neighbourhood where there are high levels of poverty and crime increases the risk of involvement in serious crime for all children growing up there”. Back to the period of the sixties, Robins & Hill (1966) found that the high criminal rates in Black American neighbourhoods assisted in the commission of unlawful acts. Later, Bursik and Webb’s (1982) study confirmed the finding that living in poor conditions encouraged the development of antisocial behaviours. Likewise, Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997) concluded from their empirical studies that poverty and disorganization within the community lead children to engage in violent crime as a result of decreasing motivation in the community to intervene when they see

children at increased risk of involvement in crime.

Neighbourhoods characterized by easy access to drugs and firearms can lead to the development of criminal activities. Gorsuch and Butler (1979) found a strong link between the easy availability of drugs and alcohol in a community and an increased rate of drug abuse among young people. Similarly, a high rate of violent crime was found to be linked to the easy availability of firearms in that community (Alexander et al 1985).

Furthermore, the mass media can be seen as an effective instrument of social control (Haralambos et al. 1991 (cited in Al Mutlag 2003: 74). In particular, TV, computer games and the internet have also been found to have a significant criminalising influence. Anderson et al (2003: 81) stated that it has been found that the influence of violent television, films and video games is immediate and lasts for the long-term. They also pointed out that it can lead to many kinds of aggressive behaviour: physical and verbal, as well as aggression in thinking and feelings. A considerable number of studies have posited that media exposure is related to aggressive attitudes, values and behaviours. An early study by Bandura, Ross and Ross (1963) found that young children who had seen aggressive films display more aggressive behaviour than those children who had not. Nobbes et al (1982) argued that some TV programmes led children to think that violence is the only way to solve problems (cited in Al Mutlag 2003: 74). Later, Paik and Comstock (1994) conducted a comprehensive meta-analysis of media violence. Their analysis of 217 empirical studies on media violence and aggression found that violence on television or in films causes increases in the aggressive behaviour of young people. However, there are some researchers, like Freedman (2003), who believe that scientific

evidence does not prove that watching violence could make youths' attitudes aggressive. The debate on this topic continues. Similarly, in the UAE literature, Al Kitbi (2010) could not find that there is a big role for the media in pushing an individual into committing a crime. However, obtaining such a result may be due to the small number of the participants sample (n = 25).

It seems that previous empirical studies were inspired by social theories in general and theories related to communities, such as community disorganization theory and community disorder theory, in particular. These theories argued that a community which has a weak ability with regard to social control leads to the likelihood for youth to be delinquent and this is because of the spread of illegal activities in the environment such as criminal gangs, drug addicts, prostitutes and guns. The media may contribute to the spread of such activities through the promotion of such behaviours, which lead young people to imitate them.

In the previous section, the risk factors related to the social environment surrounding adolescents (family, school, peers and neighbourhood) that increase the likelihood of delinquency were reviewed. In addition, some field studies which were conducted to test the seriousness of these factors and their relationship to committing delinquent behaviour were described. Also, these studies were linked to the theories of crime and criminal behaviour already explained above.

Communities that Care (2001: 64) identified some programme strategies related to each of the risk factors. They are illustrated in the following table reproduced from Communities that Care (2001: 64) (cited in Stephenson, Giller and Brown 2011: 16-17).

Table 2: Risk Factors and Programme Strategies	
Risk factors	Programme strategy
Poor parental supervision and discipline	Pre-natal services; family support using home visiting; parenting information and support; pre-school education; after-school clubs
Family conflict	Family support using home visiting; parenting information and support
Family history of problem behaviour	Pre-natal services; parenting information and support; family support using home visiting; family literacy
Parental involvement in/attitudes condoning problem behaviour	Pre-natal services; parenting information and support; family support using home visiting; family literacy
Low family income/poor housing	Pre-natal services; family support using home visiting; after-school clubs; housing management initiatives
Low achievement beginning in primary school	Pre-natal services; parenting information and support; pre-school education; family literacy; reading schemes; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; after-school clubs; mentoring; youth employment with education; preventing truancy and exclusion; further education for disaffected youth
Aggressive behaviour, including bullying	parenting information and support; pre-school education; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; mentoring ; preventing truancy and exclusion; youth work
Lack of commitment, including truancy	Pre-school education; family literacy; reading scheme; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; mentoring; youth employment with education; preventing truancy and exclusion; further education for disaffected youth; youth work
School disorganisation	Reading scheme; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; preventing truancy and exclusion
Alienation and lack of social commitment	Parenting information and support; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; after-school clubs; mentoring; youth employment with education; preventing truancy and exclusion; further education for disaffected youth; youth work; peer-led community programmes
Individual attitudes that Condone problem behaviour	Parenting information and support; organizational change in schools; after-school clubs; mentoring; preventing truancy and exclusion; youth work; peer-led community programmes
Early involvement in Problem behaviour	Parenting information and support; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; after-school clubs; mentoring; preventing truancy and exclusion; youth work; peer-led community programmes
Friends involved in Problem behaviour	Parenting information and support; reasoning and social skills education; organizational change in schools; after-school clubs; mentoring; preventing truancy and exclusion; youth work; peer-led community programmes
Disadvantaged neighbourhood	Community mobilization; community policing; youth employment with education; housing management initiatives
Community disorganization and neglect	Community mobilization; community policing; youth employment with education; youth work; housing management initiatives
Availability of drugs	Organizational change in schools; community policing; youth work; peer-led community programmes
High turnover and lack of neighbourhood attachment	Organizational change in schools; ; after-school clubs; mentoring; youth employment with education; community mobilization; community policing; further education for disaffected youth; peer-led community programmes; housing management initiatives

One of the critical problems of risk-focused prevention is that it is difficult to identify which risk factors are causes and which are just correlated with causes (Farrington 2000 cited in Farrington 2007: 607). The importance of this lies in the fact that the programmes, in order to be effective, should be focused on the real causes not on what is considered as merely connected with causes (Farrington 2007: 607). This will be discussed in further detail later.

In addition, Crawford (2007: 883) identified some advantages and disadvantages of universal and targeted prevention. An advantage of a universal programme is that there is no labelling or stigmatization of any members of a society. However, it may be needlessly expensive because most of the people receiving the intervention will not be at high risk. Also, universal programmes may have their most effect on children who are at lowest risk. Furthermore, a major advantage of a targeted programme is that it is potentially effective if the target people seem to be at a much higher risk of committing antisocial behaviour. In spite of this, a disadvantage is its potential for labelling or stigmatizing people at risk. Crawford and Evans (2012: 783) concluded that universal programmes are preferred to targeted ones by many practitioners.

2.4.2.2 Community Crime Prevention

Community crime prevention is the second type of social crime prevention. It is a combination of developmental and situational crime prevention (Welsh & Hoshi 2006: 165) and can be defined as "actions intended to change the social conditions that are believed to sustain crime in residential communities". By changing social conditions in

communities, individuals' behaviour may be changed (Tonry & Farrington 1995: 9). Therefore, it focuses on reducing delinquency, crimes and antisocial behaviour in neighbourhoods through local social institutions such as families, friends, associations and youth clubs (Hope 1995: 21). In other words, the community crime prevention approach, in order to prevent crime, seeks to strengthen informal social control by focusing on relationships between individuals in different social groups (family, friends, school and neighbourhood), as well as focusing on the standards and values of the community rather than motives that lead a person to delinquency (Crawford and Evans 2012: 784).

“Community” is another contested term: what is a community? Is it geographic, social, economic, divided by ethnicity, age, gender and many other factors? What defines a “community” as opposed to a group of people hardly relating to each other? Does the term prejudge the discussion, implying a collectivity which scarcely exists? Does it disguise social hierarchies of real relevance to criminogenic factors? Again, this is a fascinating debate beyond the scope of this thesis. A widely accepted definition in the context of policing practice is “small neighbourhoods, small towns or villages, areas of a city, whole cities, the populace at large or subgroups defined by some common attribute other than shared geographic area of residence (for instance, ethnicity, religion or age)” (Tilley 2005: 758).

There are many theoretical approaches attempting to explain the relationship between communities and crimes. Bennett (1998: 375- 376) identifies the four main community crime prevention theories. They are as follows: Community Disorganization Theory;

Community Disorder Theory; Community Empowerment Theory; and Community Regeneration Theory. These theories have been explained in more detail previously.

It can be concluded from the above that community prevention programmes are aimed at strengthening the people in the community to help combat crime. For example, Neighbourhood Watch is one of the community prevention programmes. Its aim is "reducing the fear of crime, encouraging awareness about crime prevention and improvements to domestic security, facilitating greater contact between neighbours and improving liaison between police and public" (Crawford, 1998: 148).

Finally, according to the Home Office (2003: 9), social crime reduction can take many forms. These are as follows:

- “providing alternatives to crime for young people such as clubs and youth shelters;
- taking out Anti-Social Behaviour Orders or Acceptable Behaviour Contracts against people causing anti-social behaviour;
- providing education programmes that divert people from crime;
- forming Neighbourhood Watch Schemes;
- setting up informal support networks for vulnerable groups such as the elderly;
- regenerating areas by improving their appearance and improving facilities”.

In conclusion, after reviewing the two types of crime prevention, social and situational, there are some issues that should be noted. On the one hand, Read and Rogers (2011: 79) argued that situational prevention cannot prevent some of the crimes which have been

caused by social risk factors such as domestic violence; in addition, it cannot stop people who have a strong motivation to commit crimes. Also, regarding the social crime prevention approach, Gilling (1997: 5), Greenwood (2006: 5) and Read and Rogers (2011: 79) argued that it is most effective because: (1) it can stop young people from becoming delinquent early; (2) it seeks to change criminal motivations and (3) it is not affected by displacement effects. On the other hand, according to the Home Office (2003: 9) and Muncie (2009: 311), social and situational crime prevention complement each other.

The next section will address principles that have been identified by researchers as playing an important role in the effectiveness of crime prevention programmes.

2.5 Effectiveness of Crime Prevention Programmes

In the seventies there was a pessimistic outlook towards crime prevention programmes as it was thought that there was no effective programme or “nothing works”, but gradually and step by step, after the conducting of studies based on solid methodology to measure the effectiveness of preventive programmes, this perspective was changed in a positive manner by beginning to look for “what works” in the so called “what works movement” (Muncie 2009: 323; Lösel 2012: 987). In more recent years, there has been increasing interest in what is effective in all public services, reflecting the interest in transparency and accountability (Muncie 2009: 322 and Stephenson, Giller and Brown 2011: 7).

For the purpose of this research, it is necessary to begin here by presenting a definition of

“programme”. It can be defined as “any structured intervention with an offender, or more usually with a group of offenders, which has clearly defined aims and methods of achieving them” (Utting and Vennard 2000: 3). There are two kinds of factors that impact on the effectiveness of prevention programmes. The first is concerned with the personal specifications factors such as the age of the participants, their ethnic background and their previous criminal history. So, for example, prevention programmes for young offenders who are older and have a longer duration in their careers in crime tend to achieve more impact than programmes applied to younger and lower risk juveniles. The second kind of factor is concerned with type of programmes and the mechanisms of application. All these factors play a crucial role in reducing recidivism (Utting and Vennard 2000: 18).

Proceeding from the idea that there is no single prevention programme that can guarantee success, the researchers identified some principles which, when available, enable programmes to be successful. These principles were identified through the work of scientific studies tracking methods such as meta-analyses or systematic review. This can be called evidence-based practice. These kinds of approaches started and spread throughout healthcare fields and then moved to social policy fields such as criminal justice (Stephenson, Giller and Brown 2011: 1). Therefore, social scientists and researchers in the criminal justice field conducted studies by using comprehensive meta-analyses of the research on programmes and interventions designed to prevent juvenile delinquency. One of the most important of these studies was the study of Andrews et al (1990) (Lipsey 2009: 126). These studies identified some principles as a result of which programmes that followed them have had a greater impact in prevention than those that

did not. Stephenson, Giller and Brown (2011: 25) stated that “these principles do not provide a prescription of what to do, let alone how to do it, in terms of reducing or stopping a young person’s offending. What they offer though is a framework within which projects can be developed and evaluated, or guidelines when constructing a package of interventions”.

A study by Andrews et al (1990) identified three fundamental principles which characterize effective programmes or interventions for the prevention of juvenile crime. These three core principles are risk, need and responsivity (**RNR**):

Risk principle: “Match the level of service to the offender’s risk to reoffend”.

Need principle: “Assess criminogenic needs and target them in treatment”.

Responsivity principle: “Maximize the offender’s ability to learn from a rehabilitative intervention by providing cognitive behavioural treatment and tailoring the intervention to the learning style, motivation, abilities and strengths of the offender” (Bonta & Andrews 2007: 1).

The study of Andrews et al (1990) identified the core principles which prevention programmes need to focus on in order to be strong and effective. It seems that this study identified these principles by taking inspiration from crime theories. For example, theories such as strain, labelling and social control could help in identifying criminogenic needs.

After this study, there were many studies and researches (for example: McGuire and Priestley 1995; Lipsey 1995 and Nation et al 2003) which expanded and added additional or subsidiary principles; however, most of these principles aspire to the same goal. For

instance, McGuire and Priestley (1995: 14-15) identified these principles: risk classification, criminogenic need, responsivity, community based, intervention modality and programme integrity as the fundamental principles which characterize effective programmes or interventions for the prevention of juvenile crime.

Risk classification: the intensity of the programme and the level of seriousness of the offending person should be matched.

Criminogenic need: programmes should concentrate on risk factors which contribute to delinquency.

Responsivity: young people's learning style should match with the staff working with them.

Community based: learning should be close to the youths' experiences and appropriate to their life style.

Treatment modality: The contents of the programme and the techniques used should be appropriate to deal with and address the risk factors for programme members.

Programme integrity: to be effective, programmes should have adequate resources, trained staff and regular evaluation.

Another relevant study, Nation et al (2003), used a review-of-reviews approach across four areas (substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour, school failure, and juvenile delinquency and violence) to identify characteristics consistently associated with effective prevention programmes. This study identified the following principles:

1. **Comprehensive:** covering a wide array of risk and protective factors by using multiple mechanisms and models.
2. **Varied teaching methods:** programmes should use a variety of teaching approaches, including some type of active, skills-based component.
3. **Sufficient “dosage”:** effective activities need to be adequate in terms of intensity and length for programme members.
4. **Theory driven:** Preventive programmes should be justified scientifically.
5. **Positive relationships:** Programmes should lead to robust, strong and positive relationships between children and others (i.e. parent-child relationships).
6. **Appropriately timed:** to achieve the maximal influence, prevention activities need to be applied at a proper time for young people.
7. **Socio-culturally relevant:** Programmes should be appropriate to the cultural beliefs, norms, values and practices of the local community.
8. **Outcome evaluation:** A regular evaluation of the outcomes is essential in order to determine the efficacy of the programme.
9. **Well-trained staff:** Staff who implement the programmes need to be competent, well trained and supervised.

However, it should be noted that the researchers in this study by Nation et al (2003) focused on programmes for those at risk rather than universal prevention programmes.

After describing these principles, it can be concluded from the current evidence that prevention programmes should follow certain criteria in order to be potentially successful and achieve impressive results. For example, identifying risk factors and directing the

programme to focus on them is vital. Hawkins, Catalano and Arthur (2002) concluded that effective interventions should be tailored to reduce risk factors and improve and strengthen protective factors. Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992: 1004) pointed out that “because the risk factors associated with delinquency are based in various systems, comprehensive prevention approaches are bound to be more effective than those of more narrow range”. Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993) found that for prevention programmes or services to have a favourable impact they should focus on multiple risk factors which could affect young people from their surrounding environment in a social context, such as family, school and peer influence. Programmes which only deal with single risk factors cannot achieve the same impressive results. For example, Haggerty et al (1999) argue that programmes for preventing drug use should focus on improving parenting practices, communities and schools in order to reduce risk factors and enhance protective factors for juvenile problem behaviours. However, according to Stephenson, Giller and Brown (2011: 27), these criminogenic needs are difficult to differentiate for a particular young person, so people who are designing or applying the programme have to decide which of these needs should be given priority and concentrated on.

In addition, “sufficient dosage” is important: programmes should be adequate in terms of intensity and length in order to achieve their aims. Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992: 1003) stated that “it would be wrong to believe that a single dose of any type of programme will keep a child out of trouble. A valuable lesson for both delinquency prevention and early childhood programmes concerns continuity of intervention”. In the same vein, Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993), by reviewing available research

regarding the effectiveness of prevention programmes, found that programmes, to maintain a positive effect in the future, should last for long periods of development. That is, if a programme does not continue for a long period of time, it will not be influential enough. Also, Lipsey (1995), by conducting a meta-analysis of over 400 researches on the effectiveness of prevention programmes, concluded that for a programme to be sufficient, it should last for 100 hours, twice a week and last for twenty-six weeks or more. However, the dosage of the programme should be appropriate to a participator's risk level (Lösel 1996; Andrews and Bonta 2010). Lösel (1996: 48) pointed out that "The risk principle suggests that high-risk offenders need intensive treatment, while low-risk offenders should not receive too intensive (and costly) programming". With regard to this, Nacro (2006: 3) reported that the level of risk of the young person should be assessed carefully and accurately because if the level of risk is low and the prevention programme is intensive, the results could be counterproductive. This could happen because of the impact of the delinquent peers who the participants mingled with (Stephenson, Giller and Brown 2011: 26).

Furthermore, a prevention programme, to be effective, should be appropriately timed. Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992: 1002) argued that longitudinal evidence from various early prevention projects such as the Perry Preschool Project indicated that prevention programmes in early childhood could have an important role in reducing juvenile delinquency and delinquent acts because it treats early the risk factors which could lead to these kinds of behaviours in future. Also, Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993: 158) stated that "there is evidence that preventive interventions at an early age may have an

enduring effect in reducing delinquent behaviours in early adolescence. Although far from conclusive, the early intervention programmes reviewed here present intriguing follow-up data about experimental groups doing markedly better on multiple measures several years after involvement with the programmes. This evidence, if it holds up in future investigations, is of considerable importance". Ialongo et al (2001) concluded that providing a prevention programme to reduce antisocial behaviour early has a greater influence than later.

Also, another principle which has been highlighted by researchers such as Andrews et al (1990) McGuire and Priestley (1995) is responsivity. This principle suggests that to ensure the participation, engagement and interaction of young people or any participant in a prevention programme, it should be implemented in ways and means that can motivate them and are commensurate with their race and gender, as well as the community where they live and its accepted ethics and cultural background. Elliott, Lindfield and Cusick (2002) found in their study that barriers to engagement and interaction of parents in prevention programmes are as follows: a negative background for these programmes and lack of belief that they can teach them how to be good parents; feeling shamed and stigmatised as a result of attending such programmes; unwillingness to share with others issues that are confidential and belong to their own lives; and finally, programmes or practitioners do not take into account cultural diversity. Stephenson, Giller and Brown (2011: 175) suggested that in order to avoid the obstacles that prevent parents from attending prevention programmes, the method and way of delivering these programmes should be considered, allowing parents, especially those with extensive

experience in family life, to benefit from each other. This so-called mutual benefit method could help parents who do not like to share with others with one to one programmes to work with them, especially in the very beginning, to give them confidence. They also pointed out that from the experience of YJB programmes, parents prefer programmes that “used interactive methods such as audio-visual material, role-play, discussion and debate”.

Moreover, staff is a key element in the success of preventive programmes so they should be carefully selected and trained to enhance their skills and be committed and motivated. Lösel (1996) found that “Effective treatment requires well-selected, specifically trained, highly motivated and continuously supervised staff. Staff attitudes and competence that do not match the aims and content of a programme may not only lower treatment integrity, they may also hinder its effectiveness”. Ellickson and Petersilia (1983) concluded that staff competence is one of the necessary factors for consideration concerning the success of the implementation of a programme. Similarly, Gendreau and Goggin (1996) found that for effective programmes, staff should have appropriate training, experience, and counselling skills such as problem solving skills. Chapman and Hough (1998: 48) identified some skills and knowledge which staff should be competent in because they are necessary for a programme’s integrity. These are: “risk assessment and management, supervision, planning and review, managing contact, attendance and enforcement, understanding and communicating the demands and benefits of appropriate programmes and services, referral and allocation of resources used in supervision, co-ordination and sequencing of work through the order, motivating, pro-social modelling

and reinforcing progress in learning and change, working in partnership within and outside their own organisation, prioritising within their caseload and using data to assess and adapt practice”. In the same context, Stephenson, Giller and Brown (2011: 63) pointed out that there are certain qualities that should be displayed by the staff in order to increase their interaction and integration with young people in the course of programmes, these being: dealing with young people in a way that suits them, clarity of values, principles and goals, the ability to give notes and feedback, the ability to solve the problems facing young people and, finally, to be open, active, optimistic and realistic. To ensure the effectiveness of programmes: (1) staff should be involved in planning and implementing the prevention strategy and programmes in order to gain staff commitment and a feeling of ownership (Howell 1995: 48); (2) there should be frequent monitoring of staff selection and training (Lösel 1996: 47); and (3) goals and procedures for the reasons behind implementation of the programme should be clear to the practitioners (Ellickson and Petersilia 1983).

Finally, to determine programme effectiveness, the evaluation of a prevention programme is essential. According to Hansen (2002: 434), evaluation reports are very important for decision makers because they guide them to take right and proper decisions. Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993) found that in order to evaluate delivered programmes they should be delivered uniformly, describe their “dimensions of operation” and assess intensity or comprehensiveness. Also, Wandersman et al (1998) concluded that for the evaluation to be effective, the evaluation process should: (a) use outcome data to determine programme fit or overlap; (b) use lessons learned to improve future

programmes and (c) use the process of evaluation to guide mid-course corrections in programming. Hansen (2002), by examining the evaluation for substance abuse prevention, concluded that in order to improve the evaluation process: (i) there should be a belief that evaluation is vital to the continuous enhancement and development of the prevention strategies and programmes; (ii) the design evaluation tool should match the strategies and programme's needs and (iii) evaluations should be done by high-quality experienced people. For staff assessment, Chapman and Hough (1998: 31) suggested some measurement criteria. These were: "use the appropriate knowledge grounded in empirical research and criminological theory; practice the skills necessary to obtain relevant information, to analyse that information, to produce supervision plans, to engage the offender fully in this process and to motivate and prepare the offender for supervision; work collaboratively with others, particularly those with special expertise, e.g. psychologists or addiction specialists; use an approved structured assessment tool; and understand and implement the service's targeting strategy for each programme, including meeting individual and team performance targets".

After describing the principles for effective prevention programmes, the next section will examine the role of the police in crime prevention.

2.6 Police Role in Crime Prevention and Partnership

According to Read and Rogers (2011: 2), the police play a significant and crucial role in preventing youth crime. The current approach adopted in UK policing in particular has been to prioritise prevention. In one sense, this has been a focus of their avowed policing

role since the production of the Metropolitan Police's first instruction book in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel (founder of the Metropolitan Police):

"Every effort of the police was to be directed at the prevention of crime. It went on the security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquillity, and all other objects of a police establishment will thus be better affected than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime. This should be constantly kept in mind by every member of the police force, as the guide for his own conduct. Officers and police constables should endeavour to distinguish themselves by such vigilance and activity as may render it impossible for anyone to commit a crime within that portion of the town under their charge". (Quoted in Newburn 2007a: 602)

This indicates the early view of crime prevention as being one of the priorities of police work. In addition, Wright (2002: 3) reports that the police are required to participate in crime prevention activities alongside their usual work such as patrols, reports of crimes, traffic accidents and emergency cases. The reasons supporting this approach are said to be that preventing crime before it occurs leads to avoiding punishment, the creation of criminal victims and the costs of detection and sentencing (Gilling 1997: 109). According to Bayley, one of the key scholars in this field, for the success of the police in reducing crime, their efforts should focus on "the privileges of detectives, the character of management, the occupational ethos, and the status of police officers" (1994: 73).

In particular, policing management needs to address: (1) The preoccupation with other works and the lack of flexibility and co-ordination; (2) inefficiency in using resources; and (3) lack of appreciation and reward initiatives and achievements. All of these factors

lead to weakening the police role in preventing crime (Bayley 1994: 73). When the police wish to prevent crime, Bayley argued, they should take the following points into consideration:

Table 3

Points	Explanation
Assess Needs	They should expect future risks, determine what citizens needs and then set the agenda for the community safety
Diagnose Causes	To activate the role of police in crime prevention, they should analyse the reasons and circumstances that led to a rise in the proportion of crime and disorder
Develop Strategies	After this analysis, the police should develop mechanisms for correction.
Implement New Approaches	They should implement new methods that anticipate and tackle the development of crime
Advocate Courses of Action	They should recruit partners to assist in the prevention of crime
Cooperate Actions	They need the cooperation of the public and the private sector
Evaluate Results	They should monitor and evaluate results in order to identify failings and assist development

Source: reproduced from Baylay 1994: 124-125.

2.6.1 Working in a Partnership

Bayley (1994: 102) argued that the police cannot prevent crime without community help. It is, for example, the community that provides the police with information about potential crimes and criminals. "Community institutions are the first line of defence against disorder and crime, and the source of strength for maintaining the quality of life", as mentioned in Kelling (1988: 2). Also, Wikstrom (2007: 8) pointed out that "the idea with local crime prevention partnerships is fundamentally a good one because effective delivery of crime prevention requires the active involvement and contribution of a large range of local actors (parents, teachers, neighbours, police officers, social workers, doctors, shop keepers, city planners, etc.)" (Cited in Farrington 2007: 171). Therefore, as a considerable number of research studies concluded, it is important that the police cooperate strongly and have a partnership with community institutions to work together to identify the most successful and effective solutions (Wright 2002: 108). In the same context, one of the policing priorities set by the National Police Improvement Agency⁴ in the UK is: "adopt a proactive multi-agency approach to preventing and reducing child abuse and neglect and safeguarding children" (Read and Rogers, 2011, 123). Also, one of the strategies for the Federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services⁵ (COPS) in the United States to reduce the violence associated with juvenile use of guns is

⁴ The National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) was formed in the UK in April 2007 to make a unique contribution to improving public safety.

⁵ The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services is the office of the U.S. Department of Justice that advances the practice of community policing in America's state, local and tribal law enforcement agencies.

“working in partnership with other city agencies to promote education, prevention, and intervention programmes related to handguns and their safety” (Siegel and Welsh 2008: 300-301). Berry et al (2011: 1) defined partnership as “a co-operative relationship between two or more organisations to achieve a common goal”. Also, McLaughlin and Muncie (2006: 253) defined multi agency crime prevention as "The planned, co-ordinated response of several social agencies to the problems of crime and incivilities". In more detail, Eklom and Wyvekens (2004: 10) described partnership as “a way of enhancing performance in the delivery of a common goal by the taking of joint responsibility and the pooling of resources of different agents”. It creates an opportunity to bring together a variety of points of view, knowledge, skills and experience to produce new approaches to the prevention of crime.

There is international interest in the partnership approach to crime prevention. According to Crawford (1997: 56), in the 1990 United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, there was a unanimous resolution which states that:

"Crime prevention is not simply a matter of police but must bring together those with responsibility for planning and development, for family, health, employment and training, housing and social services, leisure activities, schools, the police, and the justice system in order to deal with the conditions that generate crime".

In addition, Rosenbaum (2002: 177–178) and Eklom and Wyvekens (2004: 19-22) raise several points which show the importance of a partnership model for the prevention of crime. They suggested that working in a partnership helps in expanding analysis of crime to include a wide range of risk factors which are considered roots that lead to the

occurrence of crime. This could help to create innovative and comprehensive solutions. In addition, the solutions to the problem of crime may be related to the resolution of other issues such as social exclusion and poor education of children, therefore co-operation between specialized institutions in resolving such issues is essential. A lack of co-ordination between such organisations could create an element of inconsistency, because each organisation will deal with the problem independently. Therefore, a multi-agency approach can, if successfully managed, ensure a co-ordinated and organised effort with an appropriate distribution of competences and skills, thereby taking advantage of all institutional resources to achieve a high level of professionalism.

According to Blake, Sheldon, and Williams (2010: 128), the police have worked with other organisations throughout history (for example, during war years, in times of natural disasters such as floods or storms, or during other emergencies). With the passage of the time and with the development of police functions, their cooperation with other organisations, particularly social ones, has increased. Although the relationship between the police and social workers has not been particularly close throughout history, these institutions gradually began working together more extensively during the 1970s and '80s, particularly around child protection issues (Blake, Sheldon, and Williams 2010: 128; Garrett 2004: 79; Knepper 2007: 152). While these various multi-agency co-operative efforts in crime reduction have yielded many positive results, there have also been some conflicts and tensions.

According to Joys (2006), the conflicts and tensions resulting from instances of multi-agency cooperation in crime reduction result from inequities of power and differences in

customs, traditions, and points of view (cited in Read and Rogers 2011: 60). In this respect, Findlay (1991: 228) has stated that “conflicts arise from differing theoretical perspectives, differing hierarchical expectations and differing organisational cultures, differences which, in turn, make the resolution of conflict problematical.” In addition, Cooper, Anaf, and Bowden (2008) have concluded that the different aims, cultures, standards, and working techniques in the welfare sector and in the criminal justice sector (including the police) make partnerships between them difficult. While welfare has a culture of empowerment and an interest in victims’ rights, the police concentrate on enforcing laws, limiting disorder, and maintaining community safety. Such differences could create tensions on both sides when attempting to work together in partnership.

According to Holdaway (1986), there are some similarities in the activities of social work agencies and those of the police, including peace-keeping and giving advice about homelessness and family disputes. However, police occupational culture and some fundamental characteristics of police work may create conflicts and tensions with social workers. Examples of these characteristics include: (1) the police function of detecting and arresting criminals, suggesting that social control will dominate; (2) the tendency of police to distrust other people, including social work professionals; (3) the significance of time in police culture, as the different time scales of other organisations working with the police may lead to conflicts; and (4) the tendency of police to restrict themselves to their own territory, and resist interventions by professionals from other agencies. Examples from empirical studies considering this issue will be illustrated below.

In their research assessing multi-agency work in inner London and in a Lancashire town,

Sampson, et al. (1988) found that there were conflicts between members of the police, social services, and probation services because some of them were more powerful than others. The police often tried to dominate and form multi-agency programmes in their own interests. “The police are often enthusiastic proponents of the multi-agency approach, but they tend to prefer to set the agendas and to dominate forum meetings and then to ignore the multi-agency framework when it suits their own needs” (Sampson, et al. 1988: 491). In the same context, Garrett (2004) conducted semi-structured interviews with fourteen police officers and seven social workers working together in three different child protection units responding to child abuse. He found that in this multi-disciplinary work there were some tensions and conflicts, especially among the police, as they considered themselves the lead agency. Social worker respondents also revealed that there was a blurring of their roles as social workers, and they felt their professional ethos was being undermined. One of them stated, “The police and social workers are housed in the same building and there appeared to be a blurring of the roles of social workers and the police. This was particularly confusing for our customers who did not understand the different roles of social workers and the police” (Garrett 2004: 87). Another interviewee described the “blurring” of social worker and police roles as “an insult to social workers” (Garrett 2004: 87). Another felt that social workers were “losing their identities and professionalism and becoming more focused on gaining evidence for the prosecution – becoming little social policemen ... social workers who were not, perhaps, very strong in their identity and professionalism and they did get drawn towards ‘police type’ views” (Garrett 2004: 87). Additionally, another social worker noted, “As far as I’m concerned I’m servicing the police. I’m trying to get a child to tell me what happened so there’s a

weight of evidence for my police colleagues to go and confront a guy with . . . Quite clearly; I'm offering my skills to the police as a means of investigation" (Garrett 2004: 89).

These two studies suggest that in order for such partnerships to be ideal and effective, it is essential to make transformations within police culture, including the balance of power. In this respect, Knepper (2007: 148) highlights that if there is no balance of power, this could lead to the domination of police views. He suggests that "where multi-agency cooperation is taken as a strategy for crime prevention it should be clear what contribution agencies, other than the police, should be able to make" (2007: 148). Furthermore, this also might happen even if the cooperation is between the police and citizens. Through assessing a police programme in Chicago, with the aim of increasing police–community interaction and cooperation, Skogan and Hartnett (1997) found that there were some difficulties in the communication between police and citizens. Officers often controlled discussions and paid more attention to dangerous crimes, whereas citizens tended to focus on issues such as neighbourhood health (cited in Herbert 2000: 115).

Another issue that often leads to conflict is a lack of trust. In his survey of fifty-eight police officers and forty-two probation officers, Garton (1980) explored the conflicts between them, attributing the difficulties to the police officers' tendencies to be suspicious and to display a lack of trust. Other studies have found that a lack of experience can also disturb such partnerships. According to Findlay (1991: 228), "social workers have commented that police colleagues lack an appreciation of the necessity of

using play materials in communicating with children, especially younger children.” In an evaluation of the joint Social Work Department and the Central Scotland Police initiative, Brown and Fuller (1991) found that although social workers believed that levels of co-operation with the police in planning and sharing information were acceptable, the police seemed to have little previous experience dealing with children, and they tended to treat them the same way they treated adults. Because the police were not trained to deal with children, they tended to become impatient with the length of the child interview process, making social workers think that the police could not bear the stress of the kind of work that the social workers were accustomed to as a part of their own culture. In a study focusing on a joint police/social work child protection unit, Lardner (1992) agreed with Brown and Fuller’s study and suggested that staff should be trained in inter-agency co-operation and stress management. In addition, according to Parker, Gallagher, and Hughes (1994: 1), the multi-agency projects dedicated to child protection, including the police, social services, and other agencies, faced some problems because they were all “ill equipped to undertake detective work, to investigate large scale cases and to monitor, track and, where appropriate, invoke the prosecution of dangerous sex offenders.”

All of the issues mentioned above, including those related to differing organisational cultures; different aims and working techniques; inequities of power among agencies; the blurring of roles; and lack of trust and lack of experience, should be taken into account in order for such partnerships to be fruitful.

New equality and diversity legislation in the UK, the Equality Act 2010, creates what are known as public sector duties. In particular, a public body or a body exercising a public

function, which includes the partners in a police and multi-agency partnership tackling youth crime, must comply with the general duty in section 149. This requires it to have due regard in the exercise of its functions to (among other things) eliminate discrimination, advance equality of opportunity between persons who share one of the "protected characteristics" under the Act and persons who do not share it, and foster good relations between such persons. Among the protected characteristics are "race" and religion or belief. Brian Plastow suggests that “this joint duty offers the potential of compelling the police and local authorities in particular to address their current partnership failings. It should also compel managers of local public services to consider how their policies, practices and procedures contribute to or negatively impact on local communities.” (Plastow 2010: 292).

Berry et al (2011), in their study, used the rapid evidence assessment approach which provides synthesising evidence by a systematic review of available research in a subject area. They aimed to identify factors that could enable partnerships to work effectively and efficiently in delivering crime-related outcomes. They found that the following mechanisms could be associated with better working in partnerships.

Table 4: Mechanisms associated with better partnership working

Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared vision, values and norms of partners involved to establish collaborative advantage • Strong leadership and strategic direction (focused on proving a central coordination effort, getting buy-in
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	<p>from partners and managing the project)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full integration of project aims into partner organisations aims • Clear project brief, roles and responsibilities • Core groups to oversee problem solving approach
Data sharing and problem focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarity regarding the problem(s) being tackled through focused analysis to ensure a properly problem focused intervention • Regular exchange of relevant information • Having focused interventions in each area • Including researchers within partnership • Continual evaluation to review and inform activity of group
Communication and co-location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular face to face contact and communication between partners • Co-location of agencies, partners and staff • Presence of partners at local level
Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexibility of structures and processes • Having a research partner as an active member of the task force • Clear monitoring, accountability and integrity mechanisms

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Having operational groups to implement strategies• Involvement of most appropriate agencies
Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prior experience in working together in partnership (i.e. established relationships)• Secondment of skilled officers into joint team• Careful selection of appropriate partners• Joint training of team members

Source: reproduced from Berry et al (2011: iii).

2.6.2 Some Models of Police Application of the Concept of Crime Prevention

According to Talib (2001: 71), as a result of the evolution of ideas with regard to crime prevention in the seventies and eighties, the functions and duties of the police in western countries have changed and expanded, and what has emerged is what is called community policing and problem-oriented policing.

2.6.2.1 Community Policing

Community policing plays an important role in nurturing a relationship between the police and members of the community. The approach is particularly associated with John Alderson, the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall, who was one of the first to develop major programmes of police reform based on the grounds of this approach. It initiated in the United States and during the 1980s influenced policing reform in the UK. There is no specific definition of “community policing”, so every community or society may have their own perception it (Newburn 2007a: 612). However, any definition should take into account the seeking of a close relationship between police and community which lies at the heart of the approach. For instance, leading scholars on this topic, Skogan and Hartnett (1997: 5), suggest that community policing "involves reforming decision-making processes and creating new cultures within police departments: it is not a packet of specific tactical plans It assumes a commitment to broadly focused, problem-oriented policing and requires that police be responsive to citizens' demands when they decide what local problems are and set their priorities". Also, McConville and Shepherd (1992: 116) define community policing as "A strong emphasis upon officers

dedicated to particular beats, who would get to know the community ... the importance of officers establishing relationships with the community without the pressure to make arrests associated with fire-brigade policing" (cited in Evans 1995: 76). In addition, Weatheritt (1983: 4-5) suggests that community policing may be viewed as "response to community problems, sharing the responsibility between police and public in order to control the crime, and improve communication" (cited in Evans 1995: 78-79).

Tilley (2003: 317) identified several models of ways to involve the community in policing, including: (a) defining what constitute problems or policing needs; (b) shaping forms of local policing by the police service; (c) examining identified local problems alongside the police service; (d) determining responses to issues as participants in community policing; (e) working with the police to address community-defined problems; and (f) informing or supplementing the operational work of police officers.

According to Bayley (1994: 105-106), a community can help the police in four ways: (1) identify local problems and needs; (2) facilitate the education of people about crime and disorder; (3) provide ways for community members to raise and address perceptions and experiences of unjust policing practices; and (4) inform the police of successful approaches and initiatives. Therefore, it seems that a community has the capacity to play a vital role in the prevention of crime. If there is little co-operation between the community and the police, this will result in a weakened approach to prevention of crime and significantly reduce its chances of success (Palmiotto 2000: 83).

There are some problems in assessing the performance and effectiveness of community policing. Firstly, there are no clear and precise mechanisms to identify how community

policing should reduce crime (Crawford 1998: 147). Secondly, there is difficulty in setting suitable criteria to determine the success or failure of community policing (Evans 1995: 77). Therefore, the next generation of research, seeking to develop effective and influential crime prevention systems, sought to develop specific mechanisms for carrying out the work and specific criteria for evaluation.

2.6.2.2 Problem-Oriented Policing

In 1979, Herman Goldstein maintained that in order to improve and activate the role of police in community work the police should enhance their processes which facilitate dealing with problems that people expect to face. Accordingly, he developed what is called “problem-oriented policing” (POP) (Goldstein 1979: 236). Considered as a proactive strategy for delinquency prevention, the method was first established in the United States and then came to be adopted in the UK (Siegel and Welsh 2008: 301). According to the Home Office (2003: 12) POP is co-operation between police, communities and local agencies to identify the root causes of a problem and suitable ways to tackle it. They employ a systematic four-step model, often called SARA. This method consists of four stages: scanning, analysis, response and assessment. Descriptions of the four steps are as follows:

- **Scanning:** identifying crime problems by using various knowledge sources such as surveys or any data from local organisations.
- **Analysis:** analysis of data in order to identify the underlying causes of crime problems.

- **Response:** based on the previous analysis stage, police and its partner agencies can develop and implement solutions to the crime problem by using situational and social approaches
- **Assessment:** this stage should look again at the solution employed, in order to ensure that it worked well and lessons are learned by means of such an evaluation (Home Office 2003: 12).

According to Tilley (2003: 318), this systematic model focuses on the following:

- **"Repeat victimisation** – the heightened risk experienced by those who have already been victimized.
- **Hotspots** – the concentration of incidents in particular places.
- **Prolific offenders** – the evidence that a minority of offenders are responsible for a disproportionate amount of offences.
- **Hot products** – some items are particularly attractive to offenders and are especially likely to be targets for stealing.
- **Hot classes of victim** – some victims are particularly vulnerable to certain types of crime".

Tilley (2003: 330) identifies the key difficulties in implementing POP: firstly, beliefs held by police officers that punishment is an important factor in controlling crime; secondly, difficulties in obtaining data, which can lead to problems when it comes to analysis; and thirdly, the preoccupation within the police with regard to responding to emergency cases has led to a lack of time allotted to carrying out the POP process.

As noted in the previous section on partnership, the expansion of the role of policing into areas of social life previously governed by organisations with a welfare ethos has been criticised, primarily because of the risks undermining the welfare of youth and communities. In a similar vein, there are concerns associated with the police widening their net through social crime prevention initiatives. That is, expanding the role of the police enables the criminal justice system to deal with certain minor ‘unwanted’ behaviours of individuals that previously could not be dealt with through criminal law (see Cohen 1985). For example, the Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) introduced elements of a criminal justice response to a wide category of behaviours such as vandalism, begging, disruptive neighbourhood activities, and anti-social drinking (see Read and Rogers 2011: 36-52). This order has been criticized for potentially breaching some essential human rights (Millie 2009: 113). It could demonise young people and criminalise activities that previously had been conceived of as non-criminal.

One powerful example of the expansion of the “criminal” sphere is that the names, addresses, and photographs of those who commit minor disorders may be published (Gask 2004: 8). According to a Home Office publication, “We know that too many communities are still blighted by the mindless behaviour of a few yobs, who can ruin the quality of life for everyone. Many offenders think that they are untouchable and above the law. If they thought that there would be a news blackout on their actions they must now think again. Publicising ASBOs has been tested in the courts and today we are making the position crystal clear - your photo could be all over the local media, your local community will know who you are, and breaching an ASBO could land you in

prison. Publicity is part of proper enforcement, which is essential if we are to tackle anti-social behaviour and reassure communities that something is being done” (Home Office 2005: n.p.).

According to Stephen (2006: 225), “What could be a greater ‘obstacle’ to a child or young person’s successful development than having their mugshot and name displayed for all the world to see?” It additionally has been noted that over half of all ASBOs tend to be breached, which means that the number of ASBOs leading to custodial sentences is high (Strickland and Bardens 2010: 1). According to the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO), “Napo believes that the original purpose of the ASBO has been abused in some areas. In many incidents, individuals are receiving a custodial sentence where the original offence was not itself imprisonable. This includes people banned from begging or prostitution. The ASBO is clearly, therefore, moving offenders up tariff and resulting in the inappropriate use of custody. ASBOs are being used against young people whose behaviour may be anti-social but not necessarily threatening. It is being used to deal with nuisance which could be dealt with in other ways” (NAPO 2006: n.p.). In addition, a survey of fifty-four Youth Offending Teams conducted by the British Institute for Brain Injured Children (2005) has shown that a third of young people under the age of seventeen who had been given ASBOs had either learning disabilities or mental health disorders (cited in Millie 2008: 387-388).

Several researchers have critically evaluated programmes implemented by the police. Sherman et al. (1997: 9) classified these programmes as following a “what doesn’t work?” logic, because they either failed or had counterproductive effects, as illustrated in

the following chart:

Table 5: Some programmes evaluations

Programme	Result	Evaluations
Arresting juveniles for minor offenses.	“cause them to become more delinquent in the future than if police exercise discretion to merely warn them or use other alternatives to formal charging.”	Farrington 1977; Klein 1986.
Arresting unemployed suspects for domestic assault.	“cause higher rates of repeat offending over the long term than non-arrest alternatives”	Sherman and Smith 1992; Pate and Hamilton 1992.
Increasing arrests or raids on drug markets.	“fail to reduce violent crime or disorder for more than a few days, if at all.”	Sviridoff et al. 1992; Annan and Skogan 1993; Sherman and Rogan 1995.

(Table created by the researcher.)

One recent study (Frogner et al 2013) examined a hot spot policing intervention found that there are no significant changes in the number of reported street violence cases during the intervention.

Zero tolerance is another strategy used by the police to reduce crime. It has been shown that this measure may increase problems of homelessness, poor health, and persistent criminal careers (Dixon 2005: 489-491; Knepper 2007: 121). Zero tolerance policing can be described as a public declaration of “a range of commitments to harshness in criminal justice” and a policing practice where “police should fully enforce the criminal law and that discretion would be eliminated from policing” (Dixon 2005:483). However, these actions may have unintended consequences. Reducing the discretion of the police regarding their enforcement practices may increase the incidence of homelessness. Von Mahs (2005) demonstrated that the criminalization of homeless people has a negative effect, making them more vulnerable to crime or to becoming victims of crimes. He illustrated his point in the following example: “A deportation consists of taking homeless persons to remote areas outside the city where they are left to their own devices... such actions are taken with the idea that they are a positive alternative to arrest and its damaging consequences. But for persons who are intoxicated or mentally ill, such actions can be life-threatening” (cited in Knepper 2007: 127).

In addition, police initiatives related to drugs may lead to damaging the health of drug users as well as the health of others. For instance, because of the fear of drugs being confiscated, drug users may consume them in a more reckless manner. This may lead to overdoses, injecting episodes, and blood transfusions from one person to another, which may spread dangerous viruses (Maher and Dixon 1999). Imprisonment also has a significant impact on the lives of young people. As mentioned above, police treatment of juveniles as persistently delinquent is one reason for young people’s continued delinquent

behaviours, according to labelling theory (Lundman 1993: 90). In this line of thought, juveniles who pass through the criminal justice system suffer reduced self-esteem because they are labelled as criminals, and consequently continue in their criminal careers. A similar problem arises with the increased imprisonment of parents. According to a study by Murray and Farrington (2005), the imprisonment of parents increases the likelihood of children being delinquent, due to the following factors: the damaging effects of family separations, the stigma attached to such situations, the loss of income due to parents not being able to work, worsened parental care, and the fact that children tending to mimic the behaviours of parents. Goldsmith (2006) conducted qualitative research on incarcerated participants between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one. He found that for the majority of his subjects, being imprisoned did not prevent their offending behaviours from escalating. Finally, Knepper (2007: 129) concluded that in the criminal justice system, there are great concerns for justice in the procedures governing people entering the system, but insufficient attention paid to the process of exiting the system. Those released must be reintegrated into society and provided with jobs, housing, and health care. Former prisoners either return to their normal lives as parents, employees, and citizens, or fall back on criminal behaviours or drug abuse.

These examples indicate some of the intended and unintended consequences of the act of widening the police net, with particularly harsh effects on young people. Hence, when considering innovations in juvenile delinquency prevention measures, it must be recognised that expanded police roles, whether for welfare purposes or for higher criminalisation rates, may be a threat to civil liberties, and may prove to be more harmful

than beneficial. Innovations in policies and projects must be based on thorough explorations of relevant research insights, and regularly evaluated for their effectiveness.

In this chapter, the research began by presenting different definitions for crime prevention for a number of researchers (Brantingham and Faust, Van Dijk, Ekblom and Crawford). Then, the researcher chose to adopt the definition expounded by Ekblom, which is most suitable for this study, because it focuses on the risk factors that lead to crime. Subsequently, three phases of the development of crime prevention from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the present time were detailed. Then, theories of crime and criminal behaviour in different fields (i.e. sociology, criminology, psychology and biology) were explored. The study also explained the various types of crime prevention as divided by some researchers into primary, secondary and tertiary. However, there is a further division, known as situational and social crime prevention. For situational crime prevention, despite its successes, there is a criticism in that it does not address the root of the crime, but rather displaces it. As for social crime prevention, it is thought to be appropriate unless there is a difficulty in identifying the risk factors, in which case it may result in stigmatization. As social control theory, strain theory, subcultures theorists, community disorganization theory, labelling theory and differential association theory, have as discussed above been shown to be successful when applied to prevention, they will influence my analysis of the empirical data. As regards developing prevention programme designs best suited to UAE policing, the key studies that I have also discussed above as being most insightful were those carried out by Andrew et al (1990), McGuire and Priestley (1995), Lipsey (1995), Howell et al. (1995); Farrington

(1996); Bright (1997); and Rutter et al. (1998): these will influence my analysis too.

In this study, the research will also take into account those approaches which are the most appropriate and most likely to be effective with regard to the culture of the UAE and also, in the light of this, which expedient factors and which risk factors should be focused upon primarily. In identifying this, the study will take into account the findings and criticisms which surround each approach, as well as the critical factors thought to contribute to successful and sustained implementation.

In addition, the study has explained the role of the police in the prevention of crime and singled out community policing and problem-oriented policing.

In the next chapter, the geography, political, economic and social aspects of society in the UAE will be explained.

3. Chapter Three: The Geography and Political, Economic and Social Structures of the UAE

In this chapter, the researcher intends to present a brief analysis of the geography, social structures and demography of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), where the present research was carried out. Initially a profile of the UAE will be set out, including details of the geography and political, economic and social structures there. Next, the legal body of human rights law in the UAE will be explained. Finally, the key statutory regime governed by the Federal Juvenile Act in the UAE will be described. Such a comprehensive analysis combining social scientific data with legal analysis has not been conducted before this thesis: hence this discussion is the first of its kind.

3.1 The Geography and Political, Economic and Social Situation in the UAE

In order to provide a general introduction to the policing of juvenile delinquency in the UAE, it is important to consider the geography of the country as well as the political, economic and social situation. All these issues are linked to each other and have, in varying ways, impacted upon the criminal situation in the state. Also, especially as far as political and economic factors are concerned, these issues are related in a way which determines the crime prevention policy and prevention programme in the country (Muncie 2009: 324–325) and a study of juvenile delinquency cannot be made independently of them. Therefore, this section will give a brief description of the country's geography and population, followed by a consideration of the political, economic and social aspects of the UAE.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is one of the Gulf countries. It occupies a regionally important strategic location on the Arabian Gulf stretching from the Strait of Hormoz in the east to the state of Qatar in the west. It is bordered in the north and north-east by the Arabian Gulf, in the east by the Gulf of Oman, by Saudi Arabia in the south and by the state of Qatar and Saudi Arabia to the west.

The UAE is a federal state consisting of seven emirates: Abu Dhabi (the capital), Dubai (the business / trade capital), Sharjah, Ajman, Umm Al Quwain, Ras Al Khaimah and Fujairah. These seven emirates formed a federation in December 1971, after the British withdrew from the Gulf. The system of government in the UAE is federal, where each emirate has its own independent ruler, but all are subject to the Head of State (president) and one constitution. The constitution provides for an independent judiciary. While the official language is Arabic, other languages spoken include English, Hindi and Farsi. The official religion of the United Arab Emirates is Islam, but the practice of any other religion is allowed. In 2006, a fundamental shift in the constitution occurred in the context of the consolidation of democratic practice in order to enable Emiratis to participate in the political development and selection of members of the Federal National Council (Parliament).

The UAE population was estimated at 5.06 million in 2009 (UAE Year Book 2010: 146). In addition, according to the UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE (2010: 155-156), 11% of the population are young people aged from 10 – 19, as: 42% are citizens (N = 229,581 children) = 25% of the total citizens and 58% residents (N = 314,269 children) = 8% of the total residents (see figures 1 & 2).

Figure 1: The Population Rate of Young People Aged From 10 – 19 in the UAE

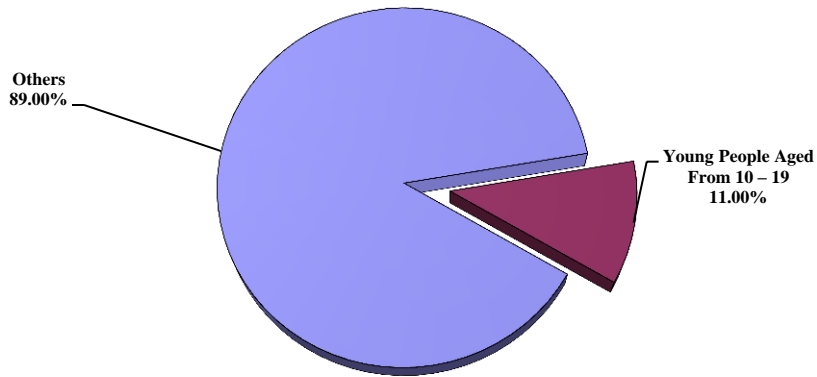
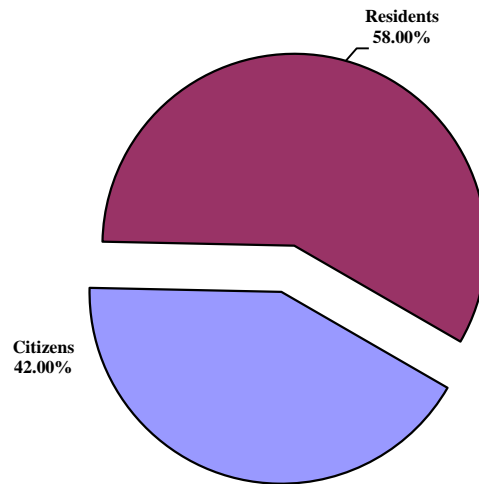


Figure 2: Percentage of Citizens and Residents of the Young People Aged from 10 – 19 in the UAE



Although the population in the UAE reached five million by 2009, this included a large working expatriate population, mainly Asian nationals and Arabs from different Arab countries. According to the UAE Year Book (2010: 146), 81.7 % of the population are

expatriates⁶ while Lulu and Ghobash (1997: 247) reported that in 1980 the expatriates constituted 53% of the population. They also pointed out that this rate of expatriates is unusual when compared with other developing countries in general and Arab countries in particular, where the proportion of expatriates was between 22% and 40%.

The UAE seeks to protect the culture of all residents and encourage their habits according to them being consistent and commensurate with the national legal system. It also seeks to protect their cultural, religious and linguistic identities as well as fighting against racism, discrimination and intolerance (UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE 2010: 156). The UAE is adopting a policy of balance and moderation on regional and international issues, and it can be considered as a model in the area of religious freedom. There are hundreds of thousands of workers in the UAE following different religious and beliefs, all of them being included under the roof of religious freedom and religious tolerance (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012). It is also adopting the principle of dialogue and understanding between countries and respecting of international conventions, rules of good neighbourliness, state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful settlement of disputes. The UAE also believes that it should be open to the world and build strategic partnerships in a wide range of fields such as politics, economics, commerce, culture, science, education and health (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

On the international level, the UAE joined the United Nations on the ninth of December 1971 and gave commitment to the Charter of the United Nations because of its belief that

⁶ Over 200 nationalities.

the United Nations represents the model mechanism to promote international relations and achieve sustainable development. It is also promoting membership in professional organizations related to the United Nations such as the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund. In addition, it supports some activities of the United Nations; for example, in the framework of co-operation with the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime and the support of the Global Initiative to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, the UAE provided \$15 million to support the activities of the Office of the United Nations to fight and prevent trafficking in human beings and provided training courses for technical and law enforcement staff. The UAE also gave support for the maintenance of the United Nations Voluntary Fund on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. In addition, believing in the importance of the issue of the empowerment of women and the significance of supporting international efforts in this context, the UAE praised the establishment of UN Women and offered \$5 million support for this fledgling organization (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

3.2 The Economic and Social Situation in the UAE

According to the Human Development Report (2010) released by the United Nations, the UAE has a very high level of human development. It is ranked 32 out of 169 countries covered in the report and ranked first among Arab countries. Nowadays, the UAE has a high standard of living and economic and social well-being. The emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai are at the forefront of cities in the Middle East and the Arab world, having

been ranked 58 out of the 215 cities worldwide that have been classified according to aspects of health, medical services and quality of life. In addition, according to the World Development Indicators (2010) issued by the World Bank, the UAE occupies an advanced position in the group of high-income countries in the areas of education, health, environment, ability to attract foreign investment and the development sector of information technology and communication. Also, the UAE ranked 31 in the Global Competitiveness Index (UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE 2010: 21). According to Alkhaleej Newspaper (2012), among the most important achievements at the national level is that the UAE ranked 30 out of a total 187 countries in the International Human Development Report (2011), thus remaining first among Arab countries for the second year in a row; it also increased by two degrees in an indicator of equality between men and women, according to figures issued by the World Economic Forum in 2011, to occupy the first rank among Arab countries. In addition, it won first place at the level of the Arab region and the Middle East and ranked thirteenth at the global level, according to the International Justice Programme (2011), as being the most transparent in its judicial system and the judiciary. This is significant in that justice and transparency of the judiciary are the key pillars that enable people to live a decent life. Furthermore, the Emirate of Abu Dhabi was selected to host the headquarters of the Secretariat of the International Agency for Renewable Energy "Irina" in June 2009. This may indicate the growing status of the UAE in the international community, especially as it is the first time that an international agency has selected a city based in the Middle East.

3.2.1 The Economic Situation in the UAE

Before 1971, the UAE was one of the poorest countries in the world. It did not have a strong economy because economic resources in the area at that time were very scarce. Agriculture, pearling, fishing and trading were the main economic activity in which people in this region were involved. For many years these were the kinds of activity the people in the UAE were experts in (UAE Year Book 2010: 28).

The discovery of oil in the 1960s and unification of the emirates in 1971 initiated a huge and significant transition in the development of the state, leading to great changes in education, health, transportation, technological growth, industrial development, economic conditions, and social aspects. These changes largely enhanced the economy and raised the standard of living. Therefore, UAE society became a different social order within a very short period, a huge contrast from its very recent past (UAE Year Book 2010: 28). Nowadays, it can be considered the second largest economy in the Gulf countries after Saudi Arabia (UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE 2010: 21). The UAE government directed its wealth to invest in human resources and community development through facilitating the high personal average income, the development of suburban areas, provision of social guarantees, providing free services to citizens in areas such as education, health, housing, culture, recreation, sanitation and infrastructure. Further clarification upon these matters will be provided in subsequent sections.

At the present time, the UAE is seeking to achieve balanced and sustainable development and to ensure the quality of life for all residents not only in the crude oil sector, which constitutes a high percentage of the volume of gross domestic product, but also in non-oil

sectors in order to achieve the goal of diversifying sources of income. This is reflected through: (a) promising business investment; (b) strengthening the infrastructure; (c) investment in the tourism sector; (d) establishment of industrial areas; (e) providing developed financial services and banking and (f) establishment of several productive agricultural, industrial, real estate and services projects (Ministry of the Economy 2007).

According to the Ministry of the Economy (2007), the success of economic growth in the UAE is due to the established peace and political stability, a robust infrastructure, high returns from oil, its significant geographical location, a sophisticated banking system and finally, strong economic relations with developed countries in the world. The following table illustrates the economic development indicators in the UAE:

Table 1: Indicators of Economic Development

Indicators	2002	2004	2008
Per capita GDP (in thousands of dollars)	22.2	28.1	53.4
Average per capita national savings (in thousands of dollars)	3.5	6.2	16.3
The overall average wage (in thousands of dollars)	10.4	11	15.5
The overall average of worker production	51.9	63.4	105.8

Source: UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE (2010: 45).

This table shows the increase of per capita national savings from 3.5 thousand dollars in 2002 and reaching 16.3 thousand dollars in 2008. Also, there was an increase in per capita gross domestic product from 22.2 thousand dollars in 2002 to 53.4 thousand dollars in 2008. In addition, the overall average wage increased from 10.4 thousand dollars in 2002 to 15.5 thousand dollars in 2008, while the overall average productivity factor increased from 51.9 thousand dollars in 2003 to 105.8 thousand dollars in 2008.

This strong economy has helped a great deal in development projects in the state such as expanding ports and airports, the construction of developed road networks, the development of water and electricity stations and finally, the building of schools, hospitals, clinics, modern houses, offices, banks and government departments at the highest advanced levels. Therefore, people have more schools, jobs, better health system and better housing (UAE Year Book 2010: 28). This kind of high standard of living and economic and social well-being has helped the UAE to achieve first place in rankings regarding the quality of life in the Middle East and North Africa, while in world rankings it was placed 15 out of 160 countries, in a survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) of the Journal of Economics published in the UK (Economist) 2009 (UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE 2010: 47).

3.2.2 The Social Situation in the UAE

In the United Arab Emirates, much of the social aspects of life have changed since the sudden increase in wealth occurred. The situation before the discovery of oil (particularly in the 1970s) was very different to that afterwards. Regarding the educational services,

health services, social welfare and social care services, the government is seeking to provide them at the highest level of efficiency in order to achieve a decent livelihood and fulfilling social life for the all population. In 2010, the volume of spending on these services was AED 17.8 billion, which is equivalent to 41% of the total budget (UAE Year Book 2010: 236). Details of these services will be provided in the following paragraphs.

3.2.2.1 Educational Services

Education is a fundamental human right. It is the basis of progress and advancement of communities worldwide, so, for instance, in developed countries, education is one of the priorities in governmental programmes and policies. Until the middle of the 1960s there were no regular schools in the Emirates and education was limited to a few people. After that, and by taking the view that investment in education is the cornerstone for any desirable change in social life, while also believing that it has an important and central role in the dissemination of knowledge, encouraging positive values, developing individuals' skills and giving them the capacity for innovation and creativity, enriching their experiences, insights and experiments and providing the ability to develop their living situations and face any challenge or change in their future lives, the UAE government decided to promote education as a top priority under the logo "Education First". Therefore, they established educational programmes and a strategy that determined the educational requirements of the Emirates. As a result of this strategy, the regular educational system in the UAE officially commenced after the unification with focus being placed on education from early childhood and a large amount of money being

spent to improve the quality of teaching and learning. For instance, 16.5% of the total budget, equivalent to 7.2 billion AED, has been allocated to the education sector (UAE Year Book 2010: 259). This led to a decline in the proportion of illiteracy among the population in the state from 57% in 1971, 12.6% in 2000 to 9% in 2005 (Ministry of the Economy 2007). According to the UNICEF Report (2010: 101), the percentage of educated people aged 15 to 24 was about 99% in 2008 and is expected to reach 100% by 2015.

Furthermore, as far as higher education is concerned, the government have established many universities and colleges in the main cities, in addition to the occupational and technical institutions to be found everywhere throughout the country. Moreover, Emirates students are attending universities and colleges throughout Europe and North America, to receive the specialized skills and training not available in the region (for more details see UAE: Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research official website). Accordingly, 6.2% of the total budget in 2010 was allocated to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (UAE Year Book 2010: 295).

3.2.2.2 Health Services

Before the discovery of oil, people in the UAE were suffering as a result of very poor health services. Many deaths could be attributed to common diseases and sickness such as smallpox, leprosy and cholera, amongst many others. The child death rate was very high. After the growth of the economy, the UAE government paid special attention to health services in both preventive and therapeutic aspects. It initiated the provision of

health care and health education programmes, including education regarding nutrition, the development of services for pregnant women and mothers, the pursuit of a policy of preventive medicine, support for infectious disease control programmes and providing the means for immunization through vaccination campaigns. All of this led to the reduction of diseases in children, with a significant reduction in the mortality rate of children under five, the elimination of diphtheria in 1990 and the elimination of polio in 1994. Subsequently, the UAE was declared (by a publicity committee in the World Health Organization - WHO) as a country free from malaria in 2007 and the rate of infant mortality decreased from 8.7 per 1000 live births in 2004 to 7.64 per 1000 live births in 2008 (UNICEF Report: children in the UAE 2010: 21). In addition, in order to maintain an advanced level of health services, the total spending on health services provided by the Ministry of Health in 2007 was about 1507 million AED and the infant death rate fell to 7.3 per thousand children (Ministry of the Economy 2007).

3.2.2.3 Social Welfare and Social Care Services

Before the economic boom in the 1970s, the Emirates could not provide any form of social care because of its limited resources. However, after the economic conditions changed, and taking the view that social welfare is one of the important pillars of the elements of social development, the UAE government has focused on social care services through: providing a monthly allowance to those in desperate need, including the elderly,

widows, orphans, disabled people and unmarried and divorced women⁷; the establishment of social development centres⁸; offering programmes and awareness lectures for families, parents and teens; and finally the establishment of care centres for the disabled⁹ which provide opportunities for medical and psychological treatment, as well as an opportunity for education and the acquisition of knowledge and vocational training to enable them to attain social inclusion.

Furthermore, the UAE established many of the nurseries and kindergartens in cities and villages to encourage early learning and offer the best international levels for educational and psychological care. The Council of Ministers resolution No (19) for the year 2006, was concerned with the establishment of nurseries at the ministries, public institutions, government departments and government offices to provide care for the children of female employees working in those bodies, from age two to four years, in order to provide for the social stability of the child. In addition, the UAE support disabled children and those with special needs and provide all the necessary educational and training needs for them to integrate in the community. They also created many of the care and rehabilitation centres and sports clubs, scattered in all parts of the country, to offer educational, recreational and health services (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

Finally, as detailed above, it can be noted that the accomplishments of the UAE

⁷ The number of cases in 2006 was 37.8 thousand cases (Annual Economic and Social report of United Arab Emirates 2007).

⁸ N= 10 in 2006 (Annual Economic and Social report of United Arab Emirates 2007).

⁹ N= 33 in 2007 (Annual Economic and Social report of United Arab Emirates 2007).

government are considerable and they have changed the face of life in the state and achieved a cultural shift in all areas. Social and political developments in the UAE were influenced by the economic revolution. Before the discovery of oil and the economic boom, modern transport and infrastructure did not exist. The major social and economic changes and developments in the UAE have led to a massive improvement in the quality of life. The individual's standard of living has improved with the development of housing, transportation, education, health care and social care services. This rapid economic and social growth in all sectors may be attributed to the development policy pursued by the UAE government. Therefore, although UAE today is only one of the developing countries of the Middle East, these certain distinct features distinguish it from the other countries of the region.

The next section will explain the role of the UAE and its efforts to maintain human rights so as not to violate them in its land. In particular, the rights of children, women and workers will be singled out in detailed.

3.3 The UAE and Human Rights

The UAE is concerned about human rights issues, both at the local and international level. Therefore, with regard to the international level and humanitarian relief (humanitarian foreign aid), the UAE is committed to providing the basic needs in emergency situations to those affected, promptly and in the best way that could ensure the saving of the lives of victims and alleviate suffering, as well as protecting and

preserving human dignity during and after natural disasters and crises around the world. These humanitarian responses, offers of humanitarian assistance and relief assistance are neutral without prejudice, discrimination or favour to any party and are made on the basis of purely humanitarian motives, independent of any political or economic reasons, military purposes or otherwise. During 2010 the value of humanitarian and foreign aid provided by the UAE was 2.80 billion UAE dirhams (762.2 million U.S. dollars) in grants and loans for the benefit of development programmes and humanitarian aid, with another 2.81 billion dirhams (765.3 million U.S. dollars) for the benefit of development programmes that will be implemented after 2010. Furthermore, the UAE has pledged to provide \$350 million to support renewable energy projects in developing countries to promote the use of sustainable energy in a number of areas most in need around the world (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

As for the local level, the UAE government aimed through its strategies to achieve sustainable and balanced development and to provide a decent life for its citizens and residents through: (1) commitment to the conservation of the rights of children and women, as well as the rights of workers: (2) the establishment of institutions and bodies supported by the government to ensure these rights, to review policies and legislation and to suggest what further developments could be made. The UAE nominated itself for the Human Rights Council for the years 2013 – 2015, for the first time since the founding of the Council in 2006. The desire of the United Arab Emirates to join the membership of the Human Rights Council can be considered as a sign of its belief in the importance of human rights and its commitment to participate in international efforts to promote and

protect those rights in the world and also a sign of its belief in the importance the role of the Human Rights Council in this area (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012). In the following section, the situation of the rights of the child, women and workers will be considered.

3.3.1 Rights of the Child

According to the UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE (2010: 34) the UAE has committed to a number of conventions on the rights of the child; namely:

1. ILO Convention No. (111) for the year 1958 on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation).
2. ILO Convention No. (138) of 1973 concerning the Minimum Age for Employment.
3. ILO Convention No. (182) for the year 1999 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour.
4. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (including girls and children).
5. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (June 1974).
6. Convention for the Protection of Children from Internet Crime.
7. Organized Crime Convention.

Furthermore, the manifestation of interest in the United Arab Emirates in children can be noted by its joining UNICEF, which was according to the Federal Decree No. (39) for the year 1972. In addition, to ensure children's rights and promote their development, protection and participation in the community, the UAE government has developed

institutional mechanisms to deal with the issues of childhood. They established the Supreme Council for Motherhood and Childhood in 2003, to act as a national umbrella for the Child. This Council aims to raise the standard of care and attention and follow-up for maternity and childhood affairs, and to provide support for this in all areas, especially educational, cultural, health, social and psychological. In addition, it aims to achieve security and safety of the child and mother, and follow-up and evaluate development plans to attain the desired well-being, with the encouragement of studies and research and the dissemination of comprehensive cultures for children and motherhood. The board includes representatives from the institutions and government bodies, as well as civil society organizations concerned with childhood and motherhood.

As for the existing national mechanisms charged with the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Ministry of Social Affairs is regarded as a body which is concerned with social policies that focus on the issues of women and children, and provides them with care and protection. Based on the tasks entrusted to them by the Council of Ministers Resolution No. (5) of 1990, the Ministry of Social Affairs works towards promoting the stability and cohesion of the family, child protection and guidance of young people. The organizational structure of the Ministry includes the Department of Family Welfare and Child, which consists of three main sections, these being: the section of Family Welfare, the section of Children and the section of incubation. The management of care of special groups exerts roles in the care of juveniles with disabilities and aftercare of those released after the completion of judicial sentences. The ministry also supports families financially in need to meet the

requirements of care for its members. In the latest structure of the ministry, there is a new department, under the name of the Department of Social Protection, responsible for tasks undertaken to protect children from being subjected to any abuse.

Furthermore, the Ministry of the Interior also created two new departments, called the Human Rights Department and the Department of Respect for the Culture of the Law within the structure of Job Creator under the Council of Ministers Resolution termination number (37) for the year 2008, assigning them tasks of care and protection of the rights of all members of society and freedoms of the public in accordance with: (1) the Constitution, (2) the laws in force in the state, (3) the declarations of human rights and (4) international human rights agreements. They also follow up the commitment of the competent authorities at the Ministry of Interior controls and regulations relating to human rights, and address the violations and the dissemination of the culture of human rights, in addition to other relevant controls. Also, the organizational structure in the Ministry of the Interior contains a branch for the protection of women and children, to follow up the rights of women and children and protect them from all forms of exploitation and abuse, as well as monitoring the incidence of cases of this.

In addition, the UAE government built an information base on the issues of protection of women and children, and established the preparation of periodic reports to evaluate the level of protection of women and children in the State, to compare this level with international standards, to propose appropriate formulas to upgrade it and to amend the legal system and regulate it to give women and children more rights and privileges. In addition to the Supreme Council for Motherhood and Childhood, the Ministry of Social

Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior, there are many organisation that participate in this field such as: the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Community Development, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Community Development Authority in Dubai, the Supreme Council for Family Affairs in Sharjah, the Family Development Foundation in Abu Dhabi and institutions of civil society, other important contributors to promoting children's rights and implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Moreover, according to the UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE (2010: 36), as the UAE is keen to ensure human rights, they also established a number of committees and organizations including:

- The National Committee for International Humanitarian Law in 2004 to take over the responsibilities of ensuring respect for international humanitarian law at the national level and promote the implementation of its provisions.
- The Emirates Association for Human Rights in 2006, a civil institution that aims to raise awareness among individuals and to clarify their rights and duties towards the community.
- The National Committee to Combat Human Trafficking was formed in 2007 and passed the law on combating human trafficking in 2006.
- The Dubai Foundation for Women and Children in 2007.
- Shelters to protect children and women established by the police department in Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah with the launch of hotlines for the protection of children and women.

- A centre for social support in the General Headquarters of Abu Dhabi Police in 2003.
- The Department of Human Rights by the General Headquarters of the police in Dubai.

As for complaints regarding violations of child rights and treatment in the UAE, the prosecution specializes in considering and addressing them, with the co-operation of the Interior Ministry, by investigating and collecting evidence from the police and then forwarding their findings to the Attorney. In the event of a case being confirmed, according to jurisdiction, pursuant to Article (62) of the Penal Code No. (3) of the year 1987, no criminal proceedings should be instituted against a person who has not reached seven years of age at the time of the crime being committed. Also, for a child over the age of seven, but not yet eighteen years old, the provisions of the Juvenile Act can apply. This Act has been tailored to fit this age group. For example, according to Article (13), "If the victim is under the age of fifteen, it is his or her guardian who must plead on their behalf." Also, according to article (23): "If the accused in a civil suit is not eligible for litigation and has no legal representative, the court must appoint him/her, at the request of the Prosecution, a legal representative." It also provided the second paragraph of Article (91) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which states that "a witness who has reached the age of fifteen must swear before testifying, and for a witness who has not reached fifteen years old, the court may hear their testimony without swearing." It is clear from this that the court will hear the testimony of a child if they are more than fifteen years old after the oath, while for children under the age of fifteen years, it is permissible for the court to

hear their testimony without oath and as a matter of inference.

The police in the UAE can be considered as a first step in a series of criminal justice agencies that deal with children in cases where they are victims of violence (child abuse), or witnesses to this violence, if the assault on them is physical, sexual or by neglect, by virtue of the role assigned by (1) procedures code for law enforcement officers, and (2) the police Act No. (12) for the year 1976 regarding the police force and security and identifying of duties and tasks. The first tasks of the police are limited to collecting evidence and taking the statement of the accused for the records submitted to the prosecution, which has the power to investigate without the other in preparation for transmission to the right court.

The role of the police in the area of child abuse stems from its large and very important responsibility for the protection of society and bringing criminals to justice. The most important consideration for the police in the first phase with children is that the interests of the child in terms of working with all institutions of socialization to provide the appropriate atmosphere for raising and guiding children are being introduced and taking into account all the legal procedures that must be followed in hearing the child victim in the collection of evidence phase, particularly with regard to cases of violence. One of the main methods used in this phase of interviews is a conversation between the investigator and the child victim. It is difficult to listen and talk to a victim who is the prime witness of the behaviour of violence or abuse that was suffered, especially because of the nature of the age group and the inexperience and lack of maturity of the child, as well as the child's low level of perception. Therefore, there are special measures taken in talking and

dealing with children at this stage.

The Ministry of Education also investigate some complaints through a social service in schools which tracks cases that could fall under the so-called violation of the rights of the child such as domestic violence or beatings and abuse. The Human Rights Department at the Ministry of the Interior and other management subsidiaries of the General Directorate of Police in Dubai consider complaints from the public and review the performance of investigation to ensure its commitment to human rights, which includes the rights of the child. In addition, a hotline and the establishment of shelters for women and child victims of human trafficking and violence in Abu Dhabi, Sharjah and Ras Al Khaimah can be considered good facilitators for these categories. In the field of human trafficking, the National Committee to Combat Human Trafficking in the UAE implement an integrated national strategy in accordance with best international practices and standards in this area, based on aspects of the development of legislation and laws related to issues of trafficking in human beings, and enabling stakeholders to apply preventive and punitive measures, secure the protection and give support to victims of trafficking of human beings, in addition to strengthening bilateral and international co-operation in combating such trafficking (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

In addition, the Dubai Foundation for Women and Children are concerned with women and children who are victims of domestic violence, providing protection and shelter for them, social support services and legal support. The Emirates Association for Human Rights follow up children's issues and receive complaints related to the exposure of children to any violation of their rights or to abuse and exploitation of any kind.

As for juveniles, the UAE has been keen to establish centres for the placement of juveniles if they commit a felony or misdemeanour. These centres are called education houses. There are five, three of which are for boys in Abu Dhabi, Sharjah and Fujairah, and two for girls in Abu Dhabi and Sharjah. In these centres, juveniles should receive social care services, education, vocational training and social guidance. These programmes are designed to prevent delinquent behaviour reoccurring. Juveniles are referred to these centres by judicial or security authorities, guardians or the juveniles themselves.

The well-informed court delivers juveniles to their parents or those responsible for them legally to care or place them under the supervision of social workers and probation officers. So, in the case where they are referred to education houses, top priority is given to re-integrating children into society. Social workers are responsible for writing a social report on juveniles' attitudes and behaviour. The termination of a juvenile's stay in these centres is dependent on this report. After release from a centre, the role of the social worker is to follow up the juvenile offender, a role which includes conducting a form of research for the juvenile with regard to health, psychological, social and practical aspects (tracking), especially during the initial period of release. The Ministry of Social Affairs was assigned a special programme for after-care in its document on the strategic plan of the Federal Government. In this programme, the Ministry of Social Affairs seeks, in co-operation with the education houses, to ensure the integration of a juvenile into society after release, to enforce remedial efforts being made with them to ensure they do not re-offend and become active members of the community. The Ministry of Social Affairs

also adopted some preventive programmes aimed at determining the causes that lead to juvenile delinquency, for both boys and girls, through campaigns, seminars, meetings and workshops, some of which are within the social institutions, some of which are in co-operation with community institutions such as universities, the police, prosecutors and the media.

In spite of the efforts of the education houses in the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders and directing them towards integrating in society, as well as providing after-care for them, there are still some cases of recidivism: 8.8% in the year 2004, 7.3% in the year 2005, 4.4% in 2006 and 2.52% of the cases in 2007 (UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE 2010: 148). More statistics with regard to recorded juvenile crime, types and age groups and comparisons between different years will be presented later in this study.

3.3.2 Women's Rights

As previously mentioned, the UAE has committed to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The United Arab Emirates aims are bound by the CEDAW and seek to create a positive environment to enable women to exercise their right to achieve their full potential as a human being and give more attention in order to achieve a state of equality and social justice.

In addition, the Women's Union was launched, the so-called National Strategy for the Advancement of Women in the UAE, to confirm commitment to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, as well as commitment to

the recommendations of the World Conference on Women held in Beijing 1995. This national strategy focuses on eight main areas: education, economy, media, social work, health, environment and legislation. The aims of this national strategy are:

- Activating the role of women in the UAE.
- Removing obstacles and barriers that block the effective participation of women in all spheres of life.
- Consolidating the role of women in contributing to sustainable development and to participate in decision-making.
- Development of human resources for the rehabilitation of women so that they are able to participate positively in development programmes.
- Promoting the achievements of women of remarkable successes in various areas of work, whether administrative, economic, social, health or education.

As a result of the foregoing, women in the UAE society occupy a prominent place as the government has been concerned with their issues since its inception in 1971, aiming to improve their status and qualify them to be active and productive in the community through positive participation in various walks of life. For example, the percentage of representation of women in the ministerial formation in February 2008 rose from two to four seats, one of the highest rates in the Arab world. In addition, Emirati women occupy seven seats out of forty seats in the Federal National Council, a rate of 17% which is also one of the highest in terms of representation of women in legislative institutions. Additionally, women occupy posts in the judiciary, prosecution, diplomatic and consular corps and many have been appointed as ambassadors and consuls of the state abroad.

Women account for 66 % of the functions of the government sector, including 30 % of the senior leadership posts associated with decision-making, they represent 15 % of the teaching staff at the University of the UAE, and 60 % of them hold professional positions in fields such as medicine, teaching, pharmacy and nursing. Furthermore, they are involved in the ranks of the uniformed armed forces, police and customs (UAE Year Book 2010: 286). Finally, official statistics indicate that the Council of Business Women in the UAE has about 12000 women who run 11000 investment projects (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

3.3.3 Workers' Rights

Since the UAE is witnessing an unprecedented rate of growth, particularly in terms of the construction boom, it needs to bring a large number of workers from abroad. Therefore, the UAE government is seeking to protect workers' rights through the Ministry of Labour, in accordance with international law and international labour standards.

There are specific constitutional provisions on the rights of labour, represented by the following:

- In order to ensure the application of international standards, according to Article (20) legislation and laws about the rights of workers and staff must be in line with international standards.
- As provided for in Article (34), The Constitution clearly prohibits any kind of forced labour such as slavery.

- Article (40) concerning the rights of foreign workers, specifically the standards contained in international conventions and treaties should be observed.
- The Constitution clearly affirms the right of any individual to submit complaints; Article (41) defines the relevant authorities, including the courts and jurisdiction, for litigation.

In addition, there are federal laws regulating labour relations and protecting workers' rights; for example:

- Article (25) identifying the maximum hours of work.
- Articles (22) and (23) prohibiting the employment of all juveniles at night and exposure to hazardous work.
- Article (142) requires compensation for work-related injuries or health risks and compensation to the families of workers who are exposed to serious injuries during work.
- Articles (142) and (153) require an employer to bear the expenses of treatment and compensation for the families of deceased workers due to work-related injuries.

Furthermore, the UAE ratified the ILO conventions listed below to confirm and ensure workers' human rights; namely:

- Convention No. / 105 / for the year 1957 on the abolition of forced labour.
- Convention No. / 100 / for the year 1951 on equal pay for equal work for both

sexes.

- Convention No. / 111 / for the year 1958 on discrimination / including employment and occupation.
- Convention No. / 138 / for the year 1973 on the minimum age for employment.
- Convention No. / 182 / for the year 1999 on the worst forms of child labour.
- Convention No. /1/ for the year 1919, on working hours.
- Convention No. / 81 / for the year 1947 on labour inspection.
- Convention No. / 89 / for the year 1900 and amended in 1949 on the employment of women at night.

For the application of the above, the Ministry of Labour developed a strategy and an action plan aimed at ensuring workers' rights and improving their working conditions and livelihoods. This strategy sought to: (1) protect the right of workers to get fair pay on the time specified in the contract across the system of protection of wages, (2) emulate the development of work market mechanisms in order to achieve greater flexibility, (3) achieve a balance in the contractual relationship between the employer and the worker, (4) the protection of workers' rights to have decent life and live in an appropriate and safe environment, (5) the adoption of guidelines for the criteria of workers' collective housing, (6) provide effective remedies for workers in the event of a labour dispute with the employer and to facilitate the litigation process, and (7) enhance bilateral and international co-operation in the field of employment, through the signing of memorandums of understanding (MOU) and promotion of frameworks for co-operation and partnership between the receiving and exporting workers' countries to improve the

living conditions of workers and guarantee their rights through a cycle of contractual duty. In this context, the United Arab Emirates co-operated with labour-exporting countries and, in co-ordination with the International Organization for Migration, along with the participation of the labour organizations of the Arab and International Labour Organization, held the first consultative meeting between the Asian receiving and exporting workers' countries. In this meeting, representatives of 22 Asian countries participated in order to discuss mechanisms to promote co-operation frameworks and partnership between the receiving and exporting workers' countries and the establishment of the principle of comprehensive co-operation in addressing the temporary issues of contractual labour to ensure the maintenance of rights and a commitment to the obligations of all partners during the use and employment of workers and in the sending and receiving of employment. The most important outcome of this meeting was the Abu Dhabi Declaration, which confirmed that good management of temporary contractual labour mobility will be reflected positively in the sending and receiving, elevating the living conditions of these workers and ensuring their rights throughout their contractual duty cycle (Alkhaleej Newspaper 2012).

3.4 The Criminal Justice System in the UAE

In 1971, when the federal state was created, the government established a Ministry of the Interior, including all federal general police departments. The local police agencies were retained as they were before the federation of the emirates. Therefore, all policing arrangements were established on federal and local systems. Each emirate (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm Al Quwain, Ras Al Khaimah and Fujairah) has formed its own police system.

3.5 The Federal Juvenile Act in the UAE

In this section, some important points in the Federal Juvenile Act in the UAE will be described. Crimes in the UAE are grouped according to their seriousness as felonies, misdemeanours, and offences (Articles 26-30 of the UAE penal law). They can be divided into five main categories: crimes against state security, crimes against a person, crimes against property, drug and alcohol-related crimes, and immigration crimes.

Until the mid-seventies, there were no specific policies, laws, or special institutions for the care of juvenile offenders. Juvenile issues were dealt with by the police without the assistance of social workers or specialists. Therefore, the police either gave them advice and guidance, corporal punishment, or delivered them to one of their parents or guardians, and it was unusual to incarcerate them (Heweidi 1987: 44; Murad 1999: 57-58). In 1976, the Federal Juvenile Act No. 9 was enacted, applicable throughout the

UAE. The definition of a juvenile in criminal law is contained in Article 1:

Under the Act, a person under the age of 18 is considered a juvenile. Article 1 of this Act stipulates that:

“[F]or the purposes of the application of the provisions of this Act, a juvenile is deemed to be any person who is under the age of 18 on the date when he commits the offence that is the subject of an investigation or of his being found in a state of vagrancy.”

In this Act, particularly Article No. 6, the age of criminal responsibility is over seven years old. In comparison, in England and Wales, the age is over ten years old, and in Scotland it is over eight years old (Utting and Vennard 2000: 14).

According to Helal (2005: 32-34), the Federal legislator divides juveniles into three categories:

1. Juveniles between the ages of 1 and 6 are not subject to criminal proceedings; however, the court may order appropriate remedial or educational measures to be taken.
2. If juveniles between the ages of 7 and 15 years commit a crime, whether it be a felony, a misdemeanour, or an offence, sanctions do not apply to them: instead the state applies the measures stipulated in Article 15 (this will be mentioned later).
3. If juveniles between the ages of 16 and 17 commit a crime, whether it be a felony, a misdemeanour, or an offence, the judge has two options:
 - Either to apply the measures set out in Article 15, or
 - To hand down a reduced sentence.

These measures are stipulated in Article 15 of the 1976 Act concerning juvenile delinquents and vagrants, which include: judicial reprimand, delivery into care, judicial probation, a prevention order from frequenting certain places, the prohibition of certain practices, compulsory vocational training, placement, or (for non-citizens) deportation.

1. Reprimand

The Federal legislator defines reprimanding in Article 16, which stipulates that:

“Reprimanding is blame and reproaches the juvenile in the trial session and exhorts him or her to engage in corrective behaviour.”

2. Delivery into Care

Article 17 of this Act stipulates that:

“The juvenile is to be delivered to one of his parents or his guardian. If none of these people meet the criteria required to take care of him or her, the juvenile shall be delivered to one of his or her relatives who meets these criteria.”

3. Judicial Probation

Article 18 of the 1976 Act stipulates that:

“In case the sentence of detention has taken effect, the judge is empowered to order a pronouncement of the condemnation sentence for a period of not less than one year and not more than three years. In this case, the juvenile is to be put under supervision and

required to abide by the terms of his or her judicial probation. If the juvenile successfully passes his or her probation period, the action taken against him or her is dismissed; otherwise he or she is to be sentenced again according to the provisions of this Act.”

4. Prevention from Frequenting Certain Places

According to the Article 19 of the 1976 Act, “the court may prohibit the juvenile from frequenting certain places which have been proven to have an influence upon his or her delinquency or vagrancy.” This measure is regarded as a preventive one.

5. Prohibition of Certain Practices

Article 20 of the 1976 Act states that:

“The court may prohibit a juvenile from undertaking certain practices when it becomes clear that his or her delinquency or vagrancy is the result of these practices.”

6. The Compulsion of Vocational Training

This measure is defined in Article 21 of the 1976 Act, which stipulates that:

“Concerning the compulsion of vocational training, the court shall entrust a juvenile to governmental vocational training centres, manufactories, department stores, or farms which accept rehabilitating him or her for a period not exceeding three years.”

7. Placement

This measure can be divided into two categories:

1. Placement for the purposes of treatment of mental disorder.

Article 22 of the 1976 Act provides that:

“If the court recognises that a juvenile’s delinquency or vagrancy is attributable to a mental illness, it can order him or her to be placed in a treatment centre or designated health institution until he or she is cured. Thereafter, the court decides whether such a person should be released on the basis of reports submitted by the doctors responsible for his treatment.”

2. Placement for reform and rehabilitation purposes.

According to Article 23 of 1976 Act, “The court may order to place a juvenile in a suitable rehabilitation centre or State-owned or State-approved educational and reform centre specifically established for the welfare and rehabilitation of juveniles. The court issues release orders for those juveniles on the basis of the reports it receives from these same institutions in accordance with the provisions of Article 34 of this Act. A juvenile is not permitted to remain in these places after he or she reaches the age of 18.”

For example, the Al Mufraq Juvenile Centre (MJC) for rehabilitating juveniles provides education together with a reform centre for the welfare and reform of juveniles in Abu Dhabi. The aim of this centre is to rehabilitate and reform juveniles by providing teaching and education programmes, in addition to general knowledge programmes, which focus mainly on religious education and patriotic awareness, along with handicraft training, from which individuals can make a living after the placement (more on this subject will be discussed later in the thesis) (Ministry of Social Affairs 2006).

8. Banishment from the State

Article 24 of the 1976 Act stipulates that:

“The court may order to banish a juvenile from the State [if he or she is not a citizen]. The banishment order becomes obligatory if a juvenile relapses to a state of delinquency or vagrancy. The banishment order should be put into effect within two weeks after it has been issued.”

According to Abdoh (2000: 69) if juveniles are found at risk, the court must examine the circumstances that led to such conditions and then determine the best means to remedy them. Article 13 stipulates five specific cases in which a person can be considered to be at risk, specifically with regard to youths, if he or she is found under the following conditions:

1. If a young person is found asking for alms or he or she is working inappropriately to make a living, for instance, selling low value commodities on the streets;
2. If a young person is involved in prostitution, debauchery, gambling, or drug or alcohol abuse, either directly or indirectly;
3. If a young person is homeless or if he or she stays and sleeps in the streets or any other inappropriate place;
4. If a young person is involved with criminals, vagrants, or dissolute people;
5. If a juvenile’s misbehaviour or disobedience is directed at those responsible for him or her, such as his or her father, mother, or guardian, and especially if his or her parents have died.

In addition, Article 30 also plays an significant role in preventing juvenile delinquency: “certain factors must be considered and actions taken before a judgment is to be made: an

evaluation of physical and social conditions, the degree of cognition, the environment in which the youth was raised, and the reasons which led to the commission of the crime, all determine measures of successful treatment. If the court finds that the physical or mental health, and the psychological or social state of the juvenile needed to be assessed (before deciding the case), the court can put him or her into an observation centre in order to observe him or her further, or in any other place designated by the court for any period deemed necessary to hold the case until the observation and study has finished.”

Abdoh (2000: 70) suggests that the court should make juveniles understand that its intention is not to punish, but to educate.

In conclusion, this chapter has described the political, economic, and social situation in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The following chapter will address research methodology, in terms of the tools that were used to gather information, and the processes of analysis, as well as ethical issues that have been taken into account.

4 Chapter Four: Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and justify the methods used in the empirical phase of this study. The chapter focuses on exploring overall study designs, sampling strategies, methods of data gathering, analysis and interpretation, ethical issues, and the study's validity and reliability.

4.1 Research Aims and Objectives

As outlined in the Introduction, the main aim of this research is to investigate the critical factors contributing to the success of juvenile delinquency prevention strategies in Abu Dhabi. In order to achieve this, it does the following:

- Provides a general overview of crime prevention, risk factors, and juvenile delinquency prevention approaches that have been evaluated in criminological and policy literature.
- Identifies currently available information on the situation in Abu Dhabi (juvenile crime statistics, risk factors, and strategies in preventing juvenile delinquency).
- Includes semi-structured interviews with (a) managers and specialists in youth-crime related fields in the Abu Dhabi Police force and with (b) representatives of agencies that already have been (or could be) involved in the prevention of juvenile crime, in order to gain deeper insights into their opinions and experiences.

- Draws upon criminological literature and findings of this research, in order to provide suggestions for the development of new strategies for the Abu Dhabi Police.

4.2 Research Design

Selecting a research design may be considered one of the most significant tasks for a researcher because it involves identifying the most appropriate ways to collect and analyse data (Flick 2009: 128). Choosing a research design should be based on: research aims, contextual conditions, and desired results (Flick 2009: 145). Because few studies have been conducted about young people in the UAE, with none addressing the topic of crime prevention, this research is primarily an exploratory study.

Yin (2003: xi) classifies research strategies into five broad categories: experiments, surveys, case studies, histories, and archival analyses. A case study may be identified as “a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence” (Saunders, et al. 2003: 93). Therefore, a case study may be seen as an appropriate tool to describe and explore a phenomenon, and to explain what is occurring in an exploratory research situation. It can provide deep consideration of a particular context (Yin 2012: 4). The subject of a case study may include persons, communities, events, organisations, and social phenomena (Flick 2009: 134; Yin 2012: 6). In addition, according to Bryman (2008: 52-53) the case study method can be used when a researcher wishes to focus on and obtain a detailed examination of a set of issues within a single

organisation. In this research, the case study method has been adopted as the primary research design for achieving the research aims. As this research focuses on one organisation (the Abu Dhabi Police), this kind of case study can be called “single-case study” (Yin 2012: 7). In addition, this research is constructing a theory rather than simply testing existing ones because there are no predecessors in the UAE on this topic. It is intended to analyse the empirical data and put forward a set of suggestions about how best to design policing policies to prevent juvenile delinquency in the UAE.

Several of the criminological and sociological theories described above influenced the design of the thesis. In particular, social control theory, strain theory, subcultures theories, community theories, labelling theory and differential association theory, which clarify the reasons behind the commission of crimes. From these theories I learned the importance for research and programme design of: (1) identifying the social causes or social indicators that contribute directly or indirectly to the growth of crime within a social framework; (2) the interaction resulting from the relationships between society members and between the individual and social groups, such as the family, school and peers; (3) the role of society's common moral values, structures and norms; (4) sharing responsibility for the local social environment; (5) identifying social, economic and also cultural conditions; and (6) recognising how people's confidence in their community encourages them to contribute to the establishment of preventive and rehabilitation programmes. In addition, I learned the significance for such programmes of focusing on some specific practical considerations: the expectations of participants and stakeholders; investment in time and effort; how all these cases lead to anger, frustration, depression,

fear, disappointment and other emotions derived from strain; how programmes may benefit from incorporating an approach where providing worthwhile occupation and involvement in activities will reduce time to engage in criminal acts. Those theories also taught me to take account of: the role of social control organizations, whether formal (e.g. police, court) or informal (e.g. home, school) because these institutions are striving to help children to avoid involvement in gangs and keep away from criminal behaviour; and also the significance of tailoring programmes for the needs of vulnerable categories, whether individuals in the lower-class or poor communities.

As regards the content of key criteria for evaluation, the work of Farrington (1996); Bright (1997); and Rutter et al. (1998) which addressed risk factors, and those emphasising the importance of the risk factors to be considered when providing successful prevention programmes (Andrew et. al 1990; McGuire and Priestley 1995; Lipsey 1995), enabled me: (1) to conceptualise these elements as criteria needed for evaluation in the review of all available studies of juvenile delinquency conducted in the United Arab Emirates determining the factors and causes of delinquency; (2) using these, to criticise the earlier UAE research; (3) using these, to review a previously unanalysed set of case study reports of delinquents (n = 10) conducted by juvenile delinquency specialists within the Abu Dhabi Police force; and (4) to design questions seeking the interviewees' opinions about the most important risk factors that the programmes should focus on.

In addition, the work of Bayley (1994), Wright (2002), Berry et al (2011) and Read and Rogers (2011) on the importance of the police role and working in an effective

partnership to prevent juvenile delinquency, and Andrew, et al (1990), McGuire and Priestley (1995), Lipsey (1995) on principles of effective prevention programmes, highlighted for me these key components of successful prevention as relevant in designing interview questions, and also for providing a critique of the earlier UAE research.

4.3 Data Collection Methods

Of the two main types of data collection methods, qualitative and quantitative, a researcher should choose whichever is most appropriate to answer his or her research questions (Walliman 2009: 270). Qualitative data may be defined as “non-numerical data or data that have not been quantified” (Saunders, et al. 2003: 486). Qualitative research is a subjective approach that includes examining and reflecting upon perceptions in order to gain an understanding of social and human activities (Collis and Hussey 2003: 353). On the other hand, quantitative data is “numerical data or data that have been quantified” (Saunders, et al. 2003: 486). Quantitative research is an objective approach that includes collecting and analysing numerical data and applying statistical tests (Collis and Hussey 2003: 354). It must be noted, of course, that the choice about which data to create and analyse is a subjective one: the distinction between these two methods is relative rather than absolute.

The following table illustrates some of the differences between qualitative and quantitative methods:

Table 1: Differences between Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Quantitative method	Qualitative method
Numbers	Words
Point of view of researcher	Point of view of participants
Researcher distant	Researcher close
Theory testing	Theory emergent
Static	Process
Structured	Unstructured
Generalisations	Contextual understandings
Hard, reliable data	Rich, deep data
Macro	Micro
Behaviours	Meanings
Artificial settings	Natural settings

Source: reproduced from Bryman and Bell (2011: 410).

Each of these methods has its strengths and weaknesses. On one hand, quantitative methods have obvious advantages. For instance, they are cheap and fast; they also have significant relevance to strategy decisions. Nevertheless, these methods also have some weaknesses. For example, they tend to be inflexible and “they are not very helpful in generating theories: because they focus on what is, or what has been recently, they make it hard for policy makers to infer what changes and actions should take place in the future” (Amaratunga, et al. 2002: 20).

On the other hand, qualitative methods are relatively strong in this respect. Such data collecting methods are viewed as natural rather than artificial; they give greater insights into an individual's experiences, ideas, impressions, and beliefs, and offer details about people's feelings, emotions, and behaviours. They can be adjusted according to any new information or idea that arises. They are also flexible, and provide in-depth and meaningful information, increasing understanding through careful analysis (Amaratunga, et al. 2002: 20). According to Flick (2009: 14-17), there are four essential features of qualitative research: (1) appropriateness of methods and theories; (2) perspectives of the participants and their diversity; (3) reflexivity of the researcher and the research; and (4) a variety of approaches and methods. Creswell (2003: 181–183) and Mason (1996: 4) have identified some characteristics of qualitative research, such as: (1) it allows data collection in ordinary spaces such as the home and the office, which enhances the relationship between researchers and participants, and therefore leads to more insights; (2) the researcher has the freedom to use multiple interactive methods for data collection through “open-ended observations, interviews, documents, sound, e-mail, and scrapbooks ...” which could take into account the sensitivity of certain topics; (3) it gives the researcher flexibility in modifying the research design and changing approach, depending upon emerging issues; (4) it is based on the researcher's analysis and rich interpretation of data. Even so, there are several weaknesses surrounding qualitative methods. It could be difficult to manage and analyse collected data; it requires many resources, and results may be less credible for policy makers (Amaratunga, et al. 2002: 20).

Choosing between qualitative and quantitative methods depends upon the research topic,

as well as the nature of the information the researcher wishes to collect (Silverman 2006: 34). After examining the differences and the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative methods, it became clear to me that the features that characterise qualitative methods were more appropriate for the types of data required for this research. Qualitative research helps further a better understanding of the range of viewpoints held by police officers, managers, and specialists working in the field. In addition, this method allows for the possibility to obtain rich explanations and more in-depth, detailed information. It also helps in examining how things look from different vantage points. As a result, I chose qualitative methods for this research.

4.3.1 Documents

Documentary materials have been a valuable source of data for this research. The researcher systematically sought, gathered, and reviewed what in his view were all the most important and relevant documents. Such materials are classified in the methods literature as academic, official, and “grey,” and the methods for finding and gathering them were as follows:

The first set of materials was a review of all available studies of juvenile delinquency conducted in the United Arab Emirates determining the factors and causes of delinquency. Such secondary data documents are significant in explaining the historical background and the current situation of youth crime within a given country of study (Schensul 2008: 232). In addition, these local studies may provide insights (albeit selective insights) into the causes of juvenile delinquency within the UAE. Analysing these documents could also support evidence found through other sources (Clark 2008: 169). As such, according to Arksey & Knight (1999: 17), when there are other research methods, including interviews, documents “can be invaluable as sources of background knowledge and for crosschecking the data.”

The methods of finding and collating these studies involved the following: general search engines (for example, the use of Google and Google Scholar); university library search engines; public library search engines; local journals; and content-based searches of selected journals and books. The researcher also interviewed several key people in the field residing in the UAE, and visited research centres to ask about relevant studies and to track down unpublished research. After carrying out these initial surveys and informal

requests, and assuring their accessibility and availability, the researcher compiled a list selecting the most important and relevant resources. The researcher excluded studies identified as less relevant, for example: (a) studies that used samples from outside the UAE, (b) studies that used insufficiently rigorous research methods or that did not contain any empirical studies or significant quantitative data reviews; and (c) studies whose topic and focus were not sufficiently close to the type of data that needed to be collected. The researcher verified the translations of these documents, either by experts in the English language or through the researcher's supervisor.

In order to reduce bias, the researcher made efforts to undertake comprehensive investigations to find as many relevant studies as possible addressing the important issues. These studies were not easy to find because of the need to look carefully enough and use various methods and multiple resources (both electronic and printed materials). To capture as many relevant citations as possible, the researcher searched through a wide range of social, criminal, and police databases to identify primary studies of juvenile crime and delinquency. The electronic searches were complemented by hand searching. The researcher selected studies that: (1) revolved around juvenile delinquency, risk factors or prevention; (2) contained samples drawn from within the United Arab Emirates; and (3) used methods which, even if containing some flaws, showed sufficient rigour to provide useful findings. As for the period and the language of the study, the researcher did not impose any time limitations or language restrictions. To identify relevance, the titles, abstracts, and then full texts of the studies were checked.

Second, the researcher reviewed a previously unanalysed set of case study reports of

delinquents (n = 10) conducted by juvenile delinquency specialists in social support centres¹⁰ within the Abu Dhabi Police force. The ten confidential and unpublished case studies were provided by this department on request, for the purpose of gaining deeper, qualitative insights into the work of the department with young persons who are referred to it. In particular, they were obtained in order to identify the factors behind their delinquency. Again, analysing these reports could support evidence found in other sources.

Third, the researcher obtained all official recorded statistics of crime in general and juvenile crime in particular in the UAE that were relevant to the analysis in this thesis. They were obtained from: the Ministry of the Interior; the government; research centres; police departments; juvenile rehabilitation centres; and published annual reports. Reviewing such recorded statistics across various time periods may provide comparative insights regarding juvenile crime, types, and age groups, and give an indication about whether or not the rates are increasing.

Fourth, all relevant Abu Dhabi police documentation was gathered and reviewed, particularly that from the official website, as well as informational brochures for the public and organisational documents. The informational brochures contain comprehensive and detailed descriptions of the Abu Dhabi police department's work. They are distributed to the public, especially clients and department visitors. In addition, organisational documents contain key information such as the history of the organisation, the organisational structure, and the most prominent achievements and functional

¹⁰ More details about their work will be provided later.

descriptions of the departments. Some of these policing materials had not previously been available to researchers. This researcher was given access to a variety of Abu Dhabi police documents. Regarding sensitive documents, the researcher sought and was given approval from the authorities responsible for their access and security (O’Leary 2004: 179). When research focuses on an organisation, it is important to gain a general idea of the organisation’s history as well as its structure and functions, especially those of departments relevant to the subject of research (Hartley 1994: 218). These documents expanded the knowledge about each department, especially those providing crime prevention programmes and services, enabling fuller insights into the situation of the prevention of juvenile delinquency policies within the Abu Dhabi police force. Their analysis can therefore: (1) increase understandings of how crime prevention policies and programmes have been developed and operate today within the Abu Dhabi Police; and (2) extend the knowledge about each department or section charged with preventing juvenile delinquency. All of these factors may contribute to the analysis and understanding of what is present in or absent from knowledge, policies, and procedures.

4.3.2 The Interview Method

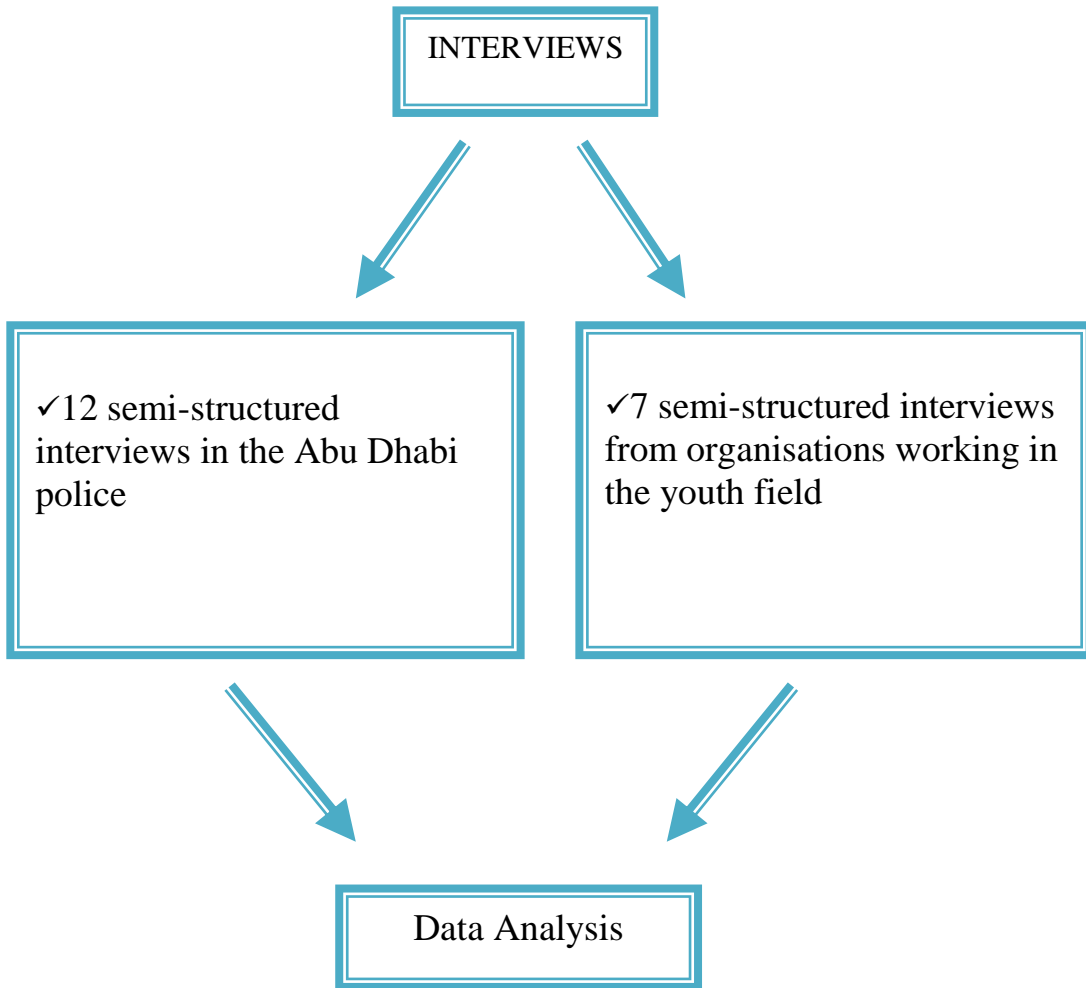
There are four key tools that may be used to gather data in qualitative research: (1) observation; (2) analysis of books and documents; (3) interviews and focus groups; and (4) audio and video recordings (Silverman 2006: 18–19). The previous section described the methods of collation of documentary sources. However, Mason (1996: 37), May (2011: 131), and Silverman (2006: 119-120) note that interviews are the most appropriate

way to elicit people's biographies, experiences, opinions, accounts, values, interpretations, aspirations, memories, attitudes, feelings, understandings, relationships, thoughts, ideas, emotions, perceptions, morals, behaviours, practices, actions, activities, conversations, interactions, senses of humour, faith, creations, products, and secrets in order to gain insights into the facts, beliefs, feelings about what the interviewee thinks should be done in particular situations (standards of action), and his or her reasons for thinking this. Regarding the importance of interviews in understanding people's behaviours, Heron (1981: 26) points out that "the use of language, itself ... contains within it the paradigm of cooperative inquiry; and since language is the primary tool whose use enables human construing and intending to occur, it is difficult to see how there can be any more fundamental mode of inquiry for human beings into the human condition." Additionally, people's problems may be identified more effectively by listening to people while they are telling stories (Reason 1981: 50). Interviews (a) tend to be cheap (at least when compared to very large-scale quantitative studies); (b) can (depending on what alternative are considered) save a lot of time; (c) may give the opportunity for participants to talk about real issues and also (d) could provide detailed pictures of the subject needed to be studied (Silverman 2006: 25-26, 113). However, the negative side of interviews is that they may not show facts, events, or experiences in a clear and direct way, and often they require the researcher to infer and understand these issues through the context of the dialogue (Silverman 2006: 117).

Considering these points, I decided to collect primary data by conducting interviews with selected participants from the Abu Dhabi Police force, as well as other organisations, in

order to gain insights about their opinions, experiences, and feelings about juvenile crime prevention issues. The target sample was chosen to represent the most relevant areas of work in the Abu Dhabi Police force and the external organisations most involved in preventative work in the area of juvenile delinquency. Figure 1 gives a total picture of the interviews. Details of the sample, interviews procedures, and data analysis mechanisms and results are illustrated below.

Figure 1: Interviews



4.3.3 Sample

Sample selections should be based upon: the nature of the research subject, the nature of the questions required to be answered, the desired information, and decisions regarding who are the best suited to give them (Darlington and Scott 2002: 52). In addition, the diversity of a sample (people, organisations, etc.) is a crucial point, because it provides a great opportunity to reveal a fuller picture of factors and features surrounding the issue being studied (Lewis, Ritchie, and Elam 2003: 83). After close consideration of these issues, twelve interviewees were selected from various departments in the Abu Dhabi Police: the community police force (n = 2), the social support centre (n = 6), the correctional institute (n = 1), and the crime prevention strategy section of the Abu Dhabi Police (n = 2). In addition, one retired interviewee was selected, because he had worked extensively in the field and therefore had experience in both the social support centre and the correctional institute. Apart from these twelve interviewees, two interviewees were excluded, because they gave very general and short answers, which made the given information of little value. These particular departments were chosen because they are considered to be: (1) the most relevant and involved departments in preventive aspects within the Abu Dhabi Police; (2) specialised and concerned about implementing the goals of prevention related to the Abu Dhabi Police strategies and priorities; (3) involved in dealings with the public and the larger community; (4) closest to the subject of this research, as well as most able to benefit from its results and outcomes in the future; (5) concerned with juvenile delinquency, carefully following the new phenomena and juvenile crime statistics; (6) consisting of specialists in different fields serving the social work of the police, in general, as well as the area of prevention in particular; and (7)

consistent with the style of the modern police.

Another seven interviewees were selected from seven organisations and agencies working in the youth field aiming to prevent crime, either directly or indirectly. These agencies were: the Ministry of Education; the Family Development Foundation; the Ministry of Social Affairs; the Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Community Development; the Municipality of Abu Dhabi City; the Emirates Heritage Club; and the Authority of Islamic Affairs. These particular organisations and agencies were chosen for a number of reasons: (a) they were judged to be the best institutions for collaborating with the police in the prevention of crime; (b) some of them (such as the Municipality and the Emirates Heritage Club) were proposed by other interviewees, a technique called the “snowball” tool (in this method, respondents are recommended by others aware of the problem or issue under investigation (Gobo 2004: 449); (c) most of them (such as the Emirates Heritage Club, the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the Municipality) had already worked in partnership with the Abu Dhabi police, so they had informed experiences, which could increase the value and the credibility of the gathered data; (d) they have long experience in the field of youth programmes, making them eligible for giving more valuable information, which could increase the value of the research results; and (e) they employ a variety of specialists, all of whom participate in serving the area of juvenile delinquency prevention, such as social, psychological, religious, cultural, and sports specialists.

The total number of the research sample was ($n = 19$), while the total number of involved organisations was ($n = 8$). While there is no specific number required for samples in

qualitative research, this number can be considered acceptable, taking into account the time, resources, and the multiplicity of organizations involved, all located in different places (Darlington and Scott 2002: 53). According to Lewis, Ritchie, and Elam (2003: 83-84) qualitative research does not focus on increasing sample numbers, as in quantitative research; rather it is intensive research focused on the richness of the information gathered, so higher numbers of a sample increase the researcher's potential inability to manage the data.

A summary of the total number of interviewees and their profiles is shown in the table below:

Table 2: Participant Profiles

Participant Profiles		Frequency	Total
Gender	Male	16	100 %
	Female	3	
Position	Manager	9	100 %
	Middle Manager	4	
	Staff	4	
	Expert	1	
	Retired	1	
Qualification	Secondary School	1	100 %
	Bachelors Degree	11	
	Masters	2	
	PhD	4	
	Professor	1	
Nationality	UAE	16	100 %
	Other	3	

Description of Participants' Profiles in Detail

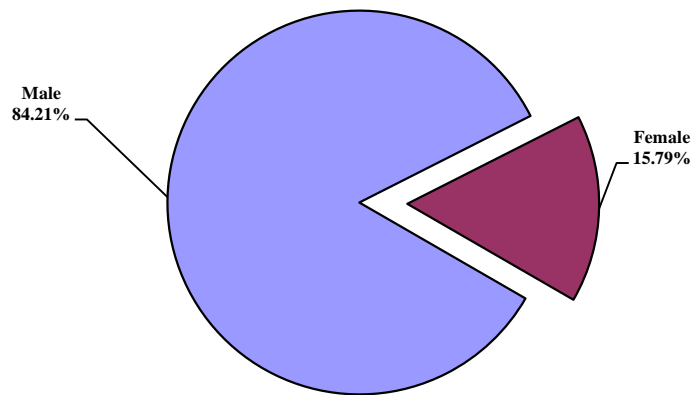
The participants' profiles, including their gender, positions, qualifications, nationalities, and experiences, are explained in greater detail below.

Gender

Table 3: Sample Gender

Gender	Male	16
	Female	3

Figure 2: Sample Gender



Through Table 3 and Figure 2 above, which explain the details of gender ($n = 19$), it can be noted that the research sample has taken diversity into account by including

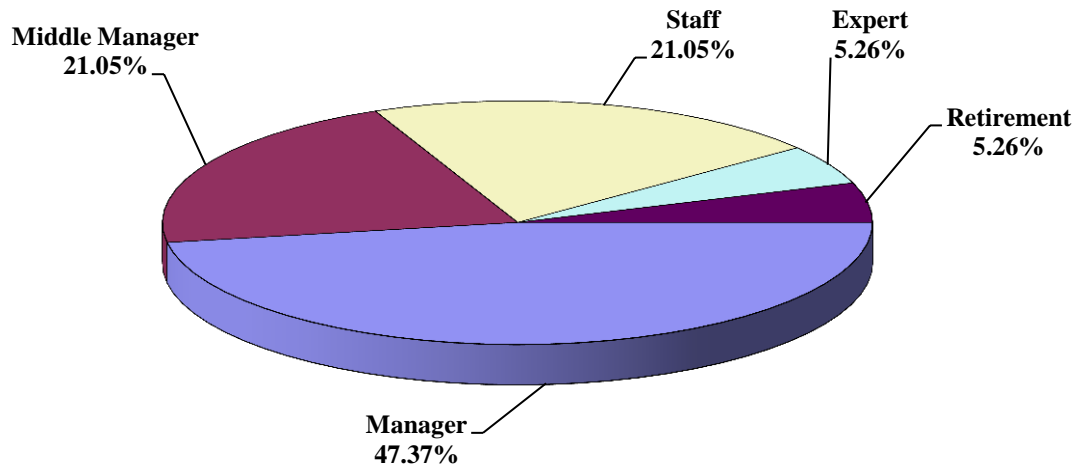
participants from both genders. There were sixteen men in the sample, and three women. It may be noted that the number of women is less than the number of men: this can be explained in relation to Emirati culture. Although the percentage is now rising, it is common for women, especially married women, to not choose to follow careers, but rather stay at home and devote themselves to raising their children. Therefore, in most governmental departments in the UAE, the proportion of men who possess extensive experience and high positions is higher than that of women.

Positions

Table 4: Sample Positions

Position	Manager	9
	Middle Manager	4
	Staff	4
	Expert	1
	Retired	1

Figure 3: Sample Positions



As for the positions in the sample, their diversity has also been taken into account. In this research sample they have been divided into five sections: (a) managers (n = 9); (b) middle managers (n = 4), (c) regular staff (n = 4); (d) one expert; and (f) one retiree. On one hand, it can be noted that the positions of manager and middle manager are in the majority. On the other hand, as shown, a variety of positions have been taken into account, so we can find that regular staff – who may have detailed information not available to the holders of high positions – were also in the sample. Also, there was one expert with extensive experience at work; often these kinds of people have had a chance to work in more than one organisation. Such experience may qualify them to be able to link between previous situations and current ones (Darlington and Scott 2002: 3), to identify the differences between them, and to determine what lessons can be learned (see Flick 2009: 165–169). All of these qualities may effectively contribute to enriching the

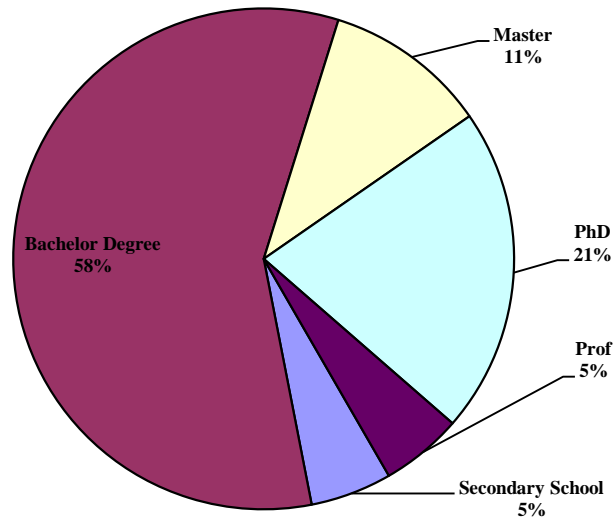
collected data and thus obtaining promising results.

Qualifications

Table 5: Sample Qualifications

Qualification	Secondary School	1
	Bachelors Degree	11
	Masters	2
	PhD	4
	Professor	1

Figure 4: Sample Qualifications



The table and figure above show that there is also a range of participants' qualifications.

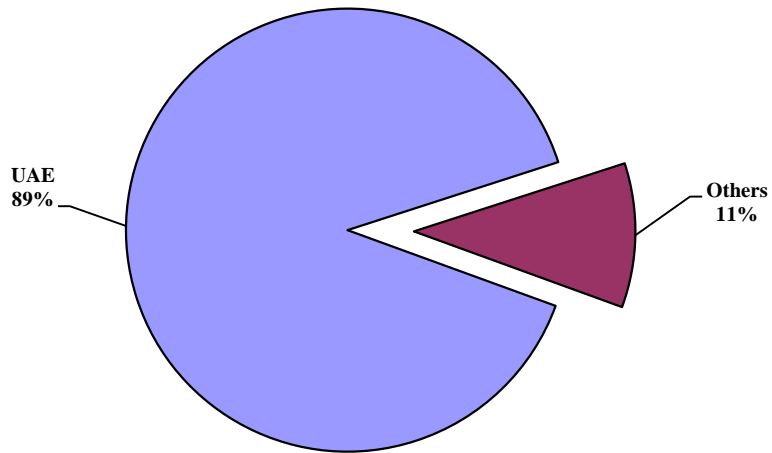
There are professors, but also those at the secondary school level, as well as other qualifications in between: those with Bachelors degrees, Masters degrees, and PhDs. Their details are as follows: (1) secondary school (n = 1); (2) Bachelors degree (n = 11); (3) Masters degree (n = 2); (4) PhD (n = 4); and (5) professor (n = 1). It should be noted that the highest rate is for Bachelors degree holders, which is 57.89 % of the sample. This is to be expected, as especially after the shift experienced in the UAE (detailed in the previous chapter), there has been an interest in the education sector, and much money has been spent on it, increasing the proportion of people who at least have Bachelors degrees, as well as Masters degrees and Doctorates.

Nationality

Table 6: Sample Nationalities

Nationality	UAE	17
	Others	2

Figure 5: Sample Nationalities



As for participants' nationalities, they are as follows: (a) UAE nationality (n = 16); (b) other nationalities (n = 3). This rate is due to the fact that more people working in governmental departments are citizens of the United Arab Emirates, and most non-citizens who work there are either experts or specialists.

Professional Experience

Experience plays an important role in the quality of any given information. The following table displays periods of professional experience within the sample:

Table 7: Extent of Participants' Professional Experience

Organisations	Years of Experience	Frequency
Police	1 - 4 years	2
	5 - 10 years	3
	11 - 20 years	4
	Over 20 years	3
Other organisations	All of them over 15 years	7

Table 7, which lists the extent of the interviewees' work experience, has been divided into two categories: (1) Abu Dhabi Police officers and (2) those employed in other organisations. Within the sample of Abu Dhabi Police officers, experience ranges from one year to over twenty years, as follows: (a) 1 - 4 years (n = 2); (b) 5 - 10 years (n = 3); (c) 11 - 20 years (n = 4); and (d) over 20 years (n = 3). However, most of the workers from other organizations fall into the category of managers or experts; thus their experience has been simply coded as over fifteen years.

4.3.4 Interviews

In many ways interviews are one of the most intuitively obvious ways of finding out about people. This method of research is nonetheless considered a highly skilled activity

(Hayden and Shawyer 2005: 106). In general, as illustrated earlier, there are several advantages to using interviews. Firstly, during an interview, both interviewers and interviewees have the chance to clarify the questions. In addition, interviews provide a flexible means of finding out more in-depth information (facts, behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes). Furthermore, interviewing is a useful method for asking respondents directly, and obtaining more nuanced answers to research questions. Moreover, this technique gives the researcher an opportunity to modify and change his or her interview questions. For example, information that needs to be gathered in each interview may be gained by asking further questions in the context of the research, in order to obtain more full and comprehensive data about the research topic (Robson 2011: 280). In addition, according to Saunders, et al. (2003: 245), the use of interviews can help to accumulate valid and reliable information that is relevant to the research subject.

However, the interview has some disadvantages. It can be time-consuming, because it needs careful preparation; arrangements and rescheduling depend on accessibility and the availability of the interviewees. It is also often necessary to obtain permission to conduct interviews, and the interviewer should have skills and experience in carrying out interviews, and attempt to avoid bias, which is difficult to control or rule out (Robson 2011: 281). Also, while conducting an interview, a researcher should try his or her best to control the direction of the interview, in order to avoid wasting time or becoming confused (Darlington and Scott 2002: 56).

Structuring the Interview

There are different structures for interviewing, and the choice of approach depends upon the depth of the information and insights that the researcher wishes to gain, realize, and achieve from the interview (Robson 2011: 278). For instance, a structured face-to-face interview may be defined as a “data collection technique in which an interviewer physically meets the respondent, reads them the same set of questions in a predetermined order, and records his or her response to each” (Saunders, et al. 2003: 490). This type of interview is used with closed questions - specific answers for specific questions - and needs to be prepared carefully because it is more formal and inflexible (Walliman 2005: 285).

A semi-structured interview is another approach. This can be defined as “a wide-ranging category of interviews in which the interviewer commences with a set of interview themes but is prepared to vary the order in which questions are asked and to ask new questions in the context of the research situation” (Saunders, et al. 2003: 489). Moreover, an unstructured interview is a third type of interview, which can be defined as “a loosely structured and informally conducted interview that may commence with one or more themes to explore with participants but without a predetermined list of questions to work through” (Saunders, et al. 2003: 492).

After (1) engaging in the literature review; (2) considering advantages and disadvantages of different types of interviews; (3) asking several experts about conducting research in the UAE; (4) considering sample cultures; (5) consulting supervisors; and (6) making reflections based upon previous Masters level research, I felt that structured and

unstructured interviews were inappropriate for the purpose of this study. Therefore, the semi-structured interview was employed as a main data collection method, as it has been judged to be the most relevant research tool for gathering participants' experiences and opinions. The reason for this is that semi-structured interviews are often used in qualitative research. They are flexible, and the researcher may add new questions in the context of the research in order to gather important information that covers the research subject. This approach gives the researcher an opportunity to delve more deeply into a particular answer which has been given, which can add depth to the information as well as the results in general (May 2011: 134-135). Unstructured interviews were not used, because this would have consumed unnecessary time and generated a huge body of uninformative data. For all of these reasons, semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate and adequate method by which to achieve the aims of this research, and to access rich arenas of people's realities and experiences in meaningful ways.

Semi-structured interviews require skills: probing, rapport with interviewees, and understanding the aims of the project (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 80). For rapport with interviewees, Darlington and Scott (2002: 54) point out that "the development of trust between researcher and participant is an essential part of the research process. Participation in a research project about personal, and perhaps traumatic, experiences requires a great deal of trust – trust that the researcher will listen, will treat participants fairly, will respect their limits about what they want to say, and will deal with the data fairly. Without some sense of connection, of relationship, respondents are unlikely to be either sufficiently relaxed to enter into thorough exploration of the issues under

discussion, or trusting enough to share their thoughts with the interviewer.” The researcher should try to enhance his or her relationship with the interviewees by depending on himself, rather than relying on third parties, and should avoid exaggerating this. It needs to be controlled, meaning not too much and not too little (Seidman 2006: 46, 97). In addition, while conducting an interview, a researcher should be able to control the direction of the dialogue, in order to protect the interviewee from moving to another subject. If he or she does change the subject, the researcher should be able to direct him or her back to the subject in an empathic way, and avoid causing hurt or distress; otherwise the interview may be unproductive or generate misleading data, or be a potentially harmful experience for the interviewee (Darlington and Scott 2002: 56).

I accounted for these factors and applied them while conducting my interviews: for example (1) some probing material was prepared in advance; (2) I tried to configure a good relationship with the interviewees by beginning the interviews with a discussion of the importance of the interviewees’ organisations or departments and their roles and efforts in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, as well as introducing the importance of the research and the expected results to be obtained and the importance of the interviewees’ views in achieving this; (3) I tried to ensure that the interviewees recognised the research aims and objectives; and finally (4) I attempted to control the direction of the dialogues through appropriate interruptions.

Interview Procedures

For interviews to be successful, a researcher should have a good plan for conducting them (Mason 1996: 43). In light of the literature review on methods, I prepared appropriate questions for the interviews that could contribute to achieve the desired goals of the research. I divided the interview questions into three types: two for the police and one for the organisations working in the youth field. The aim of the police interviews was to search for the beliefs¹¹ of managers, police officers, and social workers regarding the following issues: the types of crime prevention programmes that could be applied to young people commensurate with cultural values in the UAE; the most effective prevention programmes appropriate to UAE culture; the essential components necessary for a crime prevention programme to be effective; the critical risk factors the programmes should focus on; the obstacles which could face the police in applying crime prevention programmes; and identifying which partnerships could potentially work with the police in preventing juvenile delinquency.

The police interviews were also intended to explore the current Abu Dhabi Police services, which includes interviewees' views on prevention and its benefits and importance; the role of the police in preventing juvenile delinquency and where priorities should be directed (prevention or reaction); the clarity of prevention goals; and the advantages of Abu Dhabi police work in preventing juvenile delinquency. The second type of interview was with the Abu Dhabi police managers. The aim of this set of interviews was to gain more details and explanations in relation to certain issues mentioned in the Abu Dhabi police staff interviews.

¹¹ According to their experience.

Interviews with organisations working in the youth field aimed to identify their views on the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in prevention; the requirements of effective partnership; and their own partnerships with the Abu Dhabi Police (pros and cons).

A pilot study was carried out to help uncover unclear or misleading questions, and to change or reword them in order to reduce the likelihood of problems in the real interviews (Robson 2011: 405). I contacted three doctoral students in their third and fourth years of study, asking for feedback about the interview questions in terms of whether the instructions, layout, and questions were clear, easy to understand, and suitable for the subjects. Those three students: (1) had adequate knowledge of the two languages (Arabic and English); (2) possess Masters degrees from British Universities; (3) have a deep and solid understanding of the culture of the UAE (they are citizens of the UAE) and also of the Abu Dhabi Police (they have extensive experience working as full-time police officers at the Abu Dhabi Police); and (4) are currently conducting doctoral work in British Universities (in the fields of management, occupation psychology, and penology) and possess experience in qualitative methods in general, and semi-structured interviews in particular. After having made these individuals aware of the research aims, I asked them to suggest any questions they thought I should modify or change.

Following this, I did a mock interview with a UAE police officer, to check the suitability of the questions and to estimate how long the interviews would take. My supervisors were also a great help in providing me with advice, guidelines, and comments. As a result of the feedback I received, I modified some of the interview questions in order for them

to be more successful and to contribute to the collection of the desired data. Most of the modifications were about the wording of the questions, in order to make them more suitable and understandable for the interviewees.

Selecting a sample should be commensurate with achieving the interview aims (Bryman 2008: 458). As illustrated above, the interviews were divided into three types. For police interviews, the diversity in the sample selection (explained above in detail) was taken into account. Therefore, it included directors, officers, and social workers (either retired or still working). All members of the sample had significant experience working with the departments and sections relevant to youth and protecting them from delinquency. In the second type of interview, I interviewed one of the most senior managers in the Abu Dhabi Police who had long experience in working in social areas of policing. For the third type of interview, I interviewed key people with experience and advanced academic qualifications (either Masters or PhDs) from different organizations working with children and young people (for more details, see Figure 1).

In order to facilitate the collection of data through interviews, I was required to comply with the University's research ethics process and submit all materials for ethical approval. I obtained documentation from the university to present at my interviews, to prove that I was a doctoral student in the data collection phase. I also obtained a letter from the Abu Dhabi Police directed to the concerned departments, in order to facilitate the process of conducting interviews. As a result, I did not encounter any difficulties in finding interviewees willing to take part in the interview process.

All of the interviews were conducted one-on-one and face-to-face, and they took place in

the interviewees' offices¹² to interact with them easily, confidently, and without any interruptions (Rapley 2004: 18). The average duration of time, for most interviews, ranged between one and one and a half hour. Interviews were in Arabic, which was the interviewees' first language, and one in which they could express their feelings, beliefs, and opinions more accurately.

One of the more useful devices a researcher can utilise while conducting an interview is probing, which is “a device to get the interviewee to expand on a response” (Robson 2011: 283). Therefore, probing was prepared and used in this study to clarify certain questions, provide examples or hints when needed, explain what was meant by a given question, and encourage interviewees to give relevant answers rather than talking about a general subject (Flick 2009: 173). During the data collection phase itself, I modified interviews whenever I felt the need for explanation or probing.

Taping an interview has a number of advantages and disadvantages, as shown in the table below:

¹² Except for the interview with the retiree, which was conducted in his house.

Table 8: Advantages and Disadvantages of Tape Recording Interviews

Advantages	Disadvantages
Allows interviewer to concentrate on questioning and listening.	May adversely affect the relationship between interviewee and interviewer (possibility of focusing on the recorder).
Allows questions formulated at an interview to be accurately recorded for use in later interviews where appropriate.	
Allows anyone to re-listen to the interview.	May inhibit some interviewee responses and reduce reliability.
Accurate and unbiased records provided.	Possibility of technical problems.
Allows direct quotes to be used.	Time required transcribe the audio-recording.
Permanent record for others to use.	

Source: reproduced from Saunders, et al. (2009: 341).

Taking into account to these advantages and disadvantages, I attempted to tape record a single interview. In this interview, I felt that the interviewee was very cautious about responding, and gave very short and general answers. Therefore, as a result of this experiment, I concluded that taping the interviews could affect the value of any information obtained, given that the participants were employed by, working with, or likely to work with, a major state organisation. Therefore, the decision was made to record the interviews by note taking, trying not to miss any vital points. As a result, I found most interviewees talked openly, and showed no hesitation about criticising the

current situation or providing insights. They also were open when talking about the disadvantages of their roles, or of the role of the police in preventative work.

I felt that all interviewees were happy to provide information and that many valuable details and comprehensive information could be derived from them. Interviewees said that they felt that this research could help to improve crime prevention systems in the UAE. Therefore, the interviews seem to have been successful, and it appears reasonable to conclude that the results of the interviews provide useful information from which to draw conclusions from this exploratory study.

I then typed the transcripts on the computer, in order for them to be easy to read and understood, and sent them to the interviewees in order to ensure that they were compatible with the views they had provided and that there was no missing points. It was confirmed that the interviewees received them and as a result there were no notes or comments.

4.4 Qualitative Analysis

Analysis of data is vital for any research because it helps the researcher to gain a sense of the collected data by measuring, exploring, and explaining issues related to the research aims and problems (Walliman 2005: 301). Bryman (2008: 538) points out that the challenge of qualitative analysis lies in making sense of massive amounts of data. Furthermore, qualitative data are not gathered in an organised format in the way that quantitative data are. In this study, I surveyed the wide literature devoted to qualitative

data analysis, in order to get an idea of how to make sense of the collected data. Thematic analysis, which is considered one of the most common and insightful approaches (Bryman 2008: 554), was adopted. After completing all of the interviews, I translated them from Arabic into English, and ensured their correct translation with the assistance of an English teacher, taking into account their confidentiality and anonymity. I then commenced to re-read the interviews in their entirety a number of times to become familiar with the raw materials, make some preliminary notes, and put aside whatever was judged to be irrelevant (King and Horrocks 2010: 153).

Classifying each part of the data through “coding” is one of the key processes in qualitative analysis, because it helps reveal the patterns, differences, connections, and relationships amongst the data (Babbie 2001: 365; Darlington and Scott 2002: 144-146). In addition, coding systems helps researchers organise huge amounts of data in order to prevent data overload (Walliman 2005: 311). According to Darlington and Scott (2002: 145) “in qualitative research, coding is an integral part of the analysis, involving sifting through the data, making sense of it and categorising it in various ways.” I grouped similar information together and then compared the information within each group as well as between groups (Flick 2009: 321; Rubin and Rubin 1995: 251; Seidman 2006: 125). I was aware that some interviewees’ ideas or points could fit under more than one code (Bryman 2008: 552; King and Horrocks 2010: 154). In order to be familiar with the data (Darlington and Scott 2002: 144), therefore, after all the codes were identified, I re-read them many times to see if there were any additions or emergences (Bryman 2008: 550; Glaser and Strauss 1967 (cited in Rapley 2004: 26). This technique led to the

emergence of new points and ideas, which had not been mentioned in the interviews (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 235). As a result, I came up with the following codes:

Table 9: Codes

Codes	
Importance of prevention	Police priority
Deterrence	Most important risk factors
The most effective prevention programmes appropriate to the UAE culture	Essential components of a crime prevention programme
Obstacles the police could face in their prevention work	Abu Dhabi Police aims in preventing juvenile delinquency
Abu Dhabi Police staff evaluation of their success	Advantages of the Abu Dhabi Police's role in preventing crime
Disadvantages of the Abu Dhabi Police's role in preventing crime	Police services and programmes to protect young people from crime
Benefits of working in a partnership in preventing juvenile delinquency	Institutions that could cooperate with the police
Interactions among institutions	People who deal with juveniles
UAE Culture	Evaluation of the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in juvenile delinquency prevention
Requirements for an effective partnership to prevent youth from committing crime	Evaluation of partnerships with the police

These codes were sorted and grouped according to themes (Robson 2011: 467). The four main themes in this study are: crime prevention programmes, partnerships, the Abu Dhabi Police, and risk factors.

I then began the descriptions, explanations, and discussions of the findings with illustrative examples (Bryman 2008: 555), and useful quotations from participants (King and Horrocks 2010: 165).

In order to formulate theme statements to develop a story line, I analysed the data in relation to other published research, in order to find what insights the published research might bring to enhance the suggestions made by interviewees, as well as to compare suggestions with the findings of published research, to see how others have managed to overcome difficulties, to illustrate evidence supporting my argument, and to see how the results agree with (or differ from) previously published work.

4.5 Ethical Issues

Research participants have rights; researchers should care about them and give them top priority (Ryen 2004: 233). When carrying out a research study, it is important to have a clear understanding of, as well as to pay close attention to, ethical considerations (Darlington and Scott 2002: 22). This could help in establishing a basis of trust and confidence between researchers and study applicants (Mack, et. al, 2005: 8). In this study, I took this matter into account and focused on it, in order to avoid any prejudices.

As this study was a doctoral research project, the ethics committee of the University of

Stirling approved the study (Mack, et al. 2005: 9). Such committees play a significant role in ensuring the consideration of ethical issues in order to avoid harming participants (Darlington and Scott 2002: 22). Following the approval of the ethics committee,¹³ I obtained letters of permission from my supervisor, in order to be able to gather information without further obstacles.

According to Hagan (1993: 42) and Robson (2011: 194), regarding ethical issues, the researcher should: (1) avoid anything that may harm or cause any negative consequences for participants; (2) protect the confidentiality and privacy of respondents; and (3) inform participants about the purpose and nature of the study before starting any interviews.

Therefore, before conducting the interviews, I required participants to sign a consent form (Darlington and Scott 2002: 26; Mack, et al. 2005: 9), which included a brief of the research topic, and my own contact details, including those of my supervisor and the university's ethics committee (Mack, et al. 2005: 10). To avoid any misunderstandings, the form was translated into Arabic, which was the interviewees' first language (Darlington and Scott 2002: 26). In this form, I also confirmed the need for confidentiality, anonymity, and avoiding harm (Robson 2011: 207–209; Silverman 2006: 323), as well as privacy for the interviewees. These issues can create a kind of trust between the researcher and the interviewees (Ryen 2004: 234). By signing this form, they confirmed their voluntary participation (Silverman 2006: 323) and their awareness of their ability to withdraw at any time from the interviews without giving any reasons or suffering any consequences (Mack, et al. 2005: 10; King and Horrocks 2010: 115), as

¹³ It was found to conform to the code of good research practice, to be found here: <http://www.goodresearchpractice.stir.ac.uk/ethics/index.php>

well as their right to decline to answer any questions that they felt uncomfortable discussing.

After signing the form, the interviewees were also given a brief outline before each of the interviews was conducted, informing them about the time period, and the anticipated benefits (Mack, et al. 2005, 10). Interviewees were told that they were free to leave at any point (Darlington and Scott 2002: 26) and could refuse to answer any questions, and that they could receive a copy of the dissertation, if they desired. They were not questioned about personal information, and care was taken to ensure they were not exposed to any physical or mental stress. The interview that was digitally recorded as an experiment was only recorded after gaining permission.

In order to address the issue that the fact I was a serving police officer might influence the conduct of the interviews and the openness of the respondents, effort was put into encouraging the interviewees' willingness to answer the questions freely and openly (Flick 2009: 173; Robson 2011: 281). For example, I took every effort during the interview process to be perceived as a researcher rather as a serving officer (e.g. dressing in civilian clothes rather than wearing my uniform). I tried to give them ample opportunities to reveal their opinions, and did not hurry them. I also used some facial expressions in the form of body language, smiling, and eye contact. In addition, I tried to avoid long, double-barrelled, leading, or biased questions as well as questions involving jargon (Robson 2011: 282). I was open to explaining the way that the questions were worded, giving more explanations when a respondent gave an unclear or incomplete answer (having prepared and discussed with my supervisor a set of additional prompts). I

was also prepared to leave out any questions that seemed inappropriate for a particular interviewee, or include additional ones, while not fundamentally changing the key aims of the interviews. My questions were designed to encourage the participants to view the interviews as an opportunity to work together in identifying means of improving juvenile crime prevention, so that they would not feel inhibited from making criticisms of the policing role.

From the above, it can be noted that I strove to create an atmosphere of inquiry, in which interviewees' critical views were seen as being as valuable to my research as their positive ones. Below, some examples showed that respondents were being entirely forthright:

I believe that the objectives are clear and adequate, but staff are not familiar with them and therefore do not apply them (A3).

I believe that staff are familiar with the objectives and seek to apply them, but the success is limited because there are some officials who are not interested in them (A4).

In my opinion the objectives are clear and adequate, but most employees do not apply them (A10).

I think the goals for the prevention of crime are vague (A11).

I think that there is no clear methodology, and therefore professionals are not aware of the goals ... There should be measurable goals; "non-measurable" goals cannot be developed (A1).

I see that there is a kind of dependency between sections and departments in implementing prevention goals. I feel that there are no:

- Great motivations among staff.
- Clear mechanisms, most of them are just ink on paper.
- Follow-ups for methods of implementation.

If these issues were managed, I think the results would be positive (A11).

Personally, I felt a sense of prevention. I believed in its importance, but it was weak and not enough. I would like to give you one example I have experienced: for an at-risk juvenile, it was sufficient for me to do regular follow-up phone calls. However, I was hoping to have a greater role, such as to create job opportunities, or provide educational, social, or sports programmes. Also I was unable to exercise any kind of pressure on the juvenile's family to cooperate with me in his education and rehabilitation process (A11).

I think a lot of effort is still required in terms of securing resources and raising the awareness of workers and decision-makers (A11).

Regarding aspects of security, all digital data were kept on password-protected computers during the research project, and all paper data were in locked cabinets (Bryman 2008: 119 – 120; King and Horrocks 2010: 118). Participants were only mentioned anonymously through letters and numbers, which could not be traced back to their

identities¹⁴ (King and Horrocks 2010: 118). This is an important issue, especially in a case study focusing on specific organisations (Darlington and Scott 2002: 29).

It could be useful to bear in mind that this research was conducted in a close circular area of youths. Therefore, statistics mentioned in Chapter 3 & 5 were taken from official sources, which are publishable, and any examples mentioned are not confidential. This research additionally took place in a conservative developing country (the United Arab Emirates). Many citizens of the UAE do not appreciate research as a tool for developing, especially when it comes to social science research. Therefore, a number of ethical dilemmas might occur. For example, the UAE is considered to be a conservative society, so it might be embarrassing to be part of a research sample, particularly if this participation is considered to be a negative one, such as being a part of an offender's sample. In addition, parents usually do not like their children participating in such research. As a result, I made the decision not to carry out any interviews with children, youths, vulnerable people, or their parents.

Finally, I did not seek out or view material that is under discussion, or use other thoughts or ideas without mentioning their source (Walliman 2005: 336).

4.6 Validity and Reliability

Reliability and validity are extremely important issues when assessing the quality of any type of research. In simple terms, reliability means “the dependability, consistency,

¹⁴ I created a referencing system (for example, A1, A2, B1, etc.).

and/or repeatability of a project's data collection, interpretation, and/or analysis" (Miller 2008a: 753). Validity refers to the ability of the research methods to obtain desired results and the determination of whether or not these measurements do what they were intended to do (Miller 2008b: 909).

In qualitative research, validity issues concern ensuring the accuracy of findings, from either the researcher's or the participant's point of view (Creswell 2003: 195). In this research, in terms of validity, the interview questions were checked by my supervisors and enriched by their advice and guidance. During the interviews, I tried to listen to the interviewees more than talking and writing down everything they said as accurately as I could (Wolcott 1990: 127-128). In order to validate the findings, I used one of the validation methods called respondent validation. After all interviews were completed, I sent transcripts to the interviewees to confirm and ensure that the interviews had been properly understood (Bryman 2008: 337). These transcripts, as mentioned earlier, were typed on a computer in order to be easy for interviewees to read, understand, and give feedback about (Wolcott 1990: 127-128). All of these issues helped to ensure the validity of this research.

For reliability in this qualitative study, attention was paid to ensure that all research questions were clear and easy to understand, and the features of the study design were fitted to them (Silverman 2006: 286). The quality of the obtained data and its interpretation were overseen by my supervisors (Lewis and Ritchie 2003: 272). Moreover, information about how the data were collected and analysed was described in detail as a requirement of transparency (Lewis and Ritchie 2003: 272; Silverman 2006:

282). After the guides of the interviews were checked (Flick 2009: 386), I individually conducted and encoded all of the interviews, in order to decrease the potential for any unreliability to occur.

Conclusions

The methods chapter can be considered one of the most important chapters in a thesis because it explains the methodologies that the researcher follows in the collection and analysis of primary data. At the beginning of this chapter, research aims and objectives were explained. The design of this research was subsequently addressed. This is an exploratory study, which follows case study strategies, specifically the single-case study, because it focuses on one organisation: the Abu Dhabi Police force.

The differences between quantitative and qualitative research were then described. I found that the qualitative approach was best suited for the purposes of this study. In qualitative research, there are four methods for collecting information. Among these four, analysis of documents and conducting interviews were selected because it best suited the nature of the desired findings.

Subsequently, different types of interviews (structured, semi-structured, and unstructured), as well as their advantages and disadvantages, were explained. After examining the different types of interviews, I decided to collect primary data by using semi-structured interviews with selected participants from the Abu Dhabi Police force and other organisations. This type of interview was judged to be the most appropriate and useful method for gaining insights into people's opinions, experiences, and feelings about

juvenile crime prevention. The target sample was chosen to represent the most relevant areas of work in the Abu Dhabi Police and other external organisations most involved in preventative work in the area of juvenile delinquency.

Next, participants' profiles, including their gender, positions, qualifications, nationalities, and experiences, were described in detail. This was followed by some details about semi-structured interviews and the skills that a researcher should have in order to achieve successful interviews and obtain the desired findings. In addition, interview procedures were illustrated. These involved preparing questions based on a literature review. Initially, there were two types of questions: (1) for police interviews; and (2) for interviews with organisations working in the youth field. For the third type of interview, questions were based on the results of the police interviews. These aimed to obtain some clarifications and further details. After preparing the interview questions, I conducted a pilot study with three doctoral students, including a mock interview, to ensure the clarity of questions and appropriate timing. As a result, some adjustments to the interview questions were made. After receiving permission from the University's research ethics process, I then conducted the interviews.

After describing the interview procedures, I then explained my approach to data analysis. In this research, data were analysed by using a thematic analysis approach. In order to identify patterns, differences, and connections, I used "coding" tools and came up with four main themes: crime prevention programmes, partnerships, the roles of the Abu Dhabi Police, and risk factors.

Ethical issues and how confidentiality and privacy were taken into account in this

research were also explained. Finally, I described some issues related to increasing the validity and reliability of this research.

The following chapter will present the outcomes of the criminological meta-review of research and data. A clear picture of the current situation in the United Arab Emirates will be provided. The history of juvenile crime and a review of some previous empirical studies on juvenile delinquency conducted there will also be demonstrated. In addition, some statistics concerning crime in general and juvenile crime in particular will be presented.

5 Chapter Five: Research Findings and Discussion 1: the state of research on youth policing in the UAE

The previous chapter explained the research designs adopted in this study, and the data collection methods used in the literature as well as in the empirical stages of research. It also explored data analysis strategies, and identified ethical issues related to this research. The purpose of the next two chapters is to present an analysis of the original research carried out for this thesis. Chapter 5 presents the results of the first demographic and criminological meta-review of research and data in the UAE. Chapter 6 presents empirical research, through an analysis of semi-structured interviews with members of the Abu Dhabi Police force and other organisations, in order to generate insights about their opinions, experiences, and feelings about juvenile crime prevention issues. That chapter also discusses these findings in light of existing criminological research. It provides a general discussion of the entire thesis to cover the fourth research aim, which is “to draw on the criminological literature and research findings, and provide suggestions for the development of new crime prevention strategies for the Abu Dhabi Police.”

Each of the findings in these two chapters has been divided into themes.

5.1 Findings 1: The State of Research on Youth Policing in the UAE

In the first part of this analysis, the researcher aimed to carry out an original meta-review of the context of youth offenders and juvenile delinquency prevention measures in Abu Dhabi. As described in the methods chapter, this required a systematic and comprehensive study of academic, official, and “grey” material. In particular, these included: a review of all available studies of juvenile delinquency conducted in the United Arab Emirates to determine the factors and causes of delinquency; a review of a set of case study reports of delinquents (n = 10), conducted by juvenile delinquency specialists in social support centres in the Abu Dhabi Police in order to identify the factors behind their delinquency; official recorded statistics of crime in general and juvenile crime in particular in the UAE to provide descriptions of juvenile crime, including types and age groups involved; and all relevant Abu Dhabi Police documentation: in particular the official website, information brochures for the public, and organisational documents, to explain the situation of crime prevention within the Abu Dhabi Police.

The data in this chapter has been divided into four main themes: risk factors; official statistics; the Abu Dhabi Police force and crime prevention; and partnerships.

5.1.1 Theme 1: Risk Factors

Historical Overview of Possible Drives of Juvenile Delinquency in the UAE, and Analysis of Related Research

Chapter 3 provided a review of the geography, political, economic and social setting in the UAE. This section will briefly analyse research which has aimed to identify the key social and economic factors which have been thought to have influenced the circumstances of juvenile delinquency within the UAE. It will also analyse of the local studies conducted in this field that have aimed to identify the causes. The chapter discusses all the published research relevant to this topic which was found as a result of the systematic investigation described in the methods chapter.

Before the discovery of oil (and particularly before the 1960s), the UAE was relatively stable in terms of its built environment and its population. The discovery of oil in the 1960s gave rise to dramatic changes that occurred at an astonishingly rapid pace. These changes touched everything, including conditions of health care, education, housing, transportation, and other aspects of society. Sociological and criminological researchers in the UAE (Al Khani 1989, Al Shaali 1999, Motawa 1990, and Nssar and Abd Al Khalik 1999) have reviewed the available literature to compare incidences of juvenile delinquency before and after the discovery of oil.

These researchers conclude that the reasons behind the low recorded incidence of

juvenile delinquency before the discovery of oil are largely due to: (1) family structures that promoted childcare, (2) a strong sense of family cohesion, and (3) few external influences affecting families in particular and society in general. The researchers argue that after the discovery of oil and during the early years of development in the UAE during the 1970s and 1980s, many complex problems arose as a result of social development,¹⁵ such as the undermining of the authority of the family, and other difficulties connected with social change. These highly significant changes in political, economic, educational, health-related, and socio-cultural environments over the last decade were also linked to increased birth rates, falling death rates, and an increase in the number of inward migrant workers, which led to a rapid increase in the population over a short period of time.¹⁶ The researchers maintain that such rapid changes made the socialization and upbringing of children more difficult, and increased the incidence of reported juvenile delinquency (Al Khani 1989; Motawa 1990; Nssar and Abd Al Khalik 1999). Relevant statistics will be discussed later in this chapter.

Nonetheless, it must be noted that such conclusions about the situation of juvenile delinquency before the discovery of oil are not based upon strong enough evidence. In general, as is mentioned in chapter 3, until the middle of the 1960s there were no regular schools in the Emirates and education was limited to a few people and the proportion of illiteracy among the population in the state was 57% in 1971. So, in that time there was a lack of interest and support for research this led to a lack of high quality research findings since they were based on non-empirical studies - they provided opinions without

¹⁵ The country opened up to many cultures, from both the east and the west, and absorbed new values and elements of other cultures.

¹⁶ For example, between 1991 and 2005, the population increased steadily by 119% (Amir 2007: 103).

evidence. Also, there was a lack of accuracy in statistical analysis, which could have affected the reliability of the data (e.g. date of birth was not recorded). These studies should thus be regarded as useful sources for building hypotheses, rather than as substantiated analyses of the development of juvenile delinquency.

As for the situation of juvenile delinquency after the discovery of oil, there has been much research into the causes of juvenile delinquency in the UAE. First, in 1989, Al Khany produced a questionnaire for a number of male juveniles (only a summary of ten of them was given, rather than the exact number). The research sample was drawn from Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Al Ain, and other unnamed places. The authors of the report concluded that juvenile delinquency in the UAE was due to family disintegration, divorce, abandonment, polygamy, marriage to foreigners of low social classes, lack of parental control, peer pressure, bad schooling and a failure of the educational system to cooperate with families, academic underachievement, and unemployment (Al Khany 1989). It should be noted that this study has some serious shortcomings. It does not specify the sample number, or the places from which the information was sourced. Also, it does not give an indication of the relative proportions of the proposed reasons for delinquency; it focuses solely on boys; and its results merely summarise what the boys themselves believed to be the causes, without setting these in any broader research context.

Soon after, Helmi (1990) carried out a larger exploratory survey using a sample of 220 young university students between the ages of 18 and 30. The sample consisted of 100 men and 120 women. The study provided a summary of participants' responses regarding

the following reasons for juvenile delinquency:

1. Peer pressure (81% of men and 82% of women).
2. Leisure time used in inappropriate ways (61% of men and 76% of women).
3. Feeling bored (60% of men and 52% of women).
4. Family conflicts (42% of men and 53% of women).
5. Low achievement at school (30% of men and 47% of women).
6. Excitement, curiosity, and entertainment (30% of men and 19% of women).

This study also laid out a set of familial factors which they saw as leading to delinquency, as shown in the following table:

Table 2: Views of male and female students regarding family characteristics that lead to delinquency (in order):

Family characteristics that lead to delinquency	Male Students		Female Students	
	M	F	M	F
Misguided parental education	78	1	95	1
Lack of parental control	75	2	92	2
Polygamy	65	3	88	3
Divorce	61	4	87	4
Inappropriate provision of money to young people	59	5	68	5
Lack of parental authority in personal matters	38	9	65	6
The absence of a parent or abandonment	44	8	58	8

The long-term absence of a father	45	7	50	12
Parents' failures to take decisive actions against minor misdemeanours	30	11	54	10
Continuing differences between spouses	36	10	61	7
Ignorance of proper methods of parenting	49	6	55	9
Social pressures on youth	27	12	52	11
Uncritical parental acceptance of male adolescent behaviours as they approach manhood	25	13	49	13

Source: Helmi 1990: 162.

This study is again flawed; it is relatively dated and the sample is selected from a limited sample for which the method of choice is not given any justification, rather than being a random population of sample or being a coherently targeted sample. The researcher also used a predetermined list of factors, rather than carrying out a deep qualitative study which would have involved asking students to offer their own. In addition, they used some overly general and imprecise terms in their questions, such as “social pressures on youth” and “uncritical parental acceptance of male adolescent behaviours as they approach manhood.”

More recently, Qhobash (1997) conducted a survey of 95 drug addicts (94 male and 1 female), 75.2% of which were young people. The survey results (Table 3) indicate the participants' opinions regarding the causes of drug addiction.

Table 3: Causes of drug addiction

Causes	Percentage	Number of respondents
Relative familial wealth	14.7	14
Family disintegration	40	38
Leisure	35.8	34
The desire to forget concerns	34.7	33
The availability of money	15.8	15
Foreign friends	14.7	14
The weakness of religious morals	28.4	27
Psychological disorders	4.2	4

Source: Qhobash 1997: 193.

This study again was confined to drug addicts, was based on pre-designed questions, and included only one woman.

In 2002, Al Kitbi conducted a survey of 145 prisoners who were selected randomly out of a total of 671 inmates in the Sharjah Reformatory and Penal Institution. Twenty-seven of these inmates were UAE citizens, and 118 were not. This focus on a comparative study of citizens and recent migrants contributed new insights to the field. The results of this study divided the reasons for committing crimes into three categories (47–51):

- Social causes:
 1. Peer pressure, 37.01%.
 2. Alcohol and drug abuse, 14.29%.

3. Family disintegration, 9.09%.
 4. Customs and traditions, 2.60%.
- Economic reasons:
 1. Lack of foreign workers' work with a guarantor,¹⁷ 14.86%
 2. Poverty, 13.51%.
 3. Cost of living, 10.14%.
 4. Unemployment 6.76%.
 - Psychological reasons:
 1. Looking to escape from reality or because of mental illness 12.08%.
 2. The feeling of failure and/or injustice 10.74%.
 3. Aggressive personality 4.70%.

Although these are useful results, there are again limitations to this study. The sample number in this quantitative study was small and limited to the Sharjah Reformatory and Penal Institution. A simple statistical analysis, given the small numbers of participants, results in a confidence interval which is too broad for the findings to be quantified in this way.

Soon after, Helal (2005) conducted a life history study of three delinquent girls, two aged 17 and one aged 15, living in an education house in Sharjah. The study reached a number of conclusions. The main cause identified was that the delinquent girls came from families with inadequate parenting because of a parent's death, divorce, or polygamy.

¹⁷ In the UAE, foreign workers must work under the guarantee of nationals or companies.

Additionally, involvement in family problems featured as factors: for example, quarrels, morally corrupt parental partners, and being brought up in inappropriate ways through excessive severity, negligence, over-protectiveness, or indulgence of the child.

This research insights but was limited in that it applied only to girls who committed adultery. The sample number was very small, the data related only to the Sharjah education house, and it did not include interviews with parents or social workers. However, because it was a qualitative study reviewing life histories, it may have been the participants who generated the suggested causes, rather than the researchers providing a pre-defined list, as in the other studies, hence it contributes new insights to the field which can contribute to the design of future research.

Hashem (2005) conducted an empirical study about the motivations of drug abusers in Dubai. The sample in this study consisted of fifty-two male drug abusers. Hashem found that the most common motivations leading to drug abuse included: (1) poor family monitoring (58% of families allowed their children to stay overnight outside the home); and (2) being influenced by bad company (50% of respondents preferred to take drugs with friends). This investigation was confined to studying drug users only; it was limited to the emirate of Dubai; and it focused solely on males.

Al Omoosh (2008) subsequently aimed to identify risk factors among young people in the UAE. He distributed a questionnaire using a sample of 395 secondary level students (236 men and 159 women) within the Emirate of Sharjah. He concluded that the most prevalent risk factors in the UAE community included: (1) problems related to family conflicts, (2) instances of dropping out of school, and (3) the influence of bad

companions. However, this quantitative study had certain limitations. It had very low sample numbers, as well as a low number of women as compared to men; and it was also limited to the emirate of Sharjah.

In 2010, Al Kitbi interviewed a sample of twenty-five detainees in correctional facilities in Sharjah. She found that the most common reasons for them becoming criminals included: (1) spending leisure time with no benefits; (2) having cruel parents who punished their children and sometimes expelled them from home; (3) instances of family disputes; (4) weak family monitoring (most families allowed their children to stay overnight outside the home); (5) weak religious morals; (6) academic failures; and (7) bad companions. Although Al Kitbi achieved good results, there were limitations in her study as well. It was limited to UAE citizens; it contained low sample numbers (subjects between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five); it was conducted only in Sharjah; and the sample was selected rather than random, without showing any justification for this decision.

In her empirical study about juvenile delinquency in the UAE, Al Braimi (2010) used questionnaires to survey forty-three detainees in correctional facilities in three different emirates (Dubai, Sharjah, and Ajman). She found that the causes of juvenile delinquency included the following factors:

1. Peer pressure (73%)
2. Leisure time used in inappropriate ways (38%)
3. Family conflicts (11%)
4. Low achievement levels in school (8.82%)

5. Inappropriate use of the Internet (8.82%)
6. Negative influences from the media (5.88%)

Although this research is insightful for a number of reasons, it was limited in that it applied only to three emirates; it involved a low number of females (n=3); and the researcher also used a predetermined list of factors, rather than carrying out a deep qualitative study.

Finally, studies of more marginal value and the most relevant and extensive in the field of juvenile delinquency were reviewed here in depth. Listed in the bibliography are the other publically available studies which deal related topics. Although these do not contribute additional insights for research on the topic of this thesis, they may be of interest to others researching in this field more generally.

It should be noted that regarding the whole of this research, it has proved difficult to discover more recent studies. Most are dated, or produce statistics that are not always adequately referenced or evidenced. More particularly, the following weaknesses have been identified: (a) interviews of care professionals or both parents were not conducted; (b) there is no data on the best methods of prevention; (c) most attention focused on treatment rather than prevention; (d) the studies are often lacking in appropriate critical analysis; (e) there is little information on the evaluation of crime prevention strategies; (f) there is no critical analysis of current methods employed in the prevention of crime and therefore little awareness of the obstacles to prevention; (g) these studies do not discuss the factors of the effectiveness of crime prevention programmes, which have a significant

role in the success of such programmes; finally (h) these studies do not examine specific characteristics of the UAE culture in relation to the styles of implementing the preventive programmes.

Although this material gives some useful introductory insights into the potential causes of juvenile delinquency, it seems that there is a lack of research in this area that takes criminological theory into account, as well as the advancements in quantitative and qualitative methods.

The researcher also reviewed case study reports of the delinquents (n = 10), conducted by specialised people in social support centres in the Abu Dhabi Police. In these reports, expert people provided a comprehensive summary of the delinquents they interviewed, including: (1) demographic data (nationality – age - marital status - educational level – occupation); (2) the social and economic conditions of delinquents and their families; (3) discussions of the mental health of the individuals interviewed; and (4) analysis and interpretation of the causes of delinquency. By reviewing these reports, the researcher concluded that the main causes of delinquency identified in the reports were:

First: problems within the family, as in the following:

1. Disintegration within the family: (n = 4) of the cases suffered separations between father and mother, resulting in disjointed families and thus raising the risk of childhood delinquency.
2. Continuing family conflicts: (n = 3) of the cases demonstrated that family disputes were a cause of delinquency.

3. Indifference by the parents: in these cases indifference by the parents was one of the reasons for delinquency for (n = 8) of cases.
4. Lack of parental knowledge about proper methods of education: through these cases it can be noted that (n = 5) of delinquents were suffering from harsh treatment, which in turn impacted their attitudes and led to delinquency. In addition, in (n = 3) of cases, the over-spoil contributed to delinquent youth behaviour.
5. An absence of role models in the home: (n = 6) of cases suffered an absence of role models.
6. Low family incomes: (n = 3) of delinquents were related to low family incomes.

Second, weakness of religious faith: specialists reported that (n = 9) of cases had weak religious morals.

Third: the impact of the media: these reports concluded that the effect of the media led (n = 3) cases to be delinquent.

Fourth: the impact of bad companions: (n = 5) of delinquents committed unlawful behaviour due to negative peer pressure.

Fifth: ineffective use of free time: (n = 7) of cases were viewed as using their leisure time ineffectively.

Reviewing the case study reports, it can be noted that there are resemblances between them and the studies mentioned above.

The review of available research yields insights that contribute to the formation of hypotheses and to future research designs; however, it has been found that these studies provide relatively little comprehensive or methodologically reliable findings in and of themselves.

The next theme will focus on illustrating some statistics in order to show the situation of crimes in general, as well as juvenile crimes in particular, within the UAE. It will also clarify whether the rate of such recorded crimes is stable or increasing.

5.1.2 Theme 2: Government Statistics on Recorded Crime

Statistics Regarding Recorded Crimes in the UAE

In order to estimate crime rates, there are three key methods: “(1) recorded statistics; (2) victim surveys and (3) self-report studies” (Muncie 2009: 17). The previous sections examined relevant victim surveys and self-report studies. This section of the chapter is an analysis of recorded statistics regarding crime rates. A well-known and reiterated observation by many researchers in the UAE context (such as Al Khany (1989: 57 – 58), Heweidi (1987: 45 – 46) and Murad (1999: 32)) is that the statistics do not reflect the reality of crimes in society: there are crimes that are not reported or recorded (what is often colloquially described as the “dark figure” of crime). This could occur for a number of reasons: (1) fear of the police or of the criminal, (2) the belief that nothing serious has occurred or that the police will not investigate the matter thoroughly, (3) a desire to

resolve the case personally, (4) the fact that the police do not record cases where there has been an informal resolution, and (5) the fact that cases of female delinquency rarely reach the police and therefore are rarely reported because of the shame attached to such issues within the culture of the UAE. This raises the importance of having different approaches to analysing different types of data as Plastow noticed: “by not applying any specific values to distinguish between the importance or worth of different sets of data, the police and indeed those other agencies and government who place so much stock in the "official statistics", are only informed by issues which appear to present in numbers terms as apparently significant problems.” (Plastow 2010: 275-276). For example, although the statistics showed that the numbers of reported racial incidents in rural areas are too small; his research found that the problem is very serious. However, his insight is a rarely-considered yet important concern.

Furthermore, studying, analysing, and comparing crime and criminal statistics, whether on a national or an international level, is of great importance for the police to do its job effectively. Any comparative studies must take into account the differentiation and the diversity of names, terminologies, concepts, and titles (Lulu and Ghobash 1997: 272). For example, Muncie (2009: 4) reports that “conceptions of crime clearly vary from place to place and change over time.”

I will begin with general recorded crimes, and will then focus on juvenile recorded crimes. The total number of recorded crimes committed in the UAE between 1991 and 2005 was 71,0518 (Amir 2007: 14). Table 4 displays the annual average of recorded crimes in each emirate during this same period.

Table 4: The average number of crimes between 1991-2005

Emirates	Annual average	Percentage
Abu Dhabi	11,395	24.1 %
Dubai	15,583	32.9 %
Sharjah	10,453	22.1 %
Ajman	3,915	8.3 %
Umm Al Quwain	1,023	2.2 %
Ras Al-Khaimah	3,054	6.4 %
Al Fujairah	1,945	4.1 %

Source: Amir 2007: 14.

Table 4 shows that Dubai has the highest recorded crime rate (32.9%) followed by Abu Dhabi (24.1%). Umm Al Quwain and Fujirah have the lowest proportion of recorded crimes (2.2%) and (4.1%). The difference between the emirate with the highest recorded crime and the one with the lowest is 14,560, and this difference could be due to the difference in population in both emirates. According to the Ministry of the Economy (2008), the population of Dubai in 2005 was 1,321,453; while in Umm Al Quwain it was 49,159.

Table 5: Number and classification of recorded crimes for every 100,000 people between 1991–2005

Year	Total number of crimes	Crimes against property	Crimes against persons	Immigration crimes	Alcohol-related crimes	Other
1991	1,494	741	192	261	205	95
1992	1,517	681	189	353	192	102
1993	1,442	581	194	376	178	113
1994	1,594	570	189	500	187	148
1995	1,630	589	176	562	179	124
1996	1,506	638	174	415	163	116
1997	1,304	616	159	280	151	98
1998	1,582	725	163	415	157	122
1999	2,165	1,201	185	487	156	136
2000	2,050	1,211	191	398	136	114
2001	1,922	1,248	195	225	126	128
2002	1,543	1,015	166	152	101	109
2003	1,639	1,128	189	119	107	96
2004	1,364	862	178	139	96	89
2005	1,566	955	219	176	120	96

Source: Amir 2007: 103.

According to Table 5, on one hand, crimes against property increased by 29% between 1991 and 2005, and crimes against people also increased by 14%. On the other hand, immigration crimes decreased by 33%, and alcohol crimes decreased by 41% (Amir

2007: 104). The total number of recorded crimes between 1991-2005 increased by 129.5%, and the annual average in the UAE was 47,368 crimes per year (Amir 2007: 14).

Table 6: Number of recorded crimes in Abu Dhabi between 1991–2005

Year	Number of crimes
1991	6,192
1992	5,905
1993	5,507
1994	7,009
1995	6,792
1996	6,464
1997	5,592
1998	6,567
1999	21,300
2000	20,815
2001	21,669
2002	14,983
2003	18,459
2004	11,555
2005	12,119
Total	170,928

Source: Amir 2007: 15.

From this table it can be noted that between 1991-2005, the number of recorded crimes in

Abu Dhabi increased by 95.7%. Also, the highest crime rates were recorded in 1999, 2000, and 2001.

Recorded Juvenile crimes

Having displayed a general idea of the statistics of recorded crimes in the UAE, the next section will present the statistics of recorded juvenile crimes. Table 7 (below) shows the number of recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE between 1995-2005.

Table 7: The number of recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE between 1995-2005

Year	Number of juveniles
1995	1,970
1996	2,020
1997	1,768
1998	1,968
1999	2,115
2000	2,054
2001	1,754
2002	1,853
2003	2,685
2004	2,255
2005	2,316

Source: Amir 2007: 95.

Table 7 shows that the highest rate was 2,685 in 2003, and 2,316 in 2005 (see Figure 3). It can also be noted that there is a huge difference between the lowest rate (1,754) and the highest rate (2,685). The rate of increase between these two figures is 36.2%. The number of juvenile crimes in the period between 1995 and 2005 increased by 17.5 %.

Figure 3: Number of recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE between 1995-2005

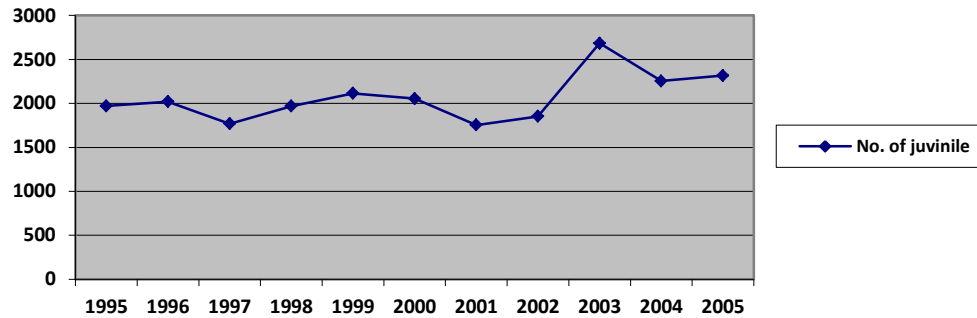


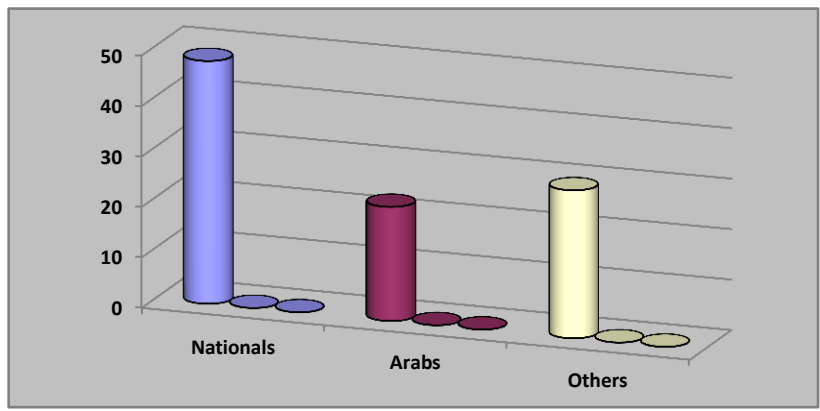
Table 8: Number of recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE according to nationality (1995–2005)

Year	Nationals	Arabs	Others	Total
1995	1,080	272	618	1,970
1996	707	621	692	2,020
1997	849	370	549	1,768
1998	874	390	704	1,968
1999	770	537	808	2,115
2000	781	497	776	2,054

2001	918	356	480	1,754
2002	976	426	451	1,853
2003	1,331	663	691	2,685
2004	1,364	470	421	2,255
2005	1,300	544	472	2,316

Source: Amir 2007: 97.

Figure 4: Proportion of juveniles committing recorded crimes in the UAE according to nationality (1995 –2005)



Source: Amir 2007: 97.

Table 8 and Figure 4 show the recorded rate of juvenile offences in the UAE between 1995-2005 according to nationality. The highest rate was for nationals (48.1%) and the next highest was for Arabs (22.6%). In that period, national offences increased by 20.4%, while for Arabs they increased by 100%. It should be noted that I was unable to obtain more detailed statistics regarding the nationality of juvenile offenders. In other words,

juveniles in the “Arabs” category could belong to any Arab country, and the nationalities under the category of “others” are not known. These kinds of details in statistics may be considered crucial in the design of preventive programmes because the designers of such programmes should be taking into account the participants’ different cultural backgrounds.

Furthermore, the influence of crime on society in terms of damage and cost varies according to the types of crimes. Crimes against persons are different from crimes against property; therefore this requires identifying what kinds of crimes are most desired to be prevented (Greenwood 2006: 6-7). The following table details the most common recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE in 2000:

Table 9: The most common recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE in 2000 (in order)

Order	Type of Crime	Percentage
1	Sex Crimes	44
2	Theft	23
3	Alcohol and drug-related crimes	14
4	Assaults	9
5	Engagement in theft	7
6	Cover-ups of crimes	4
7	Driving without a license	2
9	Total	100

Source: Abdoh 2000: 42.

Table 9 shows that sexual offences are the most commonly recorded crimes in the UAE (44%), followed by theft (23%) and alcohol and drug-related crimes (14%). On the other hand, cover-ups of crimes and driving without a license are less common offences.

However, the order of these most common recorded juvenile crimes changed a bit in 2005, as clarified by the following table:

Table 10: The most commonly recorded juvenile crimes in the UAE in 2005 (in order)

Order	Type of Crime	Percentage
1	Theft	27.47 %
2	Sex Crimes	25.26 %
3	Alcohol and drug-related crimes	13.18 %
4	Assaults	12.07 %
5	Driving without a licence	7.69 %
6	Cover-ups of crimes	2.19 %

Source: Social care unit 2005: 45.

It may be noted from the above table that theft crimes became most frequent (27.47%), while sex crimes moved to the second place (25.26%).

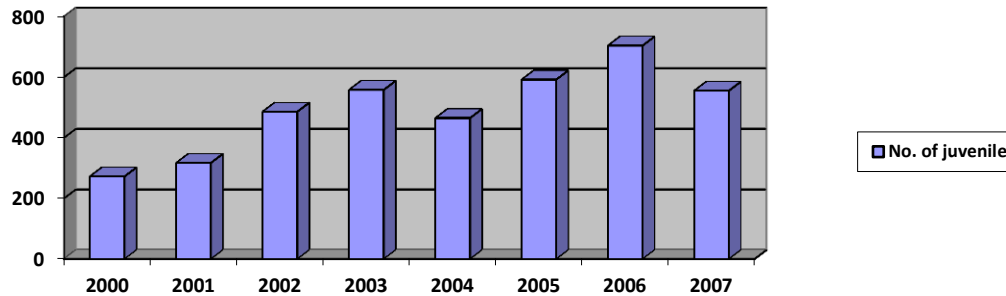
Table 11: The number of juveniles committing recorded crimes in Abu Dhabi (2000 – 2007)

Year	Number of juveniles
2000	272
2001	317
2002	486
2003	558
2004	465
2005	592
2006	704
2007	555

Source: Ministry of Social Affairs (2008).

Table 11 shows that the highest number juveniles committing recorded crimes in Abu Dhabi was 704 in 2006, up from 592 in 2005 (see Figure 5). Also, it can be noted that there is a huge difference between the lowest rate (272) and the highest rate (704). The rate of increase between these two figures is 158.8%. The number of juvenile crimes committed in the period between 2000-2007 increased by 104.04%.

Figure 5: Number of juveniles committing recorded crimes in Abu Dhabi (2000 – 2007)



In 2008, according to statistics from the Judicial Department of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi (2008), there were 853 juveniles that year in social care houses. Most of them were in the 14-18 year age (78% of the total number of juveniles) and most were school students (81.4% of the total number of juveniles). Those unemployed were 12.2% of the total number of juveniles, and more than a third were in elementary school (38.2% of the total number of juveniles). 40.6% of the total number of juveniles were in secondary school (UNICEF Report 2010: 146). Comparing the statistics between 2007 and 2008, it can be noted that there was a clear increase in the number of juveniles, with an increase rate of 53.6%.

These are the latest available statistics about the juveniles' numbers, types of crimes, and age groups. I could not find any statistics describing the peak ages of offences, either for males or females. Also, I could not find any statistics listing the offenders' ethnic classifications.

5.1.3 Theme 3: the Abu Dhabi Police force and crime prevention

Current Crime Prevention Strategies in the Abu Dhabi Police (ADP)

As noted above, this phenomenon appears to be relatively recent in the UAE. However, according to the previously cited statistics, it seems that it is growing. The response is still new, and needs much attention in order to produce a coherent structure of preventive rehabilitative programmes, which are appropriate to the culture of the UAE, and which are regarded as the moral fabric of society. Al Khani (1989: 22, 76), through analysing the existing statistics during that period, reports that there is a need for increasing the focus on the prevention of juvenile crimes in the UAE because of the following factors: (1) a continually increasing population; (2) dangerous types of crimes committed by juveniles (such as sexual offences, alcohol and drug use, forgery); (3) increased recidivism; (4) an increase in the number of youths classified as juvenile delinquents in the country. Although this study is somewhat outdated, the previously mentioned statistics do support it (see Tables 7 and 9).

In the following part of this chapter, a short brief of the Abu Dhabi Police force, as well as its role in the prevention of juvenile crimes, will be described.

Crime Prevention in the Abu Dhabi Police (ADP)

I will begin by giving a brief background about the Abu Dhabi Police (adapted from their official website). The General Directorate of the Abu Dhabi Police in the Abu Dhabi Emirate (within the United Arab Emirates) operates with other agencies to achieve a safer society, and to ensure the continuity of the Abu Dhabi Emirate as a community that enjoys security and safety through the provision of high quality police services to citizens, residents of the emirate, and its visitors.

According to the Abu Dhabi Police Book (2007: 20), the Abu Dhabi police has passed through four key stages (over the last fifty years):

1. Phase I: 1957 - 1966 (the establishment phase).
2. Phase II: 1966 - 1979 (the construction phase).
3. Phase III: 1979 - 1995 (the progress phase).
4. Phase IV: 1995 - present (the phase of implementing strategies and the international quality system).

The force was established in 1957, with very simple capabilities, with “the staff numbering around only 80 police officers.” However, in light of the boom that took place over the last decade, the police have rapidly evolved and developed, in both human and physical capabilities, to be able to play a significant role in achieving security and in the fight against crime. This is reflected in the establishment of many highly technical and modern facilities, such as operational rooms equipped with the latest modern security systems for global communications; surveillance and rapid intervention in the case of

crises and disasters; early warning systems; modern criminal laboratories; and developed electronic services (e.g. Iris). To maintain a high level of efficiency at work and also to ensure continuous development and improvement, the Abu Dhabi Police force has created its own visions, missions, values, and priorities, as follows:

The vision of the Directorate is:

“To ensure continuity of Abu Dhabi emirate as community enjoys security and safety through the provision of high quality police services to citizens, residents of the emirate and its visitors.”

The message of the General Directorate of the Abu Dhabi Police is:

“Working for a safe community, achievement of stability, reduction of crime rates. Contribution to implementation of justice in a manner that promotes the confidence of the public in police.”

The values of the General Directorate of the Abu Dhabi Police are:

Integrity and honesty:

We will maintain the highest levels of integrity and honesty at all times, and will preserve human rights.

Justice:

We will provide fair and tactful services to all segments of society.

Recognizing achievements:

We appreciate and evaluate achievements made by individuals and by the community, by encouraging team spirit and motivating initiatives at all levels.

Effective Communication:

We believe that effective communication with the public and private sectors is of vital importance to accomplish our coveted goals.

Excellence:

We will make sure to pursue excellence in all our work and ensure that our activities are assessed effectively and efficiently.¹⁸

Therefore, police officers in the UAE have many responsibilities and tasks. According to police law in the UAE, the main aims or broad functions of policing in the UAE are to: uphold laws; investigate incidents and offences; fight and prevent crime; control traffic (preventing and detecting traffic offences); protect life and property (civil defence); supervise prisons; control immigration; maintain community relations and deal with community-related problems; maintain order in public places; and respond to reported crimes, enquiries, and requests for assistance.

Strategic Plan 2011 - 2015:

The five-year plan for strategic development of the Abu Dhabi Police aims to raise its level of performance to make the community safer through six priorities, which are as

¹⁸ It is worth noting that 83.3% of the departments within the Abu Dhabi Police force have achieved the international quality certificate according to ISO specifications (ISO 2000: 9001).

follows: (1) crime control; (2) making roads safer; (3) increasing the confidence of the community; (4) strengthening security and safety; (5) efficient and effective management of police organisation, and (6) optimal use of human resources. In the current research, crime prevention is one of the strategic objectives for those with crime-control priorities. The Abu Dhabi Police established this strategy to be able to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing environment and to implement community policing and crime prevention policies to maintain the country as an internationally recognised safe and stable society.

Many advanced steps have been taken by the General Directorate of the Abu Dhabi Police in a variety of fields aimed at improving the policing of society. Many new units, centres, sections, and administrative departments have been established to meet the requirements of modern policing, in order to preserve stability, decrease fear of crime, and focus on the prevention and reduction of crimes, as well as to contribute to achieving justice and fairness among the general public. Among these are the Crime Prevention Section (CPS) and the Department of Social Support Centres (DSSC): their primary aim is preventing crime. Additionally, the Al Mufraq Juvenile Centre (MJC) is primarily directed towards the rehabilitation of offenders and the prevention of recidivism (tertiary prevention).

The Crime Prevention Section (CPS)

Source: CPS brochure.

The CPS is one of the centres responsible for the prevention of crime in Abu Dhabi. The purpose of the CPS strategy is to make the city of Abu Dhabi safer by focusing on the

reduction of crimes and disorder.

The strategy places an obligation on every member of the Abu Dhabi Police to energetically and ethically work in key identified areas. These areas include: crime prevention and reduction; juvenile delinquency; drugs; security information (Level C); major investigations (Level B); external crime threats (Level A); scientific and technical support; and criminal justice.

Their vision is to have an integrated team based in each geographic location (Comprehensive Police Station – Level C) supported by experienced specialist CID Officers to deal with more serious crimes, and utilising Security Information to coordinate responses to emerging external crime threats (Level A).

Moreover, the CPS aims to promote partnerships between governments, businesses, community groups, and individuals; to reduce crime and victimization; to assist communities in developing and implementing community-based solutions to local problems contributing to crime and victimization; to increase public awareness of, and support for, crime prevention; and to conduct research on crime prevention and establish the best practices. In order to achieve this, CPS provides a strategic framework for the Abu Dhabi Police, within which it can prevent and reduce crime utilising modern policing methods and partnership opportunities.

The strategy of the CPS recognizes that the Abu Dhabi Police alone cannot solve all of society's ills. However, partnerships with other governmental departments, ministries, organisations, and the business sector all form part of its overall strategy. This is

consistent with insights from research conducted by Bayley (1994), Rosenbaum (2002), Ekblom and Wyvekens (2004), and McLaughlin and Muncie (2006) (see Chapter 2).

Table 12 shows the types of partnerships with the CPS.

Table 12: Types of partnerships with the CPS

Government	Abu Dhabi Police	Wider Police Family
Ministry of the Interior	Comprehensive Police Stations	Security staff at: malls, hotels, schools, shops, office and business premises, apartment blocks
Ministry of Education	Dubai Police (already have Crime Prevention Department)	Guards (Harrassat)
Ministry of Health (incl. Hospitals)	Community Police Section	
Municipality	Public Relations/Media	
	Social Support Centre	

The responsibilities of the CPS include developing a crime prevention strategy for the Abu Dhabi Police, campaign management, supporting local policing crime prevention/reduction initiatives, high-level inter-agency co-operation, internal and external advice, and media management. Furthermore, the clients that the CPS deals with are the public; the business community; Level C Comprehensive Police Stations; other Level B CID specialist units; and the Ministry of the Interior. Examples of these divisions are in the following table:

Table 13: CPS Clients

Public	Business
Children	Security of offices and equipment
Youths	Fraud prevention
University students	Money laundering
Vulnerable and aged persons	Thefts from shops
Communities	Credit card fraud
Mosques	

CPS and the Prevention of Juvenile delinquency

The CPS works closely with other interested parties (Community Policing, Social Support Centres) in the prevention and reduction of juvenile delinquency. In the first place, they do this by confronting young offenders with the consequences of their offences, for themselves, their family, their victims, and the community, and helping them develop a sense of personal responsibility. This is considered a tertiary prevention measure, because it focuses on young offenders who have already committed crimes (see Chapter 2). Secondly, their interventions tackle the particular factors that put young people at risk of offending, and focus on protective factors. This is considered a secondary prevention measure, because it deals with risk and protective factors in order to reduce risk factors and enforce protective factors (see Chapter 2). Thirdly, their interventions reinforce parental responsibilities. This is considered a primary prevention measure, because it offers services or early interventions for the general public before the incidence of crime (see Chapter 2).

Furthermore, in partnership with other agencies, the CPS targets drug-related crimes, and seek to reduce the acceptability and availability of drugs. This is focused on four key areas. Firstly, youth: in order to help young people resist drug misuse so as to achieve their full potential in society and aid their country. Secondly, communities: to protect communities from drug-related anti-social and criminal behaviour. Thirdly, treatment: to enable people with drug problems to overcome them and live healthy and crime-free lives. Finally, availability: to stifle the availability of illegal drugs on the street. This, in my opinion, can be considered a community prevention because, as observed above, drugs are one of the main causes of disorder, and according to community disorder theory, reduced disorder leads to a reduced crime rate (see Chapter 2).

The Department of Social Support Centres (DSSC)

(Source: DSSC brochure.)

This section is considered a new concept of community policing, which provides social security for its citizens through better interactions and communications between the police and broader society. This experiment is considered a pioneering one in the Middle East in providing social security for its citizens, and if successful, it will enhance the civilized image of policing in the region. This section is supplied with a staff of social workers and psychologists.

Programmes in the DSSC are divided into:

- **Prevention Programmes**

The DSSC provides awareness lectures and courses for students in schools (for example, teaching about how to solve problems; how to engage in good behaviour; and the negative impact of smoking), as well as for parents (for instance, the importance of having a family without problems; effects of the media; impacts of family disputes upon children; how to deal with adolescents; time management; and how to control anger). Furthermore, this section also distributes a variety of awareness leaflets to the public dealing with important subjects such as the causes of juvenile delinquency and the negative impacts of domestic violence. Moreover, the section participates in national campaigns, such as campaigns against drugs and road safety campaigns. All of these activities are targeted at all people in society, so they are considered primary prevention measures (see Chapter 2). They aim to protect and secure the community from the negative impacts of family and social problems; raise awareness regarding the role of the family in crime prevention; encourage cooperation and coordination between the police and social institutions; and develop and broaden different communication channels between the police and the community to activate the social role of the police.

- **Supportive Programmes**

These kinds of programmes include provisions to:

1. Provide assistance resolving family issues through amicable settlements, and encouraging forgiveness without resorting to court interventions.
2. Deal with issues related to school violence and follow-up cases that may lead to delinquency.

3. Contain the aggravation of minor disputes that frequently occur between neighbours with early intervention and with the help of appropriate authorities.
4. Take suitable preventive and remedial measures to avoid children fleeing, eloping, or remaining absent from homes.
5. Provide psychological and social support to victims of violence and other sorts of crimes, especially those against women and children.
6. Help protect family traditions and identities by dealing with crimes that occur within the family, especially those that are not reported to the police.
7. Provide psychological treatment to juveniles prone to delinquency.

This type of prevention is considered a secondary prevention measure, because it deals with risk factors that may lead to crime.

These preventive and supportive programmes may be considered social crime prevention measures, because they focus on changing criminal motivations (see Chapter 2)

The Al Mufraq Juvenile Centre (MJC)

The MJC is a rehabilitation and reform centre providing education and corrective training for known offenders, to prevent the recurrence of further crimes (see Chapter 2). The aims of this Centre are:

- To provide protection for community youth; and to assist in the prevention of delinquency and crime.
- To help young people develop a sense of self-monitoring.
- To provide protection for society from elements which could undermine its security and stability.
- To prevent community crimes and fight against the causes of such crimes.
- To provide community assistance in developing a secure environment necessary for the success of economic and social development plans.
- To rehabilitate the criminal community through the teaching of moral values stemming from the provisions of the Islamic Sharia law.
- To strengthen cooperation with other social institutions for the prevention and control of crime.
- To work on research, studies, and analyses of the causes of delinquency and youth criminality, in order to reform and refine youth behaviour and thereby prevent crime.
- To cooperate with communities' after-care departments.

Source: Al Naqbi 2007: 156.

Through the presentation of these bodies' tasks dealing with preventive aspects under the

umbrella of the Abu Dhabi Police, they appear to be grounded in sound criminological theory, as they are in line with theories and methods identified by key researchers in the field of crime prevention, as mentioned in the earlier literature review chapter. However, some questions are raised: Do workers in these departments believe in the importance of prevention? What are the methods that are consistent with the culture of the UAE? What are the risk factors that should be focused on? What are other people's assessments about the current situation? These questions are in addition to others that this research is trying to answer. Nssar and Abd Al Khalik (1999: 5-6) points out that the following challenges could face crime prevention agencies in developing strategies in the UAE: a lack of accurate statistical data; and a shortage of expertise in predicting crime and planning, either in the education sector or in the implementation of programmes. This study will examine whether these points are still considered to be challenges for implementing crime prevention programmes.

5.1.4 Theme 4: Partnerships

Police Partners in the UAE

This theme will address the reality of work in partnerships in the field of crime prevention in the UAE. First, I would like to illustrate the recommendations of the Council of Arab Interior Ministers No. 13, held in Tunisia, in January 1996. They are as follows:

- Public participation and cooperation ensures the success of police work in the mission of security, as it lifts much of the burden from the shoulders of the police.
- Community participation could help speed up the process of finding perpetrators, and strengthen the evidence leading to guilty verdicts, depending upon the information provided by the public.
- Public participation would remove psychological barriers for citizens because it would facilitate the acceptability of police instructions, particularly if citizens felt that it was important and necessary and effective in benefitting society.
- Public participation in the discussion of problems at local levels would allow people to give their opinions in an attempt to treat these problems, would increase their feeling of responsibility, as well as increase their understanding of the importance of police resources; therefore they would be more inclined to maintain them and work to support them.
- Cooperation with the public would support the police with significant manpower to help provide concrete information without incurring any financial burdens, and

would provide people with managerial, scientific, and social competencies that otherwise would be difficult to develop unless they came as volunteers (Al Naqbi 2007: 148).

Through these recommendations, the importance of people's participation and cooperation for the success of crime prevention can be noted.

Lolo and Qubash (1997: 221) and Al Atyan (2005: 165) describe security as all the efforts of government or private institutions in a community that are directed towards the safety and stability of the individual and society, and that work to achieve progress for the community and allow people to live quiet lives. In his article published on 03 April 2012, Al Shaali (Former Director General of the police force in one of the emirates in the UAE) emphasizes that crime prevention is an integrated community-based effort in the legislation, laws, and administrative decisions within a common strategy adopted by the State. If this were achieved, the UAE could reach a mature stage in social aspects and in arenas of security. He also confirms that there are several risks facing the security and stability of the UAE, which certainly will not be able to face this onslaught by its security body. Therefore, there is a need for the convergence of all efforts to prevent crime, in order to achieve security and peace through social and administrative applications of special criteria and programmes for prevention and control.

After reviewing the literature in the UAE, Al Khany (1989: 82) identified the following institutions as having a responsibility to prevent juvenile crime:

1. The family: family background is often a deciding factor as to whether or not a child will move into crime; for example, children from dysfunctional families are often drawn into crime through a lack of moral guidance or parental discipline.
2. School: because young people spend much of their time (about 1000 hours a year) at school, authorities there can monitor and address potential delinquent or criminal tendencies.
3. Health institutions: such institutions offer medical and psychological treatment, as well as the prevention of disease through genetic testing before marriage.
4. Government: Governments play an important role in the prevention of juvenile delinquency through the following: (a) improving family conditions and the removal of material differences amongst communities; (b) eliminating unemployment; (c) supporting families through heightening social and health awareness (such as the requirement of medical examinations before marriage; and the establishment of associations for the care and protection of families, including marriage counselling); (d) establishing places of entertainment; (e) making education compulsory and free, especially in the early stages; (f) warning about the dangers associated with drugs, alcohol, and smoking; (g) using media for the prevention of crime; and (h) effectively organising foreign labour.
5. Community: whatever the above-mentioned institutions undertake, their work would not be complete or successful without the contribution and cooperation

of the community. There are many benefits from community involvement. For example, community conviction that crime is a danger to society as a whole means that community members realize that combating crime is not solely the responsibility of particular institutions, and that everyone must be instrumental in the prevention of crime and anti-social behaviour. Additionally, community involvement may lead to a decrease in delinquency and an increase in its prevention. Also, when juveniles understand that crime prevention is of vital importance to members of a local community, they are likely to become cautious and less deviant.

Al Ali (2007: 52-75) conducted a survey of 200 students (100 men and 100 women), 25% of the student population at the University of Sharjah, to identify their opinions towards the implementation of community partnership and any potential obstacles.

This study shows that the proportion of those who wished to cooperate with the police in solving neighbourhood problems (39.80%) and (59.80%), strongly agreed with the importance of involving members of the community to work with the police because it helped eliminate crime and delinquency.

In addition, according to this study, the most important problems that could be shared by members of the community with the police include:

1. Apprehending violators of traffic regulations (12.99%).
2. Solving problems amongst families, neighbours, and juveniles (12.63%).
3. Preventing juvenile delinquency (11.97%).

4. Helping with crime investigations (11.53%).
5. Observing houses at night to protect them from theft (11.46%).
6. Other issues (2.26%).

According to this study, obstacles to community partnership may be divided into two categories:

- Obstacles related to the police
 1. The refusal of some members of the police to support society's participation in security measures (77.61%).
 2. The idea that the police do not have confidence in community members' capabilities of providing information (65.67%).
 3. A lack of innovative ways to involve members of the community (60.10%).
- Obstacles related to members of society
 1. A lack of desire to participate (66.50%).
 2. Submissions of false information (63.32%).
 3. Selfishness and a lack of a spirit of cooperation (60.10%).
 4. A misunderstanding of the idea of community partnership (57.58%).

Finally, the study recommends that police officers should be better trained to be able to deal with members of society, and that community members should be trained to be able to help the police. It could be noted that the study does not address the underlying causes that drive people's refusals to cooperate with the police, and it is limited to participating

individuals rather than organisations. Therefore, in this thesis, I investigate this by interviewing representatives of participating organisations that already have worked in partnership with the Abu Dhabi police. Through having such experiences, these organisations could enhance their partnerships with the police through their insights and views.

To conclude: this chapter provided the results of a meta-review of academic, official, and “grey” literature dealing with all the available material available in the UAE which was judged to be of sufficient importance and relevance to this thesis. Not only had such a review not been conducted before, but it also became clear that there were many major gaps in knowledge. Significant sets of demographic and crime statistics are either not compiled or not made available to researchers. The body of empirical studies is mostly dated and more particularly, key weaknesses and omissions can be identified: these have been described and summarised at pages 234-235 above.

The next chapter presents the findings of the empirical study carried out for this thesis. These results will be set out within a discussion of the findings from the previous chapters, and will lead into chapter 7, which provides the thesis conclusions.

6 Chapter 6: Research Findings and Discussion 2: Interviews and Analysis

6.1 Research Findings: Interviews

As discussed in the methods chapter, twelve of the interviewees from the Abu Dhabi Police force were selected from various sections: Community Policing, the Social Support Centre, and the Crime Prevention Strategy sections. One of these twelve individuals, a retired officer with the longest experience (labelled as A12), was interviewed a second time, in order to review and further develop the insights gathered from the first set of interviews.

Another seven interviewees were selected from organisations working in the youth field. These organisations included the Ministry of Education; the Family Development Foundation; the Ministry of Social Affairs; the Ministry Of Culture, Youth, and Community Development; the Municipality of Abu Dhabi City; the Emirates Heritage Club; and the Authority of Islamic Affairs (see a summary of the total number of interviewees and their profiles in Table 2, Chapter 4). For purposes of confidentiality, anonymity, and privacy, I created a coded referencing system. Therefore, I gave the police interviewees the master code **A** (For example, A1, A2, A3, A4, etc.). I gave participations from other organisations the master code **B** (for instance, B1, B2, B3, B4, etc.).

In order to analyse the data, I divided it into four main themes: crime prevention programmes; partnerships; the Abu Dhabi Police force; and risk factors. In the discussion that follows, these themes will be developed and explained. Also, to give examples and to

clarify the explanations, some of the interviewees' statements are illustrated with quotes.

6.1.1 Theme 1: Crime Prevention Programmes

This is the first of the four main themes. It addresses crime prevention programmes that can be applied to young people, suitable to the norms and values of the culture of the UAE. In this regard, interviewees were asked to clarify and explain their views about the most effective types of prevention programmes in the UAE cultural context, and identify essential components necessary for a crime prevention programme to be effective, as well as potential obstacles that could face the police in the application of crime prevention programmes.

Regarding the most effective prevention programmes, interviewees were asked the following question:

In your opinion, what are the most effective prevention programmes suited to the norms and values of UAE culture?

 **[Prompt] Situational or social?**

It is clear from people's responses that there is a strong perception, according to UAE culture, that social crime prevention is better and has a greater impact and effect than situational crime prevention. In order to explain the reasons for choosing social crime prevention, interviewees described its advantages, which may be summarised as: it starts from a child's early years; it is effective because it is aimed at educating people about

what is best; it helps spread awareness because every person who is convinced will try to persuade others; it instils good values and tries to discourage criminal propensities, so even if there is an opportunity to commit a crime, the juvenile will be less likely to commit it.

Some interviewees' statements are illustrated below:

I believe that social crime prevention is more influential and successful when it tries to discourage criminal tendencies or propensities. So even if there is an opportunity to commit a crime, a juvenile will not commit it because the propensity has been deterred by the social crime prevention programmes (A3).

I believe that social crime prevention is the best method to be applied in the United Arab Emirates; according to my favourite principle, which says, "teach me first and then judge me afterwards," I feel that this principle is important to apply in order to gain the desired results (A6).

I believe that instilling good values in young people through social crime prevention programmes is the most important way of preventing them from becoming delinquent (A11).

In contrast, certain negative aspects of situational crime prevention were identified. These were: it could be difficult to generalise its applications (or to apply it anywhere without discrimination); it could lead young men to seek revenge; it may make young men's

characters weak; it could lower young men's senses of self-confidence; cameras and police patrols could make people feel restricted; it may displace crime activity whenever the opportunity arises; and it may be difficult to impose on members of the social elite.

Below are a few examples of some interviewees' comments on this topic:

Because of the status of restrictions and locks in the situational crime prevention approach, young people will try "by any means" to break them and overcome them as a matter of adventure and excitement (the "Adolescent Revolution"), because I think it implies a type of coercion and compulsion (A8).

I think situational crime prevention is difficult to generalise. I mean it is difficult to use whenever and wherever you want, due to its cost and sometimes its complexity, since it could require specialised technologies. Therefore, for example, areas that do not have any kind of situational crime prevention tactics will be exposed to a great many crimes (A9).

However, there were some interviewees who maintained that both approaches were valuable, for instance:

I believe that situational and social crime prevention measures are equally important and indispensable to one another. In other words, to achieve satisfactory results in the prevention of crime, I believe that we should follow both approaches (A5).

To explain this opinion further, one of the interviewees who believed that social crime

prevention was more important also felt that situational crime prevention was necessary because of the following reason:

Situational crime prevention is indispensable for certain groups of young people. I mean those juveniles who are incorrigible—in other words, those whose behaviours and attitudes cannot be changed (A11).

It is clear from the above quotes that the participants favoured social crime prevention because it corresponded “to a certain extent” with their views of the cultural attitudes and beliefs existing within the UAE. Some of the features that they identified with this culture included: a preference for a style of “love” over a style of intimidation; a rejection of confrontational methods; a sense that the UAE society is simple, and therefore it must be dealt with simply and in a co-operative way, depending on the manner in which the preventive programmes were introduced.

Finally, by pulling together these various observations, it appears that it was a commonly held view that the culture of the UAE could be capable of incorporating situational crime prevention tactics for young people who were persistent or incorrigible, and generally for those for whom social crime prevention did not work. Its implementation should be designed in such a way that minimises young people’s and the public’s fears of over-surveillance, and should be designed in such a way that makes these measures replicable and ensures that its success or failure may be adequately measured.

Furthermore, interviewees were asked about their views on what should be provided in order to achieve effective crime prevention programmes. Their answers built upon the

responses quoted above.

✚ What are the requirements for a crime prevention programme to be effective?

After collating the responses, it appears that they may be divided into three categories, as follows:

- 1. Crime prevention programme methods should be** interesting and attractive; contain religious lectures; take place in appropriate places and times; elicit acceptance from the community; assist young people to spend their free time positively; be commensurate with a wide range of interests and tendencies; be appropriate to the age of young people; assist in the discharge of child energy; be important among parents; be diversified; be creative; and be designed as long-term projects.
- 2. Management issues: the programmes should be** clear and systematic; involve working with partners; have measurement standards; receive sufficient financial support; have provision of powers by the government; have specified long-term aims; be well-planned and studied in order to identify the current social situation and to determine what is acceptable and what the programmes should focus on.
- 3. Employees who are engaged in such programmes of crime prevention should:** have the knowledge and skills to influence character; be efficient and be specialists in the juvenile field; invest extraordinary efforts; be employed in

sufficient numbers to sustain the projects; be monitored in order to identify dishonest people; be provided with regular training courses to keep up with what is new in the subject of juveniles; have basic skills dealing with children and young people, and be able to raise awareness of the dangers of deviant behaviour and of how to avoid any activities or conducts affecting processes of development and academic achievement.

A number of interviewees elaborated upon such sentiments:

I believe that the requirements are: financial support, provision of powers by the government, and priority given to efficiency, rather than educational qualifications (A4).

In order to be successful, crime prevention programmes should assist young people in spending their free time doing positive and interesting things. These programmes also need to be conducted by specialists in the juvenile field and be appropriate to the age of the young people, because if the “programmes” do not fit with the participants’ ages, they will not be interested (A8).

I think that in order for these programmes to be effective, they require extraordinary efforts, planning, and unity amongst participant organisations. They also require a unity of goals, and the programmes should last for extended periods of time (A11).

Another interviewee explained the reason why, in his view, the use of religious sermons was a key elements in effective prevention programmes:

A very religious person would supposedly avoid committing crimes. I believe that this is because any religion calls for doing good things, behaving gently, and staying away from evil. I think that an absence of religion leads to apathy, and this in turn could lead to crime because there is no longer any sense of surveillance (A12).

In addition, interviewees were asked about the potential obstacles to the implementation of preventive juvenile crime programmes. The question was:

✚ What obstacles could the police face in their work in preventing juvenile crime?

Interviewees identified following obstacles in the implementation of such programmes, including: the lack of family awareness; the problem of involving young people who were not amenable to such programmes; the lack of immediate results; the possibility of some young people thinking that the police are a source of fear and stigma; the problem that some staff do not agree with the importance of preventive goals; difficulties in obtaining the approval and authority to implement such measures; the problem of foreign workers having a “diversity of nationalities and languages”; and the difficulty of dealing with cases where some young people (especially women or their parents), refuse to interact with programmes aimed at the prevention of criminalised expressions of sexuality, for example, in the cases of homosexuality and lesbianism.

Some of their comments were:

I feel that one obstacle is a lack of immediate results, though the UAE

society wants immediate results. Add to that the fact that foreign workers are found throughout much of the state, a situation that has led to divisions within society consisting of groups with different religions, languages, customs, traditions, and values (A4).

I believe that there are some obstacles to such work. For instance, there is a category of young people who are simply not amenable to preventive programmes; and there is also a broad diversity of nationalities and languages to target (A8).

One interviewee replied to the argument about “some young people thinking that the police are a source of fear and stigma”:

Simply put, I think that the police are two sides of the same coin: one side is their firmness and severity. The second side is that they are like any other social organisation in society—if you cooperate with them, you can work towards achieving security. Previously, responsibilities of the police were only about maintaining order, law enforcement, and crime control; but now in addition to those things, they are responsible for any social problems that may develop into crimes ... I believe that the police force is an appropriate social organisation for applying social crime prevention approaches when there is only a small number of crimes, but when there is a large number of crimes they must use firmness and severity to achieve deterrence (A12).

This same interviewee agreed about the importance of designing programmes suitable for

foreign workers in order to raise awareness among them, and he also suggested some ideas for an interactive multi-agency approach:

I think it is important to give attention to this category (foreigners) because they are a social majority. As you know, the UAE is a developing country with development projects, forcing it to bring in foreign labour. So it is necessary to accommodate this situation and try to create a sense of collective responsibility through:

- The media: by establishing channels in different languages (for example, English and Urdu). In this way, it would be possible to educate and raise the awareness of a large proportion of people within this category.
- Conducting lectures and splash brochures, especially in places where different foreigners get together. I note that every nationality has their own social club or centre, so they should be contacted through these sorts of clubs (A12).

Regarding certain aspects of UAE culture mentioned by the interviewees, I found that there were some conflicts between them and the requirements for efficiency, which can be considered obstacles to their implementation. These aspects included: the fact that there is social opposition to a sense of long-term commitment, especially in programmes

involving children; there is a desire for immediate results and a refusal or strong reluctance to interact with programmes aimed preventing phenomena related to unlawful expressions of sexuality (for example, same-sex relationships).

Here are some possible explanations:

I believe that the UAE society does not like long-term commitments, especially when they involve children and young people (A1).

They do not accept programmes related to sex education, such as programmes aimed at preventing the phenomenon of homosexuality (A5).

By way of example, this interviewee gave information that was based on personal experience:

We gave a lecture at a school in Abu Dhabi about the seriousness of the phenomenon of lesbianism, but few people attended it. This is because some parents refuse to allow their children to attend this kind of lecture (A5).

One of the interviewees did indicate that he thought that social crime prevention is commensurate with the culture of the UAE:

I believe that social crime prevention programmes provide a great deal of influence and success, and that the UAE society will accept them because they are trying to convince people about what is best. I expect that every person who is convinced will try to persuade others, and thus awareness

will quickly spread through a large number of people (A8).

However, another interviewee argued that situational crime prevention was not compatible with the culture of the UAE:

I believe that situational crime prevention is not the ultimate solution, especially in the UAE, because, “in my opinion,” it creates hatred and repression, and a restriction of freedom. This rigidity is counterproductive, as it could lead young men to seek revenge, and it may make their characters weak and cause their self-confidence to disappear. This could happen because I think that this kind of prevention makes young people feel that they are in doubt, because they are being observed everywhere, and also feel that they are not trusted (A7).

Finally, in order to develop and improve crime prevention programmes, interviewees offered various suggestions:

To apply special educational approaches to crime prevention and methods of safety (A6).

To coordinate with Social Support Centres and all institutions dealing with juveniles, and focus on raising awareness and developing moral education through dedicated and capable teams (A7).

To increase family awareness, and make programmes age-appropriate for groups of young people (A8).

To use appropriate venues and technology, such as CCTV (A10).

To concentrate on educating parents through materials taught in this field (B3).

In conclusion, this section has discussed the theme of crime prevention programmes. It has addressed this issue in order to engage with the variety of perspectives offered by the participants in this study. Initially, the opinions of interviewees on two specific kinds of prevention programmes commensurate with the culture of the UAE were illustrated. Then, the requirements that must be met in order to achieve effective preventive programmes were considered. These requirements were divided into three categories: characteristics of the methods of prevention programs; management issues; and staff who implement the programs. Next, the most important obstacles that interviewees believed could impede the application of preventive programmes were examined. Programme characteristics were also discussed, which, within the culture of the UAE, could conflict with the application of effective preventive programmes. Finally, suggestions for future development were presented.

6.1.2 Theme 2: Partnerships

This theme deals with one of the main requirements that interviewees felt must be met, in order to make prevention programmes more effective and successful.

Partnerships, from my point of view, are one of the essential components of an effective crime prevention programme (A1).

The subject of partnerships has been singled out as a particular theme because of its importance as it emerged from the analysed data, and because it was the focus of many of the detailed issues that the interviewees raised. This was raised not only by police personnel who took part in the interviews, but also by participants who represented institutions that had already been (or could be) involved with the Abu Dhabi Police force in the prevention of juvenile crime.

At the beginning of the interviews, police officers were asked about their opinions on the cooperation with and participation of community members and institutions with the police. Some of them held the view that there was a need for partnerships, for example:

Partnerships are very important in the field of crime prevention, because the police will not be able to do everything in this regard (such as the development of schools, street lighting, media, social affairs, sports clubs, etc.), so I think that the police must establish solid partnerships with specialised institutions (A1).

I believe in the importance of partnerships because incompatible programmes are a waste of money, time, and effort. Therefore, efforts must be united in order to achieve the desired goals (A6).

One of the interviewees, a retired police officer who had served in the police force for 23 years, emphasised this sentiment:

I believe that the police “for sure” cannot succeed alone (A11).

Furthermore, a director of one of the institutions dealing with youth supported such a view:

Young people need direction and guidance in all areas. Every institution has a specialty: if they all sit at one table, they will discover their abilities and use them perfectly. The world of crime is complex, so it must be targeted by all (B1).

Another interviewee from a different organisation recommended a balance among policing roles. He stated:

We hope that this cooperation takes an integrated institutional framework and balances between the social role of the foundation and the security role of the police, who specialise in the prevention and reduction of crime and delinquency. I see the police as a legal body working on implementing laws to protect society from any violations. So, when they do prevention as social work, there must be a balance, including the use of specialised partnerships (B4).

Interviewees also suggested numerous advantages and benefits that could be derived from working in partnership, including: facilitating everyone’s work; exchanging experiences; encouraging creativity; becoming more positive and productive; achieving harmony and an integration of efforts; saving time, effort, money, and resources; improving performances; achieving better results; offering the expertise of specialists;

achieving the goal of social responsibility towards the community; leading to the enrichment of views, each according to his point of view and specialisation; and providing a larger body of human and material resources.

Other interviewees stated:

Partnerships lead to the enrichment of views, each according to his point of view and specialisation. They also provide a number of human and material resources, and therefore different groups can achieve their objectives with the help of others (A11).

From my point of view, involving the community and urging them to cooperate with the police in crime prevention (through what is called “community policing”) leads to: creating the desire to cooperate and be a volunteer; reducing numbers within the police staff; and reducing costs, which ultimately leads to success in reducing crime (A12).

Bringing together these comments, we might conclude that the importance of partnerships is seen as follows:

1. An opportunity to exchange experiences among those who are working in similar areas.
2. An exchange of human and financial resources between institutions.
3. A chance for those who hold cooperation agreements to benefit from each other’s participation in addressing the weaknesses in

procedures and the effectiveness of their contributions to the services. More importantly, through such partnerships, these institutions should achieve the vision of the Government of Abu Dhabi to be one of the top five governments in the world for governance standards, transparency, and clear performance indicators.

In addition to this, positive aspects of partnership are seen as conducive to:

- Achieving harmony and the integration of multiple efforts.
- Exchanging experiences.
- Achieving the goal of social responsibility within a community.
- Encouraging a sense of community responsibility amongst community members themselves (B4).

One interviewee gave a practical example of a partnership mechanism:

We complemented each other, since the police are the first to know about a problem and its details, and then it is our turn to provide the necessary means of psychological support and guidance. For instance, if a particular phenomenon has spread (for example, vandalism by adolescents), our role is to organise awareness-lectures for parents and community members on how to deal with this phenomenon. Furthermore, we will try to convince these teenagers that what they do

has negative impacts upon their community, and therefore these actions may affect their future (B6).

Following up on this subject, interviewees were asked to identify the institutions or organisations that could potentially operate in partnership with the police in crime prevention.

✚ From your perspective, what are the institutions that could cooperate with the police?

Participants suggested a range of ministries, governmental bodies, and private sector institutions, including the following:

Ministries of: Education; Justice; Social Affairs; Youth and Community Development; and Health.

Other governmental institutes: Any institutes working with families, such as the Family Development Foundation and The Zayed Foundation for Humanitarian Care; the Authority of Islamic Affairs; the media; other police, such as the British Police; the Singapore Police; the Dubai Police; and Municipalities and Centres caring for the elderly, children, and women.

The private sector: Universities; commercial companies; charities (for example, the Red Crescent Committee); youth/girls' clubs; cultural institutions; research centres.


It should be noted from the current situation that most of these organisations were already involved with Abu Dhabi Police initiatives.

One of the interviewees in the Abu Dhabi Police force suggested an interesting division of roles for such partnerships:

I believe that partnerships could be divided into three sections:

1. **Strategic:** partnerships working towards achieving particular goals.
2. **Executive:** partnerships aimed at reaching goals through the support and sponsorship of companies or of the private sector.
3. **Exchange of experiences:** these kinds of partnerships allow us to learn from other (either local or international) police organisations' experiences; for instance, the British police, the Singapore Police, or the Dubai Police (A6).

Regarding the extent of interaction between institutions within the UAE and the Abu Dhabi Police, the following question was asked:

 **Do you feel that there are interactions within social institutions? If not, what are the reasons for this? [Prompt] Do you feel that society (individuals and institutions) needs to raise the awareness of the importance of contributing to and cooperating with the police in preventing juvenile delinquency? How might this be done?**

Interviewees' answers indicated that some believed that there was a sense of collective responsibility for everyone to interact with the police, both individually and corporately.

For example:

I think that everyone should have the desire to interact and cooperate with the police, at individual and institutional levels (A4).

And another said with confidence and according to his experience:

I believe that there is a sense of collective responsibility among people. Throughout my career, I never experienced the rejection of any cooperative initiatives (A6).

However, others believed that UAE society needed to raise awareness because some institutions did not accept the need to cooperate for various reasons. This may have been because the leadership of a particular organisation did not have the desire or the resources to do so. For example:

In my perspective, the UAE needs to raise awareness about the importance and the necessity of cooperating with the police in order to reduce crime (A5).

Undoubtedly, there must also be some individuals and groups who have political objections to working with police services, or who are wary of it. This is not to suggest that partnerships cannot work; rather that there will always be organisations that have reasons of their own for not participating, regardless of the availability of funding or support.

Some interviewees added that interactions between individuals and institutions depended on the following factors :how to ask partners to cooperate; common goals; beliefs in goals; leadership desires; clarification of roles; availability of resources; the fact that names and logos of any partners, including that their roles and community-based services, should be highlighted, especially in the media, clarifying to what extent the

partners believe in collective responsibility.

Examples of comments of this kind included:

The interaction between partners is determined by the partners themselves and to what extent they believe in the importance and necessity of collective responsibility (A2).

I think that believing in common goals determines the strength of any partnership interaction (A5).

Many of these views are discussed below as qualities of effective partnerships.

Interviewees who belonged to other institutions were asked the following question:

✚ What are the requirements for an effective partnership to prevent youth from committing crimes?

In order to have effective partnerships, interviewees identified essential elements, which may be classified as follows:

Issues related to goals, plans, and mechanisms:

- Unified targets.
- A familiarity with goals.
- A clear vision base.
- Specific and measurable goals.
- An identification of priorities.
- Strategic plans.

- Realistic, logical, and clear partnership roles and purposes.
- An identification of youth needs.
- Clear mechanisms.
- Processes of identifying and organising the mechanisms of work, in order to ensure that each party knows its roles.

Issues related to beliefs:

- Belief in the importance of partnership.
- Belief in the importance of development.
- An understanding of the importance and seriousness of youth problems in society.

Values and orientations important for implementation:

- Transparency.
- Respecting each other's functions.
- Working hard.
- Continued cooperation.
- Working under one banner (away from a self-focused approach).
- Linking partners strongly and in the most suitable relationship.
- A coordination of efforts, so that there are no conflicts or wasted efforts.
- Exchanges of correct information at opportune times.
- Adequate numbers of staff.
- Commitment during implementation.
- Involvement of a range of specialised departments.

- Faith in the work, avoiding celebrity status through the media.

Relationships with the government and the state:

- Agreement on the projects.
- Approval of decision makers.
- Partnerships must be in line with state laws and legislations, and the internal regulations within organisations.
- There must be clear documentation of agreements between partners.

Two interviewees proposed:

I believe that an effective partnership must have:

1. Continued cooperation;
2. A coordination of efforts, so there are no conflicts or wasted efforts;
3. A correct exchange of information, because everyone is in need of information from others (B2).

I feel that the most important requirements for effective partnership are:

- A clear vision before presenting a case;
- Identifying and organising the mechanisms of work in order to ensure that each party knows its role, so the partnership will be fruitful (B7).

The interviewees from institutions that had worked in partnership with the Abu Dhabi Police were asked about their opinions and impressions of these partnerships.

✚ Has your organisation ever worked in partnership with the police?

If yes:

- 1. How was it?**
- 2. What were the advantages and disadvantages?**
- 3. What do you recommend for developing this?**

If not:

- 1. Why not?**
- 2. Do you think there is a way it could be made to work in the future? Would there be any benefit from doing so?**
- 3. If it did happen, what disadvantages do you think the partnership between your organisation and the police could face?**
- 4. What is your recommendation for developing this?**

In general, the interviewees who had worked in partnership stated that these partnerships were fruitful. The interviewee who represented the Ministry of Social Affairs stated:

Long-term cooperation between the Ministry of Social Affairs and the police has led to obvious impacts. For instance, through our activities, a lot of young people's behaviours have changed for the better. They changed from being evil to being good young men. I really saw this happen (B2).

One employee of the Abu Dhabi Police shared the view that:

The Abu Dhabi Police has effective partnerships with government departments and agencies (A7).

Interviewees identified the following advantages: there was marked enthusiasm from the police; there were benefits of understanding partners; there were mutual benefits; there was a spirit of initiative and of creating greater awareness.

In addition, disadvantages (areas of development for the Abu Dhabi Police) were also identified: such programmes until now have not been pre-planned; there has been a lack of continuity; there have been no clear definitions of roles in the programmes; and there has been a lack of identification of police needs, so that partners have not known where they should give assistance.

It may be noted from these disadvantages that all of them were mentioned (by the interviewees themselves) as mechanisms of efficiency. Therefore, the Abu Dhabi Police should take them into account when designing further schemes for effective partnerships.

In conclusion, this section has been concerned with partnerships, which are considered key requirements for the success of any crime prevention programme. It can be observed from the interviews that those employed by the police acknowledged the need to work in partnerships, because of the considerable benefits mentioned above. In addition, a number of institutions and organizations were identified that could work in partnership with the police towards crime prevention, whether in public or private sectors. The interviewees' differing views about the nature of interactions between the police and society in Abu Dhabi were presented. Furthermore, interviewees' perspectives on requirements that should be met to achieve effective partnerships were clarified. Finally, interviewees belonging to institutions that were already in partnership with the police identified both positive and negative aspects in those partnerships, as described above.

6.1.3 Theme 3: The Abu Dhabi Police

This theme will concentrate on issues related to the current Abu Dhabi Police's services. Firstly, interviewees' conceptions of prevention, as well as their views on its benefits and importance, will be discussed. Their views about the role of the police in preventing juvenile delinquency and where priorities should be placed (prevention or reaction) will be described. In addition, this theme will address the interviewees' views on the clarity of prevention goals and the means by which social prejudices affect how such goals may be applied. The perceived advantages of Abu Dhabi police work in preventing juvenile delinquency, as well as the opinions about where improvements can be made will be laid out. The opinions on the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in preventing juvenile delinquency expressed by interviewees belonging to other institutions will be identified. Finally, some of the recommendations suggested by the interviewees will be analysed and discussed.

Interviewees were asked general questions about their opinions on whether "**prevention is better than a cure.**" There was a consensus that the most promising approach, if it is to be successful, should have broader social support within the UAE.

In addition, interviewees were asked whether or not the police should play a part in prevention:

✚ **From your point of view, what is the importance of the role of the police in preventing juvenile delinquency?**

✚ **[Prompt] What do you think is (or should be?) a greater priority for the police: prevention or reacting to juvenile delinquency?**

As a result, different viewpoints surfaced. For example, the majority of respondents held the opinion that the police should prioritise prevention over reaction or treatment; for instance, as in the following quote:

Priority should be placed on prevention, because of its significant role in the protection of the young (A3).

In support of this view, another participant from a different institution noted:

Preventions are better than cures; they are less costly. Treatment may cost ten times more, so they are a waste of time and money. The police have strategic plans and different awareness programmes that may not be available in other institutions (B1).

Another interviewee added:

Good preventive measures reduce the costs of treatment. Although treatment is still required for some categories, the priority should be directed towards prevention (A9).

The interviewees identified the importance and benefits of prevention, which included: using it as a substitute for treatment; creating a more aware generation; saving money, time, and effort; reducing the spread of juvenile delinquency problems; reducing the impact of crime if it occurs; and achieving safety and stability for families and members of society.

Some interview excerpts are given below:

It costs less than treatment, which leads to a reduction in the spread of the problem, rather than requiring much effort and high costs to treat (A5).

Even if a problem occurs, it will have less impact if there is an effective prevention programme ... Focusing on prevention, “I believe” will lead to satisfaction within society. People will feel safe and not worry when they are in their homes ... If prevention succeeds, a new, aware generation will be created (A6).

I believe that efforts should be focused on prevention, so that community members will be safe, families will have fewer problems, and there will be a high rise in the sense of security ... Prevention is about creativity, development, and awareness (A8).

The above statements indicate highly enthusiastic perspectives regarding the importance of being prepared to face problems before they occur, in order to mitigate the effects.

In particular, some of the interviewees identified the importance of intervention during adolescence, as in the following statement:

We show a great interest in young people because adolescence is a critical stage easily affected by environmental circumstances. Such programmes, for example, the Sif Bladi programme, aim to invest their spare time in doing good things. This programme was established through a partnership between the General Authority of Youth and Sports; the Ministry of Education, Health, and Social Affairs; and the Dubai Police. In my opinion, the most important achievement of this programme is the confidence it instils in the parents who send their children to

benefit from it, and getting the young people to spend their time in exciting and useful ways so that they will not become delinquents because of misusing their free time (B1).

Early adolescence is an important stage because it gives rise to physical and hormonal developments that may create emotional and psychological crises. We note some abnormal behaviour, such as rebellion against authority, whether with parents or at school, and also note tendencies for independence in decision-making processes. Therefore, we aim here at the Emirates Heritage Club to protect juveniles from crime and abnormal behaviour by attempting to create integrated personalities, by focusing on the following:

1. The development process: encouraging and developing young men's senses of good conduct and behaviour.
2. The treatment process: through guidance and counselling by professionals. We have a partnership with the Ministry of Education. We also pay special attention to talented, useful projects (such as the establishment of competitions aimed at protecting the environment), and we are trying to develop young people's skills by creating a kind of competition among them (B5).

By contrast, others raised concerns about the dilution of police responsibilities, emphasising the risks of over-commitment by the police, and conflicts between multi-agency project partners and the police:

The core work of the police is to address crimes after they have been committed
... I believe that the police should give the task of prevention to its partners, each

according to its specialisation, in order to avoid conflicts ... The police will not be able to do everything (such as the development of schools, street lighting, etc.), so it must establish partnerships with specialised institutions (A1).

Another interviewee who had a great deal of experience in the police force took a contrasting view, and also gave more details about the nature of preventive police work:

I believe that prevention is a social responsibility. It is not just police responsibility; it is the responsibility of the entire society... of every single person in society. However, the police “in Abu Dhabi in particular and in the UAE in general,” due to their resources and abilities that qualify them to be aware of the causes of crime (which crime prevention programmes cannot succeed without being aware of them), “in my view” are the most capable of crime prevention. I think it could achieve this through the following:

- Finding ideas for prevention programmes based on analysing the causes of crime.
- Encouraging social institutions to contribute to achieving the goals of preventing crime.
- Making those responsible for the prevention of crime aware in order to use their roles to best achieve this. I think that in the UAE, this should start with the family (A12).

Interviewees were also asked about the clarity of the Abu Dhabi Police objectives on the prevention of juvenile crime:

✚ **Are the objectives of the Abu Dhabi Police regarding the prevention of juvenile crime clear? Do you feel that all ADP staff members know these objectives well and that each individual seeks to achieve them according to his job?**

✚ **[Prompt] Do people know the police objectives well and do they apply them effectively, or could there be room for improvement?**

There was a widespread feeling that these objectives were not achieved as they could have been, for a variety of reasons:

I believe that the objectives are clear and adequate, but staff are not familiar with them and therefore do not apply them (A3).

I believe that staff are familiar with the objectives and seek to apply them, but the success is limited because there are some officials who are not interested in them (A4).

Another instance:

In my opinion the objectives are clear and adequate, but most employees do not apply them (A10).

I think the goals for the prevention of crime are vague (A11).

Analysing the responses to this question, it appears that the interviewees thought that hurdles included the following: there were no clear methodologies in crime prevention; there was a lack of support, as some sources were not available; staff were not familiar with the objectives of crime prevention; some officials were not interested in them; goals

were not sufficiently clear because they were general and needed to be specified; responsibilities crossed various sections and departments, making it necessary for them to co-operate in order to implement the objectives; there was a lack of motivation among staff, and a lack of follow-up activities for proper implementation of the preventive measures.

For example, one interviewee stated:

I think that there is no clear methodology, and therefore professionals are not aware of the goals ... There should be measurable goals; "non-measurable" goals cannot be developed (A1).

Another said:

I see that there is a kind of dependency between sections and departments in implementing prevention goals. I feel that there are no:

- Great motivations among staff.
- Clear mechanisms, most of them are just ink on paper.
- Follow-ups for methods of implementation.

If these issues were managed, I think the results would be positive (A11).

Accordingly, the same respondent gave his personal experience:

Personally, I felt a sense of prevention. I believed in its importance, but it was weak and not enough. I would like to give you one example I have experienced: for an at-risk juvenile, it was sufficient for me to do regular follow-up phone calls. However, I was hoping to have a greater role, such as to create job opportunities,

or provide educational, social, or sports programmes. Also I was unable to exercise any kind of pressure on the juvenile's family to cooperate with me in his education and rehabilitation process (A11).

The interviewee, who had a significant amount of experience in the police force, and was interviewed in a follow-up interview, replied to these answers by stating:

The Social Support Centre is found to achieve the goals of prevention and treatment rather than of treatment alone. This Centre was created from the idea that juvenile delinquency is caused by the family, and therefore if there are early interventions, this problem may be averted. So, the person who stated that the goals of prevention should not apply, perhaps he or she had no knowledge of the entire work provided by the Abu Dhabi Police. We have preventive goals and there are ad hoc groups devoted to achieving them. Also, there are some departments, like the Community Policing department, that are trying to achieve preventive goals indirectly, so obviously, it is difficult for others to notice.

As for the person who said that the “staff are not familiar with the goals,” I totally disagree with that. On the contrary, I see that staff members are familiar with them, and whoever is not, it is his mistake. I believe that the goals are clear and if there are people who have any problems understanding them, it is our responsibility to help them (A12).

Interviewees were also asked:

 **How successful do you feel that the Abu Dhabi Police are in currently**

preventing juvenile delinquency?

It is clear from the answers that there were two broad opinions; some held the view that there has been notable progress and success:

I believe that the Abu Dhabi Police are making progress and there is a clear quantum shift for the better (A2).

I see that there is obvious success. For example, as evidence of this success, there has been a tribute from the United Nations. There are also police officers from other states such as Kuwait, Qatar, and Iraq who have come to share their experiences and to learn from us (A6).

I feel that the performance of the Abu Dhabi Police has been excellent, and there have been developments in the areas of prevention and security for everyone (A8).

Others saw the work as being less successful, giving statements such as these:

I feel that the community is dissatisfied (A9).

I don't believe that the success rate is higher than 30% (A11).

Moreover, interviewees who were associated with the police identified both advantages and disadvantages:

1. Advantages of the Abu Dhabi police in preventing juvenile delinquency

Generally, it emerged from several of the interviews that the interviewees were satisfied with the Abu Dhabi police performance, initiatives, 24-hour presence, and their creative

ideas. They also concluded that the Abu Dhabi Police were characterised by a spirit of initiative, and that staff members did their best to help people live in a safer society.

In addition, interviewees believed that the Abu Dhabi police took an interest in the wider social aspects of their work, evident in the fact that they set up a department (the Department of Social Support Centres) to provide social support; they performed early interventions to solve problems (in particular family problems); and they provided support for vulnerable people exposed to violence, as well as free consultations, lectures, and guidance for students.

Moreover, these participants held the view that the Abu Dhabi Police strove to involve the community in the prevention of crimes through the Department of Community Policing. This department has worked to achieve this goal through many different avenues, for example, by implementing a programme called “Friends of the Police.”

Interviewees also acknowledged that the Abu Dhabi Police provided educational and training programmes in prisons, which they believed created employment opportunities for prisoners after their release from prison.

Finally, participants mentioned that the Abu Dhabi Police had sections playing very important roles in the prevention of crime: the Centre for People with Special Needs, and the Tourist Police section.¹⁹

Examples of these comments included:

¹⁹ This section is intended to educate tourists in state laws.

There is a good role for the Abu Dhabi Police—to educate the youth and to provide community-based initiatives ... I believe that the positive aspects of the Abu Dhabi Police are:

- It makes early interventions in solving problems.
- It provides support for vulnerable people who are exposed to violence.
- It is involved in the restitution of rights (A1).

The number of juvenile delinquents is few, so I think the success of the police is satisfactory. The positive thing about the current situation “in my opinion” is that there is an interest in social aspects, for example: there are social workers (both male and female) working with the police for the prevention and treatment of social problems (A4).

2. Areas where there is room for improvement by the Abu Dhabi Police in preventing juvenile delinquency

Interviewees held the view that the Abu Dhabi police, in order to improve its abilities in preventing juvenile delinquency, should deal with certain issues. These issues may be gathered under three headings:

Management issues:

- A lack of implementation of ideas that staff members had suggested.
- Failure to provide resources to help with prevention programmes.
- A lack of coordination between departments of the Abu Dhabi Police, leading to

conflicts between them.

- No cooperation between departments in the police.
- Too few awareness programmes, together with a lack of concern for the media.

Skills issues:

- A lack of training courses for dealing with young people.
- A small number of staff with experience dealing with young people.
- An inability of some officers to deal well with people.
- A lack of specialists who could identify the reasons leading to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Conceptual issues:

- A mixing of police and social working practices.
- A lack of interest from partnerships with respect to juveniles.
- A lack of a sense of the importance of crime prevention.
- A lack of sufficient awareness amongst most police officers about the social role of the police.

The interviewee with a great deal of experience in the police replied to the view that there was a lack of coordination within departments of the Abu Dhabi Police, leading to conflict:

I think that such conflicts occur because all of these departments and sections seek to activate the social work of the police. Among these departments and

sections, the Department of Social Support Centres is the only department officially entrusted to do this job. Other departments and sections are doing this job through a kind of cooperation, which leads sometimes to conflict and a lack of coordination in the programmes provided.

From my point of view, I think that if they are efficient and apply themselves effectively, I do not mind that we complement each other in order to achieve the overall objectives and cover a large segment of society. To resolve this problem, I think a competent department for the prevention of crime should be established. This department could coordinate between different departments and sections. In the absence of such a department, it is obvious that there will be conflict (A12).

The following question was also asked:

✚ Do you think that the police provide services and programmes consistent with the needs of society, particularly young people, to protect them from committing crimes?

Interviewees replied that police services needed to: provide more regulations (clear objectives and standards); engage the cooperation of sports clubs; add more services; and achieve continuous improvements.

The following quotes shed some light on what were seen as the reasons:

There is a need for more developed services and programmes because of the continuous development of crime and its proliferation (A4).

There are services provided by the police, but I feel that they are not enough. Young people have a great deal of energy. They have different tendencies and trends that constantly change, especially during childhood and adolescence (A11).

In addition, interviewees who belonged to other institutions were asked about their personal opinions of the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in preventing juvenile delinquency specifically:

✚ What do you think about the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in juvenile delinquency prevention?

Through their responses, it may be noted that there was, nonetheless, evidence of satisfaction with the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in the prevention of delinquency. The interviewees identified what they thought were its achievements and contributions.

Some of these statements are illustrated below:

Each institution has its own role and its own programmes. There has been a clear development in all institutions, especially in the Abu Dhabi Police. I think that the Abu Dhabi police can lead the way in crime prevention because of its capabilities (such as its budget, its information, and its human resources). There has been a significant shift that has had a positive impact on citizens and residents alike. For

example, there has been an increase in interest in sending students to different countries to specialise in different areas. I think this was deliberate, not random, so I expect this to be beneficial both to the institution and the community (B1).

I have noted that there has been clear progress, especially in community policing concepts, contributing to a lessening in the perceptions of risk from and fear of the police (B3).

I feel that the Abu Dhabi Police play a comprehensive role that covers all the needs of youth. I am personally satisfied with this role, as they do not hesitate to provide support and assistance whenever and wherever we ask them to cooperate to conduct lectures in schools. Their speed of response is noted, given that there are many of these lectures requested (B7).

Finally, in order to promote development within the Abu Dhabi Police, interviewees made various recommendations:

I think a lot of effort is still required in terms of securing resources and raising the awareness of workers and decision-makers (A11).

I recommend working conscientiously in such preventing juvenile delinquency and placing them within specialised committees in order to achieve the desired objectives and to give updates on the current situation to the agencies that require this information. Since situations are constantly changing, such updates are of the utmost importance (B1).

I propose to organise a national forum within the framework of the Government

of Abu Dhabi to:

1. Discuss youth issues.
2. Identify the legislative and legal requirements for dealing with them within the international standards of juvenile cases.
3. To provide specialists who know how to deal with young people, and provide them with the basic skills to perform their work as competently as they can (B4).

I suggest that a greater focus should be placed on using all of the resources—by this, I mean human, material, and financial resources—in order to achieve a maximum impact (B6).

I recommend that the Abu Dhabi Police should continue to provide lectures and guidance to students and parents, taking into account the issue of innovation and diversification in their lectures, and keeping them in line with modern requirements (B7).

In summary, the extent of the importance of prevention from a police employee's point of view was initially discussed. Furthermore, opinions about whether measures of prevention or treatment were the police's priority were examined, as well as people's views on the clarity of objectives related to the prevention of juvenile crime. Next, an evaluation was made about the opinions of police employees, in terms of the success or limitations of the Abu Dhabi Police. Police services to youth were also considered. An assessment of the views of other professionals not directly involved with the police, on the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in crime prevention, was also made. Finally, proposals

for the development of the Abu Dhabi Police were presented.

The views discussed here indicate that, despite the advantages mentioned by the interviewees, there were some criticisms that the Abu Dhabi Police should take into account, in order to increase its success rate for crime prevention. Some of these criticisms were general, such as the need to increase the clarity and efficiency of its goals, as well as making its employees more familiar with them. In addition to this, interviewees raised the issue that there was a need to take a greater interest in the views of staff, including listening more to their suggestions, and seeking to motivate them in order to raise their performance levels. Also, it was suggested that the Abu Dhabi Police work on the issue of overlapping responsibilities and poor coordination and cooperation between departments. Regarding this issue, one participant suggested establishing a separate competent department for the prevention of crime to coordinate between different departments and sections.

Other criticisms were related to the crime prevention field, such as suggestions that the Abu Dhabi Police increase the number of prevention programmes and create a system to follow up on and measure their progress. Also, there were suggestions to provide training courses dealing with young people, in order to prepare staff for dealing with young people, and for using specialists who could identify the reasons leading them to be delinquent. For this, one of the interviewees' suggestions was to conduct continuous studies in preventing juvenile delinquency in order to regularly update the programmes. Furthermore, another interviewee suggested periodically organising a national forum to discuss youth issues and identify their needs in programmes and legislations.

Finally, there were criticisms related to the lack of awareness among police officers about the social role of the police and the importance of the preventive role, as well as criticisms about the lack of interest from partnerships with respect to juveniles. For this, one of the interviewees' suggestions was to continue to provide lectures to staff members and partners in order to raise their awareness about the importance of preventing juvenile delinquency and other issues related to this subject.

6.1.4 Theme 4: Risk Factors

Risk factors are evaluated through specific questions put to interviewees, in order to gauge their opinions on the importance of crime prevention programmes within the UAE, as well as what they should focus on.

Interviewees were asked the following question:

✚ What are the most important risk factors that the programmes should focus on, and why?

From most of the responses, it is clear that interviewees felt that the **media** potentially represented the most significant risk to juvenile delinquency reduction, because of particular qualities they identified:

- It has a significant role in forming values.
- It has the power to quickly reach a large number of individuals, in all categories of society.
- It has a strong influence on young people in particular.

The features mentioned above reflect a view that the media are one of the most significant risk factors, especially in recent years and after the spread of Internet access and the deployment of digital technology, which broadcasts both wheat and chaff at all times, without regard to age.

The following quote provides an example of what was mentioned:

I believe that the media is an important risk factor because of its power to spread information rapidly, and its strong influence (both positive and negative). Nowadays, some children watch TV for long periods of time, sometimes even until 2 am (A5).

One of the interviewees added to his argument with an example of the impact of the media by stating:

The media is dangerous, regardless of how good a family may be. Even though families and schools do their best to teach children a good sense of morality, the Internet, on which children spend nearly 18 hours per day, destroys what has been built by other means. This is so-called cultural globalisation. For example, and this is happening often: if a family protects the child from the media, he will search for alternatives with neighbours and friends ... I would like to conclude with this Arabic line of poetry: “When will the building be finished, if you build it and others destroy it?” (A2).

In addition, interviewees argued that the media were a cause of misconduct, violence, and

aggression.

The following quote is an example of the widespread opinion that negative ideas were disseminated among young people by the media:

The media is important because it has a significant impact on young people, through programmes such as films promoting violence among children and teaching them bad behaviours, such as running away from home if something happens that they do not like (A7).

Despite these negatives, respondents held the view that their role in increasing knowledge about the family, spreading awareness (“i.e., the danger of drugs”), and supporting and disseminating religious values, could be seen as positive capacities of the media.

One interviewee expressed his view on the extensive influence of the media:

I think there should be a focus on using the media to raise children’s awareness, whether at home, at school, or on the streets, because the media exists in all of these places (B2).

This seemed to be a suggestion that media influence could be used positively.

Also, in order to contribute to the prevention of crime, interviewees suggested that the media should:

- Raise a sense of collective responsibility through television programmes.
- Allocate specialised awareness and educational programmes for children and families.
- Use indirect methods to raise awareness, whether at home, at school, or on the streets.

In order to reinforce and highlight the importance of the role of media in the prevention of crime, one of the interviewees noted:

We should focus on the media, since if it is not activated in favour of prevention, there will be no prevention. Through the media, knowledge of the family could be increased, the danger of drugs could be shown, and religious values could be spread (A4).

Furthermore, interviewees indicated the **family** as one of the risk factors. From their point of view, the importance of the family could be found in the following: children view parents as a model; the family is a shelter, a teacher, and gives awareness; it guides children's behaviour, in both positive and negative ways; it is responsible for educating children, teaching them, promoting good values, and preventing them from committing crimes, even when the opportunity to do so arises. Also, it is a source of lifelong contact for young men; and children spend the first five years of their lives with their family.

The following excerpt provides a reassuring image of how the family was seen by one interviewee:

The family is a shelter, "covering and protecting young people from danger as

houses protect people from storms.” It is also a teacher that gives awareness (A5).

What he meant was that young people, usually in the UAE, would resort to their families, whatever the circumstances and whatever happened to them.

Another interviewee discussed a different yet equally positive concept:

The family is the foundation of everything... If it is good, I think the individual will be good (A6).

Furthermore, interviewees argued that in order to contribute to crime prevention, parents should: establish goals for their children and teach them life priorities; teach religious faith and the country’s customs and traditions to their children through educational techniques; be cohesive because the absence of a father or divorce may lead to delinquency; cooperate between each other; make communication with their children strong; and be aware of the way they raise their children.

The following quote sheds light on what is seen to be one of the erroneous methods practised by parents in dealing with children:

In my view, the spread of entertainment has removed seriousness from young people. Unfortunately, there are many families who are more interested in entertainment than education, which leads to a lack of learning important skills.

Raising standards of serious commitment is more important (A1).

The same respondent also added:

Another issue leading to juvenile delinquency is the fact that women are

becoming preoccupied with work, and as a consequence neglect the raising of their children. Raising children must be undertaken as a kind of planned project (A1).

The following proverb reflects one of the parenting rules referred to by interviewees:

“Teach your children according to the times in which they live, not according to the times in which you lived” (A5).

This rule clarifies that parents should take into account the circumstances surrounding their children and deal with what is familiar in their community. What was suitable for the era when the parents were children may no longer be suitable for the era in which their children are being raised.

Another risk factor identified by the interviewees was **the role and influence of the school education system**. They believed that schools had a significant impact on the lives of the young for the following reasons: (1) Adolescents spend a large proportion of their days in school (from eight to nine hours), therefore it is considered to be a “second home” for young people; (2) most young people go to school, which provides an opportunity for teachers to raise awareness from the time of childhood; and (3) young people might get into bad company through connections made in school.

In order to contribute to crime prevention, those interviewed expressed views that schools should: (1) cooperate with specialised agencies (for instance, the police and any authorities dealing with juvenile delinquency), keeping them informed about any new phenomena; (2) have the authority to control and regulate the behaviour of students; (3)

educate students in standards of good behaviour and conduct (such as honouring one's parents, honesty, trustworthiness, tolerance, cleanliness, self-discipline, and understanding the importance of serving their country), and also give early warning of the appearance of any anti-social behaviour; and (4) deal with students using modern practices.

One of the interviewees felt that the lack of power, authority, and control in schools leads to a spread of anti-social behaviour among students. The following quote provides an example, which is supported by an old Arabic proverb:

I think that the most significant thing that schools lack is the authority to control and regulate the behaviour of their students. When a teacher condones the bad conduct of a student, this can lead to the spread of this bad behaviour throughout the class. As the Arab proverb goes, “he who has immunity from punishment will misbehave” (A1).

Several interviewees, in a theme discussed elsewhere in the interview results, included **migrant labour** and its indirect influence on UAE culture as one of the risk factors. For example:

The issue of Asian labour in the State does not need intellectuals to appreciate the danger of such large amount of low class labour on the society in general and youth in particular. In the continued absence of a deterrent resolution, this problem will affect everything of value, and youth will find themselves surrounded by negativity. So it is important that there are laws correctly governing tourist groups and foreign labour. If there are no such laws, there

must be plans and programmes in order to avoid negative consequences (B1).

This was a recurring theme in the interviews. The above quote reinforces the assertion that the danger of foreign workers is clear, and the best solution is a deterrent. If not, young people must be deterred from being affected by them through the establishment of programmes and plans aimed at doing so.

However, another respondent stated:

Although many studies suggest that it is considered a risk factor, I see that it is our mistake as citizens, not theirs. If we are committed, they will be too, because citizens are the ones who determine the standards of conduct in their country. I think that we have the values that should protect us from falling into crime, so we must adhere to them (A1).

There were several other causal factors suggested by interviewees. The following quote suggests that **a surplus of time and money** was one of the perceived risk factors:

I believe that a surplus of time and money has led to an increase in the commission of crimes and antisocial behaviour (A1).

In addition, others believed that **associating with bad friends** was another such factor.

The following quote shows the reason given for this, with a supporting example:

In my opinion, bad companions, whether in schools or outside of school, are considered one of the risk factors for young people, because they spend part of their time with them; this may lead to them imitating negative peer behaviour.

Also, they may teach them erroneous beliefs, for example: that smoking is a masculine characteristic (A7).

The following quote features traditional Arab sayings that illustrate the power of friends to have an impact on individuals' lives:

I see that having bad companions may be one of the most important risk factors. As one Arabic proverb goes, "your friend is your guide." Another one says, "tell me who your friend is, and I will tell you who you are" (A3).

Another interviewee, however, disagreed:

From my point of view, bad companions are not the main cause of juvenile crime (A2).

In conclusion, this section has been concerned with risk factors, which are considered to be one of the issues on which a crime prevention programme should focus. Through this theme, the most important factors potentially leading to delinquency among youth from the opposing point of view were clarified. Initially, the media was examined, as well as its importance in the prevention of crime. Then, the essential role of parents in educating their children and protecting them from antisocial behaviours was explained. Finally, the role of schools in the prevention of crime was discussed, followed by an identification of the powerful impacts of leisure time and bad friends upon young people.

After illustrating these themes, the next part of this chapter will link them to the literature review, in order to examine whether or not the results of this study are consistent and compatible with other existing studies.

6.2 Discussion

Programmes Appropriate to the UAE Culture:

After illustrating findings gained from interviews, it can be noted that a preponderance of views expressed by the interviewees were that in the UAE the approach which criminologists would class as social crime prevention is better and has more impact than the one which criminologists would class as situational crime prevention for reasons such as: it starts from a child's early years; it has more influence because it aims to inculcate beliefs in young people about what is best; and it tries to disarm their criminal propensity, so even if there is an opportunity to commit a crime, the juvenile will not commit it. Also, a popular opinion among interviewees was that situational crime prevention is not preferable because it could yield counterproductive results by leading young persons to revenge and might not deter other criminal activity whenever the opportunity arises. However, the interview findings also pointed to perceptions that situational crime prevention can be acceptable for incorrigible young people. This could be consistent with what was discussed earlier in the literature review (in particular, Clarke 1995 and Cornish and Clarke 2003), concerning studies that demonstrated that situational crime prevention increases the amount of effort involved in committing a crime, increases the perceived level of risk involved in committing a crime, reduces the likely rewards of crime, reduces provocation and removes excuses by setting rules and posting instructions. As for social crime prevention, researchers indicated that it is most effective because it deters young people from becoming delinquent at an early stage of life and seeks to change criminal

motivations (Gilling 1997: 5; Greenwood 2006: 5 and Read and Rogers 2011: 79). Therefore, it can be argued that social and situational crime prevention strategies complement each other (Home office 2003: 9 and Muncie 2009: 311).

Effectiveness of Crime Prevention Programmes

There are some principles which should be followed in order to establish effective programmes. With regard to this, one of the main objectives of the police interviews was to identify these principles.

It can be noted that the points suggested by the interviewees as a requirement for effective crime prevention programmes are supported by the findings of studies by Andrew et al (1990), McGuire and Priestley (1995), Lipsey (1995) and Nation et al (2003). These studies identified fundamental principles, which characterise effective programmes or interventions for the prevention of juvenile crime, such as criminogenic need, responsivity, dosage, community based and programme integrity. The views on effective programmes outlined by interviewees were compatible with these principles. For example, the results indicated that effective prevention programmes should aim to achieve the following: assist young people to spend their free time positively; assist in the discharge of children's energy; respond to young men's needs and carry out studies to identify the current situation in society and what programmes should focus on; educate parents and teachers to deal with children in ways that change their antisocial behaviour and criminal attitudes; contribute to increased family cohesion and avoid family

disintegration that leads to the deviation of children; and strengthen the communication ties between both parents and their children and teachers and their students. These findings suggest that new models for Abu Dhabi Police could draw on research which focuses on the “criminogenic need” principle. Identifying criminogenic needs can be based on crime theories (i.e. social control theory, general theory of crime, community disorganisation theory, community disorder theory, differential association theory, theory of anomie / strain theory and labelling theory). In addition, they are consistent with studies that emphasize the importance of identifying risk factors and designing prevention programmes in a way to deal with them to gain desirable outcomes. These studies, such as Andrew et al (1990), Haggerty et al (1999), Hawkins, Catalano and Arthur (2002), McGuire and Priestley (1995), Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993) and Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992), concluded that effective prevention programmes should be tailored to reduce multiple risk factors associated with delinquency like family, school and peer influence. These social milieus can play an important role in dealing with strain, labelling and learning delinquent behaviours. For example, programmes’ aims to promote the role of parents in developing strong emotional bonds could protect their children from delinquent behaviours. The insights from the interviews may therefore be seen to be supported by criminological research findings, and those findings may provide a good basis for developing prevention programmes. However, it will also be noted below that some of the individual observations made in the interviews are not supported by research (for instance, regarding the role of the mother), and so it is important that prevention programmes are designed with a knowledge of what has been tested and evaluated elsewhere and has or has not been shown to be successful.

In addition, previous research findings indicated that the effectiveness of prevention programmes requires that the duration of the programmes continue long-term, according to the level of risk. Therefore, where the risk level is high, the period of operation should be longer. This can be considered as the “dosage” principle. A considerable number of studies support this conclusion. Lipsey (1995), Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993) and Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992) found that programmes, to be influential and successful in keeping young people out of trouble, should be long-lasting. For example, Lipsey (1995), after conducting a meta-analysis of over 400 studies on the effectiveness of prevention programmes, found that prevention programmes are more likely to be effective when they last for twenty-six weeks or more for 100 hours, twice a week. Furthermore, there are some studies which found that the dose should be commensurate with the level of seriousness of the young people’s delinquency (Lösel 1996; Nacro 2006; and Stephenson, Giller and Brown 2011). These studies deal with the “risk classification” principle where the intensity of the programme and the level of seriousness of the offending person should be matched. It should be noted that the interviewees in this current study did not distinguish between the low risk and high risk young people in terms of the duration of the preventive programme and, also, they did not indicate the issue of intensity. These kinds of issues should be taken into consideration when designing and implementing prevention programmes because, as previous studies (Lösel 1996; Nacro 2006; and Stephenson, Giller and Brown 2011) indicated, if the “dose” (in intensity and length) does not match with the level of risk of the young people, the results could be counterproductive.

Other findings may be supported under the “programme integrity” principle and “well-trained staff” principle. These two principles underlie programmes and are concerned with resources being adequate and staff being well trained. Therefore, results specified that to provide effective programmes there should be financial support and, in addition, staff who apply crime prevention should meet the following criteria: have the appropriate knowledge for this type of work and influential characters; be specialists in the juvenile field; be committed to making extraordinary efforts; be of sufficient number; be under supervision; be provided with updated information on what is new on the subject of working with juveniles; and, finally, have basic skills to deal with children and young people and to give them an awareness of the dangers of delinquent behaviour and how to avoid any act or conduct affecting their development and academic achievement. All these findings are compatible with previous research. As for financial support and also the need for extraordinary efforts, this is in agreement with what was noted by Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993: 158): “dollar for dollar and work hour for work hour, early comprehensive services to, and on-going contact with, families could prove to be a highly powerful and efficient way to limit the negative onset of delinquent behaviours in adolescence”. In addition, with regard to staff, studies again emphasised that they are an important component in the success of preventive programmes. These studies, such as Ellickson and Petersilia (1983), Gendreau and Goggin (1996), and Chapman and Hough (1998), argued that staff should be carefully selected and trained to enhance skills such as problem solving skills, risk assessment, planning, communication and working in partnership. Also, interviewees mentioned that there should be measurement standards in order to assess progress. This is also one of the requirements for programme integrity.

This is consistent with Chapman and Hough (1998), Hansen (2002), and Wandersman et al (1998), who indicated that the evaluation of prevention programmes is necessary to take appropriate decisions, because it uses lessons learned to advance future programmes. In particular, Chapman and Hough (1998: 31) suggested some criteria for the evaluation of staff, such as using the appropriate information approved by empirical studies, having the ability to engage the offender fully in a programme and motivate them, being able to work collaboratively and knowing how to implement a programme to achieve its aims.

Furthermore, the findings indicated that an effective programme should be implemented at the appropriate time. This is the “appropriately timed” principle, as analysed by Ialongo et al (2001); Mulvey, Arthur and Reppucci (1993); and Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992). These studies concluded that early prevention programmes have a greater effect in reducing delinquent behaviours in the future.

Also, results suggested that an effective programme should be interesting and attractive, be carried out in appropriate places, be appropriate to the age of the young people, be diversified, be creative and use the media as an attractive method to present programmes. These approaches were developed alongside the “responsivity” principle which was identified by Andrews et al (1990) and McGuire and Priestley (1995), stating that prevention programmes, to ensure the engagement of participants, should be implemented in a way which is motivating and also commensurate with young people’s ethnic groups, gender, community ethics and cultural backgrounds. As regards the requirement that the programmes be commensurate with community traditions, ethics and cultural background, the current research’s findings indicated that prevention should

contain religious lectures, have acceptance from the community, be commensurate with the different interests and tendencies of the young people, address community needs and parents should believe in its importance or value. Results also pointed to some of the implications for the UAE's culture and these should be taken into consideration when designing preventive programmes in order to ensure participation, success of the programme and to obtain the desired results. These are: to favour an indirect method of teaching or advising; to prefer a style of care rather than a style of intimidation because this could lead to counterproductive results; to be very co-operative, depending on the manner in which the preventive programme is developed (type and style); to ensure that social crime prevention programmes provide more influence and success because they are trying to convince young people, especially young women, or their families who might otherwise feel ashamed to interact with programmes aimed at prevention of phenomena related to sex issues (e.g. homosexuality and lesbianism). Regarding the last point, results showed that it could be one of the obstacles police could face in their work in prevention. It is consistent with the Elliott, Lindfield and Cusick (2002) study where they found that participants felt shamed and stigmatised from attending programmes, unwillingness to share with others issues that they felt were confidential and belong to their own lives, and finally, where programmes or practitioners do not take into account cultural diversity, this could be a barrier to engagement with prevention programmes. However, Stephenson, Giller and Brown (2011: 175) suggested that in order to avoid these kinds of obstacles practitioners could try the following: a one-to-one method which might encourage confidence in the programme, especially in the very beginning; allowing participants, especially those who have experience, to work together to benefit each

other; and using methods such as audio-visual material, role-play, discussion and debate.

Results also indicated that UAE culture favoured prevention programmes which produced “quick results” and were “short-term programmes”. It is clear that these preferences are contrary to the “dosage” principle, especially with regard to high risk people. This should be avoided by means of public engagement, convincing people that to achieve positive results, the duration of the programme needs to be sufficient.

Also, another obstacle mentioned by participants in this study is that some staff do not believe in the importance of preventive goals. They also identified some reasons behind this: no clear methodology; lack of support; goals are too general and need to be specified; lack of follow-up of implementation; lack of motivation; and there is a kind of dependency between sections and departments in implementing goals, each of them thinking that the other will seek to implement the preventive goals, so that in the end none of them do anything. All these issues can influence the effectiveness of preventive programmes and therefore the results can be very poor. This is consistent with what has been suggested by relevant studies, such as Ellickson and Petersilia (1983), Gendreau and Goggin (1996), and Chapman and Hough (1998), therefore, Abu Dhabi police should take this matter into consideration and try their best to solve this problem by providing suitable training courses conducted by experienced people.

Finally, the results showed that “diversity of nationalities and languages” can be considered one of the barriers. This is supported by the findings of the Elliott, Lindfield and Cusick (2002) study which found that language barriers may be a hindrance to attendance and participation.

Risk Factors

The aim of asking the interviewees about their opinions on the risk factors was to identify the criteria that the designers and developers of preventive programmes should focus upon and aim to deal with properly. It also aimed to create results that could be compared with previous studies, both Arab and Western, in order to determine the scope of similarity and difference.

Participants said that the most important risk factors in the UAE that prevention programmes should focus on are as follows: the media; the family; school; foreign labour; a surplus of time and money; and associating with bad friends.

Through considering these risk factors below, it can be noted that most of the results of this research raise arguments familiar in crime theories such as social control theory, strain theory, subcultures theorists, community disorganization theory and differential association theory. In addition, apart from a few exceptions, these findings are compatible with previous studies of western countries (For example, Howell et al. 1995; Farrington 1996; Bright, 1997; Rutter et al. 1998) and also with some Arabic studies (for instance, Al Omoosh 2008; Al Khany 1989; Al Motawa 1990; Helmi 1990; Al Bahar 1991; Abbas 1993; Abdoh 2000; Al Kitbi 2002; Al-Mutlag 2003; Al Askah 2005; Haleeqa 2006; Al Braimi 2010 and Al Kitbi 2010).

The Media:

Interviewees took the view that the media have a significant criminalising influence. This is consistent with previous research (for example, Ross 1963 and Paik and Comstock

1994, mentioned in Chapter 2) on the impacts of the media, particularly with regard to aggressive attitudes, values and behaviours. These studies confirmed that violence shown by the media could lead young people to practise violence.

From most of the responses, it is clear that interviewees felt that the media potentially represents the most significant risk to juvenile delinquency reduction because of particular qualities they identified:

- It has a significant role in forming values;
- It quickly reaches a large number of individuals in all categories of society;
- It has a strong influence on young people in particular.

This finding is supported by sociologists such as Haralambos et al. (1991) who emphasized that the mass media can be seen as an effective instrument of social control (cited in Al Mutlag, 2003: 74). Also, this result is in line with theories related to communities, such as community disorganisation theory, because media could, through its undesirable influence, be promoting positive attitudes towards illegal practices such as criminal gangs, drug addiction, prostitution, violence and guns. All this could lead to weaken the community to social control which ultimately would lead to delinquency and criminal behaviour.

The following quote is an example of undesirable ideas said to be disseminated among young people by the media:

The media is important because it has a significant impact on young people, through programmes such as films promoting violence among children and teaching them

bad behaviours, such as running away from home if something happens that they do not like (A7).

This finding aligns with that of Nobbes et al (1982) who argued that some programmes on the TV led children to think that violence is the only way to solve problems (cited in Al Mutlag 2003: 74). However, in the UAE literature, Al Kitbi (2010) could not find any evidence that there is big role for the media in pushing the individual to commit criminal behaviours, but this may be because of the small number of the sample (n = 25).

Finally, the interviewees recommended that to contribute towards crime prevention, the media should raise a sense of collective responsibility through television programmes, allocate specialised awareness and educational programmes for children or the family and use indirect methods for raising awareness whether at home, school or in the street. These recommendations could be beneficial as a policy to implement, encouraging all media institutions in the UAE to increase their efficiency in the preventive aspect.

The Family:

Interviewees also identified the family as being one of the risk factors. As mentioned in the literature review chapter, this is consistent with several previous western studies; for instance: Farrington (1996); Lacourse et al (2006); Loeber (1990); Smith and Stern (1997); Vitaro, Brendgen and Tremblay (2000) and Wright and Wright (1994). It is also consistent with a number of Arabic studies such as Al Askah (2005), Al Braimi (2010), Al Kitbi (2002), Al Kitbi (2010), Al-Mutlag (2003), Helal (2005) and Helmi (1990). All these previous studies confirmed the importance of the role of the family in protecting young people from the clutches of crime and the dangers of some family problems such

as low family cohesiveness, lack of warmth and support, parental criminality, poor parental supervision, child maltreatment, physical abuse, low family income, family conflict and parental separation.

In addition, the results identified some aspects of the importance of the family such as children view parents as a model so this guides the behaviour of the child, either positively or negatively. This is compatible with McCord's (1991) research which emphasised the importance of the parents behaving properly in front of their children and being a positive model for their children to help them stay away from delinquent behaviour.

Added to that, the results of this research supported arguments that the effective role of parents contributes significantly in protecting children from developing delinquent behaviours and by teaching them values, principles and good behaviour. This corresponds with what was said by Tappan (1949: 133) concerning: "... the vital significance of the family as 'the cradle of the personality'. During the early years in and through the family are established the basic reaction patterns of thinking and feeling, the norms and values that assert a durable, persisting influence upon the individual's subsequent life history". The results also highlighted the need for family cohesion so children will not be affected adversely. This is in line with the Chicago Youth Development Study which explained that lack of family cohesiveness could lead to violence (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Zelli, Ang Huesmann, 1996 cited in Farrington and Welsh 2007: 64).

It can be noted from the above that this is compatible with social control theory which

argues that attachment of young people to the family is one of the social bonds can keep them away from delinquent behaviour.

One of interviewees mentioned that the mother following a career could lead to criminality. However, this is not consistent with empirical studies conducted in the UAE. For instance, Helmi (1990), Al Kitbi (2002) and Helal (2005) did not conclude that a mother following career is considered as a risk factor leading to delinquency. However, Al Braimi (2010: 90), in her recent study on delinquents, showed that 83.72% of their mothers do not work. Similarly, Al Kitbi's (2010: 193) sample was young offenders and 77% of their mothers were housewives. Supporting this, Farrington and Welsh (2007: 72) stated that it is often thought that working mothers cause delinquency because they provide less supervision for their children compared with non-working mothers. In contrast, the Cambridge Study demonstrated that the involvement of women in employment contributes to reducing the proportion of delinquency, perhaps because of increased family income and a tendency towards a smaller family size.

School:

School is another risk factor reported by the respondents. This result is consistent with other research findings such as Yoshikawa (1994), Vazsonyi and Pickering (2003), Sprott, Jenkins and Doob (2005), Lacourse et al (2006), Hawkins et al (2000), Hirschfield and Gasper (2011) and Henry, Knight and Thornberry (2012), as well as in UAE literature in the work of Hashem (2005) Al Braimi (2010) and Al Kitbi (2010). All of these studies examined the relationship between the school and academic achievement and delinquency. Their findings showed that there is a relationship between delinquent

behaviour and low academic performance, low commitment, low school attainment and school disengagement: for example, Maguin and Loeber's (1996) meta-analysis which confirmed the relationship between poor academic performance and delinquency. Also, Henry, Knight and Thornberry (2012) found a link between school disengagement and serious problem behaviours.

This result can be considered compatible with strain theory which argues that when young people cannot achieve their goals such as high academic performance, they can become frustrated and upset which could create a feeling of revenge released by conducting delinquent behaviour.

The results also, suggest that schools, in order to contribute to crime prevention, should have the authority to control and regulate the behaviour of students and also deal with students using modern models. This is consistent with Graham's (1988, 47) argument which identified three main aspects for school administrations to contribute to in having a positive influence on the pupils, these being "teaching skills and teachers/pupils relations; rewards, sanctions and rule enforcements; pastoral care and pupil welfare".

Associating with Bad Friends:

Participants also stated that associating with bad friends is considered as one of the risk factors. Findings of previous studies, such as Brook, Whiteman & Gordon (1983), Thornberry et al (1994), Keenan et al (1995), Claes et al (2005) and Pinchevsky et al (2012), on the relationship between association with criminal peers and delinquent behaviour support this result. In addition, studies in the UAE, such as Hashem (2005), Al Braimi (2010) and Al Kitbi (2010), found that their respondents had committed criminal

acts with the encouragement of their peers.

Results indicated that a long time spent with peers played an essential role in leading them to copy negative behaviour. Also, peers could encourage each other to practice bad habits. This is similar to the conclusion of McCord, Widom and Crowell (2001: 80) that “the effects of deviant peers on delinquency are heightened if adolescents believe that their peers approve of delinquency, if they are attached to those peers, if they spend much time with them, and if they perceive pressure from those peers to engage in delinquent acts”.

This result is in line with differential association theory which argued that criminal behaviour is learned from social contact occurring in the community, especially with intimate peers. It is also compatible with theorists of subcultures where Cohen identified versatility (involving male gang activities, including theft, vandalism, and aggression); and group autonomy (where gang loyalty comes first, and other allegiances are subordinated) as characteristics of delinquency patterns (Downes and Rock 2009: 138). In addition, Cloward and Ohlin identified criminal subcultures (providing role models for young criminals and teaching them how to commit criminal acts); and conflict subcultures (young people focus on earning respect through gang violence or by fighting with other gangs) as different types of delinquent subcultures (Bartollas 2003: 112-113; Burke 2009: 128-129 and Downes and Rock 2009: 140).

One interviewee disagreed that associating with bad friends was considered to be the main cause of juvenile crime. However, this view is not consistent with several studies in the UAE. Helmi (1990), Al Kitbi (2002) and Al Braimi (2010) confirmed that peer

pressure is the most significant risk factor in the UAE. Also, it is not consistent with some western studies mentioned above.

Abu Dhabi Police

The interviewees' views in relation to programmes appropriate to the UAE culture, the effectiveness of crime prevention programmes and the critical risk factors the programmes should focus on have been reviewed and then analysed in the light of previous studies. There now follows a review of their opinions on the importance and benefits of crime prevention, what the priority for prevention or reacting should be, prevention programmes or initiatives provided by the Abu Dhabi police and the advantages and room for improvement in the approaches of the Abu Dhabi police. Responses of interviewees will also be linked to previous studies.

When interviewees were asked about their opinions on the importance of prevention work for the police, there was a consensus that it is very significant and the majority of viewpoints of the respondents were of the opinion that the police should give priority to prevention over reaction or treatment. These results are consistent with what Sir Robert Peel emphasised, one hundred and fifty years ago, when he indicated that:

"Every effort of the police was to be directed at the prevention of crime. It went on the security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquillity, and all other objects of a police establishment will thus be better affected than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime. This should

be constantly kept in mind by every member of the police force, as the guide for his own conduct. Officers and police constables should endeavour to distinguish themselves by such vigilance and activity as may render it impossible for anyone to commit a crime within that portion of the town under their charge". (Quoted in Newburn 2007a: 602)

Furthermore, the interviewees argued that the following benefits and results could be gained from successful prevention work: creating an aware generation; saving money, time and effort; reducing the spread of the problem; reducing the impact of crime if it occurs and achieving safety and stability for both family and society. This is compatible with the findings of Gilling (1997: 109), Newburn and Morgan (2007: 1034 - 1036) and Read and Rogers (2011: 2 & 65) who indicated that positive prevention programmes and activities help youth to stay out of crime and antisocial behaviour and ultimately lead to preventing them from becoming a victim, arrested, punished. Therefore, this saves a lot of cases of detection and sentencing, reduces the spread of crimes and creates safety and stability for family and society.

As regards the interviewee who stated that the police should focus on addressing crime after it has been committed, Bayley (1994: 73) reported that the preoccupation of the police with other works was one of the factors which could lead to weakening the police role in preventing crime.

Furthermore, because of the attributes of successful prevention programmes that are compatible with the needs of young people (Burke 2008: 201), interviewees were asked their opinion regarding this issue. They took the view that services and programmes provided by the Abu Dhabi police for young people need to have more regulation (clear

objectives and standards), have the co-operation of sports clubs, add more services and aim for continuous improvement. As for the need to have more regulation, Bayley (1994: 73) emphasised the importance of good management for the police as a means for success in reducing crime. He also recommended that there is no doubt that co-operation with other organisations which have different specialties plays an important role in the impact of preventive programmes. This will be examined in detail and linked with previous studies in the Partnerships section. Also, with regard to increasing the number of preventive programmes, this is related to “dosage”, which is one of the requirements of the effectiveness of prevention programmes, as has been discussed previously.

Interviewees indicated that the previous points are important because of, firstly, the development of crime and its proliferation. This is in line with Bayley’s conclusion (1994: 124-125) that this is one of the important points to be taken into account when police are implementing prevention work. They should assess the needs through anticipating and identifying future risks, as well as the needs of people and society, and then set a preventive strategy in parallel with the development of crime. The second aspect is the rapid developments and changes for young people especially in their adolescence. Al Feki (2003: 131), Cohen (1986: 6), Jafar (2004: 207), Millie (2009: 159-160) and Talib (1997: 406) confirmed that adolescence is a difficult period because young people have certain characteristics which make them vulnerable to being delinquent and therefore they need to be supported professionally.

In addition, with regard to the advantages stated by interviewees, they are important for leaders and decision makers in the Abu Dhabi Police, where they could consider them as

an indicator of success and progress and continue to develop and improve them for the better. Also, it can be noted that many of these pros come under the umbrella of the social crime prevention approach, such as: (1) Department of Social Support centres which provide social support and early intervention in solving problems (in particular family problems), support for vulnerable people who are exposed to violence, and free consultation, lectures and guidance to students; (2) involving the community in the prevention of crimes through the Department of Community Policing; and (3) providing educational and training programmes in prisons which is believed to create employment opportunities for prisoners after their release from prison. This is consistent with one of the findings of this research which shows that the UAE's culture prefers social crime prevention. As for opportunities for improvement noted by interviewees, leaders and decision makers should also put them in their mind, pay particular attention to them and design plans to manage and develop them within the organisation.

Interviews which were conducted with organisations working in the youth field (n = 7), designed to explore their view on the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in prevention, the requirements of effective partnership, and their own partnership with the Abu Dhabi police (determining pros and cons).

The Role of Abu Dhabi Police in Prevention

This part of the interviews aimed to identify the level of success of the Abu Dhabi Police, through the eyes of people from other organizations, to ensure neutrality and impartiality.

Also they are part of the community and, according to Bayley (1994: 105), the community is able to inform the police about their successes. The results showed that there is satisfaction with the role of the Abu Dhabi Police in the prevention of delinquency. Interviewees indicated some points they feel are advantages such as speed of response, conducting lectures in schools, the provision of free consultation and creativity in performance and services for the community, for example establishing the community policing department.

Partnership

As for partnership, there was a belief in its importance and the need to engage in it, by all participants, whether from the police or other organizations. This result is consistent with other research, such as the Home Office (1990: 4), Morgan (1991) and Ekblom and Wyvekens (2004: 10-22), which maintains that crime is a complex issue and should be addressed not only by general policing, but also through working together with specialized agencies.

Results showed that working in a partnership could cause conflict and it has been recommended that police should put this in their mind and be aware of it:

We hope that this co-operation takes an integrated institutional framework and balances between the social role of the foundation and the security role of the police, who specialise in the prevention and reduction of crime and delinquency. I

see the police as a legal body working on implementing laws to protect society from any violations. So, when they do prevention as social work, there must be a balance, including the use of specialised partnerships (B4).

This point is supported by Brown and Fuller (1991), Cooper, Anaf, and Bowden (2008), Findlay (1991: 228), Garrett (2004), Holdaway (1986), Lardner (1992), Parker, Gallagher, and Hughes (1994: 1) and Sampson et al (1988: 478). They noted that there are some conflicts between the police and social services. Therefore, according to these studies, achieving a balance between the social roles of social organisations and the security role of the police and also taking care of differing organisational cultures; different working techniques; inequities of power among agencies; the blurring of roles; and lack of trust and lack of experience, are required for partnerships to be successful.

In addition, findings of these interviews suggested a range of organisations that should work together to prevent crime: ministries (such as Education, Justice, Social Affairs); governmental bodies (such as Authority of Islamic Affairs, the media, the municipality and centres that care for the elderly, children and women); and also some private sector institutions (such as universities, charities, youth/ girls clubs; and research centres). This result corresponds to the recommendations of the 1990 United Nations Congress resolution²⁰ which identified the organisations which should work together in order to prevent crime.

Finally, findings provided some essential elements for effective partnership, summarised

²⁰ Mentioned earlier in Chapter Two.

as follows: issues related to goals, plans and mechanisms (such as targets need to be unified, familiarity with the goals, specific and measurable goals, identifying priorities, partnership roles and a purpose which is realistic, logical and clear); issues related to beliefs (such as belief in the importance of partnership and understanding the importance and seriousness of youth problems in society); issues related to values and orientations which are important with regard to implementation (for example, transparency, respecting each other's functions, continued co-operation, opportune exchange of correct information, and adequate number of staff); and issues related to relationships with government and the state (for instance, an agreement on the projects, a partnership must be in line with the laws and legislation in the state and internal regulations in the organization, and documents and agreements between the partners).

It can be noted that these elements, identified by the interviewees, are similar to the mechanisms associated with more effective working partnerships which were identified by Gilling (2005: 735-736) and Berry et al. (2011: 15-19).²¹ There are also other elements of successful partnership put forward in these studies which were not mentioned by the interviewees. These elements are summarised as follows: a strong level of trust; expertise to ensure that crime prevention programmes are based on good evidence; core groups to oversee problem solving approaches; the inclusion of researchers within partnerships; continual evaluation to review and inform the activity of a group; involvement of the most appropriate agencies; secondment of skilled officers into joint teams; careful selection of appropriate partners; and joint training of team members.

²¹See Chapter Two.

The next chapter will discuss these research findings and consider their implications for practice, as well as contributions that this investigation adds to knowledge. In addition, it will identify research limitations and strengths and finally, it will suggest some ideas for further research to be conducted in the future.

7 Chapter Seven: Conclusions

In this chapter implications for practice that can be applied in the crime prevention field will be illustrated. Also, contributions that this research adds to knowledge especially in the Arab region will be explained. Further, the limitations of this research and the strengths of its findings will be explained. Finally, suggestions for further research and studies to be conducted, whether based on the current findings, or more widely in the crime prevention field, will be set out. The first section offers a summary of the empirical findings.

7.1 Summary of the Key Findings

The first element of the data gathering, discussed in chapter 5, was to trace and review all available studies of juvenile delinquency conducted in the UAE in order to outline the various factors and causes of delinquency. Added to this was a review of Abu Dhabi police material, not normally publically available. The review of a set of case study reports on delinquents (n = 10), which was conducted by juvenile delinquency specialists in social support centres within the Abu Dhabi Police force, has served to identify further causes of delinquency. By illustrating official recorded statistics of crime in general and juvenile crime in particular within the UAE, this study provides descriptions of the types and age groups involved in acts of juvenile crime. The review of all relevant Abu Dhabi Police documentation, particularly its official website, its information brochures for the public, and its organisational documents, has served to describe and clarify the situation

of crime prevention within the Abu Dhabi Police force.

The second element of the data gathering was the empirical research discussed in chapter 6. These comprised two sets of interviews. The interviews with the Abu Dhabi police (n = 12 including managers, police officers and social workers) were designed to provide a review of current situations in the UAE regarding: the nature of the young people prevention programmes that can be applied in a way that is appropriate to the culture of the UAE community; the vital components of a crime prevention programme needed to be effective; the obstacles which could face the police in applying crime prevention programmes, identifying the aims and measuring the outcomes of such programmes and identifying which partnerships could work with police in preventing juvenile delinquency and the critical risk factors the programmes should focus on. These interviews also aimed to discover the beliefs and expressed opinions of those managers, police officers and social workers who are working with the Abu Dhabi police on: the importance and benefits of crime prevention work especially with young persons; to what the priority should be given (prevention or reacting), the clarity of prevention goals, and the advantages and rooms for improvement of Abu Dhabi police work in helping young people and keep them away from juvenile delinquency. Finally, these interviews were intended to reveal interviewees' personal evaluation of the role of the police in preventing juvenile delinquency and of prevention programmes or initiatives provided by Abu Dhabi police.

The meta-analysis and the empirical research were both analysed in their respective chapters in the light of the conclusions of the literature review in chapter 2 and the

analysis of the UAE social context in chapter 3.

7.2 Implications for practice

On the basis of the research findings, this part offers some recommendations which could help to implement successful prevention strategy in the Middle East in general and in the UAE in particular. These recommendations are divided into several sections; some of them are for design and implementation of preventive programmes, and some for the formation of partnerships for the prevention of juvenile crime. There are also some important recommendations for the Abu Dhabi police force for the future development and improvement. And there will be general recommendations for the Government of the United Arab Emirates.

Crime Prevention Programmes

First, the study has concluded that the culture in the UAE (cultural considerations) must be taken into account when designing and implementing prevention programmes to be successful.²² This provides a set of general principles for guidance. For example, interview participants in this research expressed the view that Arab people in general like the quick results, so that requires starting with implementing quick-win programmes and conducting regular evaluation and presenting results to the public. As well as this, the study pointed out that the UAE society is embarrassed to participate in activities and

²² See Chapter 2.5 and Chapter 6.2.

programmes related to sex education, and should therefore take account of this matter by embedding the programmes of this type in other programmes to get the desired results and ensure participation. Participants also argued that UAE culture also does not like the strict style, but prefers the “carrot” method, so that brings us to avoid the strict method in dealing with young people and focus on the carrots technique in order to get fruitful results. They also stated that they dislike the commitment required in the long-term programmes, so for the less serious cases, prevention programmes should be short-term. And also, they usually do not prefer a direct style, so a programme should consider this and try to avoid this kind of approach and alternatively use indirect methods to ensure the success of preventive programmes and projects. These methods were also shown to be supported by findings from empirical research carried out by Andrew et al (1990), McGuire and Priestley (1995), and Lipsey (1995). These issues can be considered general principles which can be applied to all preventive programmes, without prejudice to quality and to ensure its success and achieve their goals.

Furthermore, the study found that the following risk factors: family factors, school factors, media and association with bad peers, were seen to be the most important factors in the UAE social context because they could lead to serious juvenile crime, so designers and practitioners of preventive programmes should take great care and focus on them in order to provide successful outcomes (Andrew, et. al, 1990; McGuire and Priestley 1995; Lipsey 1995).

Moreover, the study findings have important implications by setting out conclusions about the success factors for designing appropriate crime prevention strategy and

interventions in Abu Dhabi Police which provide insights for other police forces, particularly in similar societies in the Middle East. Also, the results identified some principles which could lead to effective prevention programmes. These principles of effective programmes could offer a standard for practitioners involved in designing and implementing preventive interventions. These common characteristics of effective programmes, could assist in providing a benchmark and inspire other researchers and scientists to search deeper to ensure their effectiveness and identifying cost-effectiveness.²³

Abu Dhabi Police

This study is important for Abu Dhabi Police because it highlighted where there is room for improvement, such as: a lack of specialists who could identifying the reasons that led to the problem; a lack of training courses in dealing with young people; a small number of staff who have experience in dealing with young people; a lack of cooperation between departments in the police; and a lack of sufficient awareness among most police officers of the social role of the police.²⁴ Therefore, for its success in the application of its goals in general and in particular the prevention goals, the leaders and decision makers in the Abu Dhabi Police should focus on addressing these issues. As for the advantages which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, they should continue with more development and improvement for the future.

²³ See Chapter 2.5.

²⁴ See Chapter 6 Them 3.

Furthermore, the study participants offered some specific recommendations and suggestions such as: (1) the application of a special educational approach to crime prevention and methods of safety; (2) coordination with the Social Support centres and all institutions dealing with juveniles and focus on awareness raising and moral education through dedicated and capable teams; (3) increasing awareness of the family and programmes should be appropriate to the age of the young people; (4) providing the appropriate venue and technology such as CCTV; and (5) concentrating on educating parents through materials taught in this field. This can be applied in the Abu Dhabi Police in particular and in forces in similar structures and cultural settings.

Through the above, the researcher concludes that there are some important recommendations for Abu Dhabi Police, which are as follows: (1) raise the capabilities of workers in the departments that deal with young people by providing them with skills make them qualified to deal with them as well as building the capacity in planning and evaluation to ensure the quality of strategies and programmes output and their impact on participants; (2) prepare a national strategy to prevent juvenile crime to provide a general framework for the priorities for action to guide decision-makers in all sectors working in the field of childhood and youth in the United Arab Emirates, as well as the development of public perception of the process of monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the strategy; (3) establish a monitoring system for implementation of the strategy, and follow up progress in achieving its objectives, and evaluate the quality of programmes and their impact on the lives of children in addition to providing data for decision-makers to develop the necessary policies. This system should contribute to determine the effects

of the reforms, programmes and interventions to at risk groups; (4) strengthen the capacity in the police to be able to submit periodic reports and collect and analyse data on juveniles (i.e. age, gender, nationality, type of crime ... etc.) which helps researchers and decision makers as well; (5) promote awareness about the importance of prevention of juvenile crime, as well as the importance of working in partnerships, to decision makers, the private sector and civil society institutions; (6) enhance public awareness about the importance of family in the upbringing of the child's personality and their importance in communicating and dealing with children and adolescents, especially during adolescence; (7) find innovative methods and mechanisms to educate the child and his or her skills as well as educate parents dealing with children and to conduct further studies and research these issues; and (8) finally, develop information networks to share best practices in this field. These recommendations were drawn from the findings of the empirical research and supported by the theories/studies carried out by academics evaluated in chapter 2.

Partnership

For partnerships, the research identified the requirements which need to be considered for the effectiveness of work in partnerships. In addition, the researcher, based on the key academic researches (e.g. Berry et al 2011) and also on current research findings, suggests the following recommendations: (1) develop a vision for joint action in cooperation with the government, private agencies and institutions of civil society and develop a mechanism for effective cooperation and coordination between all agencies concerned with children and young people (their development and protection), including

government ministries and the private sector and civil society. Stakeholders, in particular, those which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, should build a modern database for everything related to child protection issues; (2) promote unity of effort, both at the level of police or government agencies; (3) strengthen coordination between ministries and institutions around the budgets of similar programmes and projects; (4) identify the main responsible organisation to act as the main umbrella for coordination between the institutions and bodies, especially those which deal with children and youth at the national and local levels, and the distribution of roles between the various sectors. The need for connectivity and collaboration between all government, private institutions, civil society and parents to protect children and young people to achieve positive, an integrated results and benefits will have long-term impact; (5) co-ordinate efforts to empower the child, young people and the family through the development of a mechanism to ensure the continuity of the partnership and communication between authorities and civil society institutions, and the unification of principles and rules of cooperation and partnership between the two sides and prepare a clear and transparent road map for institutions' tasks and to identify responsibilities and develop appropriate mechanisms to promote participation and long-term partnerships to be constructive, sustainable in nature and based on the rights of all children and young people; (6) create a mechanism for cooperation among researchers in the Arab countries with respect to the exchange of information and experiences as well as coordination in the research topics to avoid duplication; (7) finally, enhance the provision of indicators, statistics and studies related to the partnership and participation in the prevention of juvenile crime with a focus on supporting the establishment of an integrated database.

UAE Government

Through this research, there are general recommendations addressed to the Government of the United Arab Emirates including the Council of Ministers and the Executive Boards. At first, I would like to touch on the situation of statistics in general. Through this research, discussed in particular in chapter 5, the researcher noted that there are limitations and a lack of official statistics and accurate information required to determine the size of the real problem. For example, I could not find any statistics describing the peak ages of offences, either for males or females. Also, I could not find any statistics listing the offenders' ethnic classifications. In addition, there is a difficulty for researchers to obtain recent statistics. The latest available statistics about the juveniles' numbers, types of crimes, and age groups the researcher could obtain in current research was in 2008.²⁵ This may lead to a knowledge gap, which requires that serious attention to redress because the absence of up-to-date data and statistics for researchers weakens the study and analysis of problems related to adolescents at risk and also weakens the evidence base needed to develop the best solutions and action plans, and thus weakens most of the state's efforts to care for this group and create gaps in the services provided. Therefore I suggest: (1) preparation of a database on indicators for children and young people according to international standards, to provide information and reliable statistics which have credibility to facilitate the task of decision makers in identifying priorities; and (2) develop a clear mechanism to enable researchers to obtain recent statistics and

²⁵ See Chapter 5 Theme 2.

use them appropriately, taking into account confidentiality and privacy.

Furthermore, there are also general recommendations the decision makers in the UAE government should concentrate on in future plans. Based on the findings of the literature review and the empirical research as discussed above, they are as follows: (1) develop a strategy for early childhood development and prevention, to promote the integration of efforts and services to this important stage, which is evaluated to ensure the desired results; (2) unite the efforts of various sectors dealing with the prevention of juvenile crime under one umbrella, and provide it with power to regulate and execute and human and material resources, and be the source of the collection and analysis of the data at the state level; (3) strengthen coordination between ministries and institutions involved in programmes and projects on education and childhood in order to avoid duplication and overlap; (4) develop policies to develop the concept of prevention of juvenile crime and implanting it in all segments of society; (5) encourage all the print media, TV, radio and all media organizations to focus on the programme aim to: protect the child, family cohesion, address the negative phenomena of dimensions and make more aware the community in general; (6) strengthen and increase media production directed to the child, innovate new ways to attract children and adolescents for contribution to the immersion of children and young people in good concepts, values, ideals and principles; (7) enhance the awareness of the family and the community about child rights and protection from crime and the preparation of regular national campaigns to raise awareness of decision makers and target children and young people, parents, government institutions and the private sector and other partners to highlight the issue of violence against children; (8)

determine the priorities in the field of research (i.e. child abuse, accidents, injuries, traffic accidents, the psychological effects due to injuries and accidents, evaluation of interventions, rehabilitation and care for children and juveniles) at the national level, and determine the resources of this research and sources such as determining the percentage of the budget for the purposes of studies and research; (9) finally, focus on the issue of recruitment of foreign labour and identify the minimum levels of education for them.

7.3 Contributions to Knowledge

This study aimed to bridge the gap in the Arab security studies, which lacked the study of crime prevention, especially of juvenile crime. Therefore, the researcher in chapters 2, 5 and 6 addressed the subject of prevention of juvenile crime and the effectiveness of prevention programmes and strategies in the framework of the Middle East, and especially the UAE which is rarely touched upon in the Arabic literature review.

The study has contributed an important addition for the study of the Middle East in general and of Arab Studies and studies in the UAE in particular, which is determining factors for effectiveness of the prevention programmes that are consistent and commensurate with the local culture prevailing in the social milieu.²⁶ Also, it has identified some cultural considerations belonging to the Arab culture in general, as well as the culture of the UAE, which is rarely touched on in the previous studies.²⁷ Through this lens, this research confirms that the preventive programmes vary from one place to another, because of the variety of cultures. Therefore, every region has to take into

²⁶ See Chapter 2.5 and Chapter 6.2.

²⁷ See Chapter 2.5 and Chapter 6.2.

account its own customs, traditions as well as norms and values of the culture in order to design effective preventive programmes.

In addition, this research offers an example of the preferable methodology in crime prevention in one of the Middle East countries. This could allow other researchers to make comparisons and to take advantage of ideas and experiences of others. It could also inspire other researchers in the region and give them opportunity to continue using its results. The research discusses as well certain topics in the field of crime prevention in the UAE. As a result of this discussion, it appears that there are other topics worthy of concern in further research. The most important of these topics will be mentioned in a later section of this conclusion.

Finally, the qualitative methodology approach to examining the data, as discussed in Chapter 4, showed that crime prevention research could benefit from other methods of data investigation. The sample in this study is distinctive because it incorporated the views of employees in the police, as well as staff of the institutions working in the field of youth from the top, middle and lower levels of leaders and experts.²⁸ Therefore, the data collection method, using different samples, has produced a rich base for discussion and gets more mature and promising results.

²⁸ See Chapter 4.3.3.

7.4 Limitations of the Current Findings

Naturally any research has its limitations and this research is alike. Accordingly there are a number of limitations of the present study that must be noted. One limitation of the study is that data was collected from a targeted but small group of participants and from one country. Therefore, it could be argued that the findings of the study are not necessarily generalizable to many other countries.

Also, another limitation in the current study, in the UAE, in general, is that there is a lack of good quality data, reports and official statistics, studies and research in the area of children and young people, and there is an absence of accurate information required to determine the size of the real problem of them (see above, and also UNICEF Report: Children in the UAE, 2010, 26). In this research, the statistics which were analysed in chapter three and five were not up to date. The researcher found it difficult to access to the recent and more accurate statistics because according to Abu Dhabi police, access to these kind of statistic is not permitted for researchers. Even in the statistics which were obtained through published documents, the researcher could not obtain some important detailed data. For example, regarding the statistics of the nationality of juvenile offenders in the UAE which were mentioned in chapter five (see table 8 and figure 4) the data were not specific enough. In other words, (1) the juvenile under the “(Arabs” category: which specific Arab nationalities they belong to; and (2) what are the nationalities under the category of “others”.²⁹ These kinds of details in statistics can be considered crucial in the design of preventive programmes because the designer of these programmes should be

²⁹ See Chapter 5 Theme 2.

taking into account the participants' different cultures. In addition, the researcher could not obtain any statistics which described the peak age of offending either for males or females. Also, the researcher could not obtain any statistics illustrating the ethnic classification of offenders. These types of data are important for decision makers and crime prevention programme designers (Read, 2011, 14). For this, concerned authorities should take this issue into account and also all these issues need to be considered in the future studies.

Furthermore, because the research was conducted in a conservative developing country (United Arab Emirates), the researcher avoided carrying out any interview with children, youths, vulnerable persons or their parents for the reason that the UAE society (to some extent) does not appreciate interviews as a tool for developing research, especially when it comes to social science research. Parents feel embarrassed to be part of a research sample, and usually, do not allow their children to participate in a research especially if they are offenders. Thus this interview method would have raised ethical problems.

7.5 Strengths of the Current Findings

The research was quite comprehensive, in terms of the range of topics covered and the research population, in that: (a) the topics covered included important aspects of preventing juvenile delinquency (risk factors, fundamental principles effective crime prevention programmes and requirements for the effective partnership); (b) all types of

staff, from the short term experience to the longest-serving officers,³⁰ including presenters from different organisation,³¹ as well as participants of both genders,³² were part of the current research population. The sample and response rates were also good. Additionally, using three kinds of interviews with different questions and samples may support the validity of the results.

The researcher's own police background (14 years of experience), which included experience with a number of different kinds of police work (such as police investigation, juvenile correctional service, community policing, social support centre and currently Abu Dhabi police research centre in social studies section), provided him with greater insights and knowledge into the subject.

In addition, the researcher (as stated earlier) recognised and covered all ethical issues such as protecting the confidentiality and privacy of respondents by confirming anonymity; avoiding anything that could harm participants so they were able to withdraw at any time and not to answer question they felt were personal or did not want to answer; and informed participants before starting the interviews about the purpose and nature of the study. In addition, the gathered data were kept in a secure place either in password protected computers when they were digital or in locked cabinets when they were paper data.³³

³⁰ See Chapter 4 Table 7.

³¹ See Chapter 4.3.3.

³² See Chapter 4 Table 3.

³³ See Chapter 4.5.

7.6 Further research

Further study particularly in the Arab region should build on the present findings and try to add some enhancements and go deeper by: (1) using longitudinal surveys to provide advance knowledge about risk and protective factors, and also using experimental and quasi-experimental methods to evaluate the impact of prevention and intervention programmes (Farrington et al, 2006, 65); (2) conducting longitudinal study in order to get longitudinal data because this could help to get the best standard of validation; (3) obtaining information from various sources such as young people, their parents, teachers, peers, and official records; (4) using a larger sample size to be enough to provide accurate statistical analyses; and (5) examining a variety of variables, including socio-economic status, parents' marital stability, parental child rearing methods, peer status, school behaviour, and so on.

Also, one of the proposed studies could be to study models and risk assessment techniques and technologies and assess their application in the UAE context. This type of research needs to be conducted continually, because “what works today may not work tomorrow. What works with some people in some places will not with others” (Muncie, 2009, 324). This helps with experimenting in prevention programmes and helps ensure their effectiveness and their cost effectiveness in the UAE. Also, this would help ensure meeting the needs of young people and that implemented preventive programmes are commensurate with their conditions (Burke 2008: 202).

For future researchers from the UAE considering this subject, I would suggest choosing some of the crime prevention departments in another police force elsewhere in the world,

and undertaking a detailed case study with a view to identifying best practice for the development of such departments in Abu Dhabi Police.

Furthermore, this study does not provide an examination of whether specific prevention programmes have or have not been effective but, rather, attempts to judge the overall components of prevent delinquency programmes to be effective. Therefore, a follow-up study using data gathered in this thesis could test the validity of one of the prevention programmes already implemented in one of the developed countries. The main question of this proposed research should be: "To what extent could this programme work effectively in the UAE context?"

Finally, I recommend conducting qualitative and quantitative studies of students' rate and reasons for school drop-out, especially at the secondary school level, and this also needs to be interpreted through in-depth analysis with the family and the child, school and society, especially in the light of efforts by the State in improving the quality of education and creating a positive environment for education and the allocation of appropriate resources to it. In addition, I recommend conducting field studies that explore the views of children and young people and families on issues that affect them, and involve them in identifying their problems and search for solutions and to explore their aspirations and views on the various services provided to them.

Conclusion

The responsibility for crime prevention is shared between many organizations in the UAE such as the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Youth and Community Development. Since research and policy discussions have reached no agreement on who should lead the process of prevention of crime (Greenwood, 2006, 5) and according to the results of this research which showed that the police in the UAE is best placed to lead all the organizations because of its capabilities (such as budget, information, and human resources), I think a police-led approach would be most likely to be effective since it is also the Abu Dhabi police force which bears the main responsibility for tackling the negative effects of crime. So, it must have knowledge about all aspects with regard to dealing with the prevention of juvenile crime, such as the requirements of efficiency and success. So this research comes to be a guide which it can use to reach fruitful results. The research also however warns that consideration must be given to the concerns of partner organisations as regards the conflicts and tensions highlighted in previous empirical research: for example, concerns about inequalities of power between the partners given the greater resources available to police, and the different aims, cultures, standards, and working techniques in the welfare sector and in the criminal justice sector.³⁴ Nonetheless, this taken into account, this study concludes that leadership by police in the UAE is likely to be the most productive and effective approach at the present time. This research added new concepts in the field of Arabic studies. Much of the literature in Arab world expressed concern about the lack of research in crime prevention: this research addressed this issue by focusing on important

³⁴ see chapter 2.6.1

areas in preventing juvenile delinquency. This research offered practical guidelines for implementing juvenile delinquency prevention programmes for policy makers in designing various policies and mechanisms to enhance the quality of these programmes and also enhance local community participation. This thesis also provides useful knowledge which has been drawn from people who have long and relevant experience in the field of juveniles and who have tried many kind of approaches. Although information gained from interviewing experts may be not based on independent observation, as they are directly involved in the field, the importance of their responses cannot be underestimated. They could be more qualified to give: (a) clarification of the requirements, (b) unique knowledge, (c) vast amounts of information about practice and policy, (d) identification of relevant dimensions, (e) exploration into the details of the problem, (f) information on routines and operations, particularly interactions and processes, as well as (g) clearer expectations and justifications.

In the UAE, there has been very little work in the area of preventing juvenile delinquency. The researcher anticipates this study would help in filling the gap and contribute to the literature of crime prevention in Arab world in general and in the UAE in particular. It is hoped that it will open the door and assist the students and researchers there to develop their knowledge in field of crime prevention and encourage them to search in this field deeply and figure out new results and findings.

The research has had a significant contribution to my personal development. This personal development will make it easier for me to provide a good input in the future to help in improving my country's competency.

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