PLOTTING
AND
PLANNING

William Clifford

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Proceedings of an International Course in Crime Prevention Planning held at the Australian Institute of Criminology from 17 May to 15 June 1979

By William Clifford

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Foreword

From 21 May to 15 June 1979 the Australian Institute of Criminology embarked on a relatively new approach to the prevention of crime. Two years earlier the Australian Development Assistance Bureau had accepted a proposal by the Australian Institute of Criminology that, as part of the Australian technical assistance to developing countries, there should be a course on economic and social planning to prevent crime. The objective of the course was to recognise that crime was not simply a matter for police, courts and prisons but was a wider problem often generated in the process of economic and social planning decisions and also in the way that cities and human settlements generally are planned and administered.

This idea had been developed by Mr W. Clifford whilst he was United Nations Director of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programmes. It was the theme of the first working paper for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, for which Mr Clifford was the United Nations Executive Secretary. In 1975, after assuming his present post as Director of the Australian Institute of Criminology, Mr Clifford co-directed with his successor at the United Nations, Professor Gerhard Mueller, a 'Social Defence Planning' course, which was held in Sydney for participants from Asia, Africa and Latin America, under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme. Subsequently Mr Clifford published a book on the subject[1] and conducted a number of seminars in Australia.

When the Australian Development Asssitance Bureau accepted the proposal, therefore, it was extending a theme already becoming well established. A contract was made with the Australian Institute of Criminology to provide the substantive expertise, and governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America were invited to nominate

senior administrators in the criminal justice services, appropriate academics or planners. To ensure an interflow from previous work in this field, special invitations were sent to Dr Jose Montero-Castro, Director of the United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders at San Jose, Costa Rica and an invitation was extended to the Government of Japan to send a representative from the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in Tokyo. Care was also taken by the Bureau and the Institute to ensure that nominations were of people able to contribute to or benefit from the course. Unfortunately this meant keeping the course short. Since senior personnel were to participate, it was obvious that they would not be able to attend for more than one month. Longer courses could be arranged later for junior personnel.

Also, from its own resources, the Australian Institute of Criminology provided for invitations to be extended to all States of Australia to send one person each. Here again the invitations were framed in such a way as to ensure representation from police, courts and corrections. Local planning agencies were also drawn into the team which, under Mr Clifford's direction, organised and ran the course.

A unique feature of the course was the field work. For the first time anywhere in the world the participants were given one week in selected planning areas of Australia, where they could work alongside people actually doing the planning, the prevention and the law enforcement. Clearly this was too short, but it had an interesting consequence. It helped to reverse the direction of technical assistance because the participants from so many countries were able to help local planners and criminal justice officers to understand the value of cooperation and to appreciate where there were gaps in the data gathering normally required for crime prevention planning purposes.

What follows is a collection of the substantive material for the course with field reports and an evaluation.

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1. *Planning Crime Prevention.* D.C. Heath, Lexington Books, Boston, 1976.

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Acknowledgements

Introduction[1]

We are all planners – whether we are simply paying a mortgage, life insurance or investing in our children's education. Like the major economic and social planners, we are assessing and mobilising our resources to achieve our future objectives. We are all potential, if not actual, criminals. As the number of laws proliferate, it is increasingly difficult for anyone to avoid breaking at least some of them at some time; and as our needs and social obligations typically increase faster than our resources, the illegal short-cuts to our chosen objectives in life become more and more tempting. This is particularly true in a world which is prone to value achievement for its own sake without asking too many questions about how the success was attained.

So, there is plotting as well as planning in our lives and both of these have to be taken into account in any preparations for the future. When, recently, Professor Galbraith, the celebrated United States economist, was asked to give reasons for the different opinions of economists on the economy, he mentioned not only the differences of intellectual interpretation, but things like the rapidity of change, the loyalty of economists to the institutions they served and an addiction to political doctrines. But in the first place he put the obvious self-interest of economists because no one is ever immune from this fundamental characteristic of human nature. The reason we respect unselfishness and altruism is because they are so rare. There are, therefore, venal, dishonest, self-seeking planners who do not always respect the law. And one needs always to be alert to the ubiquitous vested interest underlying the high-minded rhetoric or the impressive models and curves.

Conversely, crime can be both calculating and calculated. Organised and corporate criminals especially will use the best

planning techniques. And professional criminals will often use planning methods instinctively, even if they do not know the technical language. There are many forms of modern crime using sophisticated business methods and even the ordinary but regular criminal will need to plan if he intends to stay long in circulation. There are any number of systematic, far-sighted offenders fully capable of taking an inventory of present and future resources and returns, well-accustomed to setting objectives and implementing their projects as well as evaluating the results. They would consider this a normal process in the routine balancing of risks and benefits.

In other words, there are few, if any, aspects of human experience without some elements of planning and there are practically none without crime. When they are not actually companions, they travel the same regions and use the same roads. Nor are crime and planning necessarily different or independent concepts. They can well be regarded as different aspects of a single process, depending on the state of the law and the kinds of people involved. That is why each needs to take full account of the other.

Man has been described as an animal that hopes and we are certainly all addicted to the drug of expectation — even Utopianism. The visions of youth become all too rapidly the rueful dreams of old age; but we never, ever, lose the conviction that things can be better in this life — or, at least, in the next. We are always looking forward . . . hoping . . . expecting . . . not just waiting but actively doing what we can to make things happen in the way we would like them to happen.

This has been the basis for all planning ever since man first stood upright and began to think about what might happen to his family the day after tomorrow. It created books and battle axes, as well as weaving and walled cities. There is, indeed, a satisfaction in providing for an uncertain future. It was not difficult to make Adam and Eve discontented with a future they did not need to plan. They needed something to look forward to. This motivated Noah to build his ark and it inspired Joseph to conserve Egyptian corn from the rich harvests in order to provide for the years of famine. It drove Mohammed into his *Jihad* or holy war of conversion; led the Brahmins to become law makers and practical administrators; and inspired Confucius to develop his matrix of ethical relationships for public purposes. The kind of practical

expectation which we now call planning brought men from caves into houses, caused them to leave hunting for a more settled agricultural existence and evolved the family as a natural form of social security. We can see the planning of our forefathers in the Great Wall of China, the Taj Mahal in India, the temples of Thailand, the Acropolis in Athens, the viaducts and roads across the Roman Empire and the Pyramids in Mexico, Egypt and elsewhere.

But so very often the cement was mixed with blood. Most of humanity's achievements, by planning and foresight, have thinly disguised criminal records. There has usually been a degree of destruction to match the creativity. The third dimension of man's fabulous chronicle is often produced by the shadow or the shading of crime. The unexceptional desire to work for oneself does not always mean working honestly for oneself. There is always the temptation to dispossess someone else. Whether we like to admit it or not, the assassin's knife or pistol can be more individually rewarding than years behind the plough. Cain was judiciously planning for his own future when he murdered Abel. Ceasar was struck down ostensibly for the future of Rome by those who hoped to benefit. Crime has not infrequently contributed to greatness. Organised violence, engineered by paid street mobs in the Forum, helped to shape the Roman Empire and to produce some of its leaders. The British Navy built its high prestige and efficiency, at least partly, by the way in which it kidnapped the men it needed for its crews. Brigands have become great leaders. Piracy on the high seas, no less than modern skyjacking, has been licensed openly or clandestinely by some nations. Successful terrorists represent their countries in the august gatherings of the United Nations.

In the deliberate planning of new orders there have sometimes been calculated campaigns for genocide and dispossession. Hitler saw racialism as a principle of his new order. Russian leaders systematically starved the Ukrainians. Asians were quite deliberately dispossessed in Africa and we believe that the steady flow of Chinese-Vietnamese refugees in recent times implies an official policy. Nor is this a particularly new process.

We did not have homosexuality as a criminal offence in early English law until King Henry VIII used it as a weapon to eliminate the abbots of the monasteries and expropriate the great wealth of such institutions. So he made homosexuality a capital offence and

confiscated property. This was a deliberate economic, as well as a political, policy. Nor was Australia founded by accident. It was opened up as a cheaper way of dealing with the British convicts overcrowding the hulks. The Pilgrim Fathers, who first settled in America, were in fact, fleeing from religious persecution in England. Hong Kong was ceded to Britain by China after the British had sent an expeditionary force to prevent the Chinese from protecting their own people from the foreign drug importers. So it is one thing to say that crime reflects the society in which it appears, but it is also true that crime helps to shape future society.

High finance, sophisticated economics or the varied forms of prestigious physical planning in our time have had the stimulation of crime. Robin Hood foreshadowed our modern tax system by taking from the rich to give to the poor, but some modern banks and great financial combines can now create windfall profits by moving funds across the world to provoke devaluations or revaluations of national currencies and the national banks no longer have the fiscal power to prevent it in the West. This reverses Robin Hood: it takes from the poor on fixed incomes to enrich the rich.

Crime and planning are really never far apart: altruism and sharp practice are interrelated. Even the great religions which have taught us that human and social improvements must come from within, have sometimes been served by crime. An economic rival could be denounced to the Inquisition; great frauds and confidence tricks have been perpetrated in the name of religion. Commercialism and the upkeep of religious shrines have gone hand in hand. So it is really quite remarkable that it has taken us so long to provide public recognition of the fact that even man's highest and noblest aspirations are likely to be qualified in their implementation by his lower nature. There is nothing unnatural in the reality that man's head is in the stars, whilst his feet are still deep in clay. That is, indeed, the human condition. But poets and writers have given it more recognition than governments and planners.

We have, therefore, to revise the thinking which, however unreal, has become traditional in our own times. First, we have to rid ourselves of the misleading idea that crime is a special form of behaviour which we can leave to the police, the prisons and the courts. Crime, however reprehensible, is a normal feature of our social and economic life, which can be fostered or contained by

the action of the community. More to our purpose, we have to recognise that crime can be prevented, or promoted, by the way we do our planning – nationally, regionally, locally or in our cities and towns. It is (and always has been) nonsense for society to increase the police simply to mop up on the streets the mistakes which it made in its investments and attempts at development, with its health schemes, educational patterns or its town planning. We have often quite deliberately created business centres or industrial areas which are uninhabited after dark and then we wonder why they become unsafe. In the older cities we frequently planned and built the back alleys which no one dares to use. We invented and produced the computers and the health and welfare schemes which are now defrauded. We set out desirable goods in supermarkets psychologically patterned and coloured to attract purchasers – probably knowing quite well that such displays attract shop stealing. We drill children in non-conformity and then appear surprised that they do not respect the law. But if planning has not always been wise from a crime prevention point of view, we also have to acknowledge that crime will still be a possibility, whatever kind of planning we adopt. This brings us to the second change which is necessary in our traditional thinking.

We have to transform planning at national, regional or local levels from purely model building to incorporate morale building. There has to be a shift from the unreal planning for an impossible crimeless society to a growing consciousness of the need to provide in all our future planning for all men – the good, the bad and the indifferent. Fortunately, in this we are gradually leaning from our mistakes. There was a time when all crime could be comfortably ascribed to such things as poverty, ignorance, underprivilege and perhaps bad housing. This was a kind of myopia which ignored the enormous amount of crime amongst the so-called 'respectable'. It ignored organised crime, corporate or white collar crime. Anyway, the naivete of imagining that crime will be reduced by improved incomes, better housing, more schools and community centres, has been exploded by experience. Some countries have done all these things for their populations, but the crime rate has actually risen. There were once politicians and officials who found it easy to acquire a reputation for being enlightened and progressive by calling for more schools and fewer prisons. We now know that it does not work like that. There are, indeed, some

types of schools and universities which can, themselves, fill the prisons. Some prisons have become schools of crime. We also know that knowledge for its own sake is no guarantee of less crime: it could mean more educated criminals.

Perhaps a third change is implied. We have to recover from the over-simplified delusion that killing an offender, imprisoning him for longer and longer periods, or even whipping or lashing him will be a salutory lesson for the larger numbers of offenders not yet caught. Let us remember that the police owe their existence to the simple fact that such methods were not found to be working 150 years ago. We have come to appreciate the importance of detection and adequate investigation of a crime. Now there are signs that as towns grow, the detection rates for crime might be declining. Then, since there is a dark figure for crime, with only 20 or 30 per cent being reported, it is obvious that there is a range of real crime which escapes the authorities. In other words, we see once again that crime is not something to be left to the official criminal justice services like the courts, the police or corrections. It is *par excellence* a community problem to be tackled by community action including planning.

These days there is, indeed, a great emphasis being placed upon community participation in crime prevention. Social planners are employed, especially in local planning schemes, to conduct surveys, mobilise public interest and channel community recommendations to the planning authorities. At the same time the criminal justice services quite properly remind us they cannot succeed without the support of the public. But, unlike many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the western countries are unfortunate in having few real communities to depend on. In fact, the more impassioned the calls for community action, the less community there will usually be — a situation which has not escaped the attention of the smaller, active interest groups which have learned to exploit it. To tackle a public issue like crime, most western nations have to begin by building communities. So a basic question is how can we develop and nurture healthy communities, effective not only in crime prevention, but in developing and strengthening all the sinews of a vigorous, healthy society with all the improvements we seek in the quality of life? This is not an academic question: there are areas of the world where community life has been preserved despite the

modern pressures and divisions — and from these areas lessons need to be learned.

We also have to plan realistically for man's failings as well as his aspirations. We have to admit, however reluctantly, that he will destroy as well as create, he will be violent as well as virtuous and that even a society of saints would need to plan for the less saintly.

This is a noble undertaking for the future. It is a task for planners and a host of other specialists — amongst whom we count police officers, judges and magistrates and correctional officers. With criminologists, all these need to work together to build a new society with less crime. Maybe the very experience of so many different groups pooling their interests and expertise would be the first community-building exercise. If the perspectives are right, then our planning of the future will be planning to preserve, as well as to promote and produce. It will mean creativity, not merely in devising something new but in conserving and avoiding destruction. It involves recognising in our planning that the quality of life involves human risks as well as human rights.

1. Adaptation of keynote address delivered on 21 May 1979 to participants in the Australian Development Assistance Bureau Course on 'Crime Prevention Planning' held at the Australian Institute of Criminology.

1 Criminology and Planning

W. Clifford

The relationship of criminology to planning is as semantic as it is substantive. There is really no way of separating the two — since uncontrolled crime will undermine any form of planning and controlled crime implies an allocation of resources to ensure the conditions precedent and concurrent to the implementation of any plan. Conversely, planning for a better standard of living or a better quality of life has an obvious impact on the springs of human behaviour, both legal and illegal. Yet for years the two disciplines seem almost to have avoided each other. The literature of one is devoid of references to the other.[1] Frequently, the vast sums devoted to crime prevention and control, not only via the criminal justice system but in health, education and welfare have escaped the attention of planners hypnotised by productivity and absorbed by the more traditional sectors of an economy for the setting of objectives and the elaboration of projects and programmes.

The professional languages developed within the two disciplines are such that intercommunication is not at all easy.[2] Professionals within the criminological field are unaccustomed to overviews of total economic and social systems; planners are not familiar with the sub-cultures and individual relationships which preoccupy the criminal scientist. Even the criminologist able to look across the criminal justice services systematically, or to assess their levels of efficiency and justice, is out of his depth in the macro and micro worlds of economic planners.

The purpose of what follows, therefore, is to bridge the professional gap and to find another (higher?) level of syncretism. The discussion will seek to link the familiar and unfamiliar in both systems of thought and professional practice.

Planning for Community Order and Development

Gradually, people are beginning to realise that crime is not solely a problem for the specialised services of the criminal justice system. It never was and it never will be. Crime is a politico-socio-economic phenomenon which law does not always define effectively and which has a reach and depth far beyond the best law enforcement. In the final analysis, the criminal justice system is invoked to deal with crime, but if more than a last resort, it can be self-defeating.

The police, the courts and prisons are not always coordinated and therefore they are not always used to the best advantage in dealing with crime. But even if they were perfectly interrelated to get the best results, they would represent a fine tool of social control, which would still have to be applied sparingly and with discretion if it were not to become blunted by over-use and discredited by abuse. A criminal justice system cannot work in a vacuum anyway. Ninety per cent of its effectiveness depends on a flow of public information. There are no technical or professional skills to replace the community cooperation, so that a criminal justice system is as efficient in dealing with crime as its link with the people.

The Extent of Control

In societies which pride themselves on their respect for individual liberty that is, societies which allow people to believe, move about or behave freely within limits dictated only by the freedom of others, there has to be a measure of toleration of divergent types of conduct. This means a restrained use of any controls which are ultimately backed by force. No control would be anarchy, excessive control is repression, so that the law has to be used prudently and with discretion to obtain its optimal effect. This means depending on all kinds of informal pressures to obtain the most desirable balance of different kinds of conduct, allowing even minorities to act freely. It means acknowledging that not everything can be regulated by law or governed by law enforcement.

Society should by now be well accustomed to this. History

demonstrates that it has never been possible for any society to control totally the actions or the thinking of every member of the society. We have come close to it in modern times, when technologically advanced totalitarian societies have been able not only to govern conduct by strictly imposed law, but have augmented this by controls of employment, leisure and even sustenance. Yet it is significant that even in such conditions the totalitarian authorities have never relied upon the law and the criminal justice system alone. They have always developed an extensive system of neighbourhood, street or courtyard committees to encourage conformity and to supervise the external conduct of their citizens. Similarly, such regimes have sought to dictate the thinking of their citizens by propaganda and indoctrination and they have deliberately created environments conducive to certain habitual ways of conceptualising and reacting. In other words, they have had recourse to the basic control of deviation − community control.

And even with such comprehensive approaches to the total control of behaviour and attitudes, it would still seem that not everyone is moulded to fit the pattern. The paradox is that revolutionary societies are dedicated to improving the conditions of those considered most oppressed, but when people are absolutely controlled, reduced to a veritable slavery and forced to scramble for bare subsistence, this kind of total control is an easier process than when they are less oppressed and slightly more affluent. It seems that revolutions do not occur when the conditions are at their worst, but when they are getting better − in other words when they have rather more time to react effectively. This is the story of the French Revolution and of most uprisings since then: it is a factor in those situations where a 'liberation' is followed by other 'coups' or uprisings. Perhaps for this reason we hear of few complaints and learn of fewer dissidents in the newer, controlled totalitarian societies than we find in the older ones where the system is more settled and people's way of life has improved. Nevertheless, improved social and economic conditions do not necessarily mean less control and the very fact that dissidence can emerge at all under such rigorous control conditions is an indication that even the most extensive and comprehensive law enforcement is still not absolute control. Maybe it could be in a modern society if all the known forms of mind control, electronic conditioning and behaviour-controlling drugs were fully and

ruthlessly applied, but human society so far has no such experience of absolute control.

At the same time, it is a mistake to believe that people in a free society are always free. There are other controls in a society than those which are represented by the body of law or by the operations of the criminal justice system. These are the customs, styles. fashions and all the other subtle restraints, informal controls or tacit influences towards conformity or innovation, compliance or deviation. There are the moral, social professional or other real but imperceptible controls which enable even a society of plural values to conduct its affairs with a reasonable assurance that people will usually conform and that such non-conformity as there may be, will be within predictable limits. The sociologist categorises all controls (including law) as 'social controls' and he interprets social situations in relation to all the varieties of inducement and control − not only law.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that simple societies with no law (as law is conceived in modern written terms) are, nevertheless, quite tightly controlled. Many 'frontier' societies survived and developed with their own internal controls long before the official law of the land was properly established, and even sub-cultures, like a neighbourhood community professional society, church fellowship or the Mafia, generate their own controls which may not always be the same as the law of the land. We sometimes talk of western societies as permissive societies these days, but, in fact, the most striking thing about a permissive society is the extent to which the majority of its citizens conform to expected patterns of behaviour, whilst at the same time tolerating change and innovation. Even the most crime-ridden societies of our time have far more law-abiding citizens than the climate of disorder might lead one to expect. In other words, there are pressures at work to promote order, even within (what might qualify to be called) disorder in the legal sense.

The problem of controlling crime is, therefore, societal. It is diverse, complex and related to our social styles of living. It is not simply a problem of physical, social or economic control. However, if all these were to be applied ruthlessly and simultaneously, without regard for human rights or human liberties, then perhaps, as we have seen, all crime could be totally controlled, even though it might still not be possible to dictate all behaviour.

If one were to use, for example, the vast and intricate resources of modern technology to provide continuous surveillance night and day, at home or outside, and if one were to employ all the means at our disposal for indoctrination (liminal or sub-liminal) or for inducing modifications of behaviour, then there need be no difficulty about ensuring strict conformity to such rules one might wish to make. Not only rewards and punishments but the physical restraints of the recalcitrant and a variety of tranquillisers or mood-changing drugs could be applied to obtain the results desired and it is possible that the capacity to think and even genetic traits could be influenced. In this way conformity could conceivably be obtained. Efficiency is therefore within reach but whether it could be tempered with justice and a respect for human dignity is another matter.

Efficiency, Liberty and Rights

The question is not simply how to control behaviour; that is not difficult. The problem is how to reduce crime, whilst at the same time preserving liberty and ensuring the widest respect for human rights. That is the issue for most modern democracies; that is the question facing even those societies which have chosen authoritarian but not extreme or totalitarian systems of government. True respect for liberty is not a monopoly of the plural party democratic systems of government, though many people would say that it becomes harder without a democratic system of elections. There are states which operate in ways different to parliamentary democracies, but which still seek to preserve liberty in so far as this is consistent with their other political aims. As human rights become more important in national and international relations, the conflict of efficiency and justice is likely to receive increasing attention.

The degree of liberty is important in dealing with crime. Freedom implies the risk of crime, so that crime is in many ways related to the degree of freedom. It has been said that crime is the cost of freedom. The issue is how much crime for how much freedom — and this is, in the last analysis, a political question. Control of crime is, therefore, intimately related to politics in that the extent to which the criminal justice system will be used, and its

hope of success in promoting national value objectives, or in protecting the ordinary citizen from the depredations of his ruthless or less scrupulous neighbour, will depend upon political policy.

Freedom is a corresponding issue in any concept of planning. A total lack of planning does not mean anarchy, because there will be social purpose in living, even if it be no more than a struggle to survive — and this will require forethought, a husbanding of resources and preparations to meet more effectively the challenge and dangers of total disorder. But individual or family planning of this kind is not social or economic planning in the sense of a community process. Once the social or economic levels are reached so that the planning affects a number of individuals or a number of families, then planning implies restraints on present consumption for future gains and even a degree of control to ensure compliance with the plan. So, many planning authorities are established by statute and they have powers and responsibilities conferred by law.

It was this which made planning for a long time suspect in areas committed to the idea of private enterprise and individual initiative. Planning was associated with dictation and belonged to totalitarian regimes. It was the enforced planning in the west for two world wars which made it somewhat more respectable. At such times resources had to be mobilised, increased and devoted to specific ends: freedom was sacrificed for the cause and there was a readiness to conform to national planning for victory. Then in Europe and later in the Third World, planning seemed like the way to achieve national development. Yet it is clear that whenever resources are mobilised for given purposes, there is a curtailment of freedom of choice. In a totalitarian setting, the choices are made at government level for the populace. In a free enterprise economy planning may be only indicative, with the government setting the scene for private choice.

Policy and Planning in Criminal Justice

Obviously the criminal justice system can be and has been used repressively — and not only in the non-parliamentary democracies. It can be used not only to preserve the necessary minimum of order, but also to implement planning. Agricultural and industrial

laws, as well as restrictions on trusts, monopolies or minimum wages are all examples of legal measures to promote the kind of society desired. Similarly, planning can be rational or repressive, according to the objectives and the means employed. Obviously the criminal justice system is necessary to ensure the minimum of order which any society needs to exist economically and to provide the quality of life its citizens demand. It can promote development and inhibit destructive or disruptive elements in the society. Similarly, planning is impossible to avoid in a complicated society. It is certainly necessary to develop the kind of society which will have less need of criminal justice mechanisms. Planning has gradually emerged to rationalise the use of available resources, even in societies which are trying to balance liberty with equality. Yet, in both criminal justice and planning, the trade off of freedom for order, or freedom for growth (or improvement) is both evident and crucial.

Assuming, therefore, that we have settled the political questions involved in the determination of criminal policy, we have to move to the situation where we consider what kinds of changes in society and what kinds of control in society will be the most effective, the most just and the most useful in preventing major crimes before they are committed. This involves us in looking ahead and calculating the optimal use of resources which may be available. Once we do this, we have to ask ourselves about our objectives, that is, what are we hoping to achieve, what methods do we intend to use in order to attain those objectives and what side effects of any action (or lack of action) may take place? In a word, this means that we are involved in planning.

Conversely, once the political issues in planning are decided, we ignore at our peril the prevention of crime in the process of developing towards the life styles required. For crime can permeate planning: it can distort its objectivity when corruption diverts resources to unworthy ends; it can interfere with plan implementation as vested interests compete; and it can totally abort the plan if crime creates fear and impedes production or investment.

Criminology

It would be agreeable to be able to introduce the subject of

criminology with a list of the causes of crime, but crime is not an isolatable phenomenon. Far more people commit crime than are ever brought to justice, so that an analysis of the unsuccessful who pass through courts and corrections is invalid as a study of criminals — the sample is skewed. This took a long time to learn.

We can, of course, ascribe crime to greed, avarice, uncontrolled sexual desire or mental aberrations, but since far more people suffer from these than are known to commit crime, such explanations are not too helpful. The same is true of a lack of education, bad housing, broken families, living in delinquency areas, gangs, drinking, drugs, parental neglect, permissiveness or genetic defect. These are all associated with crime but they are also associated with a much more impressive extent of law abiding behaviour.

Individual Analysis

Criminology as such began as an attempt to understand why people committed crime. Lombroso, Ferri, Garofallo, Hooten, Cyril Burt, Sutherland, Sellin and many others were concerned with the questions of personal deviation or social pathology. They were all looking at the factors in human inheritance, in upbringing or in social organisation which gave rise to the phenomenon of crime. They were inclined over the years to take the political situation as given and the attempts to define crime as anti-social behaviour or immoral conduct were avoided because these might raise such political questions as what kind of society we wanted and, therefore, possibly to question the legitimacy of the law which defined criminal behaviour.

Political Analysis

Recently this implicit support of the establishment has been bitterly criticised for its political naivity, and 'alternative' criminology has been construed as a study related to the effects of the distribution of power in a society. Crime is, in this view, a function of the type of political system and we could eliminate crime by changing the system. Unfortunately, all the evidence we have of system changes in early or recent history does not correlate with

fundamental changes in the more serious types of crime. Of course, if private property is abolished, then theft becomes a different thing. But there are still thefts of public property. If a revolution takes place, the usual patterns of crime are affected because the offenders are now either more controlled or less subject to official supervision. So, in the early years, crimes change — or are differently recorded — but the evidence available suggests that they reassert themselves in similar ways. A change in society obviously affects the labels and the context of crime and it may lead to more comprehensive controls which reduce the amount of crime which might previously have been at intolerable levels. But the more serious crimes reassert themselves over time and usually even the reformed societies have to legislate against murder, theft, robbery, rape and fraud — and to provide criminal justice services to deal with them. We are, therefore, reminded that Quetelet, the Belgian pioneer of statistics and an early scientific writer on crime, was looking at the possibility of there being in any society a proclivity to crime which could be measured.

Social Engineering

The reason for this broad approach to criminology is that the relationship between crime and planning is becoming more and more evident as there appears to be a need to develop more effective social engineering to at least reduce the incidence of serious crime. It is not sufficient to take the political system as given, but within any political system there will be a need to reduce crime to levels which are tolerable and this is the objective of planning to prevent crime. One does not have to approve of the political system to wish to ensure more protection against physical attack for old people, to reduce the incidence of rape or murder. The political system may make it more or less easy to do this, but human rights considerations make public safety an issue in all societies.

Human Nature — Crime and Sin

Criminology is the study of crime, not only as an individual

phenomenon, but as a social, economic and political phenomenon. In this context, modern criminologists have to be alive and alert to the implications of the subject they are studying for the structure of society and for the evolution of social, economic and political policy within that society. But if it is naive to ignore political realities, it is equally naive to depend upon changes in these alone to solve the crime problem. That is to ignore both history and personal experience. Human nature is prevalent in all kinds of social organisations and social organisations themselves tend to repeat mistakes of the past in generating problems which have been known to be socially destructive.

In ancient times, through the Middle Ages to the early 19th century, the criminal was regarded as being a perfectly ordinary individual, either destined by his fate or tempted by the devil to behave in an illegal or immoral way. He was not sick, abnormal or different in any way. It was even recognised that he was not the only one committing the crime and there was sometimes regret in allowing him to be made an example of for the benefit of others. In those days, the laws were underpinned by a public consensus on morals. Thus, the same type of conduct could be both a crime and a sin. Yet, even in those days, crime and sin were never equated, because the latter was recognised as being a matter of conscience not amenable to regulation by the state. In fact in the Middle Ages there were church courts to parallel the civil courts. The church courts dealt with the moral offences and the secular courts with the legal offences. The line between them was not always easy to draw and there were frequent conflicts as to jurisdiction; but, conceptually, the distinction was clear. Nevertheless, illegal or immoral, the action was never regarded as being that of an abnormal individual or of someone who could be labelled or distinguished from his fellows. There was never thought to be a 'criminal type'. Instead, the reflection that 'there but for the grace of God go I' was very common. Anybody could become a criminal, temptations were common and those who succumbed had to be punished, but they were not regarded as being particularly odd and they were, therefore, regarded as being rational enough to respond to a logical system of rewards and punishments. So much so that Beccaria, in dealing with the administration of criminal justice at the end of the 18th century, provided for a calculus of punishments according to the gravity of the offences — on the

Benthamite principle that offenders would avoid pain and seek pleasure. 'The greater the crime, the greater the punishment' was an attempt to weight the grave offences with deterrents. The implication here was that the perfectly ordinary person could become a criminal and would take account of the risks involved. The system of punishment was purely retributive; reformation did not enter into the picture because, as indicated, a normal rational person was the person to be influenced by these public measures.

Positivism and Labelling

Nineteenth century philanthropy and the rise of positivism in social as well as physical sciences led to an increasing interest in individuals apart from the societies to which they belonged. A society's right to legislate and enforce legislation was assumed and the basic question asked was why people deviated. Probably for the first time under this positivistic influence the criminal had become abnormal, in that the assumption was that normal people did not deviate. Yet it is well known that most of those who have made a contribution to progress and development in the world have been unusual (abnormal?) so that both saints and sinners could be regarded as being amongst the deviants. From this flowed an interest in the individualisation of punishment — the punishment was to fit the criminal rather than the crime — it was to respond to his personal need for reform rather than to any grading of the seriousness of the offence.

It is this kind of attempt to label offenders which has come into question in recent years. The issue has been made more conspicuous by recent evidence:

(a) That the present criminal justice systems operate discriminately. That is, the majority of those processed are from the lower and less influential classes and there is a new and burgeoning problem of 'respectable' crime committed by persons who abuse their authority or become involved in corporate or white collar crime. In most countries the legal system is so skewed that it is easier for such persons to escape attention, whilst the persons responsible for conventional crimes attract the attention of the police.

(b) That only 15 to 20 per cent of all crime is ever reported to

the police and of this small fraction, an even smaller number are processed through the courts because there may be a lack of evidence, a decision not to prosecute or some difficulty in identifying the offender. Of the smaller number then processed, there are those who are acquitted or given the benefit of the doubt, so that the numbers of offenders actually convicted are but a small proportion of those actually committing crime in the society.

Against such considerations, it is quite clear that there is no justification for regarding this small percentage prosecuted as being of a particular type or amenable to labelling as identifiably different from the rest of the population. They are distinguished mainly by their social situation and by their inadequacies. They are, in fact, the unsuccessful criminals, representing the tip of a much larger criminal iceberg.

This being so, the whole question of crime has to be seen in its broader social context. It has to be seen on the one hand as a function of power, since certain power blocks will make the laws and these are likely to be favourable to themselves and unfavourable to the less influential. Many years ago Thucydides, talking to the people of Melos, pointed out that rights were questions only between people who were equals. He said: 'The strong must do what they can and the weak must suffer what they must.' This is a comment on any kind of society because even a Utopia will have its influential and non-influential groups, so that any system of control is likely to fall more heavily on the latter. Nevertheless, it does warn against the tendency to regard crime as a kind of disease which afflicts some people and not others.

The implication is that, in dealing with crime, we must not only look at the individual circumstances which have led to the offence being committed, but we must also look at the social structure which provides the context for a great many offences.

Environmental Determinants of Crime

This is the justification for considering crime and its prevention within a context of planning. It has long been known that certain areas of certain cities produce more crime than others — these might be the slums or they might be new housing estates,

but the fascinating observation over time is that more crime comes from these areas, even when the inhabitants have radically changed. Immigrant groups occupying such housing estates or inner city tenements gradually improve as their children are educated and as their influence grows and they tend to move out of these areas and into the suburbs. New ethnic groups then occupy the same area, yet the crime rate usually remains high. The delinquency area exercises its pernicious influence, therefore, on any who may occupy it and this is something we miss if we are looking only at the individual or family circumstances which led to crime.

Criminology has had to adjust to these changes. It has had to look more closely at the criminal justice system for defects and for its influence in generating the kinds of crime which it was designed to prevent and control; and criminology has had to look at the conditions within a society likely to generate deviant or delinquent behaviour. On the other hand, those people believing that bad social conditions are the only determinates of crime have been confounded by the experience that crime seems to increase with the affluence of a society. In other words there is more crime, as far as one can determine, in the richer countries than in the poorer countries and vast investments on health, education and welfare have not been accompanied (as had been expected) by reductions in the crime rate. So crime is not entirely a function of the social context and although it may be argued that it is not so much absolute poverty or the extent of affluence but rather the relation-ship between these which determines conduct, it is still true that we do not yet have entirely satisfactory explanations. Obviously disparities are more important than the worst social conditions. Societies on the edge of subsistence have little crime, but when they are placed into a position of comparison with other societies, then the discontent grows, dissatisfaction is generated and the temptation to find illegal shortcuts to the affluence one sees other people enjoying, is greatly increased.

Planning – From War to Crime

The very scarcity of resources forces prudence in their use and distribution, which is a form of planning. Joseph made his name by storing wheat in the good years to be an edge against famine, and

we know that the Athens Assembly was perennially concerned about the corn supply, making regulations prohibiting exports and encouraging imports. There is an anonymous document attributed to the second half of the fourth century A.D. addressed to the Roman Emperors Valentian I and Valens, which connects crime and planning. This suggests the reform of fiscal policy, the development of agriculture, the protection of the currency and the improvement of administration. It specifically includes the elimination of fraud at the mint and the corruption of governors and tax collectors.[3]

National Planning for Siege and Ideological Growth

The understanding of inter-sectoral planning covering all areas of economic and social interest, however, was derived from mobilisation for war purposes and it is no accident that total planning emerged from the siege. Xenophon dealt with siege and it was the need for total mobilisation in two world wars which allowed planning on a national scale to achieve status in the west. Prior to that it had been thought that planning, which seemed to interfere with the operations of a 'free' market, was bound to be inferior to free and untrammelled enterprise. Even as accepted in the west, it was conceived as providing an impediment to the otherwise free movement of prices to affect supply and demand. In the centrally-planned economies − the Fascist or Communist states − there was no such dallying with the free forces of the market. These gave way as necessary to national controls.

National Development Planning

The idea of national planning received great impetus from the success of the Marshall Plan which helped to get a war-stricken Europe onto its feet after the Second World War. This encouraged a series of colonial and welfare programmes by which metropolitan powers sought to develop their colonial areas, and such initiatives were confirmed and supported academically by the emergence of economic doctrines of determinable take-off points for self-generating growth. Planning on a national scale became both

respectable and desirable in the 1950s and 1960s, even in countries which had no commitment to national ownership of the means of production. Alongside this, the economic research and planning units attached to cabinets led to an increase of governmental involvement in economic growth or decline and to national policies covering a wider range of economic and social activity.

Town and Country Planning

At a more local level, it is not difficult to find very early examples of town planning. Defence considerations, transport, commerce and the availability of water determined the sites for human settlement and later decided the particular villages which could develop into towns. At first the towns simply grew by accretions from the earlier human settlements, but later there were opportunities for town building of a more orderly type. Greek civilisation extended, for instance, in a string of city states, some of which could be designed from the beginning. Here we encounter the Hippodamian or grid pattern of streets, which was already old in Greek tradition[4] and quite extensive. The Japanese national capital Kyoto was originally laid out in this way. Perhaps the simplicity of the design had universal appeal.

It took the sprawl and conglomeration of unplanned towns of the industrial revolution, however, to attract attention to modern town and regional planning. Ebenezer Howard, a court reporter in England, produced a programme in 1898 for the curtailment of London's growth and a shift of population to the surrounding green areas. His Garden City idea resulted in both the Letchworth and Welwyn Garden Cities being developed around London, followed by other suburbia elsewhere. After 1945 the idea found acceptance in Scandinavia, Europe and the United States. Sir Patrick Geddes, a Scotsman, developed from the Howard concept an even more ambitious scheme of regional planning. Taking regions as the planning entities, there could be a built-in infrastructure of mutually supportive services and garden cities could be distributed and made more viable. Man and the environment were to be balanced in well-designed human settlements. Such ideas found acceptance in the United States between the great wars and led to the 'Decentrists', a group which married such

garden city ideas to the decentralisation of the larger cities. Green belts, the division of residence and commerce, self-sufficiency and privacy were all aspects of this new approach to regional development and city renewal.[5] In the 1930s particularly, England and Europe embarked on plans for 'slum clearance' in the towns and for industrial area development to help depressed regions – all on the principles espoused by Geddes and his school of town and country planners. At the United Nations level, where developing countries were being helped to plan nationally and provincially, the 'regional' label could have been confusing, since a region includes several countries, and therefore the term 'zonal' planning was adopted to show that it was more than town-wide.

Crime and Rehousing

An interesting feature of the 'slum clearance' exercises in the 1930s in Britain and elsewhere was the discovery that the crime and particularly the juvenile delinquency of the slums was not only recreated in the bright new housing estates – but was augmented. First this was attributed to the failure of many of the new housing estates to provide community facilities. So much attention had been paid to the housing of people, that little thought had been left for the idea that housing alone was bleak without community. Thereafter, every effort was made to design estates with shopping areas, community centres, blocks for church or recreational development and to anticipate personal and social, as well as physical, needs. But crime was not always eliminated and there are quite famous examples in the United States of relatively new apartment blocks having to be demolished because they had become too crime ridden for people to want to live there.

Defensible Space

This, plus the fact that the delinquency areas continue to produce delinquents, even when populations change, gives a clue to the relationship between crime and building design which has now been developed into a new concept of 'defensible space' by Oscar Newman, an American architect who noticed the differential

crime ratios of 'brownstone' neighbourhoods and apartment blocks in New York.

Planning, therefore, is at several levels. It is national or inter-sectoral when we are considering the decisions on fiscal policy, industrial or commercial investments, health, welfare and educ-ation. It is sectoral when we are considering the need for planning within a sector such as health or education, industry or agricul-ture − or within the criminal justice sector itself − where the need for some better approach to the inter-related services of the police, prisons, probation and courts is already conspicuous   Then, running alongside this, is the regional planning, where investments in an economic and social entity will have obvious relevance for crime. Finally, there is the direct link between physical planning and crime, about which we are still learning a great deal.

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1. There is some reference to planning in criminal justice literature but it usually refers to planning within the criminal justice sector only. Very rec-ently, crime and public safety have become elements for consideration in the publications on human settlements.

2. In 1969, as a Secretariat member of the United Nations, the writer organised an expert meeting of criminologists and economic/social planners in Rome. It was evident that there were conceptual difficulties − one group not thinking in the same terms as the other.

3. *De rebus bellicis.* See *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2nd Ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1970, pp. 333 and 438.

4. See J.B. Ward-Perkin's article on 'Towns' in *Oxford Classical Diction-ary,* 2nd Ed., Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 1082-3. He suggests that Iona and Miletus followed this grid pattern.

5. See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* Random House, 1961, Pelican Books, 1965, as reissued 1972. pp. 27-28.

2 National Planning and Criminal Justice Services

W. Clifford

In providing for the prevention of crime within the context of national planning, it is necessary to ensure that criminal justice becomes an integral part of any national plan and that the national plan becomes incorporated into the measures being taken for criminal justice. The division which has persisted between these two probably stems from a budget dichotomy which developed when additional funds to ordinary budgets were made available for development purposes, and when there was a fear that this additional money might easily be absorbed by routine expenditure, without there being any real effect upon the extension and growth of the economy.

Recurrent and Development Expenditure

It was the common practice for treasuries or planning agencies to provide a country with two budgets, one of which was called the recurrent budget and the other the development budget. Under the recurrent part of the national budget would be listed all the regular departments and their regular services. There might be increases in these services or additional investments in the on-going projects, but as long as these were of a recurrent nature and did not initiate any new service or any substantial capital development, they were not regarded as developmental. Under the development part of the national budget, all the new projects were listed. Frequently these were of a capital nature, for example, the construction of new schools or hospitals or government offices or research facilities or the building of new roads, extensions of airports or harbours and the installation of new types of equipment.

Obviously, once there had been development expenditure of

this kind, then its maintenance or continuation represented a charge on the recurrent budget and this would be expected to show in future years. Nevertheless, the high visibility of development expenditure recommended itself as evidence that growth was taking place and that improvements were being made.

Occasionally, the criteria for dividing an expenditure between recurrent and developmental was its 'productivity' but this, or any other criteria, was largely artificial, since productivity was variously defined. New pig sties could be developmental expenditure, since they would extend agricultural productivity, but an orphanage might be deemed non-productive, since the longer term implications of adequate child care and their relevance to the productivity of human resources were not taken into account. An improvement in toilet facilities within public buildings might become a part of the development budget, when it would be rather difficult to prove that these were more productive than proposed expenditures on community development.

Eventually this illogical division between development and recurrent expenditure was swept away by the new interest in national planning, but it left unmistakable traces in the way planning was conceived. There were some areas of government expenditure which were generally overlooked or rarely considered as being worthy of planning consideration. Planners would take the total economy in terms of mobilising the resources and apply them to optimal needs, their objective usually being to increase the gross national product and to improve standards of living. In trying to prime the economic pump, they had to regard some routine or basic governmental services as necessary in that, whilst not directly productive, they provided a platform for the main development effort. Some services had to be provided, like a minimal income for all persons, even if they were out of work, senile or destitute — or the costs of administration or basic sanitation. Amongst these 'platform' services were those committed to law and order. But in making, reluctantly, the concessions necessary to provide for 'platform . services, the planner tried to avoid funds being devoted to the solution of social problems like crime, which seemed to be able to absorb all and more of the resources allocated to it. Such social problems were 'bottomless pits' with no discernible benefits for the investment of funds. They had, therefore, to be contained, if not avoided altogether, since they reduced

the amounts left for 'development'.

Getting a Share of Priority

Sometimes labelling of services as 'recurrent' and therefore not developmental, applied just to the police, the courts and the prisons; but not infrequently it included the armed services and there were some countries where the internal defence forces were part of the external defence forces. This separation from development budgeting really represented very little threat to the budgets available for the military services, because, in most countries, the armed services had their own rationale and a measure of political influence to obtain a share of the budget appropriate to the national conceptions of defence needs. Whether they were inside or outside a development plan, or within or without a process of national planning, did not make much difference to their concern with ensuring a level of efficiency which would give confidence to their political masters.

The internal security forces, however, were rather more seriously affected by exclusion from the plan. If they were not regarded as having any part in the planning operation, then expenditure on improvements in law enforcement depended largely upon the priority given to crime control and the needs for justice within the total system – and this would have to compete with the interest in planning to improve the economy. The idea that they may be different aspects of the same operation did not often occur, either in the literature or in practice.

Occasionally the police were able to profit from internal disorder, in the sense that their needs for additional staff and for better equipment could not then be ignored. Politics would supersede economics and police forces were often extended to deal with internal problems generated by political conflict. This frequently disturbed the planners who felt they could have used the resources more productively.

The courts could not easily be accommodated within a planning model, but they usually had a prior claim on status and recognition, which preceded the claims of any mere economist seeking to reduce their levels of operation or to divert resources for planning purposes. Courts might benefit too from the increasing

sophistication of the population in some countries and from the growing reliance upon judges to resolve internal problems and to safeguard human rights.

The same could not be said for the correctional services, however. Except in repressive conditions, where the political opponents have been incarcerated and the 'keepers' have political significance, there is rarely any constituency for expenditure on prisons, probation, parole or the various intermediate measures. Correctional administrators are usually more concerned than either the public or the politicians in securing higher allocations of public funds for their work. Prisons are costly and there are usually more attractive uses for scarce resources. A choice between more money for agriculture, or education or prisons is likely to be made in favour of those who have not offended. Correctional services were never regarded as productive and were very often unable to benefit even from increased expenditure on social welfare. Available funds have been more likely to go towards an increase in individual allowances or an improvement in welfare services or individual incomes than to the services which might be required to keep people out of prisons.[1]

Similarly the preventive role of the police could receive little attention under these circumstances, so that police efficiency was calculated much more in the police capacity to respond to crimes committed than in any efforts the police might make to prevent crime before it happened.

The Planning Significance of Costs of Crime

It is interesting to see that in the many national development plans which were drawn up by different countries in the 1960s 1970s, crime prevention and criminal justice is rarely listed, yet in these same countries, it has been shown by a United Nations publication[2] that from three to ten per cent of the national budgets were, in fact, being spent on identifiable criminal justice services − not to mention the amounts hopefully invested in health, education and welfare to reduce, *inter alia*, the need to commit crime. The blind eye of planning was, therefore, the vast resources already being diverted by the fact of crime and the blind eye of criminal justice was to concentrate mainly on cases as they

arose, without attempting to predict the future trends – and the implications of these for national planning.

Crime has never been recognised for the economic as well as the social entity which it certainly is. The vast amounts devoted to crime obviously represent national resources which could well be devoted to more productive purposes. The insecurity of workers or the vulnerability of their earnings to theft can very well undermine their interest, industry and productive capacity. Add to this the enormous amounts stolen, destroyed or transferred by means of crime, the corrosive effects of graft, corruption and corporate crime and the man hours of production lost through injury, court attendance or imprisonment – and the purely economic total is usually so huge that it is difficult to imagine any planner devising a national plan without taking crime and its consequences into detailed account. Yet this is what has been happening.

The Crime Significance of Traditional Planning

Conversely, the criminal justice services are dealing with an incalculable number of offences which flow inevitably from the economic and social system. This is not just an argument for social justice as a basis for any valid national planning. It is a recognition that apart from the individual selfishness and aggression with which the law deals, the system provides the opportunities and incentives for a great deal of the crime committed. It has been shown over and over again that the social structure frequently produces the crime for the offenders to commit and that apart from personal differentiation as an explanation of some types of crime, there are many other crimes which have been generated by the way commercial systems are organised, by the way in which we develop (or fail to develop) our housing areas and by the way in which the opportunity pyramid gives rise to disparities which encourage deviant sub-cultures and illegal behaviour.

THE PATTERN OF NATIONAL PLANNING

General

When a country decides to undertake the implementation of

a national plan, it has obviously determined politically the kind of future which it wants for itself, both economically and socially. These prior political considerations which affect the shape of the future national economy will themselves be related to national policy, politically determined by the electors or by those who are in power. It is often assumed that such decisions will be made by a country itself, without external interference; but countries do not exist in a vacuum and there are very few which have determined a national policy uninfluenced by the world situation and/or by the special conditions of the region within which the country is situated. Every government is subjected to pull and push factors inside and outside the country, which largely affect or determine the direction of national planning.

Planners also assume the stance sometimes that they are not the ones to decide the basic objectives of a plan — that is the task of those in authority. But this is an over-simplification. Planners can influence ministers and cabinets. Those in power will take planning advice and the dependence of politicians on experts sometimes places the real decision-making in unexpected places.

More subtle influences are at work too on the shape and substance of the plan — including the economic fashions of the time, the extent to which one rather than another political ideology or economic theory is held in esteem and, of course, the image which the country wishes to project externally as an ally, an independent entity or as a country with potential for future growth. There will be a variety of internal pressures such as unemployment or population growth which add a note of urgency to national planning and in recent years the population structure, with more than 50 per cent of the people in some countries under 25, has created demands for results which have kept the planning procedures dynamic. In this same context, one must also consider political change such as revolution or shifts in political alliances. No plan is drafted in an antiseptic atmosphere of professional non-involvement.

Objectives — Short Term Practice, Long Term Rhetoric

In the formulation of more specific objectives for the plan, that is an increase in GNP, self-sufficiency, job creation, increase in

exports, improvements in the social infrastructure or transform-
ations of the administration, the planners will consult with the
politicians. In order to formulate the plan, the objectives, both
long term and short term, have to be simply stated and clear. The
long term objectives will incline towards the ideal, so that it is the
short term objectives which are likely to have the greatest impact
upon the people and which are of most interest to present gener-
ations. Keynes, a famous economist who died shortly after the
Second World War and who was responsible for much of the
re-thinking of economic policy to overcome depression, warned
that, in the long term, we are all dead. So that, important as the
long term objectives might be, the short term is the period that
counts. Experience shows that the public is tolerant of the failure
of governments to honour their longer term promises: but they are
likely to expect the short term undertakings to be honoured and
may well become impatient with failure.

This is all very important, because, in general, national plans
have tended in the past to have long term objectives which are
distinctly social and overtly related to the idea of ultimate well
being and justice. Having paid this lip service to noble aims,
however, most of the plans turn resolutely to short term objectives
which may be purely economic. These short term objectives
typically defer any expenditures on the desirable social objectives
to some future period when funds are likely to be more readily
available from the increased productivity made possible by the
achievements of the short term.

This diversion of all short term interest to purely economic
objectives has sometimes proved fatal to the plan itself. For, social
or political problems are not usually amenable to being shelved. It
is perilous to overlook the fact that people in need cannot always
wait for higher incomes — or that past plans, which increased
incomes in the aggregate, did not always ensure their just and fair
distribution. When populations affected by unemployment, by an
inadequacy of school placements or by intolerable social conditions
have become disillusioned and have mobilised to change the
government, they have sometimes ruined the national plan. It is,
therefore, important for planners to calculate how much of the
short term investment should be diverted to the social infra-
structure. An over altruistic devotion to benefits in a vague future
encourages direct action by those with present problems who feel

overlooked or by-passed. So even short term objectives need to be as social as they are economic. Happily, plans drawn up in recent years have had to take account of the quality of life, as well as increases in production. This has led to a greater balance being achieved in national planning but there are still lessons in the earlier plans which have to be learned.

Inventory of Resources

With objectives determined, the planners will then usually proceed to conduct an inventory of the country's available resources and to estimate the economy's ability to generate new resources. They have to identify gaps in the availability or use of resources for the purposes already determined. In some cases a country has had the necessary raw materials and the expertise to become a major industrial power, but has lacked the capital and this has had to be borrowed from outside. This happened in Canada and Australia. Sometimes both capital and raw materials have had to be obtained from outside (as in the case of Japan) and reliance has been placed on the inventiveness and industry of the people themselves to achieve economic and social improvements. Occasionally it has been the expertise which has been lacking, so that there has had to be a transfer of technology and skills.

These resources which are considered by planners are material, human, financial and perhaps social. In conducting an inventory, they are seeking to make a list of the factors (in quantity and quality) which a country can draw upon for the realisation of the objectives. They are seeking to determine the size of the cake which has to be carved to get the work done, which, in turn, is intended to increase the size of the cake. It is perhaps appropriate to remind ourselves, however, that this economic cake, like any other cake, is more desirable and more likely to please if it has spirit in its ingredients. This is part of its quality. But spirit in the shape of morale, readiness to work, sense of vocation and motivation, is not the 'tangible' stuff with which planners have been accustomed to deal. Similarly, the cake has ingredients with a potential for going bad, affecting, thereby, the quality in another way. Crime and corruption are indications of ingredients deteriorating. These are the attributes which have not usually been considered when economic cakes were under discussion.

Implementation

Once there is a clear understanding by the planners of the available resources for the tasks to be undertaken, these tasks have to be defined – at first in general terms – and then in terms which can be translated into programmes and projects for each ministry or department or agency to carry out.

It follows that these ministries or departments need to be capable of doing what is expected of them. This translating of intentions into action is the crux of any plan. There have been situations in which the necessary implementing agencies have been deficient. Iran was in this situation in the 1960s and finding that its ministries were not able to carry out some of the major projects, it established a special Plan Organisation with power to implement the more important programmes and projects of the national plan. Subsequently members of this organisation were transferred to the ministries, so that, later, the Plan Organisation did not need to take so much of the initiative itself: it could rely upon improved and more capable departments to implement its projects and programmes.

Somtimes the plan is logical and economically unimpeachable but it cannot be implemented until the education and training necessary to provide those who will make it effective have been provided. This is part of the planning for the infrastructure (such as roads and administration).

It is in this translation of paper work to practice that the greatest problem of planning arises. There are internal politics which cannot be ignored. There will be competition between ministries for a greater share of the available resources and for greater consideration of their priorities within the national plan. Indeed the inter-relationships between ministries and the relative influence in the power structure of particular ministerial groups can influence the shape of the total plan. This is perhaps realistic in that a plan which sought to ignore power realities would probably be a futile exercise anyway. By allowing for the fact that one ministry has to be given greater consideration than another because of its greater pull with the ultimate authority, planners are frequently avoiding stalemate by exercising the art of the possible. It is not unusual to find that agriculture, administration, local government or industry has obtained a disproportionate allocation

of resources – as judged by the economic needs of the country. But it might have been difficult to get a plan anyway if this pattern of allocation had been changed without reference to the local power structure. In any event, once the allocation of resources has been determined, this will doubtless be justified by the writing of a plan to fit the allocations which have been partially determined by the differentials of power.

Planners, of course, are not independent of the ministries which have to implement the plans. Sometimes this has seemed to be the case with a planning committee, a plan organisation or a planning ministry devoting itself to the drawing up of a plan and then feeling relatively relieved of responsibility for its implementation. This is dangerous since it engenders the notion of power without responsibility. Planners who only plan without adequate reference to implementation never really understand the limitations of planning. They have been known to develop illusions of omnipotence since they are the only ones who can construct the grand plan. If something goes wrong in implementation, it does not detract from the excellence of the master plan whose originators cannot be held responsible for the stupidity or shortcomings of those who have failed to understand what they had to do or who were incapable of doing it.

A planner is, in fact, only as good as the implementation he can achieve. If he has not allowed in his plan for possible incapacity or misunderstanding, then his plan is to that extent defective. He cannot divorce himself from the practical problems involved in translating his plan into practice. Above all, he must never believe that planning as a process is its own justification.

In fact, from the beginning a planner is never as free as he may seem to be. The pattern of resource allocation will be greatly affected by the resources already being absorbed by the respective ministries. A plan does not begin its drawing on a clean slate. It is faced from the beginning with an existing allocation of resources to respective sectors of the economy – with a pattern of expenditure which has been inherited from past decisions. If too much has gone in one direction rather than another and the plan has to correct this, there will be considerable dislocation in employment and expectations of service, so that unless it is a ruthless dictatorial power which can make such changes in a short period, there will have to be a change implemented by the plan over a number of

years. running down some agencies or departments and building up others.

This, in effect, has happened where countries have made a deliberate shift of resources from agriculture to industry. Sometimes the countryside has been denuded — or railway investments have been transferred to roads. It happened in Kenya, when the attempt was made to curtail the growth of secondary education because of the increasing unemployment and the fact that secondary education was simply adding to this army of unemployed and raising expectations which could not be fulfilled. It is interesting to observe in passing that this decision was greeted with such opposition from the populace that eventually there were more privately supported schools than there were government schools and the flow of educated unemployed continued unabated. This same transfer of resources has happened where the productive sectors of an economy have been overtaken by education and health and there has been a need to rationalise such expenditures at levels which the economy could afford. In any plan however, this review of the juxtapositioning of sectors will be inevitable if the direction is to be changed and the new objectives of a plan pursued with vigour. The word 'sectors' as used here includes not only the ministries but (in a free enterprise economy) the private firms or voluntary agencies which may be operating within the sector, for example, within agriculture, within forestry, within commerce or industry, health or education.

By now a national plan is taking shape, objectives have been determined, the resources have been mobilised and the allocation has been made — subject, of course, to all the complications of internal politics, existing allocations and public responsibilities.

Sectoral Targets

For each sector of the plan, there will now need to be set quite specific targets to be achieved over the given plan period. A plan will be typically for five years and during this time the investment of resources is expected to produce a return in terms of a determined higher productivity, in terms of increased capacity for productive enterprise and in terms of improvements in the standards of living. Investments of resources in education, for example,

would be expected not only to produce more school places, but also improve quality in education and a better level of graduate at each stage of the system. Investments in health might be expected to improve the health of the nation, as well as to reduce the incidence of specific identifiable diseases. Thus planning in many countries has included special drives against malaria, trachoma or malnutrition, nationwide schemes to reduce illiteracy, improve water supplies or reduce infant mortality.

The targets are defined expectations which enable those responsible for the implementation of the plan to decide the pace at which the work must be carried out. Whether or not the targets will be reached does not matter greatly from the planning point of view. In some cases the targets may have been set impossibly high and there may have to be adjustments during the period of the plan. In other sectors there might be great success and targets might be unexpectedly exceeded, so that again there can be an adjustment to suit the realities. The importance is that the economy is moving in the direction determined by the plan and that, whilst there may be disappointments in some areas, there ought to be adjustments in others. Each sector will have its own plan within the context of the national plan. For that sector, resources will have been mobilised, a pattern of investment drawn up and targets set — targets which accord with objectives of the national plan, but which are more specific and which quantify as necessary. Then to each part of the sector there will be allocated programmes specially designed to help realise the objectives. Each of these programmes will be like a string of beads made up of a number of projects, each project being designed to produce a defined result related to the programme, the sectoral targets and the national objectives.

It is possible, therefore, to talk of planning at several different levels — at the national level, at the sectoral level, at the programme level or at the project level, and the planning of a single project will reflect all the steps described here for the evolution of the national plan. There is a need, therefore, to preface any discussion of planning with a clear statement of the level of planning being discussed.

From Above or Below

The way in which a plan is evolved differs according to the style of government. In some areas great reliance will be placed upon the plan being developed from below. That is to say, a number of local committees will be established, each charged with the task of saying what is possible within the particular region and within the particular sector in that region. They will put forward their plans and the resources they need to realise their objectives and these will go to a higher level, district or provincial committee which will, in turn, place the submissions in order of priority for the district or the region before sending them to the respective ministries or to the central headquarters. At the centre, the planning body will have the final task of sorting out these submissions in the light of national requirements and determining priorities in accordance with the objectives already set out by the government.

The opposite approach to planning is from above, where the objectives and targets are first decided upon by the experts and ministers who can see what is needed on a national scale. These are then filtered down through regional and district authorities, which distribute the priorities and they eventually reach the local committees. Here the procedure is not to ask what can be done, but rather to set out in advance the expectations and to determine in advance the resources which will be available — usually allowing subdivisions to be done at local levels.

There are examples of both types of national planning in the different areas of the world. It would be a mistake to imply that planning from below is a democratic approach and planning from above is an authoritarian or dictatorial approach. For example, both patterns have been tried in communist countries and it is not uncommon to find that there is now a mixture of these patterns being used there to obtain the best results. Planning from below can be a total failure, because of the need for compromise at all levels and because of the trade-offs and concessions which are made to local interests or to obtain necessary support within the committees. Planning from above can be fatal if it does not take into account the limited capacities of the local authorities and their problems in reaching targets set with no appreciation of the local scene. Cooperation is also obtainable by either method

according to the way in which it is presented to those who are to become involved. If all the planning is by committee from below, there may be disgruntled proposers of projects unwilling to become involved in other schemes because their own have been given a low priority. If the planning is from above, there could equally be a dearth of cooperation because of a lack of early involvement. A balance has to be struck, therefore, between the advantages of decentralised and centralised planning.

Evaluation

Evaluation is the key to most successful planning, since it determines the extent to which a plan is working and the modifications which have to be made to ensure success. Not all planning authorities are efficient at evaluating and modifying the plan as it proceeds. Once again discretion is necessary, because evaluation can build up resistance and to be successful it needs to be the kind of evaluation which the operators can carry out themselves and measure against similar evaluations by uncommitted outsiders. The entire evaluation technique is very complicated and very specialised and it is clear that here, as elsewhere, care has to be taken to evaluate an evaluator and to make sure that a body of uncommitted specialisation is not unwittingly developed.

Evaluation is more fully described in the fifth lecture of this series, titled 'Methods and Techniques for Crime Prevention Planning.

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1. It is interesting to compare this with the economic value of slaves or forced labour in some situations.

2. H. Wickwar, *The Place of Criminal Justice in Development Planning*, University Press, New York, 1977.

3 Planning Within the Criminal Justice Services

W. Clifford

It is now fairly common for there to be planning offices, departments or sections within the police, the courts and the corrections. Sometimes these are associated with the research and policy-making functions of the respective services. Precisely what they do, however, has not, to my knowledge, been comprehensively surveyed. In some cases they collect the information which the administrators need for policy-making. Sometimes they are new names for older management-oriented sections of higher administration and they are used to assist administrators in the routine work. There are cases in which such offices are purely cosmetic in that they are designed to give an impression of 'super-efficiency' and to develop the ideas which will be necessary to attract more funds from a tight budget.

Few countries have yet moved toward the idea of having planning and research bodies operating for the criminal justice services as a whole, that is, a coordinated form of planning between and amongst the police, the courts and the corrections. The planning offices which now exist in the separate services are really developments of older 'Organisations and Methods' or higher management functions which became fashionable soon after the Second World War. These functions grew in importance as public administration and management courses proliferated and as the idea gathered momentum that 'administration' was a mystique which could be abstracted from the services being administered and taught as a separate skill or else acquired from the long experience of moving between different specialised organisations.

In fact, this tremendous faith in the effectiveness of abstract, detached, uncommitted administration was a philosophy preached by the British Civil Service and carried via the colonial empire to various parts of the world. It rested on the idea that an adminis-

trator might only be confused by knowing too much about what he was administering. This he could leave to specialist heads whilst he took a broader look at all the implications. It is a myth which has been responsible for some of the greatest errors of judgment. Whilst it is true that not all professionals or technical workers are good administrators, it is equally true that administration without a basic understanding of the functions to be administered is both inefficient and highly dangerous. This is a lesson still being learned all over the world, but gradually it will emerge that the best decision-makers are those who know the effects of their decisions at the level of delivery.

The reason for this deviation into administration from planning itself has been necessary to indicate that the so-called planning offices in many of the present services are not equipped for the kind of planning which is really necessary and probably suffer greatly from the insularity of the planning without reference to its wider context.

There was, however, a definite movement towards planning within the criminal justice service after the United States Government had taken a good look at crime in 1968 and established the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, with funds to encourage better forms of planning and development. Local areas in the country were offered funds for various crime prevention projects, providing the separate services would come together and develop a plan which could then be submitted for funding.

Most people are aware of the limitations of inter-departmental committees. Ministries send representatives, but each ministry sees its role as being that of coordinating everyone else. No ministry is prepared to sacrifice any part of its budget, so that there is great discussion unmatched by any coordinated action. The way out of this impasse is to offer extra-budgetary funds for projects on which the committee as a whole can agree and on which the different ministries are prepared to cooperate. It was this carrot approach which the United States L.E.A.A. was adopting in offering funds for the development of plans based on coordinated action by police, courts and corrections.

Admirable as intentions may have been, this simply did not work in the early stages. Clearly, with funds being offered, the various services did get together, but instead of planning, their collaboration became a trade-off of the projects which each one

of them wanted, but which they had not been able to fund in their regular budgets; so that eventually a kind of shopping list was drawn up which all could approve and which the Federal Government was expected to finance. Not every service got what it wanted. but there was a general agreement on the proportions to be allocated to each organisation. Obviously this was much more a budgeting exercise than a planning exercise. It was not preceded by any adequate survey of the crime problem in the given area, except in so far as this was already available within the reports being produced by the police, the courts, or the corrections. There was no attempt to look at the past and evaluate successes and failures. Goals and targets were not clear and the methods to be adopted were just 'more of the same'. In fact, these 'planning' committees had severe limitations because they had very little expertise with which to assess objectively the limitations and likely effects of the projects which were being advanced for funding.

But if the policy failed in practice, it was born of an increasing understanding by the Americans that investments in any one criminal justice service could create problems for others and that, therefore, a form of coordination was urgently required. For example, an increase in the police force would mean many more cases coming before courts which could not deal with them and which were, therefore, sometimes obliged to release offenders on bail or parole because of the crowded lists or because of the lack of places in correctional institutions. The police have sometimes made the analogy of a revolving door through which they feed offenders, only to watch them come out the other side – and there were many offences committed while such persons were on bail or under forms of supervision.

Correspondingly the delays in the court system, occasioned by the administration of the courts and the lack of effective laws which would permit minor cases to be dealt with expeditiously, have created a number of problems for the police and for the courts. Again, decisions to imprison made by the courts without any reference at all to the realities of the police work in front of them or the correctional work behind them meant overcrowding, the misuse of probation, lack of thought as to how fines would be paid and, in general, a reduction in the possible effectiveness of the penalties awarded.

At the end of the line, the correctional services were greatly affected by what was being done in the other areas of criminal justice. Their own planning for new institutions had to be based on assessments of what the police and the courts might do and the funds to be allocated for corrections were always likely to be inadequate in view of the other demands for more creative, productive and electively-popular services in the State legislatures.

Reviewing all this, the aim had been to obtain better planning for the criminal justice services as a whole. The objective had been to make the best use of scarce resources — to allow in one service for expansions in others — and in general to make sure that the criminal justice system became a system in the sense that it would be a functional whole.

After some years of experimenting, it is now clear that considerations of justice can greatly disrupt the best hopes of the systems analyst. It is one thing to say that the system does not now work because it does not have clear objectives, it is uncoordinated, or because there is too much 'empire building' in each separate service without reference to the others. It is a different consideration altogether when justice in an individual case requires a disregard of costs. The idea that something should be done had no sooner found favour and led to an interest in better planning, than discordant voices were heard.

Why, for example, should it be a system? The courts in particular had many reservations about their need to consider either the police or the corrections in their administration of justice. The courts are independent. It might be contrary to the principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive for the courts to be linked functionally with police and corrections. Their decisions may have to be quite different to those which might make the best use of the three services as a system. The justice of awarding some different sentence simply because prisons were full or there was no machinery for probation, etc., could well be questioned and behind it all the legislature, acting politically on whatever were popular issues, might suddenly find it necessary to greatly disrupt an otherwise smooth and efficient system of criminal justice.

No doubt the debate will continue, but it is quite clear that, if crime is a social phenomenon, and not simply the preserve of the criminal justice services, then the cost-benefit analysis of these

services when they are inter-linked cannot be ignored. Indeed, justice itself requires that not only the offenders' interests but those of the victim and the public at large should be considered and this means that vast resources devoted to certain parts of crime prevention should be evaluated from time to time and possibly the machinery reviewed.

For example, absolute justice in an individual case might well require not only legal aid, but facilities for a relatively minor case to be carried on appeal to higher courts and eventually to a Supreme Court. For this to be done with every such case in a large country would not only mean an enormous tax bill for the non-offending public, but also the eventual collapse of the court system which could not hope to deal with the vast multiplication of hearings. Indeed, the protraction of hearings and the recourse to technicalities to avoid the case being finalised would eventually outstrip the number of new judges that might be appointed at any given time. Meanwhile the effect of this ponderous complex of tribunals on ordinary behaviour may be such as to destroy the confidence of policemen in making arrests or bringing charges and may make the long progression to and through the correctional services (if ever the case was finally settled) a source of new causes for decision by the courts. So justice would be frustrated in the name of justice.

Also as police become more aware of their industrial bargaining power, the number of persons to be employed to ensure an adequate core of policemen on the streets at any given time could rise beyond the capacity of a small community to pay. For example, New York City Police Force, in the early 1970s comprised 35,000 men, but at any given time there were only about 1,000 men actually on street duty. To explain this, one has to take account of the shift system which reduced by two thirds those available for duty in any given period of eight hours; the numbers of policemen on court duty or taken off for special work with juveniles, homicides, robberies, rape, etc.; the numbers of policemen sick or on leave in any selected period; and the numbers allocated to public relations, clerical duties and a variety of other services. Even the employment of civilians for internal clerical work has sometimes only partially relieved this great problem of the distribution of available manpower. Obviously policemen are needed to prevent and control crime and equally obviously they have to be supplied

with the support which they require to do their work efficiently. On the other hand, as these large numbers of police have grown, the clearance rate for offences seems to have declined in many countries, so that one may question whether numbers alone are really the answer to this particular problem.

In corrections something similar applies. We are now aware that many of the programmes which were intended to be rehabilitative in prisons were not rehabilitative and that custody more than correction is the real function of the prisons. This being so, the size of institutions becomes a vital matter for an effective allocation of resources.

In one prison outside New York there are 10,000 men, mostly on remand or short sentences. It takes from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m. to serve lunch and, during this period, different and separately classified groups have to be marched to and from the dining rooms. If all could be seated at once, the cost in supervision might be even greater and the dangers of riots proportionately increased. The present system excludes the possibility of effectiveness for any remedial programmes or any vocational training. The problem, evidently, is that the system itself can be self defeating, hence the need for planning and more careful use of the funds which have to be devoted to this particular purpose.

There is a need, therefore, for effective planning in every service – not merely man-management, administrative, or cosmetic planning. But this having been said, it is clear that there is also a need for the kind of planning which will relate these kinds of services to each other. There is no country where funds are unlimited for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders; once this question of limitations has to be addressed, then the likelihood of wastage, the importance of setting goals and evaluating performance, and the great need to feed all this back into better research, becomes obvious.

It will be apparent that, for effective planning within the criminal justice services, there needs to be some determination of the main purpose for which the money is to be used. This is a political decision which has to be made by the legislature. Indeed, the legislature itself has to contribute to the improvement of the services for which it is responsible. Every year legislation grows to an extent which implies much greater expenditure on law enforcement – a fact which is not always taken into consideration when

the law is being considered. In the Australian Federal Parliament over the past 10 years an average of 160 Bills have become law, that is, at least 1,600 new laws in 10 years. When comparable legislation from the State Parliaments is taken into account, this means that libraries of laws are being created and a great many of these have penal clauses which assume that the machinery for their implementation is already there.

Clearly one of the first moves towards effective planning is to reduce this mass of legislation, or at least to remove prior legislation to make room for it. Law reform commissions are needed to simply clear the jungle of legislation periodically, so as to enable the other criminal justice services to work effectively. In doing this the legislature is obliged to state its purpose and these objectives and goals can become the context within which effective criminal justice planning can be developed.

The criminal justice services as a whole need over-riding standards and goals and these may have to be adjusted at least from generation to generation. Then with general goals established, the more particular aims and objects of police, courts and prisons can be accommodated. The over-riding goal will help to provide some of the coordination and this can be fostered if there are crime prevention planning and research commissions given the responsibility for looking ahead and coordinating what has to be done. The targets chosen by the police, the courts and corrections have to be clear and designed in such a way that progress towards them can be evaluated later, but, within this process, allowance has to be made for a measure of discretion; and the enactment of new laws with precise instructions will never exclude the exercise of discretion in the routine of criminal justice. If the police were to enforce all laws in existence, then economic and social life would probably come to an end. Working to law, like working to rule, could be totally destructive of a nation's social life. On the other hand, police discretion must not be so wide that it can circumvent the main purpose of the criminal justice group of services. Nor should it permit the kind of discrimination which would leave some sections of the public feeling victimised and others with assurances of privilege.

Similar considerations apply to the courts. The objective of all courts is justice, but again this has to be interpreted with a degree of flexibility, since, as Cicero said, 'absolute justice can be

injustice', and there is the venerable tradition of English law to confirm that technicalities in the law and delays in procedure can amount to grave denials of justice and due process. The creation of the Courts of Equity to relieve the hardships of English Common Law confirm that it is always necessary to provide some way out of the tangle of precedents and regulation. To achieve justice, therefore, the courts themselves need to examine the total procedure to see that vested interests are not being served. In the past it has been shown that some of these vested interests were those of the lawyers themselves and, as we have seen, service to justice in the abstract may mean limiting, in a reasonable way, service to justice in the particular case. These are difficult matters for lawyers to ponder, but they are basic ingredients of a planning approach to the tribunals that administer justice. It is now becoming fashionable to conduct surveys to find out the extent to which people feel that they are receiving justice from the court service as it is operating. These will all be useful in turning the searchlight onto the courtrooms and ensuring that they assume their share of the need for a better orientation of the system.

In corrections, it appears that the particular purpose of punishment or custody always gives rise to difficulties. It appears that there has been an endless debate. with certain objectives being favoured in one period of history and others being popular at a later date. It is assumed that vengeance and expiation have been eradicated from our system of justice and yet the fact cannot be ignored that there are times when the public is so outraged that the ordinary provisions of a detached and impartial law do not seem to meet the legitimate expectations of the people as a whole. Retribution has always been used as an objective of punishment and even when it was displaced by considerations of rehabilitation and reform (these being thought to be the most effective preventatives of future crime), retribution was still the obvious principle behind the fines imposed for speeding, illegal parking, drunkenness, prostitution, and a host of other minor infringements of the law. As this is being written, the whole question of rehabilitation is now being challenged and it is claimed that an offender should be awarded the punishment appropriate to his offence, that is, retribution, because rehabilitation, in some cases, might justify some longer but unjust sentence. In any case, the idea that rehabilitation could be provided by the existing forms of correctional

institutions has been largely disproved.

The objective then within any correctional system will be in dispute and this lack of agreement may permeate to other areas within the criminal justice system. It seems that this is a particular failing of pluralistic societies within which there is apparently less and less agreement on the basic values. As a moral consensus is lost, the legitimacy of law and the justice of punishment become questionable. Where societies are united on basic values, it is easier for objectives to be set and for the planning process to be clearly defined. In the west, where values are so widely questioned and diversely argued, the only reality may be the need to reduce the costs of crime and its treatment. This would imply for the correctional services a greater reliance on community remedies and a decreasing reliance on the older type of institutions. However, it must also be added that this will still leave a small group of hard core offenders for whom there really is no answer other than custody and segregation from the community. In such cases the whole idea of rehabilitation is rather inappropriate and all that is needed is to ensure that the conditions of incarceration are humane and in accordance with the respect for human rights.

It will be seen that planning within the criminal justice services partakes of all the problems for planning for the economy as a whole. Some of the problems are made more conspicuous by the way in which the criminal justice services are at the frontier of crime and its prevention, and by the way the principal focus is on individual cases. Nevertheless, we can benefit again from past experience. By looking back over the way in which the criminal justice services have been allowed to grow without any necessary relationship being developed between them, we can discern ways in which the present system can be improved. Above all, a reliance on costs and benefits related to clear objectives will ensure that, as funds are being allocated, they will be more efficiently allocated and a measure of accountability will appear within some services which were never expected to be accountable before. Planning within the criminal justice services is planning for justice as well as planning for efficiency; it is planning for justice for populations as a whole, as well as for those who are caught in the web of legal procedure.

4 Methods and Techniques for Crime Prevention Planning

W. Clifford

Extraordinary as it may seem after more than 150 years of criminological investigation, we are still in no position either to measure accurately the rates of crime within a community, or to say which strategies for crime prevention are the most effective. Perhaps I need not elaborate at length on the first part of this statement. Official figures for crime follow categories rather than events and are responsive to changes in policy. Moreover, there are various ways in which crime is labelled. Then, since we know that so much crime is unreported and therefore unmeasured, we can only try to reach this by victimisation surveys which have their own defects in the differences of exposure to crime, variety of conceptions of crime and lack of corroboration. We are now trying to incorporate 'proxy variables', such as insurance rates, and behavioural responses to feelings of insecurity — but we do not know the true figure for crime in any country.

The part of the statement dealing with the effectiveness of strategies does, however, call for some qualification. It is obvious that, if all those accused of breaking the law were to be executed, the time would come when those remaining in the population might feel that the strategy had been effective, in that all the troublesome people had been eliminated. It needs to be qualified too, by the fact that crime can be prevented by stopping all movement in society and/or introducing such intense surveillance and control of behaviour by modern electronic, psychological and pharmacological devices that people will behave according to the controls imposed. The problem here is that such extreme remedies would not be acceptable in an open society, simply because they would be worse than the disease, and once we introduce the concept of fairness or justice, then crime prevention strategies become equivocal and difficult to evaluate.

When we think, therefore, of methods for crime prevention planning, we must always keep in mind the need to surmount this two-sided tremendous hurdle of data deficiency and the confusing interface of effectiveness and justice. In a paper prepared for the United Nations on 'Crime Trends and Crime Prevention Strategies'[1], this Institute has made the point that no valid crime trend can be identified anywhere in the world. It is still impossible for there to be assessments of crime trends which can yet be regarded as accurate and dependable. Since the crime figures themselves are so difficult to evaluate, the data on the results of the strategies is always suspect. The limitations of any one of the two reduces the meaningfulness of the other.

Coordination

Crime prevention planning, therefore, begins with a need for the organisation of this approach to collecting information and then using it effectively to prevent crime. At least we know what we do not know and acknowledged ignorance can be the beginning of wisdom. At least we do not delude ourselves with theories based on 'facts' which do not mean what they seem to mean.

There is, first of all, a need for some agency or coordinated body to take responsibility within a country for the control and evaluation aspects of all crime prevention planning. Collecting data, analysing it, identifying gaps or equivocation and devising different methods to obtain the kinds of information which, however 'soft', will provide a tentative basis for policy-making.

This work could be done by the crime prevention planning body itself. It would need to be a commission or organisation incorporating all branches of the criminal justice services, so that they did not feel excluded from the decisions being made about their own services and they could assist in providing the data available, giving it more precise meaning and implementing the measures which may be decided upon by the agency or commission.

Such a commission should not, however, be composed entirely of specialists and there would be a need for representation of the public and outside expertise. The checks and balances of the bureaucratic organisation within each government will, naturally, determine the way in which such a body could be most effective,

but in general it can be confidently asserted that the further away it is from the centre of political power, the less effective it is likely to be. The seriousness of a government in undertaking crime prevention planning will be indicated, therefore, by the amount of prestige and status which it accords to any such coordinated body which it may decide to set up. In this connection, let it be noted that Japan, the country which is the most urbanised, industrialised and most successful in dealing with crime, makes a habit of placing such policy formulation and coordinating bodies within the cabinet office or within the office of the Prime Minister. This at least ensures coordination at all levels.

Most administrators have a long and rather unfortunate experience of 'inter-departmental committees'. Usually these are committees to which ministries send representatives in the hope of coordinating everyone else. Without any recourse to irony or cynicism, it has to be admitted that ministries, when they engage in such exercises, do not usually intend to change their own orders of priorities or to interfere with their own budgets; but they are prepared to use any resources available within other ministries to attain their own ends. Since each ministry comes to the meetings with the same intentions, the so-called coordination of inter-ministerial bodies is usually a mockery: each member of such a committee winds up feeling that the whole exercise, in which he may have been frustrated, has been a waste of time. Steadily, therefore, inter-departmental committees decline into information sharing bodies and little more. Here and there it is possible for a really powerful ministry, which has great influence over the ruler, to use such meetings to impose its will on other parts of the government. This is obviously not coordination, though it may often be given the label. The fact of life is that, with limited funds available in any budget, each ministry is competing with others for the best it can obtain; subordination of its interests to any broader planning is a painful process.

Cooperation can be achieved, however. The way this is done is simply by making more funds available. Either grants from outside are obtained, or else the regular budgets are pared to create a special 'planning and development' fund. Grants from this fund are then available only for projects which are inter-ministerially coordinated. With this incentive, the most obdurate of bureaucrats can be induced to serve his own ministry by joining his colleagues

from other ministries in developing an integrated scheme, which will attract the additional funds which they can share. It is a device which has been used very effectively, both nationally and internationally, to ensure the success of some comprehensive plan or to assist in ensuring implementation of inter-related projects. It was a technique used by the United Nations when it set up the Special Fund for technical assistance in the early 1960s. Up to this time, technical assistance resources had been apportioned in each receiving country between the respective departments and agencies of the United Nations itself. Sir David Owen, Administrator of the Technical Assistance Board, by creating this fund, sought to bring the agencies and departments together to avoid overlapping and to thereby ensure concentrated, coordinated, projects.

There were some good examples of its early success; but the inter-agency and inter-departmental ambitions on the one hand, matched by ineptitude on the other hand of those responsible for the fund, eventually defeated its operation. Firstly, the fund was supposed to be distributed for coordinated projects, placed in order of priority by the receiving government itself. This order of priority was inevitably a matter of political negotiation within the government, but more particularly, between the government and the United Nations Resident Representative. Very often it was an order of priority determined by the Resident Representative himself or those who had most influence over him. Since he was likely to be the administrator of the fund, the government was likely to listen, but occasionally there were powerful ministries within the government which could defeat any intentions of the Resident Representative if he did not take these into account in arranging his submissions. Such ministries were often powerfully motivated by the minister's position on the Governing Council of one of the United Nation's agencies.

So there was a kind of internal and external struggle which eventually resulted in the most astute and effective agency or ministry getting the major share of these projects – or else in the projects themselves being only those which the most influential or powerful wished to have considered. Within the United Nations family of organisations the agencies and departments vied for positions on the governing body of the Special Fund and eventually this body comprised representatives of each of the agencies that wanted a share. Inevitably this destroyed its independence

and undermined its coordinative function. Each agency then brought pressure to bear to obtain 'its share' of the available resources — regardless of the need for inter-agency cooperation and coordination.

Of course, there was still a kind of empty manoeuvre which was described as obtaining the permission of the receiving country and a great deal of lip service was paid to the fact that it was the country itself which determined its own priorities. But any impartial examination of the system indicated that projects were approved according to a pattern which faithfully reflected the status and power of the different agencies and organisations within the United Nations itself, and it was remarkable for any project, unsupported by such an established machinery, to receive the necessary approvals.

In the United Nations itself, crime prevention was only a part of the Social Development Division, which itself was a part of the Economic and Social Council, and this had one representative on the Special Fund, namely the officer responsible for all the technical assistance being handled by all Departments of Economic and Social Affairs. Predictably crime prevention being only very remotely represented, received hardly any consideration. It is extremely significant that from the 1950s, when technical assistance funds were allocated according to United Nations departments, to the 1970s, the amount of technical assistance for crime prevention was practically extinguished. Much the same thing happened to social welfare projects, but health and education, being directly represented and sponsored by WHO and UNESCO respectively, forged ahead.

The United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, now in Tokyo, Japan, is a creation of the United Nations system of technical assistance operating in the 1950s. All United Nations financial support for this institution was curtailed by a new dispensation in 1965, although a period of five years was allowed for commitments to work themselves out. The United Nations' Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in Latin America is still suffering from this problem. As a proposal of the United Nations, it dates back to before the Asia Institute, and was established in Sao Paulo, Brazil, for a period of about six months, before the agreement with the provincial government was repud-

iated by the Federal Government of Brazil. After a number of attempts to have this reconsidered, the United Nations eventually moved to Costa Rica in 1971 and has, since then, been trying to obtain adequate financial assistance to keep the organisation viable. That Institute, like the one in Tokyo, is now in existence only through the kindness, generosity and good offices of the country in which it is established.

These are examples of the fate of coordinated machinery which becomes entangled in the ordinary manoeuvrings of agencies and ministries for their own advantage. Crime prevention commissions within a government, or created internationally, will have the same problems to face; but they can learn from experience. If they can be kept aloof from the day to day routine, and if the money with which they are provided can genuinely be used to develop coordinated projects, then the planning will be more effective.

The United States had a similar experience to the United Nations in that, when crime was serious in that country and reviewed at the highest political level in 1968, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which was set up with funds to grant aid to the states, sought to introduce better planning by insisting that each state should be provided with a coordinated plan for crime prevention in that state prior to receiving any money for a project. Committees of all the interested departments were established in each state. They did come together and provide a shopping list of projects for the Federal Government to fund, but this was the result of meetings and a trade-off between the various criminal justice services which has been described in a preceding paper. Once again, coordination was torpedoed by the vested interests within the existing services. As this is being written, the state courts are campaigning for a separate agency from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration on the ground that it is not consistent with the separation of the judiciary from the executive for courts to have to compete for funding with other services in the criminal justice system.

Statistics and Research

The Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of

Crime and the Treatment of Offenders will be dealing with the whole question of crime statistics and research under Item 1 of the Agenda, which is entitled 'Crime Trends and Crime Prevention Strategies'. The work which Australia has done on this subject has been prepared by myself and Dr Satyanshu Mukherjee for the Australian Criminal Sciences Committee, and in trying to understand the available statistics on crime around the world, we have come to the conclusion that it is almost impossible to talk of increases or decreases in crime rates without reference to the other social indicators in a country.

Perhaps the best international figures on crime by which countries might be compared are those published annually by INTERPOL, but these are grossly misleading if taken out of context and even as indicators of crime fluctuations, they fail to give an adequate account of a national situation because all the information required is not available for a long enough period. A long time sequence is required to be meaningful and when we talk of rises or decreases in crime, we are sometimes taking a snapshot of a curve which is much longer. When the total curve is taken into account, then our succession of snapshots has a different meaning.

Nevertheless, we do need statistics on crime, even though we are in so much trouble trying to make them meaningful. We need the official statistics published by the police, the courts and the prisons and in many countries even these are not yet regularly available. It has been argued that even when they are available, they do not tell us about the actual state of crime in a country, but they tell us about the action taken by the authorities. This is true, but it is no argument against collection of the figures. However true it may be, we do need to know what the official action has been, its extent and its changes over time.

Since there is a dark figure for crime, we have to try to assess the extent of victimisation, and this is usually done these days by victimisation studies. Victimisation studies have their problems no less than the official figures. If the official figures show only what the official services do, it is also true that victimisation studies suffer from the fact that the informants do not always understand the law, that the legal categories of crime are sometimes differently understood by different informants, and the problem of some of the people surveyed being imaginative or even dishonest.

If, however, one takes the official figures for crime with the

victimisation studies, we are getting nearer to defining the shape of the crime in any given society. Then, to improve this perception of the shape of actual crime, we need to look at other social indicators. The causes of death, the figures kept by hospitals for people seeking medical treatment for injuries, the insurance figures showing the areas which the insurance companies regard as being areas of high risk, the education figures which will show rates of drop out and possible delinquency, need official reporting. These proxy variables are elements of information which we need in order to build up a better understanding of actual crime in a country. For planning purposes, we need as much of this information as we can possibly get and, in addition, we should explore the possibility of intensive case studies of crime and criminals which will enable us to define even more closely the outlines of the crime problem in a given society.

Planning depends upon accurate information and accurate projections. We have to be able to assess our present crime trends and to project these into the future. We do not have to wait, however, for accurate figures before we begin to plan. Planning for other sectors of the economy has frequently had to be done on information even less accurate than that available for criminal justice. Poor countries cannot always provide the information which is necessary, but they still have to plan and they may, therefore, have to make assumptions about the future based upon the personal experience of the police, court and prison officials, criminologists and the planners themselves.

The next step is to ensure that when any plan is implemented on the basis of such assumptions, there is a careful follow up to see what happens. The results then will give us a better picture of the problem with which we are dealing and we will be able to sharpen future planning even when we are working on inadequate data. Developing countries can very often take advantage of surplus manpower to improve the collection of data on crime and they can probably find a great many figures which can be used as proxy variables in the data already being collected by other departments of government for quite unrelated purposes. For example, the information developed for manpower planning and the information developed for a census may contain vital information for the planner. For instance, how many young people fall into the vulnerable age group of 15 to 25. This in itself can be an

indicator of possible future crime. Australia, which now has a zero population growth, can expect that the crime rate among young people will decline, as this age group gets older. Planning, therefore, may need to take this decline into account and to ask what the other consequences will be.

Sometimes there are resources for improved statistics from machinery already available for other purposes. A number of developing countries which could not possibly afford computerised facilities for criminal justice data-gathering and processing, nevertheless have invested in computers for other administrative purposes, for example, payment of salaries, processing of census data, data for tourism, etc. Computer time might, therefore, be available and if the criminal justice projects are properly programmed, they could possibly make use of these central computers for crime prevention planning purposes.

Criminological research is swinging from one fashion to another over the years. This has already been referred to in other lectures. The first criminologists were mainly concerned with trends in crime as shown by official figures. Quetelet, the Belgian statistician who took an interest in this problem in the late 18th century, was able to argue on very inadequate data that there may in fact be a steady propensity to crime in any community, so that crime figures would remain almost static in a given population.

We have never been able to prove or disprove this contention, but our own research at the Australian Institute of Criminology on crime figures from 1900 to 1979 has inclined us to be more respectful of Quetelet's propositions which were scorned only a few years ago.

The sociologist Durkheim must be given the credit for showing that crime was a normal phenomenon in society. Unfortunately his work was not given sufficient attention by criminologists and for many years, from the days of Lombroso onwards, there was a great preoccupation with crime as a deviation and something abnormal in a community. It was for this reason that abnormality was ascribed to the offenders and early criminological studies were devoted to showing the differences between the offenders and non-offenders. It was this simplistic idea of crime as a kind of disease or deformity which gave us so many of our ideas about crime being due to genetic inheritance, broken homes, lack of schooling, etc. Obviously there were such disabilities among those

who were convicted of crime, but similar disabilities could be found among a great many more people who did not commit crime and therefore it was quite wrong for us to imagine that these were causes of crime.

Gradually criminologists became disenchanted with this search for causes by comparisons of groups of offenders with non-offenders. It was quickly evident that no one cause could be identified. Apart from the fact that these so-called causes were probably as widely distributed outside the criminal group as they were inside, there was also the problem that crime itself is no single phenomenon but a complex combination of many different types of behaviour. The crime of forging and passing a false cheque calls for different qualities and different background to the violent crimes of rape and robbery. To put all crimes together then as if they were a single deviant phenomenon was grossly misleading. Some criminologists began to develop a theory of multiple causation, that is, that crime was not due to any one cause but to a combination of factors. Unfortunatley this did not redeem the theory, because if it was difficult to prove one factor was responsible for crime, it was even more difficult to prove that more factors were responsible for crime.

Gradually, therefore, the criminologists moved away from this search for causes to a different search for the social and economic situations from which crime emerged. It soon became clear that the criminal justice system itself could generate much of the crime with which a country had to deal and that there was a great deal of injustice in the system which, as we have seen, is biased towards the disproportionate prosecution of minority groups. Now we seem to have gone rather too far in this direction and some extremists have begun to claim that, simply by changing the system and eradicating the abuses, we can eliminate crime. This is due to a lack of knowledge of crime in many different types of society and the persistence of certain types of 'natural crime' as suggested by Garofalo in the very early days of criminology.

Planning depends upon there being adequate research, but from this description of what has been done, it is clear that criminology is still not in a position to give precise guidance as to what should be done about crime in society. This does not mean that criminology has not been successful in its work so far. Indeed, what I have been describing is a much more incisive knowledge

of the crime problem than we had before criminologists began their work. It does mean, however, that imponderables mainly attributable to the unpredictability of human nature are still with us and when we can talk about the criminologist explaining crime, we have to recognise that any successful explanation would need to also include an explanation of the reasons for nearly all human and social behaviour. Putting it in this form, it is clear that it is a massive undertaking.

Criminologists can, however, map the extent of crime in the ways I have suggested and they can project the possibilities of future crime in such a way that the planner can make his decisions. Then, as the planner's decisions are implemented and the results are fed back for implementation, we have what amounts to a new form of crime prevention planning research, which will improve our knowledge and gradually sharpen and make more effective the policy decisions which are made.

Cost-Benefit Analysis

There have been various views about the usefulness of cost-benefit analysis for any social science with human and social values that by definition are incalculable. Cost-benefit analysis is an economic concept based, as the name implies, upon a comparison of possible, probable and certain benefits of a project or programme with the foreseeable costs or outlays. It is an approach to planning which has been used to decide whether a project or programme should be implemented or not. If ascertainable benefits are not expected to exceed ascertainable costs, a project may be discarded. Even in economics this is not a very precise technique, because the concepts of 'cost' and 'benefit' depend upon the time factor – on how long a period is to be taken into account. A project with few benefits in the short term may have long term benefits. And high costs in the short term may look much lower when spread over time. So the high cost of investment in the London Underground was justified by showing benefits over several generations. On a short term view it would not have been feasible. Similarly long term political considerations eventually justified the Zambia-Tanzanian railway which had been rejected by a series of feasibility studies looking at non-political short term factors.

However, even if one discounts this time complication, it is true that social values are not easily quantified and even when quantified, they often cannot be appraised in money terms, despite the efforts that have been made and are still being made to give monetary expression to social values. How then can cost-benefit concepts be applied to crime prevention planning?

Planners have often sought to divide their objectives in such a way as to show the difference between the quantifiable and non-quantifiable, the ponderable and imponderable. 'Goals' have been sometimes taken as the long term aims which are not quantifiable and 'objectives' have been set out as the shorter term targets which could be costed. Obviously cost-benefit analysis is in most use where there is the prospect of ready quantification and conversion into money terms.

There are some who believe that it is a mistake to try to apply methods drawn from economics to criminology. It is argued that there is a need for criminology to develop its own methodologies and to turn what is well used as cost-benefit by economists into an instrument which can determine the usefulness of strategies and projects within the criminal justice field.

The fact is that it is extremely difficult to exclude economics from any area of human behaviour, however difficult it may be to quantify human or social values. The misery and tragedy of crime cannot be separated from the impoverishment of a community (also causing stress and misery), when massive resources — perhaps inordinately large resources — are devoted to crime prevention services. A corresponding situation arises when one has to compare the social and total community health impact of providing expensive, sophisticated equipment to hospitals within which only a few of the richer patients may be able to benefit. The cost of providing the best that human knowledge can devise has to be weighed against the fair distribution of benefits. Social justice creeps into what seems at first sight to be a question of going as far as science will take us in surgery, tissue transplants, and the provision of kidney machines.

In crime and justice the costs are largely unknown — they have rarely been calculated over the short term and there are no long-itudinal studies of the economic impact of crime and its prevention stretched over generations. We may be a long way from obtaining these but even modest improvements in our present

knowledge will not only incorporate economics into criminology but will provide a criminological division in economics itself.

Evaluation

It is not possible to go into evaluation in any great detail in these lectures, but the matter is covered by the book on *Planning Crime Prevention*[2], already provided to participants. There are, however, five questions taken from that publication which could be applied to any evaluation. These are:

1. Its Effectiveness. Did it achieve its declared goals — or did it achieve the objectives that are imputable by its nature?
2. Its Significance. Even if it did achieve its goals, so what? What was its significance for the country, for the region, or for those involved? This needs to be investigated politically, socially and economically.
3. Its Efficiency. What were its costs and returns? This is considered in more detail below.
4. Its Compliance. To what extent did it adhere to the original formulation? Did it achieve its objectives by the means provided for — or by other unexpected procedures?
5. Its Unanticipated Effects and Byproducts. How much of the achievement was unexpected? What were the side effects that had not been foreseen in the original formulation?

It should be noted that in any given case there is no reason why the answers to these questions should coincide. An efficient project showing a multiplier effect for a small investment may have achieved this result by a departure from the terms originally formulated — or its returns might not be in tune with its original objectives, so that it might not qualify for being called effective. Nor would the evaluation within the three broad categories support each other; if one applies the criteria of Category 2, then there could be success even if all the questions of Category 3 had to be answered negatively.

There can be no evaluation unless the objectives and the criteria are clear. To know how far a plan or project has progressed, it is necessary to know where it was intended to go — and how.

Objectives achieved have also to be read in context, since their attainment might be at the expense of other projects. Thus, the limited objectives of a housing, health, welfare, police, court, or prisons project might well be achieved without contributing in any way to the wider plan objectives. Their success might even detract from the benefits of other schemes. Courts might be operating with justice for all, without the incidence of any particular form of crime being reduced. Indeed, the case needed to ensure justice may operate to the advantage of the unscrupulous. Police efficiency in applying the law is well known in some circumstances to increase rather than decrease the number of prosecutions, making it difficult for the courts to take the time they need to administer justice. Public safety might be reduced by the existence of the death penalty, if this generated a sense of greater desperation in killers who know they have nothing more to lose by another killing. Sectoral objectives too may be achieved only by frustrating the wider aims of the national plan, for example, if strict crime prevention hampers the freedom and mobility necessary for productivity or if achievements in education have no relevance to the employment prospects. History has demonstrated that success in reducing mortality increases populations and thereby increases the pressures on local incomes. Evaluation must, therefore, examine the objectives from several points of view.

Nor can one overlook the imponderable elements in any study of a project or programme. An evaluation worthy of the name will consider the costs and benefits in terms of what might have happened if the programme or project had been differently conceived or if it had never been undertaken at all. It has to ask whether the same or better results might have been obtained by some other approach, by other methods, or by a different kind of project altogether. Above all, the evaluation has to ask whether it might not have been preferable to do less rather than more; to have eschewed all official action, for example, by not enacting the crime-creating laws in the first place.

Such problems are raised here not to question the value of evaluation but to promote a sobering sense of humility in enthusiastic evaluators who might be intoxicated by their own capacity for judgment. It is too easy to become locked into one's own criteria.

Yet, with all its present shortcomings — especially when

applied to crime prevention work — evaluation is still the best way we know of providing for a healthy self-criticism and the necessary element of introspection. Even if it leaves many issues open or only partially resolved, evaluation is a necessary contribution to the efficiency of future work. In the emotive, presumptive context of crime prevention work it provides perspectives, encourages impartiality and lays bare both the assumptions and the difficulties inherent in the way that questions are formulated and answered, broadens the horizons and exposes the wider relationships and implications that are not always self-evident. Above all, it acts as a balance to a great deal of misplaced zeal for narrow sectoral or project objectives. It keeps us ever cognisant of the dangers inherent in modern computerised processes for valuing what is quantifiable instead of seeking to quantify what is valuable.

Applying evaluation techniques to crime prevention is not at all easy. Crime statistics do not always mean what they are supposed to mean. They can be collected or interpreted in several ways and they frequently reflect changes in policies and procedures more than measuring behavioural changes in society itself. Victimology surveys, with which official statistics should be combined, are still crude. The levels of security or satisfaction in the community are practically impossible to measure, except in some public opinoin poll designed for a limited purpose. And the testing of reintegration or prevention by certain techniques of correction and control still requires refinement. If all the variables in the number of police, police policy, sentencing, correctional practices, and criminogenic environment could be held constant, one year's returns might be comparable with another — but the variables cannot be so held. And even evaluation by comparison means some assumptions about the constancy of factors.

Nevertheless, with all its limitations, evaluation cannot be abandoned. Crime prevention planning, like any other type of planning, means interpreting the past and aiming for a defined future. Correspondingly, evaluation can follow these procedures and make some judgment on progress. It will always need refinement but this is true of any type of evaluation. In the absence of anything better, the existing crime figures will have to be used, but it might not be such a far-fetched idea to arrange a periodic public opinion poll as a monitor of progress — if it can be independently contrived. In any case, it is to be hoped that with the

passage of time more work will be done on the use of social indicators[3], and on techniques of evaluation that give more of a basis for the development of follow-up and evaluation in crime prevention.

Plan implementation and the decision-making connected with budgeting have been the subject of study and experimentation that have resulted in several devices for the rationalisation and allocation of resources and approaches to evaluation. Not all are applicable to crime prevention, though attempts have been, and are being, made to adapt them. One or two are provided here, only to show method. Their precise adaption to crime prevention situations would require a further study of prepared cases or projects.

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1. W. Clifford and S. Mukherjee 'Crime Trends and Crime Prevention Strategies'. Australian Criminal Sciences Committee for the Sixth United Nations Congress, Australian Government Printer, 1979.

2. W. Clifford, *Planning Crime Prevention*, D.C. Heath, Lexington Books, 1976.

3. Social indicators are still being developed for planning purposes, but already there are useful guides to progress in figures for mortality rates (especially infant mortality), morbidity rates and educational levels.

5 Economic Problems of Crime Prevention

W. Clifford

It is sometimes refreshing to speculate on the economics of crime and its prevention because it offers perspectives not usually found in the textbooks of criminology. It reminds us, for example, that, were it not for crime, we may have a serious unemployment problem affecting not only the police, the courts and the prisons, but also all the criminologists, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, forensic scientists who now work for the courts, police, prisons or offenders — not to mention the vast army of private security operators and the industry of locks, alarms, and anti-crime devices behind them. We must also remember the work generated by the criminal acts themselves for undertakers, grave-diggers, doctors and nurses, pharmacists, the tradesmen who repair the vandalism or the doors and windows broken by burglary or housebreaking, the commerce in replacing items damaged or stolen, the insurance companies trading in risk coverage and all the people involved in these and related occupations. In many countries, when these are added together, the numbers involved equal or even exceed the seven or eight per cent of the labour force whose present unemployment is such a national crisis.

If crime then generates such a vast range of employment opportunities in a society, is it not a good thing? Is it not a valuable resource? Does it not produce incomes which in turn create a demand for food, housing, clothing, cars, domestic and office, as well as industrial, equipment. Does it not contribute quite substantially to the support of an even wider range of industries and services? If we add the amounts of capital investments on police stations, court buildings, correctional institutions and hostels, plus the housing required by those engaged in crime prevention, then we have benefits for architects, construction workers, tradesmen and even planners. So that one might imagine the possible elimin-

ation of all crime as a national disaster to be feared as much as any sudden inflation or trade slump. This is, indeed, what happens.

In the early 1950s in England, there was an unexpected fall in juvenile delinquency, so that the reformatories (known as Borstals and 'Approved Schools') were emptying and the question arose of closing some schools and centralising the functions of others. One would have expected this to be a matter for wholesale rejoicing, but if you read the professional journals of those months, they are full of alarm and despondency. Similar problems are beginning to appear in Japan as the crime rate declines and projects for future building and development have to be drastically revised. It is raising problems for a number of officials and those in related trades or professions.

If, then, crime is economically such a good thing, why do we not encourage it? Some people will suffer, but will not the economy as a whole benefit? The answer is well known to any first year student of economics: it is a form of reasoning which could as readily be applied to natural disaster or war. Why don't we get the meteorologists to see if they cannot produce more cyclones or the geologists to see if they can produce more earthquakes. Some people will suffer but the effect on production, commerce and employment will be good. The amount of reconstruction work that these upheavals create often boosts the economy in the years that follow. Japan's economic miracle was built to an enormous extent upon the supplying of United Nations Forces for the Korean War. It was this that helped Japan to climb out of the disaster of defeat and to amass the income for its future investment in the economy which has not really looked back since.

The defect in the argument that crime, disaster and war are good for the economy derives from the habit of looking only at the benefits and ignoring the costs. It is true that these events create employment and capital investment, but, by the same token, they absorb this amount of capital and labour which, had it not had to be used on the disaster, could have been used much more productively. This is what an economist means by opportunity costs – the cost of anything is what you have to forego in order to get it. So the cost of crime is in the extra agriculture, mining, manufacture or commerce that would be possible without it. Money and manpower are tied up in crime prevention. And the same is true after a cyclone or a war. These productive resources

have been diverted from their optimal or best use in order to repair the damage or to control the dangers caused by the disaster. In this sense they are resources wasted. Viewed from the angle of how they might have been used had there been no crime, no cyclone, no war, we can readily see the enormous cost by imagining what could have been achieved by using the same resources. This is why large defence expenditures drain an economy, why Britain was bankrupt after the Second World War: it is the reason why crime has such a detrimental effect on the economy. It not only wastes the productive capacity of the people who are killed or who spend their time in prisons, but it makes their families a burden on the economy and absorbs so much of a country's productive power for its prevention and control. In taxation and loss of productive power, everyone pays more for crime than they have yet realised.

Costs and Benefits

Costs and benefits have not yet been adequately calculated in crime prevention and criminal justice. What is the real cost of crime to any country or community? To answer this we have to know all the direct and opportunity costs and then set these alongside the benefits — because, as shown, there are some very real benefits from crime as well as the huge costs.

Obviously there are some costs which are quite imponderable and which will never lend themselves to an adequate assessment in dollars. How does one ever calculate, for example, the life which is lost in a murder or manslaughter? How does one gauge the shock, anguish and long term consequences of being a victim of rape? Some forms of theft, warehouse-breaking and shop-breaking have eventually forced the victims out of business and into bankruptcy and, perhaps, even suicide. An ordinary assault may leave scars which will affect, very deeply, the later life of the victim. Subsequent fears, the loss of confidence or self-esteem, which can in turn affect the upbringing of the victim's children and thus transmit the negative effects down through the generations, cannot be fully known. These are the tragedies which are never reflected in monetary measurements. Suffering, despair and psychological traumas are incalculable, so that there are very real costs of crime

beyond anything possible to present economically.

Allowing for this, the economic factors have always been very prominent in crime: they date from its earliest manifestations. In the earliest, simple, tribal societies, there was an attempt to measure damage and restitution; this indeed is at the base of the theory of retribution as applied to punishments. 'An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth', although an expression of vengeance, incorporates a notion of measuring loss with loss. But if two wrongs do not make a right, it is equally clear that two losses do not make a benefit − to anyone − so that pure vengeance was, at quite an early stage of human history, subordinated to a more economic solution. It was not only that two losses did not make a benefit, but also the danger that inflicting loss could become cumulative. For, if the retaliatory damage went just one iota beyond the original measure of loss, it would itself attract retaliation, so that the cost of reprisals mounted successively for those concerned and for the society at large. The costs were economic in every sense − a loss of productive capacity for the society − while the benefits were purely subjective, that is, the feelings of revenge being satisfied. Not surprisingly then, society itself, to protect its own economic and social potential, had to intervene at a very early stage to regulate the vengeance before the cumulative losses destroyed the community and left it prey to wild animals and possible starvation.

The next stage was an attempt to match loss with benefit. Not an eye for an eye, but two pigs for an eye. Not a tooth for a tooth, but three chickens to be paid by the offender to the offended. Even a life could be paid for with produce and cattle, or by the ceding of one member of the murderer's family to the victim's family to repair the loss of productive power and social prestige, much of which, at that time, would depend upon the size of the family. Here, it will be seen that an effort was being made to calculate the loss economically, even when this included anguish and suffering. Only for sacred or sacrilegious offences was there no form of compensation − for these in offending the gods exposed the whole community to divine retribution and this could be avoided only by removing the polluting member of the community − by death or exile.

As societies grew in size and as the division of labour diversified the economies, compensation persisted; but now it was

augmented by a number of more sophisticated remedies. The free man who had property had to pay for his offences with his property and this could mean the loss, not only of his possessions, but of his wife and family. If he had no property – or not enough to pay for his misdeeds, he himself might be sold into slavery, the proceeds going to his victim or to the public treasury in accordance with the extent to which the idea of a crime as a public, as well as a private, offence had developed. A slave who offended had to pay with his body: he could have been killed, whipped, branded or maimed; or have lost the offending member of his body, that is, his hand, arm, tongue or genitals. Then, as the rights of citizenship were extended and slavery declined, these peculiar slave penalties were applied to criminals, whether free men or in various stages of feudal bondage.

Retribution is still a feature of our criminal justice systems. It is still conspicuous in our dealing with minor offences by fines and restitution. As long as imprisonment can mean forced labour or as long as it can be a productive enterprise as in Japan (where prison industries earn more than enough to cover the total cost of imprisonment), the offender still pays for his offence by his labour. Justice is tempered with economic advantage for the community. The costs are offset by the benefits.

With the intrusion of humanity and moral concern into the system, the purely economic elements tended to decline in favour of justice; but they are still very prominent in our attempts to deal with traffic offences, corporate crime and pollution. In fact, a new, but still rather small, breed of criminological economist has sought to refurbish the older deterrence theory of punishment by linking it to the economic principle of marginal utility. These economists first propose a new theory of criminal motivation – crime is a result of rational choice, a carefully weighed preference – it is a kind of economic activity related to the same problem of price and return. They argue, therefore, that crime can be reduced by simply raising its cost for the offender. Therefore, by increasing the penalty, there will always be people at the margin prepared to assume that the crime they intended to commit is not worth the price. Actually this is not new. It smacks of Benthamite utilitarianism. Undoubtedly it has relevance for certain types of crime. White collar crime, corporate crime and organised crime are rationally determined and may well be affected by the penalties

and probabilities of detection and prosecution. But there is a vast range of other crime, such as murder, rape, muggings and assault, which are impulsive or the outcome of opportunity, uncontrolled desire or provocation.

Imprisonment for its own sake, the rise of trade union objections to production by prison labour (especially in times of unemployment) and the repudiation of forced labour, all combined to restore the economic futility of remedying loss by further loss. So in most countries the losses occasioned by crime are visited by further loss in a largely unproductive prison system.

What are these losses associated with crime in a modern society? There is first the obvious loss of productive capacity which flows from the destruction of life and property. To this must be added the loss of productive capacity induced by imprisonment, the destitution of the families deprived of wage earners, the reduction in the earning capacity of victims or the loss of productive incentive when the benefits of labour are stolen or when there is insecurity or a loss of confidence undermining the will to work. And, as shown, there is also the enormous loss of production as a consequence of diverting material and human resources to the prevention and control of criminal behaviour. Nor is it possible in an economic analysis to overlook the negative productive consequences of high taxation of earnings to pay for all the state services required to deal with crime.

This should not blind us to the benefits of crime. From a purely economic point of view, theft is not a loss to the total economy if it is a simple transfer of wealth from some people to others. Stealing from the rich may mean a more productive use of resources. If funds which would be spent on luxuries are now spent by the thieves on food, clothing and shelter, they may, by means of the theft, do more to stimulate production in the industries and services producing these goods than would have been possible if they had been left in a few hands. Accumulated but unused wealth can be more evenly spread.

What we attempt to do legally by means of taxation (taking from the rich to give to the poor) was anticipated by the outlaw Robin Hood — which explains his popularity. Since no society has succeeded in achieving an equal and fair distribution of the benefits of production, there are inevitable inequalities and concentrations of wealth in the hands of people not always

considered worthy or deserving by the population at large. There is not, therefore, the same wholesale public condemnation of theft or outlawry as is typical of offences against the person. The public respect a bold robbery if no one is hurt. Hence the tacit admiration of the 'Great Train Robbers', the regard for skilful pickpockets and the esteem evoked by the cleverness of computer thefts. These are, in a way, reflections of the envy and deference shown to those who have made fortunes by cleverness in the market or on the stock exchange.

Conversely, by means of crime, wealth can be accumulated and concentrated for profitable investment in a way which benefits the economy as well as the miscreants themselves. Organised crime accumulates fortunes by vice, gambling, protection rackets, black marketeering and prostitution. It may not hesitate, in the process, to eliminate competition by murder, mayhem or corruption and it consolidates its position by strong arm methods and the use of fear. Once made illegally, these fortunes can be invested in legitimate business. Legitimate companies may be bought out and redeveloped, competition being eliminated, not by fear and force, but by using the enormous funds flowing from the criminal activities to undercut rivals or competing firms. Having secured a monopoly, it can raise prices and diversify its investments. In this process, employment is created and incomes generated which stimulate economic growth. Had this money remained widely distributed, it may never have had the beneficial economic effect which it has had by being concentrated – however illegally. The full process cannot be followed through here but, in essence, it differs only in origin and degree from the business practices which created some of the great fortunes and helped countries to grow to positions of economic power. It may be sad, but it is unfortunately true, that economic development is a response to appropriate financial management and appropriate investment. It is incidental whether the money was originally obtained illegally or whether the profits go to the undeserving.

In the new world of computer fraud, drug trafficking, information transfers, expanded tourism and energy shortages, there will be new opportunities for the quick-witted and totally unscrupulous. There will be exploitation – much of it on the edge of the law and some of it blatantly illegal. The proceeds will then be reinvested with benefits for the economy. If one disregards consider-

ations of justice and fairness, the economic consequences will not be all bad. What is now needed is a careful study of all the costs and benefits of crime. We have to find ways of promoting economic growth with fairness and justice. For it is obviously a form of naked rapacity to permit economic growth regardless of how it is engineered. There may be costs as yet uncalculated, which are masked by the apparent benefits. To take the extreme case, if the untrammelled exploitation of the economy by the unscrupulous and the expropriation of wage earners leads to the kind of injustice which promotes eventual revolution, the long term costs of illegality may negate the temporary benefits.

Supply and Demand

There are a great many crimes which reflect the operation of the symbiotic relationship between demand and supply which is a basic precept of economics. Organised crime flourishes frequently by supplying the demand for gambling and vice, just as the drug trafficking not only supplies a demand, but also seeks to attract more users to increase the demand. Receivers prosper by exploiting the demand for bargains with stolen products. And if one indulges in the psychology of certain offences in which there is a kind of interaction between the victim and the offender, it is possible to present some assaults and murders and even some forms of shoplifting as a demand and supply situation. It has been argued that supermarkets tolerate (= demand) store theft as a consequence of attractive displays. The amount of shoplifting sometimes reflects the real attractiveness of a display and the placing of sweets at the toddler's level near the cash desk can be represented as a deliberate inducement to steal in the hope that parents will pay. Any loss is offset by the level of sales. Confidence tricksters and stock market frauds succeed because of the demand for cheap benefits. Finally, if one subscribes to the theory of there being in society a fixed amount of aggression which must find expression in war or crime, it is possible to present the levels of violence as meeting a need.

Bribery and Corruption

At first sight, bribery and corruption are wholly bad. The sub-

orning of people in official positions, the abuse of bureaucratic power for personal advantage, the use of money to obtain unfair preference and the deliberate promotion of venality, is a foul disease within the body politic which seems entirely reprehensible. However, it may have beneficial side effects.

First, there is the way in which fortunes acquired by corruption can be reinvested to promote economic growth. Secondly, because of the way bureaucracies have a tendency to grow into inefficiency and become a dead weight on the economy, corruption may become an accepted method for lubricating a ponderous official machine. In some countries where the government is the largest employer of labour and where masses of clerks labour for low salaries, there may be no way of having applications processed efficiently without side payments to those who have discretion within the system. In so far as corruption, bribery and 'palm-greasing' help the totally inefficient system to operate effectively, at least for those who have the means, they are making it more productive and advancing the usefulness of the system. In this guise, corruption becomes a form of additional tax which people have to pay to compensate for the low salaries of those who have power, but too little responsibility.

The Lockheed scandals in Europe and Japan a few years ago are interesting, in that the Lockheed Company had obtained United States Government subsidies to avoid having to lay off workers when profits declined. The hand-outs by the company to people who could be instrumental in placing orders from other countries shocked the public. But doubtless the orders obtained by such means gave employment and incomes to those who had to produce the aircraft. The transfer of taxpayers' money from one country to solicit orders from another kept some people in employment: and their earnings kept other industries and services in business. If, then, the recipients of the bribes used the funds for productive purposes in their own countries, the illegal benefits to some had a beneficial fall-out for hundreds of others who were far removed from the corruption itself.

There is nothing new in this. Though money may not change hands, the activities of some lobbyists around the legislatures to obtain influence, to oppose some laws or to promote others, can be highly questionable. Promises of political support can be more valuable than money in some circumstances. Funds invested in the

support of certain parties during elections may have similar consequences when the money is given in anticipation of a future pay-off in terms of an appropriate consideration within the legislature itself. It is instructive to trace the manoeuvring which occurs in the selection of certain sites for airports or highways. Politicians frequently 'buy' their constituents' votes through benefits which they obtain for their electorate by using their influence to promote governmental expenditure on projects within its boundaries. Always, the questionable nature of some of these proceedings would be justified by the benefits accruing to those, who, in the opinion of the politicians, most deserved them. Similar considerations apply to pressures or inducements used to obtain government subsidies or tarrif barriers, tax concessions or official contracts. Always, some section of the population benefits. Whether it is the most deserving or not may be a political question but the economist can impartially trace costs and benefits.

Again, without money payments, there are ways in which people in positions of power are induced to exercise their discretion for the benefit of favourites or to privilege some sections of the population. It has frequently been shown that the leaders of parties or the higher administrators come from the same class in society or have been educated at the same schools or universities. This could be a function of merit, but its persistence leaves a flavour of bias which could be interpreted as a form of nepotism. The fact that most of the criminals who are brought before the courts come from the poorer and least privileged levels of the population has been held to indicate a bias in law enforcement. It implies that the other levels of society are less criminal and this is not true. It is only when white collar and corporate crime are brought into the picture that the balance is restored: but unfortunately the appropriate means for bringing all such respectable offenders to court have not yet been devised. So it looks as if a kind of favouritism prevails.

Economic Crime

A society's crime problem is not wholly definable in terms of values, moral norms and deviations. It also grows out of the social structure and derives from the way in which the means of

production are ordered and organised. The established levels of different sections of society; the status positions, roles, classes, castes; the question of whether prestige is acquired by effort or prescribed by birth; the significance of wealth; or the role ascribed to hard work; earnings and the distribution of the benefits of production; the relative importance of competition and cooperation; the scope for ambition and personal initiative — all these are intricately interwoven in the types of behaviour and misbehaviour which predominates in a given society at a given time. For this reason the two questions of crime and development are not easy to separate. There is an overlap and feed back, an interpenetration which makes the one understandable only in terms of the other.

Crime is no great public issue in a simple, small, relatively static, homogenous and competition-free community. It acquires a more serious demeanour as populations grow, mobility increases and the division of labour is more intricately subdivided. Stealing, robbery, fraud, extortion and false pretences abound in an acquisitive social and economic system such as we associate with modern business and industrialisation. At the same time black marketeering and back-door influence flourish where socialistic planning imposes quotas, price controls and all kinds of consumer restrictions. Malicious damage to crops, stock theft and crimes of honour are typical where the land is the predominant unit of value, where marriages serve to enlarge family property holdings as, for example, in a peasant society.

The pattern of the economy determines to a large extent the amounts and types of crime likely to be prevalent. It follows then that a transition from one level of production to another will have its effect upon the quantity and the nature of crime which one might expect. Without examining the types of individuals who commit crime, their personal problems and circumstances, we can predict that by changing the economy we will affect the nature of crime and we may be sure on the basis of our experience that if the population grows and industrialisation is pursued, then crime will increase and will probably become more serious in character.

Recent focus on the way that transnational corporations operate between the laws of different countries to export profits and avoid taxation or to take advantage of different levels of living,

has promoted the study of international economic crime. At the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Geneva in 1975, an Indian Professor of Economics, Professor Naqvi, defined crimes against the economy as any crimes which have a detrimental effect on output, employment or distribution. Thus, activities within a country or between countries which have the effect of reducing the productivity of any one country, or which reduce the opportunities for employment or distort the patterns of distribution, are suitable phenomena for the criminal label.

Another quite simple way of expressing this would be to criminalise those economic operations which export the benefits, whilst leaving within a country the costs of such operations. This could have interesting implications. Obviously the devices used by some of the transnational corporations would qualify for outlawry on this basis. But the successive oil crises provoked by the raising of prices by the oil producing countries could fall into the same classification, since benefits are abstracted from some countries for the benefit of others. In the ensuing inflation, however, the real costs are borne by those least able to afford it, namely those on fixed incomes or pensions. Unemployment grows, the distribution of benefits is distorted and the effects upon the output of a large number of countries are obvious.

The large international banks and financial corporations able to swill huge amounts of money from one country to another with serious detrimental effect upon the value of currencies is, in effect, a forced transfer of incomes from some countries to others. But, more especially, it transfers the incomes of people in countries least able to afford it for the benefit of those with enough money to make that income earn more money.

Here is an operation which, these days, even governments are powerless to control. There was a time when central or national banks were in a position to correct such flows – or to promote them for the good of the country – but this is no longer true. The enormously wealthy international financial cartels can swell their own incomes by transferring currencies regardless of the effects on the poorer wage earners; there are also consequential effects on output and employment. In my view this is crime – the worst kind of highway robbery since it reverses the Robin Hood example of taking from the rich to give to the poor. It deliberately takes

from the poor to further enrich the rich. And the national or central banks are powerless to prevent this. It is a crime which we have still to learn how to prevent — both nationally and internationally. Obviously in any consideration of future crime, these international operations in both trade and currencies are more serious and damaging than the personal offences and thefts which at present occupy most of our attention.

Implications for Planning to Prevent Crime

This relatively brief account of the enormous subject of crime and economics indicates the way in which the planning process itself can be criminally subverted by the unscrupulous and well organised economic interests. The fact that they are supported by some of the best legal minds makes it difficult for the law itself to deal with it.

The very institutionalisation of the law allows a corresponding institutionalisation of law evasion — so that we see the more conspicuous prosecutions for corporate crime resulting in long drawn out court cases. These can go on for years and can include interminable appeals on fine points of law which, in effect, defeat the ends of justice. The recent prosecution for monopoly of one large transnational corporation in the United States has been protracted for years (during which time the alleged monopoly continues to amass profits sufficient to cover all legal charges with a substantial remainder). It seems that subsequently the very government lawyer who had initiated the charges, but who had now retired from public office, was briefed by the transnational corporation to take over and lead its defence. This is not to say that the charge will be proved or to prejudge in any way an issue is still *sub judice:* but it is clear that if there is anything in the charge of monopoly, the extended hearings make the costs of prosecution exhorbitant for the state and the outcome so delayed as to become eventually irrelevant. Since planners have to be concerned with costs and benefits, the value of expending enormous resources with such little effect may well counsel against the undertaking of such prosecutions.

The economics of crime and crime prevention may mean that sometimes, for wider social benefits. it may be necessary (in a plan)

to accept the possibility of crime — simply because to do otherwise (that is, to try to prevent) would be more costly for the community than the crime itself. On the other hand, the purely economic view may be impossible to accept because of the sheer injustice of allowing the crime to continue. There will obviously have to be a political, rather than an economic decision in such cases.

Planners have to be aware of the benefits as well as the costs of crime. Crime is the price of freedom and it may be that a viable, free, mobile society can only be achieved by allowing some scope for movement and adaptation which carries the risk of crime. This by no means precludes the need at all levels of planning for cost-benefit analyses. It is always necessary for planners to know how resources will be used and to be aware of what has to be paid for the achievement of planning objectives. It may be too expensive to take full account of the requirements for defensible space: but in assessing the expense, the costs of crime have to be considered.

It should be obvious that the traditional economic models which incorporate assumptions about human behaviour need to be radically altered to take account of the economic consequences of crime.

6 Physical Planning and Crime Prevention[1]

W. Clifford

In a recent publication for the United Nations I called crime 'the shadow of our civilisation'.[2] But what is civilisation? Ruskin found its meaning by looking backwards when he wrote that:

> Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts, the book of their deeds, the book of their words and the book of their arts. . . but of the three the only trustworthy one is the last.

I think he was missing a great dimension, namely the book of a nation's crimes, which are unlikely to be called 'deeds' or 'arts' but help to determine the distribution of wealth. Such crimes lie buried in the foundations of those great monuments by which we identify a civilisation. The perennial significance of crime means that it is a true reflection of human achievement and not readily dismissible as an occasional aberration. Crimes may be hidden away or hallowed by their very success: they are either interred or relabelled. Unacknowledged, disguised, disowned, shunned, they are none the less a major part of social history and human achievement. They are always there darkening the temples, tarnishing the pyramids and haunting the naves of great cathedrals. It is no accident that Kenneth Clark has said:

> One of the best places to get the flavour of fifteenth century Florence is the old prison and hall of justice, the Bargello, because it not only contains great works of the Florentine imagination like the David, but also the portraits of famous Florentines.[3]

For the Renaissance was the time when assassination took place during the Mass, when poison served ambition and life was cheap. The Renaissance meant as much plotting as progress, as much murder as magnificence and a wealth based, all too often, on rich corruption and blatant dispossession. Bertrand de Jouvenal,

looking forward rather than backwards, pointed out that eighteenth century western society found its expression in clearly-formed values as well as material and immaterial forms. He contrasts this with modern society which, he says, manifests itself in constant flux, the value of a building being derived from the flux of services it can render during a given span of years and he says:

> On this basis one would never have built cathedrals. Ours is a society which does not plant oak trees but resin-producing trees or poplars. . . A permanent cultural revolution is inherent in it.[4]

And de Jouvenal argues that the new 'ephemeral civilisation' needs a sense of direction and meaning.

Yet the value-oriented civilisations of earlier years are as characterised by their crime as by their creativity. In violence, drug trafficking, corporate offences, currency manipulation and highly sophisticated computer frauds, crime strides way ahead of our traditional systems of police, courts and corrections. Modern crime does not merely reflect the shape of society — it actually helps to mould that shape. It determines the investment of resources on crime prevention and control which could be better employed in productive enterprise; it affects our prices and insurance rates as risks are covered; it makes people move from some areas to live in others; it re-distributes wealth by its operations on the stock exchange or in currencies and it can also organise to influence legislation.

So I seem to spend most of my time trying to convince both the public and policy makers that crime is normal, not abnormal, that we have more offenders than are ever caught, that generally it pays and that it represents a greater burden on our economy than the $4,000 million deficit. This is not to say that it is all loss, because it often has good — even if not fair — investment consequences, once the illegal redistribution of wealth has concentrated wealth in undeserving pockets.

Crime is an aspect of nearly all development. We don't often acknowledge this but, as Schumpeter, the well-known economist, was fond of repeating, all banking derived from an act which was illegal at the time, that is, making available to borrowers 'funds' which the lender did not really have.[5]

It is of the utmost significance that to this day the law protects possession more than claims of ownership. This grew out of

the more powerful dispossessing the less powerful and then using the law to protect their ill-gotten gains. The legal profession has made 'conveyancing' respectable, but in Shakespearean days to convey was to steal.[6] Mercantilism in England or railway and oil development in America frequently meant the expropriation of land illegally or the exploitation of small holders by sharp practices highly questionable in law. Contracting for roads, bridges, dams, or public housing projects has been typically an arena of dishonesty and corruption with firms 'in the know' able to tender successfully or with low quotations representing specifications which could only be met by the use of substandard materials. Not infrequently lives have been lost when structures collapsed perhaps years later, when it was difficult to assign responsibility. Always the governments dragged along behind trying to close the stable door of legal protection after the criminal steed had bolted with all the profits. Corruption we always deplore. It has frequently hindered economic productivity by undermining incentives: but it has also, at times, been a necessary lubricant for a ponderous bureaucracy which could never operate without it: and corruption, as well as organised crime, has often concentrated funds for developmental investment. So that crime and development are notorious bedfellows when the record is read without its usual historical internments of the discreditable chapters.

Planning Generally

With this kind of background, planning of any kind which ignores crime is totally unrealistic. It is not only the economic and social planners, who drew up almighty national plans for Iran, Uganda, Pakistan and so many other countries, but failed to grant even a nodding recognition to the negative forces at work right under their professional noses: it is also Herman Kahn and the Club of Rome: and now a new book called *Europe 2000* which begins with the words:

Europe has no idea where it is going, but its going there fast.

The book is the outcome of the international and interdisciplinary cooperation of more than 200 European experts. It runs through a whole gamut of ingenious scenarios for the future, but,

as usual, it fails to acknowledge the possible depredation of crime which has already outgrown the official services for its control.[7] It is all so unrealistic — a bit like designing a house without plumbing — because that deals with negative by-products — or like gardening as if weeds did not exist. It is all the more incredible when we remember that these plans are drawn by people who read newspapers, watch television and share with us all the dramas of hijacking or the fear of nuclear power getting into the wrong hands.

Planning to prevent crime begins with the allocation of national resources. Every cabinet decision on the allocation of resources has criminogenic implications. Medibank frauds and the dishonest milking of social welfare benefit schemes were not difficult to forecast. Telecommunication offences can already be foreseen and to some extent technically forestalled. Crime growing out of the support for industry or agriculture or the investments in our social infrastructure can be mapped and prevented.

However, it is important to make the point that planning is not and should not be mainly for crime prevention: it has wider objectives related to the quality of life. Sometimes the crime likely to occur may have to be tolerated, accepted in the interests of a more important objective. That is understandable, but it should never be neglected or go unrecognised. There will be no virtue in a materially secure and aesthetically attractive existence which cannot be enjoyed because of fear of crime.

Physical Planning — Land Use

Within the complex of precedures for planning crime prevention, there is a special need to look closely at physical planning beginning perhaps with land use and abuse. The different ways in which land can be used invite both legitimate and illegitimate interests. It is gratifying to see that Doxiadis has been including crime prevention in his human settlement planning in recent years, though as yet it is only partially developed. We can, I believe, leave behind us the limited perspectives of the British Buchanan Report which defined its environment in terms of:

> . . . the general comfort, convenience and aesthetic quality of the physical surrounding for living.

Physical planners are now aware that there is much more to it than this. From a crime prevention point of view, the problems begin when the area scheduled for development has to be acquired by purchases of land by the Development Corporation. Advance information, deliberate collusion to have certain tracts of land incorporated and a manipulation of prices begins to distinguish the businessman who is not averse to contravening the law from the one who is more scrupulous. It is at this point that buying with knowledge from people less informed can amount to dispossession. Perhaps we have not yet legislated against all such sharp practices, so that there is a grey area within which crime cannot be proved, but it would be naive to imagine that all of this manoeuvring before the public money is spent does not include some very illegal proceedings.

How to prevent this? Law enforcement agencies are, as yet, poorly equipped to get into this arena which is, in any event, a preserve of some of the best legal minds. The laws indeed may not be our best protection, because the institutionalisation of law enforcement leads to the exploitation of that institutionalisation, to defeat the objective of enforcement. We see this when technicalities or procedural distinctions are used to disrupt the flow of justice — as effectively as any union 'working to rule' protracts and inhibits the routine of economic and social life. Remedies have to be built into good management in the shape of public disclosure and accountability. There will be some power play. This is evident in the number of airports developed on totally unsuitable sites. Leonardo da Vinci airport in Rome and Dallas airport outside Washington, as well as the new Narita airport far outside Tokyo, have fascinating political antecedents for those who may be interested in who is likely to profit most from this type of land use.

It is no accident that land law is the most complicated branch of legal practice. Water and mineral rights, distinctions between use and ownership, rights of way, the legal differentiation of owner, tenant, licensee, occupier, to mention only a few, are facets of land law which have made and lost fortunes over the years. There can be no surprise that apparently simple issues of Aboriginal land rights in this country bid fair to keep the courts and the legal profession busy for many years to come. Correspondingly, land use decisions will be fraught with implications not lost

on the unscrupulous and which can only be offset by the most careful forms of public accountability and open dealings.

The concept of optimal land use has a circumstantial and temporal framework which modern feasibility studies and evaluations or cost-benefit techniques can never wholly resolve. This is where even criminal activities can ultimately be beneficial. Land diverted to ownership or possession quite illegally can be vigorously exploited for profit and eventually prove so economically productive or socially beneficial that the rights and wrongs of any original methods of possession may become almost incidental. The questionable origin or development of decisions to use land for agriculture, airports, communications, aesthetic purposes, industrial or residential building can be redeemed by the passage of time. The project for the building of the Egyptian pyramids would never have survived a modern feasibility study, but some 5,000 years later the Pharoahs are contributing annually to the Egyptian budget. But the effect of time on land use is such that the optimal is likely to change. Imagine a confidence trickster clever enough to persuade the appropriate government that he owned a part of the Antarctic and if they bought it from him for an airport, he would develop an airline service. When he had disappeared and the authorities were faced with a useless airport, it is likely that someone would come up with the bright idea that, since the airport was there, they might as well use it as a satellite tracking station or a communications centre. As this grew in importance, the planes might begin to fly out to supply the station and before long, someone would be saying what a far-sighted decision it was to build an airport there. Crime would not only have paid, but would have had long term economic returns to the community.

Conversely, as so many ruins have demonstrated, an optimal use of land can be overtaken by events. The Aswan Dam outranked in desirability the ancient treasures of Luxor. Game parks had to be sacrificed for the Kariba Dam in Zambia. The land reclamation of the former was open to considerable abuse when the benefits had to be distributed. In the latter case there were windfall benefits to properties along the shores of the river above and below the dam and vast government schemes for the resettlement of the displaced tribes and new rich farmers provided opportunities for the unscrupulous. In Cyprus, after the 1953 earthquake, the government rehoused on safer ground those whose houses had

been destroyed, but they retained their old land and rebuilt their houses as additional property which could be used as dowries for the daughters to be married. It is highly questionable whether those dangerous properties could thereafter be legally sold, but doubtless some of them were sold. Of course during the relief period there were many who, by misrepresenting their circumstances, obtained benefits they did not deserve. So any change in land use is criminogenic, that is, it can throw up opportunities for crime.

Social and Architectural Determinism

Planning for crime prevention should not mean the adoption of any theory of architectural or social determinism. It cannot be said that if this or that kind of environment is provided crime will be predictably less. The ramifications of human adaptability and adjustment, no less than the well established evidence from a variety of new towns and regional development schemes that people do not do what environments suppose they will do, should dissipate any such confidence that behaviour modification is a simple question of residential, neighbourhood, commercial or industrial design. But we must still keep this in perspective because, if architectural and environmental decisions do not determine human behaviour, neither do the economic or social decisions we make in industry, agriculture, health, education or welfare. None of these can be linked directly with crime: but none can be exonerated: each makes a contribution.

However, planning is less deterministically conceived than it used to be. Experience has generated a greater humility. The authors of the South Hampshire Study observed that planning was becoming:

> Less and less a matter of precise propositions committed to paper and more and more a matter of ideas and policies loosely assembled under constant review within which every now and then some project is seen to be as ready for execution as human judgement can pronounce.

Similarly the social scientists who have been helping with planning and development have moved away from the simple idea that it is only a matter of time before social behaviour can be

predicted and rationally controlled. Gestalt psychology, mathe-matical constructs or Malinowski's idea of human needs which were all pressed into service are now less in vogue; and the many hopeful approaches to the task of predicting delinquency are now less confidently advanced. We have to plan for change — hence the more recent popularity of futuristics and future scenarios. But so many of these have been proved woefully wrong by events and have had to be so rapidly reconstructed in a radically different form that we cannot use them with any great assurance.

This recognition of our own limitations and life's imponder-ables is both healthy and instructive, but it can be carried too far. If planning means anything at all, it means making assumptions based on evidence and experience and ultimately there has to be a commitment.

Planning to prevent crime means, therefore, anticipating in so far as this is possible the shape, size and quality of future crime. Some of the major transnational, corporate and organised criminal operations will, as already shown, be large enough and powerful enough to influence the planning process itself. Some preventatives of new technical crime can be built into the computers and communications systems, although we have still a long way to go before this will be done as a matter of course. For the rest, we are trying to walk into the future backwards — seeking to improve the quality of life by trying to learn from past mistakes. Already we can see what we might have been doing 20 or 30 years ago to prepare for the crime we have now. Hindsight is not foresight but I believe that experience shows that it goes 50 per cent of the way.

Defensible Space

The term 'defensible space' emerged from a group studying ghetto life at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri in 1964. They began a study of life in the notorious Pruitt-Igoe public housing project, looking at the possible effects of the architectural setting on problems of the community, including crime and vandalism. Ever since the Chicago School of Shaw and McKay had attracted attention to the idea of 'delinquency areas' in the early 1930s, there had been a fascination with geographical criminology. Why was there less crime in rural than urban areas? Why in certain

slum areas more than others? Why sometimes in some streets within slum areas more than others? Why from the brand new slum clearance housing estates? Above all, why did the same areas of New York produce crime whether inhabited by Italians, Irish, blacks or Puerto Ricans. The physical planning to prevent crime arose from such questioning. The St. Louis team merely made it a more specific reference to buildings, some of which, in one block, housed nearly all the families from an earlier 'delinquency area'.

Two sociologists,[8] two architects[9] and personnel of the Police Academy at St. Louis sought to isolate the physical features which made for secure homes in the midst of a high degree of risk and insecurity. They looked closely at the rare examples of apparently integrated and secure groups of dwellings within the Pruitt-Igoe complex. They discovered that the positioning of certain apartments led to a feeling of responsibility for the spaces shared between the dwellings — and to joint efforts to protect and maintain it.

These islands in the sea of crime and insecurity were conceptualised by the occupiers in virtual 'siege' terms as they combined to protect and maintain them against intruders. Hence the idea of a space which was defensible against criminals, vandals and intruders. Gradually the idea of built-in risks caught on and it was discovered that the brownstone buildings in New York (never more than three or four stories high and in which separate tenants had to share amenities and take personal responsibilities) had typically lower rates of victimisation than the high rise apartment buildings. Ultimately Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis had to be abandoned and demolished because crime, neglect and destruction made it completely untenable as a residential area. What should have been an attractive example of improved urban living for low income groups had been converted to an abomination. But, by that time, the U.S. President's Safe Streets Act of 1968 provided funds for long term studies and in 1972 Oscar Newman, now Director of the Institute of Planning and Housing at New York University, with funds provided by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, published the results of a study which he had conducted with a group of architects, psychologists, sociologists, city planners and statisticians.[10] This had comprised on-site studies in 15 major cities of the United States. With private funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, about

20 new and existing multi-family complexes involving 11,000 housing units in New York City were modified to test the validity of the defensible space hypothesis. Also 7,500 units of housing in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Newark and Minneapolis decided to adopt the Newman recommendations. Very simply, Newman postulates that residential crime can be reduced by designing houses and apartment blocks in such a way that occupants can readily watch for and control any criminal activity. He looks to design to generate feelings of possession and territoriality, encouraging residents to police their own areas.

As a background to the recommendations made, it should be noted that New York, like many of the major cities, maintains not only the regular city police, but also housing police forces, school police forces, transit police forces, airport police forces — quite apart from the vast array of private security companies operating to serve banks, companies, commercial enterprises and private citizens. Many of the more expensive apartment buildings maintain their own doormen, guards and dog patrols. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice carried out extensive surveys which showed that across the United States no less than 50 per cent of the people had changed their life styles radically because of the fear of crime. They avoided strangers, did not go out at night and moved their homes for greater safety — besides investing heavily in the siege-type security industry.

It should also be mentioned that Newman did not invent the concept of territoriality in residential design. In 1961 Elizabeth Wood, who was at that time with the Chicago Housing Authority, observed that housing project managers could never hire enough janitors, policemen, guards, caretakers and groundsmen to pick up after or stop the vandalism of hostile groups or the indifference of tenants. So she worked on better and more fulfilling environments for the low income housing residents.[11] She worked for, *inter alia*, the improvement of visibility, so that children's recreation and adult sitting areas would be overlooked by apartment windows. She also advocated planned 'loitering' areas for teenagers, shopping areas with outside benches were also to be pressed into service as a form of informal supervision to cut down vandalism. Miss Woods also wanted selected tenants to be responsible for knowing everything about their floors or immediate neighbours.

Another forerunner of the defensible space concept was Jane

Jacobs. Again in 1961, she was pointing out that a city street is populated with strangers and that these are controlled if they are quickly known or their unusual behaviour observed. So she called for residents in the commercial areas, shops and entertainments, so that there would be more life and, therefore, more security. She was able to show that some of the poorest, densest and oldest neighbourhoods such as Boston's West End or the Back-of-the-Yards in Chicago had lower crime rates. So she advocated diversity of use, street play and play areas near homes.[12]

Some years later, Schlomo Angel took the view that the presence of the police was the best deterrent of crime, so that planning should provide for this. He argued that high intensity use means police and many witnesses but low crime. Low intensity use means few potential victims, so low crime. In between there is an intermediate zone with enough victims, few witnesses and, therefore, high crime rates.[13] He never proved this interesting hypothesis, but proceeded to propose schemes for high intensity 'evening squares', serviced by mass transport and adequate parking. Here planning would provide for activities and surveillance, as well as pedestrian traffic, so that it would become difficult to commit crime. Such evening centres would link low activity areas, thus eliminating the dangerous medium activity regions of the cities. This plan was heavily weighted on police as the main witnesses: it ignored the likelihood of crime deterred in the high activity areas moving to the low activity areas. It also divided rather than united neighbours. By contrast Newman's concept is one of territoriality as well as surveillance.

So Newman and his group concentrated on target hardening, trying to incorporate ordinary everyday policing functions into the unconscious routine life of residents of particular buildings — by means of appropriate physical design, that is, by grouping dwelling units, by limiting the channels of movement around and between the houses or units, by defining areas of activity and juxtapositioning them with other areas. In general, the approach to space between buildings is to make it semi-private and so used and surveyed by residents that strangers are conspicuous and likely to be challenged.

The range of possibilities is as wide as the ingenuity of the designers. A complex of 624 low-middle income housing units in Harlem, built at a density of 170 units to the acre, with parking

facilities at a rate of 0.4 cars per unit, has had a low incidence of crime since it was opened in 1968. Here, at the entry to a unit, a person has to walk up a few steps past individual outdoor patios to get to the door of the apartment. There is an arrangement of two high-rise slabs in juxtaposition. The slabs contain duplex apartments, so that their outside corridors face each other across a common play area and community area built on the roof of a two storey garage, separated from surrounding city streets and accessible only from within the project. The outdoor access corridors of the two 10 storey slabs face each other across this common recreational deck. Lobby and elevator waiting areas front onto a busy street behind large plate-glass panels. There is, therefore, ample opportunity to survey the area before entering and to feel under surveillance once inside. There is T.V. surveillance in the elevators and there had been no vandalism of T.V. cameras and elevator lights in the first few years.

At North Beach Place, San Francisco, a two storey motel-type complex provides for corridors which are open and which look into the central area used for both parking and recreation. Apartment wings face each other across this central area.

There is a great deal of work to be done on defensible space in Australia. Street lighting, underpasses one can see right through, public toilets not too secluded, building standards which incorporate basic protection − all these are known. But we do not yet have the research information for crime according to style of building or residential area. We cannot say − as Newman could in 1972 − that crime rises with the height of the buildings and in one group of buildings in New York, buildings six stories or more with more than 1,000 units have the most severe problem. We often do not yet know with any precision the crime prone areas, still less can we pin victimisation down to particular housing design. Yet we do know that more crime comes from housing commission areas and tends to be committed in the more commercial areas.

Physical Planning other than Defensible Space

Crime prevention is not exhausted by the concept of defensible space, however useful this may be. Defensible space seeks to make neighbours known to each other by sight, so that strangers

will quickly be noticed and their activities witnessed. But community action and community attitudes are the most effective informal prophylactics for crime. Without these, even the police forces cannot work. Therefore, quite apart from considerations of controlled access, surveillance, territoriality and protection covered by the idea of defensible space, we can say that the efforts of physical planners to encourage the development of more integrated communities will be crime-inhibitive. Here there has to be the judicious mix between privacy and sharing, but it is worthwhile always considering the kind of structures and installations which will unite as well as those which may divide.

Thin walls are a good example of this. Obviously no one wants to live in a unit or apartment in which the neighbour can hear every word; but on the other hand the divisions should not be so soundproofed that an intruder could use a Howitzer without being heard. Joint services like sanitation, drainage, meters or main water controls should be placed with a view not only to convenience in an emergency, but to their possible access for those who wish to make mischief — and to their significance as a cause of conflict or disputes between neighbours.

Ease of policing and escape are considerations which can be studied when streets or vulnerable buildings are being planned. If it is no less costly to make an area more convenient for the police, this should be considered. The privacy versus sharing problem comes up again when fencing or hedges are being considered. Too much privacy can promote indifference to the fate of a neighbour: too little can be itself a cause of animosities and the kind of neighbourly quarrels which can lead to assaults and even serious crime.

The way in which parks cannot be used and in which trees, bushes or gardens have become as menacing as they are aesthetic presents a challenge for designers, planners and law enforcement agencies. It is no accident that these have offered opportunities for crime with a minimal risk of discovery. Nor can it be held that it all depends upon the quality of the community and its behaviour for this is something not separate at all from the law enforcement policies and the forms of planning. Central Park, New York, is the usual example of an amenity which has become so dangerous that no ordinary citizen will risk using it at certain times: it is left to marauders or those strong enough or organised

enough to protect themselves against the worst. These days muggings are so common there that they go unreported. However, it is sobering to remember that something similar, if not quite so bad, can be said of the public park in Helsinki, where stands the Sebelius monument; and Telopea Park, Canberra, is not as free to use as many might think.

How do we deal with this? Are we to be deprived of such amenities? Are we to provide them with expensive police patrols? We cannot afford the flood lighting that may be useful because, apart from its cost, this might ruin the amenity. Perhaps we should seek to populate the amenities in such a way that they cannot be used too freely by offenders. There may be ways of ensuring that certain public activities cut down the number of hours of absolute isolation in such places. This is a problem which, as far as I know, has produced few answers so far and none of which have been tested and proved.

Future Planning

We need more information on population distribution, tracking the vulnerable groups, that is, those most likely to be victimised and those most likley to commit crime. If we think in terms of 60,000 abortions a year, the continued use of contraceptives and zero population growth, we may be looking to a period when a more mature population will have less crime. Since most offenders are between 16 and 25 − and usually have been − we may find that, as this age cohort declines in numbers and significance, there will be less crime of the conventional type. If so, planners may need to be looking to those areas of accountability to deter corporate crime and corruption, to forestall computer depredations or to make community settlements more self sufficient. If energy sources are going to be a problem, then mass transport and more community groupings to share resources may mean preparing for different forms of the crime which will surely arise.

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1. This is an abridged version of a paper given to the Royal Institute of Planning on 10 April 1979 − before the opening of the course. There is, therefore, an inevitable overlap but this has been reduced as far as possible.

2. W. Clifford, 'New and Special Problems of Crime: National and Trans-national', *United Nations International Review Criminal Policy No. 32*, 1976.

3. Kenneth Clark *Civilisation*, British Broadcasting Corporation and John Murray, London, 1969, pp. 103-104.

4. Bertrand de Jouvenal *La Civilisation de Puissance*. Fayard, Paris, 1976, p. 151.

5. Talcott Parsons (ed), *et al. Theories of Society*. The Free Press, New York, 1961, Introduction to Part II, Vol. 1, at p. 255.

6. For example, as used in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

7. Peter Hall (ed), *Europe 2000*. Duckwork, London, 1977.

8. Lee Rainwater and Roger Walker.

9. Oscar Newman and Roger Montgomery.

10. *Architectural Design for Crime Prevention*, U.S. Department of Justice, L.E.A.A., National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

11. Elizabeth Wood, *Housing Design. A Social Theory*, Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York Inc., New York, 1961.

12. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Vintage Books, New York, 1961.

13. Schlomo Angel, *Discouraging Crime Through City Planning*. Berkeley, The University of California, 1968.

7 Development and Crime Prevention in Japan

K. Suzuki

National Development Planning and Crime Prevention

The national development plan in the post-war period of Japan began with the enactment of the National Development Law in 1950. This plan was formulated and implemented systematically with close cooperation between the national and local governments, as well as other regional organisations.

Confronted with the concentration of population and industries into a few large urban areas, a New National Comprehensive Development Plan was worked out in 1962 to facilitate the development of local cities and the surrounding areas and to attain greater balance in the development of the whole country. Political stability, together with some traditional characteristics of the Japanese people such as group loyalty, diligence, etc. smoothed the implementation of the development plan and eventually brought about a rapid economic growth and enormous social changes in the late 1960s.

To correct inflexibility in land-use under the plan of 1962 and to further the economic and social development, a Second Comprehensive National Development Plan was formulated in 1969. The implementation of the development programmes under this plan, however, was greatly delayed by the drastic changes in socio-economic conditions, induced by the sharp decline in the United States dollar and the later oil crises. Influential too was the growing awareness of the Japanese of the detrimental effects of environmental pollution and the changes in the quality of life introduced by industrialisation. This forced the Government to re-examine the validity of the second plan's objectives, and a third Comprehensive National Development Plan emerged in 1977. Under the plan, the goal of high economic growth was replaced

by stable economic growth with more and more emphasis on improvements in the quality of life.

It should be noted, however, that none of the Development Plans in the past, not even the Third and latest Plan with its emphasis on the quality of life, paid much attention to the problem of crime prevention. Efficient and effective implementation of social and economic development programmes and projects may have a great impact on crime trends but these are never the products of intentional efforts.

This lack of attention to crime prevention in formal national planning does not mean that there has been no inter-sectoral crime prevention planning or programmes of this kind on the national and regional levels. But it is important to consider changes in the volume of crime in Japan in recent years.

Trends of Crime: Immediately after the war, a rapid increase of crime, especially of property offences, was observed, reflecting the inevitable socio-economic dislocation and cultural confusion. The economic recovery and development which was attained in the ensuing years contributed to the stabilisation of society at large, so that eventually the crime curve declined. The number of non-traffic Penal Code offences known to the police per 100,000 criminally responsible population was 2,995 in 1949, the highest in the post-war period, and then decreased year after year to 1,416 in 1973. Since then, the trend has shown a slight increase, the corresponding number per 100,000 population being 1,437 in 1977. The rising trend of theft cases, especially of minor nature such as shoplifting, bicycle or motorcycle theft, etc., has been responsible for the increases of crime in the last few years. Other categories of crimes, including violent offences, sex offences and such heinous offences as murder and robbery, have been continuously decreasing — with some fluctuations.

The disproportionate increase of automobile accidents, which frequently constituted the Penal Code offence of professional or gross negligence, causing death or bodily injury, became serious in the post-war period and the number known to the police reached a peak in 1970. It should be mentioned in this connection that Japanese courts ruled that all drivers were professionals, so that this section of the penal law, originally intended for doctors or truck drivers, was given wider significance. However, since 1970

this offence also gradually decreased.

Of the total Penal Code offences (including traffic accident cases) known to the police, theft was by far the largest, representing 63 per cent of the total. This was followed by professional or gross negligence causing death or bodily injury (26 per cent), fraud (three per cent), bodily injury including that resulting in death (manslaughter) (two per cent) and 'others' (six per cent). Therefore, the trends of theft and traffic accident cases were major factors in the movement of total Penal Code offences.

Special Offences: As for Special Law offences, violations of the Food Control Law and the Price Control Ordinance constituted the overwhelming majority of such offences in the chaotic post-war period. They accounted for 57.5 per cent of all offenders referred to the Public Prosecutors' Offices in 1947. As already implied, the number of such violations decreased sharply along with the stabilisation of socio-economic conditions.

Against this, the road traffic law violations revealed a sharp increase from 1953. The proportion of traffic violators among the total offenders referred to Public Prosecutors increased dramatically from 0.5 per cent in 1946 to 43.9 per cent in 1953, and to 83.8 per cent in 1965. The adoption of the Traffic Infraction Notification Procedure in 1968, however, made it possible to divert minor traffic law violations from formal legal hearings. The minor cases were left to the police to warn or fine, so that only disputed cases came to the Public Prosecutors. As a result, the corresponding rate dropped to 54.4 per cent in 1969. However, there has been an increase in later years and the percentage rose to 71.4 per cent in 1977. One of the disturbing trends in recent years has been a sharp increase in drug offences, such as the abuse of stimulant drugs and organic solvents like thinners and glues.

In short, it can safely be said that the crime tendency in general has not been serious enough to threaten law and order and the feeling of peace and safety of the general public in Japan, but within this context the increases in minor thefts, the rise in traffic law violations and the increase in drug abuse, require attention. There are also a number of grave symptoms of criminality in Japan such as organised crime, violent crimes of youthful extremists, offences involving pollution, corruption, as well as an upward trend in female and juvenile crime, which from a crime prevention

point of view, command special attention.

Crime Prevention Programmes

The rather stable trends of criminality described above have generally disposed the Government or the planning authorities to feel it unnecessary to pay any special attention to crime prevention. At any rate, the Third National Development Plan is devoid of direct concern with social defence and crime prevention. There have been, however, various forms of crime prevention programmes, both inter-sectoral and sectoral, as well as national, regional and local.

Traffic Safety: Faced with the increasing number of traffic accidents, the Government, as early as 1955, established a Headquarters for Counter Measures Against Traffic Accidents within the Cabinet, with a view to coordinating the programmes of various sectors concerned with traffic safety. This Headquarters was reorganised and transferred to the Prime Minister's Office to strengthen its function to promote traffic safety programmes. Whatever these efforts, they had not proved sufficient, as shown by the rising number of traffic accidents and the heavier toll of lives.

In 1970, the Traffic Safety Measures Basic Law was enacted and a Central Council on Measures for Traffic Safety was established in the Prime Minister's Office, its main function being the formulation of a national plan for preventing traffic accidents and promoting traffic safety. Similar councils were organised in each prefecture and major municipality to deal with local problems. The Basic Plan for Traffic Safety was formulated by the Central Council in 1971 and gave an outline of the measures for traffic safety to be taken during the five year period from 1971 to 1975. Then the administrative organisations and local public bodies concerned prepared their own plans on the basis of the Basic Plan and programmes related to traffic safety were formulated for implementation. The construction and maintenance of roads, installation of traffic safety facilities, the rationalisation of various methods of traffic control and the diffusion of ideas on traffic safety to the public were examples of the projects implemented under the Plan. Law enforcement agencies undertook

responsibility for the structure of organisations responsible for speedy and proper control of traffic, the improved investigation and disposition of traffic violations and the development of special correctional programmes for traffic offenders. It is noteworthy that despite a continuing rise in the number of automobiles, traffic accidents, as well as the death toll, have continuously decreased since 1971. Now the five-year plan has been extended to enhance further traffic safety.

Juvenile Delinquency: In dealing with juvenile delinquency, it is especially necessary to carry out wide-ranging programmes combining the efforts of all services in the criminal justice sector, as well as education, health and other administrative and voluntary sectors concerned with the problems of small children, juveniles and youths. In 1949 Japan established the Central Youth Problem Council as an advisory organ to the Prime Minister within the Cabinet. Prefectural governments also established corresponding prefectural youth problem councils to consider the youth problems in the region and to make recommendations on the measures required to deal with them.

In 1966 the Youth Bureau was instituted in the Prime Minister's Office and was reorganised in 1968 to become the Headquarters for Youth Problems, to serve as an agency for the Central Youth Problem Council and to strengthen its functions. The Headquarters for Youth Problems was expected to formulate basic and comprehensive programmes for the guidance, upbringing, protection and correction of children and juveniles; to coordinate the policies and projects of the different Ministries responsible for health, labour, education, welfare, law enforcement, etc., in relation to children and young persons; and to implement other projects which might not fall into the precise jurisdiction of the respective administrative organs. As regards planning, the staff of the Headquarters serve as executives or provide a secretariat to the Central Youth Problem Council in considering questions and making its recommendations to the Prime Minister. This covers the longer range provisions − planning for the needs of youth generally.

There has been no separate comprehensive national delinquency prevention planning on a short-term basis. Yet regardless of the many efforts made by appropriate services to expand schooling facilities, improve social education, provide training for

leaders in youth groups, widen sports activities, increase the number of playgrounds, clubs and other facilities for children and youth, extend vocational training, develop family counselling and guidance, improve child welfare and foster community environments with guidance for pre-delinquents, etc., the level of juvenile delinquency remained relatively high and tended to increase as compared with the trends in adult offences. It has also been observed that the nature of delinquency has gradually changed and offences are being committed for fun or for the sake of it rather than for gain. This clearly indicates a need for planning. This should include thorough analyses of the various situations, a firm setting of the goals for delinquency prevention, a mobilisation of resources, and the formulation of reasonable and effective programmes to implement and subsequently evaluate. In other words, Japan needs to plan for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Mobilisation of the Public: The mobilisation of the public in crime prevention programmes has been a prominent feature of the efforts to combat crime in Japan. Criminal justice agencies have been very effective in encouraging and promoting public involvement in the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. Other governmental sectors have also sought public cooperation quite extensively — this having become a feature of leadership in politics, economics and social affairs in Japan.

There were about 1,200 Crime Prevention Associations throughout the country in 1977, organised on the basis of the 1,209 police station areas in the same year. These associations are voluntary bodies composed of local residents and cooperate in the crime preventive work of the police. About 540,000 members offer their residences as crime prevention liaison units and try to promote good, close and smooth relations between the community and the police.

In addition, the police have available the Work-Site Crime Prevention Associations organised by groups in the same profession, who feel more or less exposed to crime, for example pawnbrokers, secondhand dealers, hotels and inns, entertainment business, etc. There were 284 associations at the prefectural level, and 10,384 associations at the municipal level in 1977.

There are also the School-Police Liaison Councils and the

Workshop-Police Liaison Councils, which are organised and hold regular meetings at all levels to discuss various matters relating to crime and delinquency prevention. There were more than 2,500 School-Police Councils (with which about 36,400 primary, junior and senior high schools were affiliated) and 1,200 Workshop-Police Councils in 1978.

For the prevention of traffic accidents, a voluntary group known as the Traffic Safety Association has been organised on district, prefectural and national levels and this organisation actively engages in the education of the public in traffic safety. More than 380,000 Voluntary Traffic Safety Workers throughout the country are participating in traffic control on the streets, mainly for the purpose of protecting children from traffic accidents on their way to and from school in each community.

The Juvenile Guidance Centre is an agency established at the local government level to serve as a strategic unit for the coordination of activities for juvenile guidance and delinquency prevention with the participation of administrative agencies, private bodies, as well as volunteers concerned with juvenile problems. Its main activities consist of providing guidance on the street corner to young people who seem to need it, providing counselling for juveniles and parents, working for the elimination of harmful environments, etc. There were 508 Centres and 60,000 voluntary juvenile guidance workers attached to the Centres in 1978. Apart from such voluntary workers, some 36,000 citizens were commissioned by the police as voluntary juvenile guidance workers in the areas where Juvenile Guidance Centres were not established yet and these persons participated actively in the provision of juvenile guidance on the street and in the other activities of the juvenile police in the same year.

In the field of corrections, volunteers are mobilised in both institutional and non-institutional treatment. Voluntary prison visitors numbering approximately 1,000 in the whole country are appointed from among learned or suitable persons in the community by the Director of the Regional Correctional Headquarters. They visit correctional institutions to give counselling, guidance and advice to the inmates on their family, religion, job and other problems in so far as this is requested by the inmates. A total of 1,400 voluntary chaplains are another form of voluntary participation in institutional treatment. They provide leadership for all the

religious activities in the institutions. In the probation and parole services, approximately 47,000 volunteer probation officers have been appointed by the Minister of Justice and they engage in probation and parole supervision and crime prevention activities in the community, working under the guidance of full time Ministry professional staff.

The Big Brothers and Sisters Associations, with some 8,000 members, mostly students and young workers of both sexes between about 20 and 30 years of age, are voluntary organisations contributing to the prevention of delinquency and the rehabilitation of delinquents. The Women's Associations for Rehabilitative Aid are composed of about 210,000 women, with the female volunteer probation officers being the core of the Association. They pay visits to correctional institutions, hold lectures or discussions, organise drives to obtain funds for offenders' rehabilitation, participate in national crime prevention campaigns, etc.

The mobilisation of the public in related sectors should also be taken into account, for example, there are 160,000 volunteers in the welfare and child care services, 10,000 volunteers in the civil liberty agencies, etc. It must be pointed out, however, that the effectiveness of such public mobilisation projects has never been satisfactorily proved. The results of their work have never been so unequivocal as to remove the doubts of some important critics. As far as crime prevention is concerned, there have been very few examples of widespread public movements specifically designed, organised and developed under the initiative of all the concerned citizens of Japan.

Research on Development and Crime Prevention

It is often said that the social changes induced by industrialisation and urbanisation are closely associated with the increase of crime. However, the survey on the rate of non-traffic Penal Code offences known to the police per 1,000 population in 1963 and 1973 in 24 localities, including 15 cities and six districts designated as the industrial development areas under the National Development Plan in 1962, revealed that, although crime increased in 11 areas, it decreased in another 13 areas. It also showed that a decrease of more than the national average decline in crime was

recorded in nine areas. Even in the areas of increased crime, violent offences and sex offences did not show much fluctuation and the increased crime rate was mainly attributed to an increase in minor property offences. It is difficult, therefore, in Japan to find a direct correlation between crime and industrialisation/urbanisation.

More detailed and comprehensive research designed to analyse and disclose the relation between the social change and crime phenomena was conducted by the Research and Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice in the area of Kashima — then being developed as a port — from 1970 to 1975. The initiative for this came from a course on 'Crime and Economic Development' conducted in 1966 by Mr W. Clifford, then the Senior United Nations Adviser to the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in Tokyo. The hope was to obtain the information necessary for crime prevention planning in developing areas.[1]

The Kashima area is located on the Pacific coast about 80 kilometres north-east of Tokyo and had often been referred to as an isolated inland island before the development project started, owing mainly to its sparse population and the inconvenience of communications, in spite of the relatively short distance from the metropolitan area. It was in 1960 that the Governor of the Ibaraki Prefecture announced the development plan of the Kashima area. It was designated as one of the industrial development areas in 1963 and drew much attention due to its large-scale development project aiming at the establishment of a port to be larger than the port of New York and capable of taking the largest tankers; the development of an industrial area of 3,300 hectares; the construction of a coastal industrial zone consisting of many plants and factories for handling steel, oil, electric power, machine tools, etc.; together with the building of extensive residential areas and the improvement of farming land around the industrial zone. The ultimate goal was one of harmonised development of agriculture and industry to emancipate the inhabitants from poverty.

The Kashima crime research project contained comprehensive surveys on various factors relating to social changes, trends of crime and delinquency, and the progress of development in the area. Some of the research findings are as follows:

Industrial Development: About two thirds of the 61 industrial enterprises which had decided to extend their businesses to this area had begun their operations by 1975. Some delay was occasioned by the economic depression after 1973. It was calculated at the outset of the Development Plan that the population in the area would grow from some 57,000 in 1963 to 150,000 in 1975, but actual population growth by 1975 did not exceed 90,000. Consistent with the progress of industrialisation and urbanisation in the area, the population engaged in the primary industry showed a great decrease, while by contrast, the population in the secondary and the tertiary industries showed a marked increase.

Social Development: Public utilities such as water supply, telephones, etc., had been expanding, while essential professional services such as those of physicians, dentists, etc., had remained rather static. In the sphere of education, culture, etc., the progress was considered to be slow compared with the demographic and economic expansion. It has become clear that insufficient attention was paid to educational and cultural needs in the planning stages of the development project. In particular, the pace was slow in adult education, pupil guidance, etc. When the teachers of junior high schools were surveyed, they claimed that desirable changes caused by the development were best seen in the economic improvements – in living standards and living conveniences. Increasing public conern for the inadequate public education and for undesirable changes in society was reflected in the emerging public nuisances and increased pollution, in the decreasing safety in daily life, in the corruption of public morality, in the spiritual desolation and in the decline of cooperation in the home and in educational functions. The attitudes and behaviour patterns of junior high school students did not always show definite modification correlated with the process of urbanisation, but there was a growing delinquent subculture associated with various deviant behaviour patterns, especially in those areas where urbanisation had been most rapidly and remarkably changing all aspects of the young people's lives. Due to the influx of labour with the transfer of factories and plant, there had also been a considerable proportion of migrants showing quite different social and moral attitudes from those of the indigenous families – together with a growing number of native inhabitants who were drawn closer

together in their attitudes towards the migrants.

Crime Trends: The number of all Penal Code offences known to the police and their rate to the population showed a rapid increase between 1962 and 1971. There were notable increases in the crimes of theft and professional or gross negligence causing death or injury during the same period. Since 1972, however, these two categories of crimes have been on the decrease and it has, therefore, been assumed that crime in the Kashima area has been transforming its nature from an initial confusion with the development of urban-type deviancy, to a more stable pattern of area crime in 1975, which corresponded more or less to the figures for crime in other Japanese cities of similar population size. No rapid change has been recorded in juvenile offences, though there has been observed a slightly upward trend, with fluctuations, in the centre of the area of development.

Efforts had been made to augment and strengthen the police force in Kashima during the period of development, but they were outstripped by the increase in offences from 1963 to 1971. This meant an increase in the workload for the police officers engaged in the investigation of crimes and, in turn, a rapid decline in the clearance rate of crimes during the period. The situation has been improved since 1972. The Prefectural Government set up a project team for social defence in an effort to solve the various problems arising from social changes in 1970. The team did not go so far beyond presenting a number of recommendations for social defence planning; and after intensive examination and discussion for several months, it failed to provide any concrete idea of how to formulate the social defence programmes and projects at the administrative level.

Organisations for crime prevention were eventually established, with the active cooperation and participation of inhabitants, by the police and other government agencies, so as to cope with crime situations resulting from the process of development in the area. It was clear that citizens who participated in these crime prevention activities tended to belong to the older age groups and were mainly people of the primary industry groups such as farmers and fishermen. Migrants' attitudes toward the participation in crime prevention were by and large negative or apathetic.

The analyses on the cost of crime, including public and private expenditure for crime prevention and law enforcement and losses which the victims of crime suffered, revealed that crime imposed a very heavy economic burden, not only on the society as a whole, but also on the inhabitants of the particular locality.

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1. As these proceedings go to press, we are notified that the Japanese police have initiated a campaign of crime prevention based on the theme 'Let's Build a City Where Crimes are Difficult to Commit, Rather Than Pursuing Criminals After They've Committed Their Crimes'. This can be traced directly to the Japanese interest in planning crime prevention developing from the course on 'Crime and Economic Development' by Mr W. Clifford in 1966.

- **Editor's note**

8 Sectoral Planning for the Criminal Justice System

J.A. Montero Castro

Introduction

Crime is as old as humanity but the environment can constrain or encourage its expression.

The technological developments, the extension of the mass media to the remotest regions of the planet, industrialisation, the mobilisation of capital and labour as well as the myriad temptations to commit both petty and corporate crime which are offered by a consumer society seem to be developing a new and more extensive climate conducive of criminality.

The vast increases in education, contrary to expectations, have not always improved behaviour. They can, if not properly guided, lead not only to achievement but to the kind of unrestrained ambition associated with illegality and corruption. Even science, with its very precise functions, and art with its abstractions, have not been immune from venality and questionable conduct. In other words, every feature of human existence has its criminogenic potentiality. Why is it so?

Can it be, as some philosophers and writers have maintained, that man is essentially evil, and therefore, today or tomorrow, here or there, one will find the manifestation of that fundamental principle of human nature?

This could be the basis for a more profound study of human behaviour, but, although it is definitely related to our problems, we will leave any such deeper psychological and ethical study to those more qualified in these fields. We are more concerned here with identifying trends and responsibilities for the expansion of traditional crimes, and emergence of new forms of crime reflecting the special conditions of our own times.

To control crime or to prevent it, one must study the different

cohorts of the population, their size and characteristics, and the way in which crime is related to population changes and pressures. We must also look at the economic and social conditions which pertain. We are concerned here in this course to integrate the planning of crime control into the national planning for the economy and for the society at large.

It has too often been assumed by officials and specialists in this field that crime is an isolated problem. Now, little by little, understanding grows of the inter-relation of all human activities, the interdependence of social activities, the responsibility carried by all sectors of the population for the problem of crime as a source of damage to society as a whole.

We cannot be too technical or objective about our analysis of this very human problem. Any scientific approach has to be combined with a very conscientious and humane attitude, so as not to eliminate sensibility in a matter that deals with people as human beings.

Each sector of the society or the economy has to be separately considered as well as combined with other sectors in its total effect. Just as a surgeon takes off, one by one, the layers of epidermis, veins, and muscles while he is operating, or like an artist who, with a few strokes, transforms a slab of marble or a strip of canvass into a masterpeice, the separate elements in our problem have to be isolated and then integrated. Our planning must be both sectoral and inter-sectoral.

It is very difficult to understand the position of some governments, whose major concern is economic development and who do not take into consideration that an economy is nothing without the proper attention to the social consequences of crime. They do not seem to appreciate that development, in itself, brings a negative reaction not measurable in economic terms.

Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system extends to all aspects of the human being in contact with the law. It covers the judiciary, the police, the custody of offenders and other corrective services as well as the related laws.

If society were perfect, no crime would be committed. Life

would be peaceful and always in harmony. But that, as we well know, is not the case. Utopia cannot be confused with our life in the twentieth century — where knowledge and ignorance, culture and barbarism, satiety and hunger, abundance and poverty, cruelty and meekness, are all inextricably mixed together.

As a consequence, sometimes offenders mingle with their victims. mass media make heroes out of rascals, society pays homage to millionaires, whose money may be stained with blood and suffering, wisdom is mocked and foolishness is exalted. The time comes when the honest, the chaste and the devoted are outmoded and even ridiculed. Life belongs — it would seem — to those devoid of human and moral principles.

Wealth has given a passport to all excesses, which being graced with the power of money, are absolved, forgiven or ignored.

Huge corporations suffocate small enterprises — family businesses whose only fault is to be small, or to be in the way of a chain of markets. hotels, restuarants, etc., have to go. White collar and especially corporate crime is — if not forgiven — forgotten or covered by a web of legal and technical terms, whose end result is protracted legal proceedings, which they can well afford, and often the ultimate acquittal of the people involved.

The network of the criminal justice system has to be serviced by capable and honest people whose presence will guarantee the efficiency of the services rendered. Good and solid institutions are not enough. They need the right people to promote their good principles. Additionally, these types of agencies need independence from political authorities so that their judgment is not stained by political considerations.

Penal laws should be based upon a thorough knowledge of the fundamental values of the country. The valuable experience of other nations should be shared, but any law must be in accordance with society's fundamental ethics and represent its national characteristics and its traditions. Therefore, any law written should take into consideration, not only the country from which it comes, but the country to which it will be applied. This is especially important for the Third World trying to operate on imported laws.

Probation and the discretion in dealing with offenders has its roots in the Code of Hammurabi. All over the world Roman Law and its derivative, the Napoleonic Code, as well as Montesquieu's theories of the separation of powers, are still applied. And many

Latin American countries can take advantage of the aid offered by the more cultured and scientifically developed nations, whose financial possibilities enable them to have study commissions, thus achieving better knowledge in specific fields.

Furthermore, each country should have a high level coordinating and reform commission for the criminal justice system which would revise and improve the practice of the laws according to modern times. Experience has shown it to be necessary to depenalise and decriminalise certain behaviour. Many actions that years ago we considered immoral are now so common that they cannot be controlled by law. The liberalisation of social life and daily custom oblige governments to change the law.

Besides, the cost of crime is so high, especially when taking into consideration the cost of keeping an inmate in an institution, and penitentiary history suggests that prison itself is not the ideal remedy and may sometimes even be harmful to those incarcerated. Prisons must be used only for hard core offenders, and for the others alternatives to imprisonment must be sought.

Although in many countries penitentiaries have had substantial reforms, they still continue to be centres where people, instead of getting education and training to be reintegrated within society, receive a complete and exhaustive course on delinquency from the other inmates. The treatment of the offenders is still very much in its infancy. Even in the developed countries, prisons lack the quality of rehabilitation and still remain punishing institutions.

Much remains to be done about prisons. Even though many countries are seriously trying to change their condition, the inadequate buildings, the untrained and unselected personnel, the overcrowded accommodation, make it harder to put into practice the latest information available for the better treatment of the offender.

The Supreme Court of Justice should be an independent and well-financed institution, so as to enable the officials to devote themselves to their work, and to have decent incomes which will secure the application of the law. Well paid judges and magistrates are less likely to look for bribes and gratuities.

Another matter of consideration is the delay in justice. Very often trials are backlogged, verdicts take longer, and meanwhile the person is held in jail suffering moral and physical harm. Sometimes, specially in Latin American countries where the criminal

proceedings take so long, when the prisoner is sentenced his sentence is shorter than the term he has already served in jail.

Of special importance is the imprisonment of minors, and it is a matter for debate that instead of judges for younger people, there could be counsellors who would confront the problem in a very non-judicial, individualistic and social manner. This would ensure young people a specialised form of treatment according to the best methods available.

Law enforcement officials, even when well trained and well equipped, frequently have a dispassionate, detached attitude towards suspects or delinquents. This lack of humanity is alarming because, unfortunately, in various countries, torture is still a daily method – Amnesty International keeps denouncing such methods – but in some countries the police even foster paramilitary groups whose work is to execute, without trial, those whom they consider to be guilty.

Law enforcement agencies require first-rate professional personnel, very well imbued with the importance of their task, not as a repressive form, but as a necessary activity, to cover the loopholes left by the lack of a genuine prevention of crime.

The United Nations Committee on Crime Prevention and Control approved a Code of Conduct for law enforcement officials, whose application could mean a big change in police behaviour if the United Nations General Assembly approves it and the member states accept it.

Prevention of crime is not only for the non-habitual criminals, but also for the offenders in general who are expected to be reintegrated into society as able members of the population. For this purpose and in order to avoid ill-treatment of the persons arrested, it would be advisable to implement the United Nations sponsored Code of Conduct for law enforcement officials.

Penal laws, the judiciary, law enforcement officials, and penal institutions are the areas for the sectoral planning of the criminal justice system.

The Economic and Social Sectors

World population is divided, among other things, by geographic zones, education, type of work and activities. These may

be rural or urban, they may cover agriculture, industry, education, health, commerce, entertainment, etc. Although entertainment could be incorporated in commerce and industry, its very specific components make it advisable to study it as a whole, and not as part of the others.

Agriculture and Crime: In the last few years agriculture has changed its image through technology. Agro-business has also emerged and labour has been replaced by capital equipment. Even in underdeveloped countries agriculture is more scientific and this brings difficulties to small farmers — an unknown situation in former times.

Since mechanisation tends to eliminate the manual labourer, it creates social problems in some areas. In bigger and wealthy communities rural labourers are scarce and demand higher salaries. Small farm owners, who used to tend to their properties personally, no longer get family help, due firstly to changes in the birthrate (nowadays families are smaller), secondly, to better liberal education and thirdly, to the migration to the cities. Such smallholders cannot usually afford to replace family labour with hired labour because of the costs, and they cannot afford the sophisticated labour-saving equipment which this competitive world demands. Since survival depends on a good harvest, working capital has to be invested in costly acquisitions which often force the small farmers into debt. Frustration and stress press upon them and their families. All this makes for unhappiness and tension, and sometimes promotes violent reactions against the world at large. Tenants whose ambition is to own more and more land, take advantage of these troubles and pretty soon the former owner becomes a salaried worker and his own future depends upon huge corporations.

In Brazil, the exploitation, the killing of Indians and the destruction of property, have been done by rich and powerful farmers. Many accusations have been made, and these have even reached the Brazilian Congress. The Catholic Church and national and international organisations have reacted against such cruelty, but to no avail. Many of the great Latin American land extensions are properties now owned by white land-owners but they were the properties of the Indians some years ago.

There is an exploitation of rural labour in many countries.

Labour laws are ignored or betrayed. Illegal immigrants are being exploited in nearby states where they receive salaries below the minimum rate. This is the case with the very well known Mexican 'wetbacks', who swim across the Rio Grande looking for better working conditions in the United States of America.

Adequate policies in the rural areas can help inhabitants to achieve better standards of living, avoiding the migration to urban centres. One of these policies should be the encouragement of co-operatives, which will help small tenants to cope with their problems in a communal way. The strengthening of labour laws for rural workers; the extension of social security services to rural areas; the provision of state marketing facilities to buy and sell agricultural products at a fair price; the construction of roads and the creation of means to carry products to the markets; the provision of education and entertainment for the inhabitants of these regions; the restoration of law and order against exploitation, protecting small farmers and minority groups against powerful individuals or corporations are all necessary.

Industry and Crime: There are more industries than the manufacture of cars, textiles, chocolates, etc. Nowadays, tourism is considered one of the most profitable industries in many regions. With the increase of travelling facilities, tourists can be found everywhere. With their dollar they also bring a new way of life and many times, instead of being a benefit for a country, their presence means damage, and the implantation of new habits, which threaten the nation's authenticity.

In industry, the same thing happens as we have seen in agriculture: illegal immigrants are used, and abused, by unscrupulous employers. In the United States of America, for instance, such illegal workers are deported, and sometimes punished, when discovered but there seems to be no punishment for the employer who − although he knows the immigrants' condition − takes advantage of the situation and hires them on starvation salaries for his own advantage.

In Switzerland, foreigners are hired but only for a certain period, thus avoiding their right to become residents or citizens. Workers' families are allowed to be reunited with them only under very special conditions.

The United Nations Organisation has shown much conern

lately for the increase of large transnational corporations, whose *modus operandi* is not very orthodox. Their importance and radius of influence is so wide that royal families, presidents, ministers and high authorities have not been spared their influence. Holland, Honduras and Columbia, to mention only a few, made headlines very recently with some of these shady business dealings. In short, industry is one of the human activities where ambition and materialism open the gates for criminal attitudes.

Small companies are absorbed by bigger ones, which exert all sorts of pressures to suffocate the small ones. Examples are the higher salaries offered to employees (so the weaker competitors get less qualified personnel); the reduction of prices of certain products in order to force out of the market the rival company's manufactures (known as dumping). Naturally, a bigger company can sustain the effects of a price reduction during depression, but this is not the case with the smaller company whose sole source of income might be derived from that specific product. We seem to go back to jungle laws. The big one swallows the small one.

Factory workers are, very often, migrants from rural areas. They exchange the fresh and clean air of the country for the confined slums, where promiscuity and poverty are usual. People who live in such areas develop a resentful attitude towards life and society in general. Very soon a spirit of revenge leads to riots, violence and all kinds of aggressive behaviour. Family ties are broken in the cities. Both parents work hard to cope with living expenses, and the responsibility for children's education is left to a TV set, or to the streets, where minors grow up under the worst influences. Even schools have proved to be, in certain neighbourhoods, a source of delinquency.

The remaining young and uncontaminated people face a violent, greedy, deceitful world, lacking in real moral values. For a grown-up person such an environment is difficult. For a young one it is worse.

The industrial field deserves, also, a special treatment. Labour laws, good working conditions and control of transnational industries are necessary to avoid harm to workers and to the population. Careless factories can harm the environment, polluting the air, rivers or seas. International laws should be dictated and put into practice to punish corporations that bribe government officials, thus contributing to the corruption of the political system. Cor-

porations should be limited by law in their range of possibilites. avoiding the merger of small companies. the corrupt practice of absorbing them through bankruptcy, etc.

Education and Crime: In the last years, education has changed its goals. Before it was just a matter of teaching, for knowledge's sake, no matter if the student was a country or a city boy, rich or poor.

With new methods and perspectives, plus the valuable advice of UNESCO. many countries have developed vocational schools, as well as training centres for skilled workers. Therefore, knowledge is not only academic but also practical, and aimed towards the people who will receive it.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter. education. with all its positive values, may lead to crime. In many cases home life makes poor students either because of a TV set constantly turned on, because of poverty or excessive richness. As with all the sectors of national life, education has to be planned. An educational system operated for its own sake with no reference to economic realities can be dangerous.

What is the use of preparing many lawyers, or many engineers. if there are no positions available for them? What about all the students' expectations which will be frustrated once confronted with reality? There is a very clear example. Italian and Spanish universities. in the last years, have been in havoc. New graduates find themselves without the opportunity to use their knowledge, because of an excess of professionals, and anarchy affects the Alma Mater. Educational institutions are the focus of violence, drugs and various offences. The cycle of harassed professors, frustrated students and inactivity, provokes all sorts of misdemeanours.

In other countries. where society still absorbs new graduates, ambition makes students cheat or bribe professors in order to have better grades or to graduate before time.

The consumer society has created an ambition for more and better material things. Publicity keeps insisting on the importance of more acquisitions. People yearn to buy them and moral values lose their importance when temptations for bigger earnings are offered. no matter if it means some dishonest practice.

Students and new professionals find themselves confronted with a new society where value is not measured by older standards,

but by new and very materialistic ones. Nowadays, teachers and professors are products of the new era. It is difficult to find a teacher who really worries about students. Usually, they work for a living, and the guidance of pupils is forgotten.

Prevention of crime should be taken up, in the educational system, as a daily subject. In most countries there are schools everywhere. What better system could be found for this purpose? Even more, colleges and universities should take up, within the curriculum of the graduates, some subjects on crime prevention, which will enable these future teachers to help young people to achieve a sane attitude toward life.

Education must continue creating more skill and vocational schools to cover the population and its need for work in its own neighbourhood. Education should also be complemented, as it is in most socialist countries, by clubs of specific interest not only for young people but also for adults. This provides the population with different interests that may range from entertainment through art, education and community services.

Furthermore, young people should be educated to take pride in their chosen profession, not as a source of income, but as a source of satisfaction. The same applies to teachers, who should be evaluated regularly to find out if their interest in teaching is genuine and if they are promoting good and responsible citizens.

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the proper care of children and youth. It means a considerable reduction in criminal behaviour. By this preventative task, rescue of future police and courts' clients for the correctional system would be achieved, saving the state and the society considerable material cost and moral suffering.

Health and Crime: Scientists have proved that in many cases undernourished infants have weaker brains and, when grown up, they may show behaviour problems. Children of sick parents suffer from family conditions which affect them either physically or mentally. Since it has been proved that malnutrition can eventually create feeble-minded individuals prone to crime, it is necessary to emphasize good medical care. Alcoholism and drug addiction are considered illnesses, instead of vices or offences. In a home where one of the parents is an alcoholic, or a drug addict, there is not the necessary strength and authority to set their children

straight, and better behaviour cannot be demanded of them. Alcoholism and drug addiction should be attacked in every possible way. Publicity about alcohol should be restricted or prohibited. Severe laws for drug traffickers should be put into effect and a control should be made on the rural areas and laboratories where drugs are planted or industrialised.

In studies of the social background of criminals the statistics show that they have often had a sick parent or, at least, some sick relatives. This is not only for poor people. Rich people with lots of time on their hands tend to look up to new forms of entertainment and excitement, and one of these might turn out to be alcoholism. The excess of wealth can also generate a desire for attention so that very often there are hypochondriacs in wealthy families.

Sometimes, doctors and hospitals abuse the patient's trust, take advantage of the anguish and fear, and charge more than they should for a simple operation or medical treatment. With the exception of the socialist countries, medicine is a liberal profession and the State does not interfere with the fees.

Legality of prescriptions has been doubted, since most doctors prescribe very expensive medicines. The drug-stores keep a record of the physicians' orders and, where shady business is suspected, one could imagine that the doctor would receive a percentage as a profit for his choice. This is even more conclusive when one sees the agents of important laboratories sitting long hours at the doctor's office waiting to show new products.

The latest medical discovery — the transplantation of organs — can lead to criminal actions. Who can be sure of the treatment one would like to receive in a hospital, if some of the healthy organs one has, could be needed by a very wealthy and generous person who might have some agreement with the doctor? And what about the commerce in blood? Last year, in Nicaragua, a big scandal sprang up in an industry dealing with blood that was being shipped to the United States of America. Three years ago, in another country, it was discovered that a private laboratory had been receiving very cheap blood from intoxicated, vagrant and sick people. That blood was sold, at a very high price, because hospitals never seem to have enough blood for transfusions when it is needed.

Medicine should be socialised to avoid doctors' abuse in bills,

prescriptions and misuses of patients' organs. Blood commerce should be controlled by the state.

Crime and Commerce: Since the beginning of history, men started to exchange goods and so commerce began. Under very different names it has been a source of wealth, of wickedness and also of benefit for humanity.

It is forgotten, but much of the capital of great millionaires was developed through smuggling. Vessels and carts travelled, loaded with goods, from one country to another. Their cargo was sometimes exchanged, smuggled or stolen. Ever since, illicit traffic has been an everyday action and it is only when the actor is caught that it turns out to be a shame; otherwise, people consider him very shrewd and he even dares to boast about it.

Bad social conditions have been used to make profits. Men take advantage of emergencies. They increase the prices of goods that are considered necessary, and speculation is rampant. Always, and specially during this century, many of the great revolutions and wars started because of somebody's ambition for more wealth or power. It doesn't matter if the price is human lives and the outcome is destruction. Noble and humanitarian beliefs are very seldom at the bottom of such hostilities. Greed is beneath most men's actions.

Nonetheless, if these two vices of commerce are despicable, far worse is the activity of some big corporations. The United Nations Organisation has been studying what is called now 'white collar and corporate crime' because it affects not one person but thousands. Its radius of influence is against people's health and good faith.

Transnational corporations, sometimes by false pretences, and with the help of propaganda, sell products whose quality is really very poor. And they have occasionally done this when a product has been discontinued in the country of manufacture due to the authorities there condemning it as dangerous or untried. By sending the same product to less exacting, developing countries the corporations profit from the sale not only of inferior products but also from the sale of chemicals or foods which they know to be dangerous for health. These are offences against consumers.

In most socialist countries, where private enterprises are prohibited, commerce and industry are regulated and they do not

profit from the people. Furthermore, industries and trades do not utilise publicity to attract customers and therefore, prices are not increased because of such costs.

Severe laws on smuggling, abuse of customers' trust by selling bad products and speculation should be severely punished. Big corporations should be limited in their functions so as to avoid criminal attitudes. Publicity should be restricted to prevent cheating of customers through drilling slogans on the so-called qualities of a product.

Severe laws should be enacted to avoid the abuse of propaganda that enhances artificially the popularity of a song, a book, a team or an individual. If either a product, a creation, a person or group of persons deserves such praise, the usual journalistic channels will see to it. Otherwise it will mean a breach of public trust.

Entertainment: These days people have more time for entertainment. Working hours are less and therefore, people find themselves with a lot of free time. For this, entertainment is the usual solution. But what kind of entertainment?

There is such a variety of healthy diversions, that it is a pity people do not take proper advantage of them — music, art, sports, even nature. Unfortunately, crime has also invaded this very specific field. The wide scope of this negative influence can be appreciated mostly in the developed countries.

For instance, record companies are nowadays a very important business. In popular jargon, there is a new word, 'payola', for increasing the popularity of a song, artificially, by paying some radio stations a certain sum if the record is played now and again, until people believe it to be at the top of popularity and the record shops start selling it, making, out of a common and unimportant song, a hit tune.

Casinos, with all the links with money lending, usury and sometimes the collection of debts by violence, make them unwanted in many countries. It is very well known the once they exist the Mafia appears. For this kind of organised crime, this represents good profitable opportunities which cannot be wasted no matter if a man's future, his family property or his professional name are at stake.

Casinos (if a government considers them necessary, although I

consider them harmful to society) should be limited in the amount at stake and a proper watch should be maintained on them to see that their regulations are observed, thus eliminating the growth of organised crime around them.

Pornography is another side to the entertainment businesses and one which trades in moral values. Men and women are used sexually, and even children have been involved in this macabre game. Under the pretence of art (magazines, books, films), pornography appeals to the lowest instincts of men. There are shops, clubs and all sorts of related activities. The excesses shown as normal, distort the real image of natural and satisfactory relations. Furthermore, they encourage minors' participation in vice rings to increase excitement. They also encourage the use of drugs and alcohol and the practice of masochism, sadism and homosexuality. There is a very definite channel that leads from pornography towards various forms of crime.

Some years ago, in New York, the discovery of a specialised club was given world-wide publicity. There were all sorts of gadgets for perversion which were used for masochism and sadistic practices. Members of the club had, at their disposal, the possibility either of looking at the performance of cruel acts or of participating. Young people were used and abused for such purposes and many of them were practically slaves.

Independent film producers have been engaged, lately, in many gruesome practices. There are movies where the violent scenes are true and the killings real. There are documentary films, where cruel, true to life scenes are filmed and encouraged for the benefit of a sadistic public.

Any sort of entertainment that offends against moral values has to be abolished. Why should a society permit the enrichment of people through the exploitation of human beings as objects of perversion for degenerate people? I am not against eroticism, but against pornography. There is a very definite line between both and it is easy to detect.

Sport, as another source of entertainment, has been one of the most admired and practised activities. Within its realm crime has found a new source of income. Inportant bets are placed on great games, either professional or amateur. Players are bribed to lose a game or they receive stimulant drugs to enable them to perform more daring feats. The Mafia is also involved in these activities —

it eliminates competitors of its favourite team or sportsman. Racing cars, motorcycles and horses are tampered with to secure victory, even at the cost of human lives.

There must be encouragement for amateur sports with their natural and true dimension. Nevertheless, since professional sports cannot be abolished, they must be regulated and a proper watch should be exerted on gymnasiums, stadiums as well as on sportsmen, to avoid the infiltration of the Mafia.

Finally, art is also an entertainment and the national and transnational illegal traffic in masterpieces is known world-wide. International laws are not very severe against it; in fact, this problem was debated at UNESCO because it seems that sometimes after a lapse of five years following the date of robbery, the owner's right to the property could be lost or at least brought into question.

The theft of national cultural inheritance has also alarmed the United Nations Organisation. Developing countries have been deprived of their archeological treasures by powerful countries, tradesmen and private collectors. Sometimes this has been the result of wars, while at other times there has been concealed but constant stealing of centuries old ceramics, jewellry and stones. Today, in the most important cities of the world, there are state and private collections which have valuable exhibits from foreign places. In short, since old objects of past cultures are so rare, their price is high and collectors pay whatever they are asked. Thus, they encourage crime.

Lately, there has been great concern about national depredation. When a nation's heritage is stolen by foreigners, or by local people looking for some financial gain, the effect is culturally as well as economically profound.

National laws protecting countries' cultural heritages should be encouraged. Strict regulations and authorship of cultural goods should be respected to discourage stealing and smuggling as well as falsification.

It is known world-wide that entertainment means a lot. Therefore, since its possibilities are so ample, it should be nationally spread so as to permit everybody to enjoy it. For this purpose it is advisable that the nations that do not have Ministries of Culture and Sports consider the possibility of their creation. Their principal goal would not be profit, but people's satisfaction. At the same

time, entertainment could be educational and with it, both sides of the problem should be solved.

So, not a single activity of man's life is exempt from the possibility of crime. It is a responsibility for scholars and authorities to find the link between different activities and to discover ways in which to use them not only to eliminate or diminish crime, but also to improve human behaviour.

Crime and Socio-Economic Development

Until very recently the only concern of criminologists was the cause and control of crime. Now, their attention is directed more towards the better quality of life, which will prevent many of the increases in crime.

Most of the crime prevention problems with which nations are likely to be confronted during the remaining years of this century, are necessarily connected with the negative side-effects of socio-economic development. The United Nations Organisation wants countries to focus their attention on such issues.

The control of crime problems which impede socio-economic development will help countries to achieve social justice by providing their citizens with freedom from crime and its consequences.

The efforts of the United Nations have not only been directed towards the incorporation of crime prevention and control policies into national planning, but also the improvement of criminal justice systems and their component sectors through the elaboration of standards, guidelines and measures.

So, the crime prevention policies of nations should emphasise the economic and social sectors which require improvement, reform or a total change of structure. The enhancement of the quality of life calls for coordinated programmes in related fields such as agriculture, industry, education, health, commerce, entertainment and others.

'This emphasis on quality of life implies an urgent need for a sharper focus on goals and policies on crime prevention and better and more effective coordinating with United Nations programmes in such related fields as education, health, social welfare, labour and others', was the recommendation during one important United Nations meeting.

This cooperation can be national or international, but, by all means, inter-sectoral to achieve better results. That is why it is so important for regional countries with similar characteristics to communicate and share experiences. In this way, national resources would not be wasted by facing new crime problems as they arise.

All data or knowledge should be translated into plans and programmes, and strategies should be adopted to deal with new modalities of crime. Theories should be applied and each country must deal with criminal justice issues within overall sectoral and inter-sectoral planning. However, it must be understood from the outset that development, progress and the achievement of a state of relative well-being, are not sufficient in themselves and often do not alleviate the crime problem.

9 Town Planning and Crime Prevention

R.W. Hewison

The movement of people from the countryside and smaller towns into the large cities has been going on for a long time but has accelerated its momentum during the past 30 years. Never before in the history of our world has there been such a gathering together of people into relatively small areas of land as is now the common experience of the great majority of people in nearly every country in the world. All predictions for the future assume that this well-established movement will continue. While it is perhaps slowing down in the developed countries, the cities of the Third World will, it seems, continue to grow without restraint for the foreseeable future.

Various names have been coined to identify this phenomenon by different people. We thought of this phenomenon as creating a Metropolis — as it continued it became Megalopolis and in its ultimate form we think of it as Ecumenopolis — the whole world as one great urban area drawing all people into its embrace. In the United States the term Bos-wash is being used to describe the urbanising of the eastern seaboard from Boston to Washington — Chi-Pitt the urbanising of the middle west from Chicago to Pittsburgh.

We are participators in an urban movement which knows no parallel in human experience since man evolved from his humble beginnings in the primeval slime. We are therefore confronted with a whole range of new experiences foreign to our previous notions of how people should behave in such situations. They have never been in these situations and their present reactions are producing the first experiences of the social behaviour of homosapiens when he is required to live cheek by jowl with another million of the same species, or maybe with 10 million of the same species, or, if he lives in Mexico City in the year 2000, with another

32 million of the same species.

Town planners are comparatively recent arrivals on the urban scene. There has been a great amount of urbanisation taking place without benefit of the contribution which we, as town planners. believe we can make towards improving the quality of life in towns and cities. I have always felt in my own experience that acceptance of the need for town planning is an emotional decision – something like being converted at a Billy Graham meeting. After all you have to be emotionally disturbed to believe you can make some sort of order out of the urban chaos when such eminent people in our public life as Winston Churchill and Robert Menzies have banished the word planning from their vocabularies. May I share with you my emotional conversion to the need for town planning. It happened in the City of Birmingham, England. I had just gone to England from Australia, used to our houses here standing on their own bits of land separate and distinct from the houses next door. I was sent from London up to Birmingham to survey a parcel of land near the city centre for a new building. It measured about the size of a normal urban allotment in Australia but instead of one dwelling it was built up with an old farm house at the front surviving from the days of green fields around the village of Birmingham. A narrow passage, cut through the middle of the old farm house, lead to the back where two small factories had provided jobs for people who lived in about 14 small, three-storey houses around the boundaries of the land with outhouses down the centre of this lot. This was a relic of the industrial revolution; of the first moves of people from the rural lands of England into the growing industrialised towns without benefit of intervention by any authority which could say this must be done with more regard to the needs of people and less subservience to the machines of the new industries.

We town planners are still a group of guilty people. We have studied the physical form and structures of cities but we do not know too much about what happens to people in our towns and cities. We know that cities grow by the steady accretion of new houses on their boundaries and the replacement of their older inner areas by new developments which either bring changes to existing land uses or an intensification of existing land uses. Whatever happens, the big cities grow bigger at the expense of population in the rural areas and their small centres of population.

This channelling of people into the large cities from the small towns and villages is one of the principal causes of the incidence of criminal activities increasing at what seems to be an alarming rate. Statistics from the United States have compared the incidence of particular types of crime per 100,000 of the population for small towns under 10,000 population with bigger cities of over 250,000 population. The figures which are published in a book called *The Challenge of Urban Growth* by Niles M. Hansen are as follows:

Murder —	2.7 for the small town and 6.8 for the big city
Rape —	3.3 for the small town and 15.2 for the big city
Robbery—	12.8 for the small town and 117.6 for the big city
Assault —	28.9 for the small town and 154.1 for the big city.

On the theoretical basis then it would seem that the most effective way for town planning to be used to prevent crime would be for planning policies to be followed that limited the size of cities to relatively low populations. A large number of small towns and cities would seem to be preferable to a few very big ones.

The trends in city growth are in fact the reverse of what these figures suggest should be desirable. Apart from the United Kingdom, which has built about 30 new towns in recent years, all of moderate size, no governments are pursuing policies of restraining the growth of the big cities. In Australia, the tentative efforts to establish growth centres in several provincial towns to attract population away from the big cities, have almost completely foundered on the shifting sands of changing governments and reversals of policies.

It is abundantly clear that law enforcement agencies are faced with problems of increasing magnitude as cities and their metropolitan surroundings grow bigger. Although projections for world population growth to the year 2000 have been revised downwards because of declining birth rates since the 1960s, forecasts for the

growth of cities in the future are still alarming. A projected figure of 1.8 billion of additional people will mainly live in the big cities. The proportions of young adolescents will be sustained for some time to come and the proportion of older people in the population will increase from longer expectations of life now resulting from improved health services. This will compound the crime problems of urban areas as the young find the old an irresistible temptation to felonious intent.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the best contribution that town planning can make to assist in the reduction of a significant range of crimes in the big centres of population is to persuade governments that policies of encouraging the dispersal of populations to small towns and cities must bring about beneficial results. It is also obvious that the acceptance of such policies is far removed from the present thinking of most governments. I attended a meeting in Brisbane organised recently by the Queensland Division of the Royal Australian Planning Institute and addressed by Mr John Hodges M.P., who is Chairman of the House of Representatives Standing Committee on the Environment and Conservation. The subject of the meeting was 'Federal Involvement in Urban Affairs'. The principal message I got from Mr Hodges was that the Albury-Wodonga growth centre project was from his point of view a complete disaster. One must assume from this that the climate of opinion among our elected representatives in Canberra towards policies of planned decentralisation of population into dispersed provincial smaller cities and towns is, to put it mildly, somewhat chilly.

If I may reminisce for a moment. A good many years ago I went from Australia to England to secure British qualifications in architecture and was subsequently caught up in the post-war euphoria for building better towns and cities. This lead me into taking a course in town planning in London and preparing for future activity in this field of endeavour. At this time the British Government passed the New Towns Act and started with great speed to implement this by establishing Development Corporations for a number of 'New Towns' initially near London and later on near other big cities such as Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow. Soon after, the opportunity came to take up a town-planning position in Sydney. My mind was full of the British New Towns concepts and with Australia's immigration programme going into

top gear, it seemed an ideal opportunity to build new towns in Australia that could be built by the immigrants themselves selecting the right categories of skilled people for this task. A colleague who had come from England to a similar town-planning position in Sydney and I attempted to launch a 'Six New Towns for Australia' movement. We prepared a statement and circulated it to people in Government and received some quite remarkable replies. One person thought we were proposing the demolition of a town in Britain and transporting it brick by brick to be rebuilt in Australia. Now, about 25 years later, we do not appear in Australia to be any nearer the possibility of dispersal of population and jobs into smaller centres of population. The efforts made in the mid-seventies are now being totally neglected and we are back to the position that existed more than 25 years ago with no prospect of change in the immediate future.

From a town planning point of view the action that is occurring in the big metropolitan areas of Australia is a dispersal of population into new suburbs at considerable distances from the central areas of the big cities. These become dormitory suburbs from which people depart to distant places for their jobs. They tend to be socially homogeneous with families of similar socio-economic status clustering together in the same suburbs. The higher socio-economic groups go in one direction and lower ones in another. The mix of social classes common to early city development is now lost. The traditional correlates of urban crime previously identified as sub-standard housing, poverty, foreign-born population and mobility, which observers regarded as diminishing rapidly as the city expanded into new outer suburban areas, are replaced by a new element bred of discontent by a younger generation with life in the recently built outer suburbs. This discontent takes the form of violent protest against normal modes of behaviour and traditional lifestyles. A generation of young people brought up in the new suburbs rejects the way of life represented by these new suburbs. They seem to them to be sterile places and they seek excitement in various forms of activities which demand intervention by the police.

We have deliberately planned for the building of what is called 'Spread City' and this is no answer to the incidence of criminal activity. Los Angeles is the classic example of Spread City. Compared with the more compact cities, the overall crime rate in spread

cities can be as much as twice as high as in the compact cities. Los Angeles has been reported as having an overall crime rate of 2,507 per 100,000 population compared with New York's 1,145 and Chicago's 943.

There is an important lesson to be learnt here for town planners. The answer is partly that we should endeavour to build more compact cities. At present our suburbs are built at residential densities of about four houses to the acre (2.47 acres = 1 hectare) which involves very long streets and many dark corners and clumps of vegetation where innumerable lurkers can wait for their victims. Most British housing tends to be built at from about 12 to 16 houses to the acre. In Toronto, Canada, where I worked as a 'City Planner' for a number of years, policies were followed of encouraging higher densities of apartment development throughout the whole of the metropolitan area situated close to public transportation facilities and to shopping centres. It was claimed that these policies had reduced the outward spread of the metropolitan area by about 20 square miles (50 square kilometres), a significant saving in length of streets.

Much of this apartment development was in the form of high rise buildings of more than 20 storeys in height and earned the rebuke of local sociologists who saw all sorts of dire consequences for the human race in such types of living conditions. The choice seems to be between the neuroses induced by the new outer suburban way of living and alleged consequences foreseen by sociologists in living on an upper floor of an apartment building well removed from contact with the soil. Personally I believe that there should be a variety of choices available to people as to the style of living that they prefer but from the point of view of effective town planning, a house or an apartment by itself is not the complete answer to the social needs of people.

The new suburbs of our cities develop first as places where people eat and sleep and watch television. Whole generations can grow from childhood to teenage years with no adequate provision made for developed recreational facilities and for buildings, for libraries and community activities. Lack of public transportation in the outer suburbs of a frequent and convenient kind compounds this sense of physical isolation as it becomes impossible to make use of recreational and cultural facilities existing in the older, more established suburbs. Although most of our local government

authorities have had the opportunity to exercise town planning powers, available in all of the Australian States since the 1940s, there has been a reluctance to plan for the social, recreational and cultural needs of new communities. The first stage in the development of a new suburb is the approval of a scheme of land sub-division has this has generally been done on a piecemeal basis unrelated to an overall plan making proper provision for community facilities. Even in those cases where overall planning has preceded the sub-division of land and sites have been set aside in the plan for recreational and social facilities, the usual experience is that houses and people arrive on the scene many years before these facilities become available for active use. When they do appear as part of the suburban scene it is often the result of long and arduous efforts by the local people.

Dr Roger Bannister, Chairman of the Sports Council of Great Britain, in a recent address to the Summer School of the Royal Town Planning Institute of the United Kingdom, said:

> We have to get right away from the old penny-pinching attitude towards the provision of facilities for sports, which has its roots in the Victorian idea that people who want sport should pay for it themselves. That was hardly the best way to spread sport among the mass of the population.

There seems to be a need for the Ministry of Leisure and Sport to work in active cooperation with housing commissions and local authorities to make sure that sites are provided in plans for new suburbs for recreational and social activities, and that these facilities are developed on the sites at the same time as houses are being built so that there is no long period of time between when people move in and facilities become available for use. The present dull life of houses-only suburbs would then cease to be the rule for the long period that is now the experience of people in many of our new outer suburban areas. Many of today's social problems would be resolved and future problems prevented. The energies of many teenagers could be directed into pleasurable and useful community activities if facilities are made available instead of being directed towards anti-social ends. It would be surely much more profitable to our society as a whole if our younger members could be encouraged to use their growing strength of muscle in various forms of organised sport rather than the present use of those muscles in turning our traffic signs into hairpins.

Tendencies to conduct of an anti-social nature in many of our newer suburban areas, often of high socio-economic status, are the result of sheer boredom with the failure to provide opportunities for more constructive forms of behaviour.

I believe that town planning can be of value in helping to find solutions to the increasing types of criminal behaviour patterns as our cities spread outwards in two ways. Firstly, by planning for a full range of social and recreational facilities in newly developing outer suburban areas and seeking ways by which such facilities can be provided quickly. This is actually happening in recent developments where a 'Community Centre' is built at an early stage in the development process and used as a selling point in attracting people into the new suburb. More importantly, I would stress that town planners look more towards the concept of the 'Compact City' for the future.

The Australian ideal of each family in its detached home on a large allotment has now lead us into a situation for big city living which is rapidly becoming untenable. We are creating new outer suburban habitations which are fostering new kinds of criminal behaviour in the younger generation. It is impossible to provide reasonable public transportation to these areas, first class agricultural land is being diverted from its best use for national well-being to bitumen roads and hard standing for two car families who may be left stranded when the energy crisis overtakes them in the not too distant future. It is all opposed to any reasonable common sense approach to how people should live in the future in large metropolitan areas. We are producing socially segregated suburbs without any opportunity of an understanding developing between different sections of the community. Traditionally, in the older cities in former ages, the owner of a building lived on the ground floor and his tenants lived on the upper floors creating a desirable social mix in the city. Much of the present polarisation in our national life arises from the social segregation fostered by our present town planning policies. The leadership in communities arising from a social mixture of classes is now denied to many parts of our big city living.

A more compact type of city as opposed to the spread out city would require a much higher density of residential living but sited closer to public transportation and community and recreational facilities. There would be much more communication between

people and I believe a quicker recognition of the unwelcome intruder because more people will be about to detect types of suspicious behaviour. A recent book called *Compact City* by George Dantzig and Thomas Saaty gives some interesting comments on urban living by some modern thinkers and doers. Great Britain's Ivor de Wolfe points out that a density of 60 persons per acre can support a viable bus system, while 200 per acre can support a rapid transit system. In Australia we build our new housing estates at about 12 persons to the acre. Mosha Safdie, Architect of Habitat (the new style of urban living built for Montreal's Expo 1967), states that he prefers San Francisco to Los Angeles and New York to Philadelphia because the concentrations in the preferred cities create choices not possible in lower density environments. Compact concentrated cities are lively, interesting places.

In summing up, it is my view that town planning can assist in crime prevention by espousing urban policies directed towards the locating of future population growth into a large number of cities limited in size to less than a quarter of a million population, rather than permitting a continuation of the present concentration of growth in the few big cities that we have in Australia. Further, I would suggest that in all our cities, big and small. town planning should endeavour to guide the form of future growth into compact city rather than spread city by encouraging high densities of development fully serviced with public transportation systems and with recreational and community and social facilities available for new residents in each neighbourhood as it commences its life.

10 The Citizen in the Heart of Our Cities

R.W. Hewison

The city has been at the service of mankind since about 3,500 B.C. The lands between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and in the valleys of the Nile and Indus contained cities of up to 70,000 inhabitants. Athens in the fourth century B.C. had attained a population of about 430,000 people, while Rome at the peak of its prosperity attained a population of more than one million by the second century A.D. It had a well organised water supply and sewerage system and many amenities for social entertainment.

During the Roman occupation of Britain, the city dwellers attained a standard of urban living which they would not again enjoy until the early part of the 20th century. However throughout the intervening period the city afforded a place of protection and safety. Its surrounding walls, rebuilt from time to time as the city grew, ensured that the lands within the city were put to the best use for its inhabitants as within the city walls land was scarce.

As the weapons of assault on the city grew more powerful with the invention of gunpowder, major adaptations were made to the city wall until it eventually became a useless adjunct to the city and there emerged the walking city and then the railroad city and finally, in our times, the motor vehicle city. At all times the heart of the city has been the centre of citizen interest and activity. The place where the greatest diversity of happenings occurred. It has responded to changing technologies but has until recent times maintained a human scale. The heart of the city, whether it was the Greek Agora, the Roman forum, the medieval market place, the renaissance piazza or the Georgian square, has always been where people assembled and exchanged ideas, transacted business and met socially; free from fear of onslaught from vehicles and their numbers guaranteed mutual protection from criminal assaults of an open nature.

Dramatic changes have taken place in the heart of our cities during the past 30 years or so. They have literally grown much taller than was traditionally the practice. The height limits on buildings imposed by the Romans of twice the width of the street had persisted for almost 2,000 years. It is said that Queen Victoria observing a building called Queen Ann's Mansions rising above the skyline across St. James Park from Buckingham Palace, rang up her Minister and ordered a stop to that sort of thing. The London Building Act was at once amended to limit London buildings to an absolute height of 100 feet (30.4 metres) with a vertical front wall limit of 80 feet (24.3 metres). Most Australian cities had height limits of 132 feet (40.1 metres) for city buildings. The new technologies of fast vertical travel in lifts and new forms of construction with free standing office blocks have changed the heart of the city during the post-war period.

It is only in the last few years when the onrush of central city building has slowed down that we have been able to pause and understand what has been happening in the heart of our cities and how the citizen has fared in this time of rapid change. Two main elements of change have been the motor vehicle and the tall office building. The heart of the city has become an arena where financial institutions vie with each other to display their wealth and prestige. The slogan has been, 'anything you can build I can build higher'.

The heart of the City of Toronto was typical of this contest of tallness. The Toronto-Dominion Bank started the race with a 65 storey office block; the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce responded on an opposite corner with a 75 storey office tower and romping home last as the winner in the central city stakes was the Bank of Montreal with an 85 storey tower. The Royal Bank of Canada retired hurt in the middle of the contest and decided the human scale mattered after all and built traditionally on a low rise scale.

This contest in tall building development has meant the rebuilding of whole city blocks, displacing a variety of other uses in the city centre including some residential uses. A huge daytime population of office workers has come into these tall buildings, and depart after office hours to distant places of residence leaving the city streets deserted.

It is necessary in thinking about the heart of our cities to fully understand what has overtaken the big cities in recent years. There

has been an over specialisation in office uses in the central areas and these buildings all conform to an international style of architecture if we can dignify their monotony by that name. They are mostly tall, elongated cubes with simple rectangular patterns over their exteriors exhibiting, in a design sense, no greater skill than an ability to draw lines at right angels to each other. To attain a great height they cover a small part of their site areas, providing open spaces around their bases at footpath level which are supposed to be a tremendous asset to the urban environment. In practice, the smooth faces of the tall office towers generate severe wind turbulences which sweep down on to the open areas at footpath level whipping off hats from pedestrian heads and ripping umbrellas inside out. In winter time, the open areas at the base of tall office towers become little Siberias. In Toronto with its winter snows there are daily blizzards around these office buildings. In summer time, when the open plazas were to be used for open air restaurants and lunch time concerts, the wind turbulence would sweep away the music off music stands and eating out was like taking your meal in a cyclone.

These tall buildings have replaced the continuous facades of the older buildings which often had awnings extending out to the edge of the footpaths giving shade in summer and protection from inclement weather.

In the short space of time within the experience of most of us, the heart of our cities has undergone a complete transformation. The enclosed city street, with its protective awnings and buildings of limited height containing a diversity of activities, has now become a series of disconnected office towers and you could be in Sydney or Chicago because any local design influence has been eliminated by the international, universal, rectangular, elongated cube. The flight of office staff to the suburbs each night leaves the heart of the city desolate with a forlorn and lost appearance, from which all activity has departed. The wide open areas around the base of these office towers, after darkness has descended on the city, have now become, for the citizen, places of fear and danger. Strange characters are known to lurk within the shadows of these new towers. Where formerly the enclosed city street was a friendly pleasant place where a citizen could stroll at leisure in the evening with a sense of complete security, he now hurries to where his car is parked and gets out of it as quickly as possible. A friend of mine

in Brisbane recently, walking past the new AMP office tower, was threatened and he punched his way past the molester. Two elderly women from Brisbane, holidaying in Adelaide recently, were set upon by a group of teenagers trying to snatch their bags. The other night in Brisbane, after the theatre, I found it necessary at the request of my wife and daughters to see other female members of the party safely to the doors of their cars in the car park before going to my own car. Fear and apprehension now pervades the hearts of our cities after dark,where formerly the citizen felt secure.

In former times, the cathedral spire rising from the green lawns of the cathedral, close in the centre of the city, symbolised the serenity and safety of the city. It was the place of sanctuary and protection at the heart of the city. Later ages built 'Civic' structures and the 'Town Hall Tower' became the dominant theme of the city centre, proclaiming a message of rational order for the citizens, administered by their chosen representatives. Look out over the heart of our cities today and you see a veritable forest of structures each vying with the other for supremacy. Gone are the dominance of the cathedral spire and the city hall tower. They are there but they are bewildered and crushed by their commercial rivals. Many of us say, when looking at the forest of tall office towers, that the city is prospering and must be commercially successful. Yet the truth of the matter is that all this has happened in a befuddled, haphazard and unplanned manner without any thought being given to the well-being of the people who use the heart of our cities. The results of the new kind of inner central city which has been built over recent years have been injurious to the comfort and well-being of the users of the central city. Each new project is usually the result of a bargaining process between the developer and the authorities in city hall,with the welfare of the people who use the heart of the city far removed from everybody's consideration. None of the new projects fits into a rational plan for the heart of the city as a living organism serving the citizens of our great cities.

The urban heart of the city is now suffering from an over specialisation in office uses with too many people there during the day and too few after the hours of darkness. The wide variety of functions formerly present in the inner city included residential, religious, entertainment, restaurants, industrial, educational and cultural as well as office uses. The new skyline of the central city

is now symptomatic of the urban disease of over specialisation and results from too much attention being paid to the physical growth of the city centre and little regard being paid to the needs of the people for a safe and secure place for meeting and social exchange at all times either daytime or in the evening.

It is my view that town planning should endeavour to restore to the heart of our cities the variety of land uses traditionally located there and, in particular, residential uses. Some industries should be encouraged to return, particularly those that work at night such as newspaper printing, which should show their processes to the passing public by large windows at footpath level throwing light into the street and attracting the interest of the passer by. Education in evening classes should have a place in the heart of the city. Put some of the office towers in the suburbs and bring back other uses to the central city. More life and movement by people who either live in the city or attend an activity located in the inner city in the evening would, I believe, restore the feeling of safety in the minds of the general public and discourage the committing of criminal actions by undesirable elements. It is essential that the heart of the city be restored to its traditional role as the place where the real meaning of urbanity can be experienced by all citizens. A few months ago I sat with my wife at a table outside the Cafe de la Paix in the Place de l'Opera in Paris. We watched all manner of people go by in the most urbane setting that the wit of man has so far devised. It was a place where you wished to remain as long as you could and feel that, although a stranger, you had a sense of belonging there. The heart of the city should be like that and not the place we seem to be making it; of rushing into for a few hours to make a living and then getting out of as fast as we can and leaving it to night time marauders to prey on the few people who must go there.

The other question concerning the heart of the city that interests me a great deal is the extent of vehicular traffic that has been allowed to over-run the central city streets. Town planners appear to have accepted as inevitable the growing volumes and variety of motorised traffic that use the centre of our cities sometimes as a destination and sometimes as a means of reaching a more distant destination.

In recent years there has been in many cities a reaction against the freedom of the driver of motor vehicles to have free and

unrestrained use of central city streets. The former mayor of Toronto made it clear that he welcomed all comers to the centre of the city, but people were less than welcome if they came downtown with a ton of metal hung around their necks. In fact they were penalised by having to pay double parking fees in Council car parks if they arrived with less than three people in their cars. In recent travels overseas it was evident that the age of the pedestrian had arrived in most European cities and the motorist was being told there were certain places in the heart of the city where he was forbidden to take his vehicle.

The noise, fumes and hazards associated with motor vehicles on central city streets has devitalised the heart areas of our cities and left them as prey to other less desirable influence. Public authorities have, for many years, left the centre of the city to the decision-making of 'Traffic Engineers'. There has been one principal objective, and that has been to use the central city street system for the purpose of moving motor vehicles of all kinds through it at the fastest rate possible. To this end one-way street flows have been organised, achieving faster movements for vehicles and increasing hazards for pedestrians.

The pedestrian has been the forgotten person in the heart of the city and the only safe person in the city centre has been the person in a motor vehicle speeding down a one-way street trying to get away from it as quickly as possible. When the motorist wishes to transact some business in the heart of the city his main desire is to be able to leave his motor vehicle as close as possible to where he wishes to go, so that he is a pedestrian for the shortest time possible. To achieve this end we tend to provide underground car parks in the centre of the city under new buildings and as lower structures beneath public squares or public gardens. Anywhere, as long as the motorist-turned-into-a-pedestrian stays one for the shortest possible time.

Motor vehicle traffic has cast its blighting effect over the heart of our cities. Carbon monoxide poisonings, nerve-racking noises and pedestrian hazards are the by-products of too many vehicles concentrated in the downtown streets. Too much car parking space in the central city makes it a dull and uninteresting place. When parking space is constructed below ground level it provides the opportunity for the committing of criminal acts in places far removed from the patrolling supervision of the police force.

I believe that for the sake of the continuing vitality of the heart of the city, and the well-being of citizens, we must rethink the role of the motor vehicle in the central city areas. We should, I believe, now encourage a new kind of transportation engineering concerned with the needs of pedestrians. So far, our traffic engineers have understood their responsibilities to be limited to wheeled vehicles mechanically propelled. A new profession of 'Pedestrian Engineers' is urgently needed to rescue the heart of the city for the citizens it is there principally to serve. People must have their rights restored to them in the heart of the city. They must have streets free from poisonous fumes and shattering noises where they can cross from side to side without being cursed and screamed at by a maniac behind a driving wheel.

Town planning has in most cities, to date, treated the pedestrian downtown as if he did not matter. Yet the truth of things is that without the pedestrian the heart of the city has no meaning. Virtually the only planning that has been done in many cities has been for the movement of motor vehicles and their depositing in parking spaces. In the pre-motor vehicle age, the heart of the city was a place of parade and social and cultural activity for great masses of the people. The main interests of citizens were found in the downtown areas. This gave them vitality and diversity. Now the central city is a place of fumes and noise during the day of specialised land uses and a deserted place after dark where citizens venture at their peril.

The dominance of the traffic engineer in the urban planning scene has led cities into degrees of absurdity which are almost unbelievable. There is a thing called 'Ribbon Development' along major arterial roads, much opposed by the traffic engineer, which limits land use to low-traffic-generating residential areas. This condemns people to living out their lives with fumes and noise for 24 hours a day. Commercial uses are forbidden yet every businessman seeks the maximum exposure for his business activity on a major highway. Such are the absurdities of allowing the motor vehicle and its unrestricted movement in the city to dominate town planning consideration.

I believe that there will be much political mileage to be gained in the future by reversing trends in town planning which have been dominant over the last decade or two and to reassert the role of people in the city. This happened in the city of Toronto in the

early 70s when a mayoral candidate won an overwhelming victory on the slogan that 'Cities are for People not Cars'. After all, it is people who vote and not motor cars. People must be restored to their ancient traditional role as the dominant influence in the central city. The motor vehicle and all its associated structures must continue to serve the needs of people but be subservient to them. The present central city traffic management attitudes of minimum green time at traffic lights for pedestrians and long 'Don't Walk' signs while the motor vehicle dominates the road space, must be replaced with large pedestrian-only precincts where we can walk as much as we choose, making way only for service and emergency vehicles. All our 'Heart of the City' planning policies must be directed to encouraging the driver of a motor vehicle to leave his car at the edge of the downtown area and proceed on foot or by public transportation. It has been pointed out by Victor Gruen in a book entitled *The Heart of Our Cities* that a thin man in a subway train occupies 0.184 of a square metre, a fat man 0.46 of a square metre, a man walking takes up 0.736 of a square metre of footpath and, if he runs, 1.38 square metres. The same person sitting in a stationary motor car occupies 18.4 square metres of road space, if he starts moving the vehicle he occupies 55.2 square metres and when he gathers speed he occupies 110.4 square metres of road space. It is obvious that in the interest of the economy of the central city we must share the space on our roads much more equitably between the citizen on his two legs and the motor vehicle, particularly when most motor vehicles entering the downtown area have only the driver and do not carry passengers.

Contemporary writers observing the urban scene in the heart of our cities have taken up this theme; they tend to link it with my earlier theme of the over specialisation of office uses in the central city. In a recent book entitled *European Cities and Society*. J.S. Curl says:

> . . . the essential destructiveness of the new dominants may be seen in London. The wonderful skyline which Wren created has disappeared as the offices of innumerable corporations have risen to dominate the City. St. Paul's alone stands out, and only because it is so big. Cars are everywhere fouling the air and filling the streets with the filth of their exhausts. while roads for cars cut through the urban structure creating a new and gross scale which is related to turning circles and not to people.

Again, Gerald Burke, in a book entitled *Towns in the Making* points out that democracies have always been reluctant to spend much time and money on trying to plan their cities. There is a strong objection to interfering with property rights and private enterprise which planning would certainly require. Only compulsion of circumstances will make democracies plan. This compulsion is in evidence now. The compelling factors are erosion of environment by motor vehicles, sprawl in outer areas, arrogant destruction of old buildings and excessive floor space in many new ones. These contribute to the lingering urban disease that can only be remedied from the clearest understanding of the causes.

While I have no fact to support the following assumption, I feel sure from the evidence of experience that there is a correlation between the incidence of criminal acts in the heart of our cities committed against both people and property and the drastic changes in the form and function of the central city that have overtaken all big cities in the past 30 years. The structures required to accommodate the stationary motor vehicle in the city centre, often deep caverns in the bowels of the earth, are ideal resorts for people with criminal intent. The tall office buildings of a specialised use have left the streets unattended at nights and provided in their design unlit, unpatrolled spaces at street level where the quick hit and run attack can be committed with impunity. In our town planning in the post-war period, we have not given any consideration to providing in the heart of our cities a feeling of safety and security for the citizen. We have aimed only at bigness and movement for motor vehicles and ignored the needs of the people who must use the central city if it is to retain its vitality.

In visiting different cities in various countries, those parts of the city which remain most vividly in one's recollection are where the greatest numbers of people forgather either as a place for meeting other people or just to watch other people. These places are in the hearts of the cities and it is the presence of people there that give them their status. It is people that make the city. Leicester Square in London, the throngs of people in the great squares of Athens, Princes Street in Edinburgh, the Grand Place in Brussells, Place Ville-Marie in Montreal, Sparkes Street Mall in Ottawa and the summer Pedestrian Mall in Toronto, are just a few of these people-places that remain vividly in the memory. People are attracted to them because it is their presence that matters most

of all.

In making the centre of our cities places which attract people in large numbers it is necessary to have an awareness of the activities that can also result from the presence of certain kinds of people. This is where the town planner and the crime prevention agencies must build up an understanding with each other. This has not happened very often in the past but I believe it is essential that in the future this must happen.

Let me illustrate this from the City of Toronto, Canada. The city has a long severe winter and with the coming of summer there is an urgent desire for people to burst out into the open, away from their centrally heated rooms in which they spend so much time during the winter. The city council decided to create a summer-time-only-pedestrian mall in the main retail street, Yonge Street, in the heart of the downtown area. Over one weekend, about three city blocks were transformed into a most attractive pedestrian mall with trees, flower beds, mounded lawns, open air restaurants and stands for performers. The citizens crowded the mall area to capacity and business was good for the retailers and restaurant people. The next summer, carried away with enthusiasm, the city fathers decided to lengthen the mall considerably, taking in several more blocks of Yonge Street and extending the mall well beyond the main retail section of the city. The mall now went into a part of Yonge Street where a number of massage parlours had taken over small shops. The mall had been a pleasant place to be the previous summer at any time of the day or night. Now, after dark, it was, in the words of the Metropolitan Toronto Police, a place attracting a large number of undesirables during late evening and early morning hours. Arrests for drunkenness totalled 475, for trafficking and possessing drugs, nearly 200 arrests; for causing a disturbance, 76 arrests; assaults and wounding, 55; theft, breaking and entering and possessing stolen goods 100 arrests; and so on. Toronto City Council closed the mall down half way through the summer.

For the future well-being of the citizen in the heart areas of our big cities, it will be of the utmost importance in the future that the town planner works in close cooperation with the police authorities so that unfortunate mistakes, such as a well-meaning City Council in Toronto unwittingly committed, can be avoided. In this way the future well-being of all citizens in the heart of the

city can best be cared for in preparing town plans and carrying them into reality.

11 Social Problems and Planning

G. J. Campbell

Introduction

The first part of this paper describes the powers and processes of the planning authority. The second part describes the psychosocial characteristics of the users or participants and the social strengths and problems in areas related to town planning.

The case studies are chosen from planning situations in which the author has worked. principally Canberra and Livingston (a new town west of Edinburgh in Scotland). The author's experience in town planning has been in organisations which also had a power to develop and to therefore require planning decisions to be implemented. This power to require implementation had three advantages. First, town planning work is programmed and the timing of decisions is therefore critical. Second, the town planning arm of an organisation is not purely planning so that it can escape criticism by excuses that its recommendations are not carried out by other public or private bodies. Third, organisations which have to require implementation as well as plan have to be accountable. This places a greater emphasis on delivery. that is on the appropriate timing as well as the appropriate location and land use of a facility.

PART I
General Planning Context

An urban area is a mosaic of activities making use of parcels of land and of networks. These activities have characteristics which are sometimes classified into various environmental areas — for

example, political, social, economic, philosophical, physical, administrative, informational.

These are expressed as forces either directly or indirectly. For example, a political force may be manifested as an economic or social expression. The forces are constrained, encouraged, ignored or opposed. They operate at a multitude of scales and involve a multitude of actors.

Urban decision-making relates to all of these. For convenience the actors break up these decisions into various scales, areas, disciplines, etc. For example:

- Town planning, economic planning, social planning, environmental planning, planning for crime and its prevention.

- Engineering, architecture, landscape design.

- Public investment, private investment.

- Housing, retail, offices, industry.

- Small businesses, corporations, multinationals.

- Institutions, etc.

These areas all interact and overlap. The divisions are abstractions, but they enable us to describe, to analyse, to propose and to act.

Further, the subsequent assessments of the effectiveness of those actions are carried out by each of the interest groups and initially at least, assessed on the basis of how the particular action affects their present position and their objectives for the future.

Town Planning decisions are therefore only a part of the urban decisions made but as with other disciplines, ideally they are supported by a body of knowledge developed over the years. This body of knowledge and a disciplined approach to particular problems can add strength to the town planning force.

To be effective in relation to an identified problem, town planning decisions must lead to the maintenance of a situation which would otherwise be changed or they must lead to a deliberate change. They are not effective if they only result in reports or plans. These are simply the tools of persuasion and contractual records at a point in time.

Ashworth[1] has identified the historical development of town planning from two streams: the utopian stream and the reform stream.

The utopian stream wished to offer a total alternative to the existing urban areas. while the reform stream wished to legislate to improve dwelling conditions. sewerage systems. etc.

Town planning continues to operate at the confluence of these two streams. It attempts to see the urban area as a whole with temptations to utopian thinking and it attempts to constrain certain activities by legislation with temptations to reformist thinking. These temptations are important because the decisions can have an impact on so many other actors in the urban mosaic.

Many earlier decisions are now accepted practice and some have become public norms. Some others have consequences never anticipated and there are numerous published criticisms of such cases.

In social terms. however. any of these decisions can only produce what Herbert Gans[2] has called a 'potential environment'. The interaction with the user and with the other actors and forces will be a vital factor before the potential can be reached. Gans calls this the 'effective environment'.

Planning of Canberra

Initially the result of a competition and based on the winning design by the American, Walter Burley Griffin. the city developed to only 39,061 population by 1958. In that year the National Capital Development Commission was established with a very straight-forward objective as stated in its Act:

> . . . to undertake and carry out the planning. development and con-
> struction of the City of Canberra as the National Capital of the Common-
> wealth.

The significant metropolitan plan which still guides the planning of the city was the 1969 Growth Strategy. This strategy plan could accommodate development up to 500,000 population and had certain key principles. These were:

> The growth of the city to be essentially linear and as a series of new districts.
>
> These new districts to be physically separated by the hills and ridges (an earlier important factor in Griffin's 1910 plan).

Each of these new districts to be serviced by a major retail centre and have an associated employment centre of a significant size.

The metropolitan development to be served by major peripheral roads (parkways), external to the residential areas and by a central intertown public transport system.

This metropolitan plan is known as the 'Y' plan because of its form and is illustrated in Figure 1.

Canberra is now, in 1979, a city of 219,000 population and the Canberra-Queanbeyan metropolitan area has a combined population of 239,000. The city has experienced growth rates as high as 13 per cent per annum and is at present growing at between 2.5 per cent and 3 per cent per annum. This has resulted in annual population increases of as high as 12,000 in some years.

Figure 1
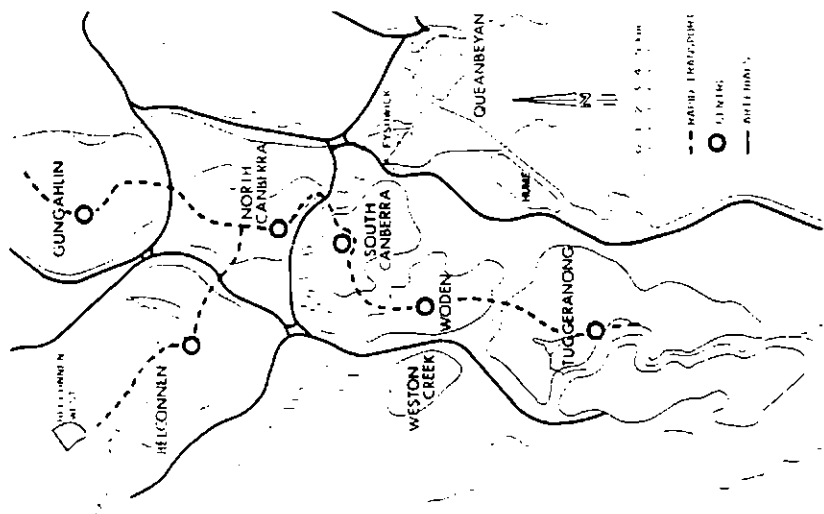
The existing employment is 63 per cent public service and semi-public service employment, some 37 per cent private enterprise employment and at present there are 6 per cent to 7 per cent unemployed.

The settlement sequence of Canberra is significant as in the periods of rapid development, neighbourhoods were settled quickly by people of similar age. Figures 2 and 3 indicate the settlement sequence of the separate districts of Inner Canberra, Woden, Weston Creek, Belconnen and Tuggeranong and also the more detailed settlement of each neighbourhood or equivalent residential area.

Figure 2

DISTRICT POPULATION 1966-76
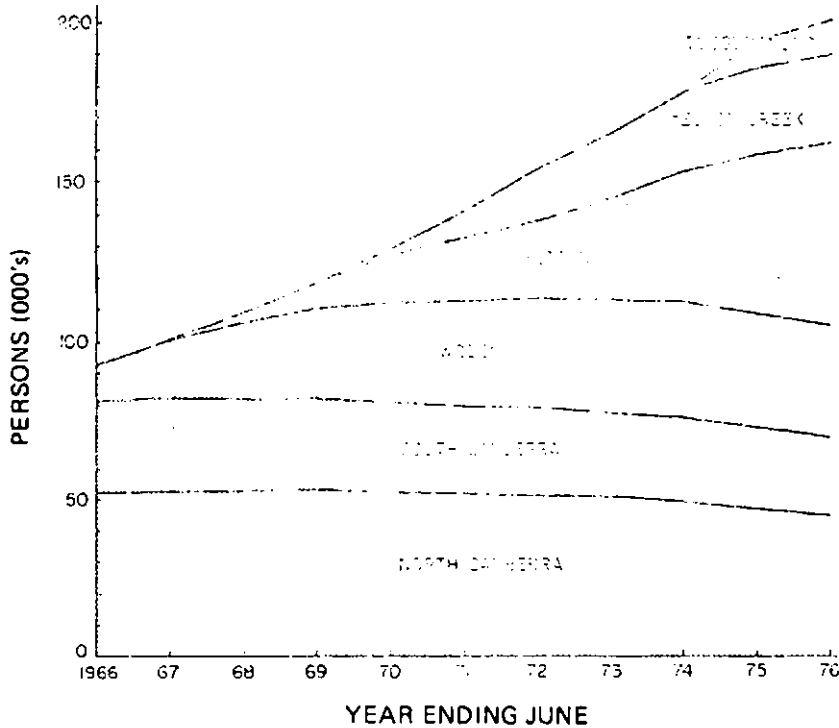
National Capital Development Commission

The authority responsible for the planning and development of Canberra is the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC).

Figure 3

CANBERRA CITY DISTRICT
YEAR OF FIRST SETTLEMENT
OF SUBURBS

The NCDC was established in 1958 under a specific Act and is funded directly from the Federal Budget. It has two basic functions which affect decisions by others. These are: (a) planning (which produces policies); and (b) development (which produces head-works, serviced land, roads, bridges, buildings and landscaping).

The scale of the NCDC operations has recently been as high as some 3000 separate projects and an annual expenditure of some \$200 million.

The Commission cannot hold or sell land and can only develop if there is an identified and agreed client. Its main client has been the Department of the Capital Territory which is the administrative arm of the city organisation. Land in the Australian Capital Territory is owned by the Commonwealth.

Among other major clients to which the Commission relates are the Department of Administrative Services, the A.C.T. Schools Authority and the Capital Territory Health Commission. The one servicing function which is not the responsibility of the Commission is electricity supply which is planned and developed by the A.C.T. Electricity Authority.

The NCDC builds government housing (that is, the equivalent in other places of municipal or council housing), all government offices, government schools, health facilities, municipal type works, and national works. Private enterprise builds the privately financed facilities (with one major exception, the Belconnen Retail Mall) and some leisure facilities. All development by the Commission is handled by private enterprise contractors on a tendering basis.

NCDC Organisation

The Commission as an organisation has a Commissioner and he is assisted by two Associate Commissioners. The organisation has a Planning Division, two Design Divisions (Engineering and Archi-tecture), a Development Division and a Division of the Secretary/ Manager (which includes economic, social, financial, external relations, and programming functions in addition to the usual management functions). The Corporate plan of the organisation's functions is a linear sequence illustrated in Figure 4. The planning process is controlled by two systems, the Operational Cycle and

the NCDC Plans System.

The Operational Cycle[3] (see Figure 5) is the mechanism for controlling the implementation of the corporate plan. The object is to identify and coordinate the critical planning and programming functions essential to the policy outputs, the physical development outputs and the financial information needed by the Departments of Finance and the Treasury. It is reviewed annually.

Figure 4

NCDC KEY CORPORATE FUNCTIONS

Basic Information Inputs		Climates Assessments		
Demographic	Physical	Political	Social	Economic

Needs Assessments

| C O R P O R A T E O B J E C T I V E S |

METROPOLITAN POLICY PLAN
Physical   Social   Economic

TOWN PLANNING POLICIES

Priorities Assessments

Resources Assessments

THREE YEAR PROGRAMME

ANNUAL   PROGRAMME
• National Works
• Housing
• Retail
• Offices
• Industry
• Community Facilities
• Recreation & Tourism
• Public Utilities

CONSTRUCTED FACILITIES

Source: *N.C.D.C. Corporate Planning*, A.J. Powell, Technical Bulletin No. 27, July 1978, N.C.D.C.

The NCDC Plans System is the mechanism for controlling land use policy formulation, the location and spatial boundaries of policies and the development sequence and integration. It is handled through a series of policy plans, a series of development

plans and a record of existing land use plans. These plans are not the usual statutory plan and have been developed to be pertinent and appropriate for the Commission's powers and the A.C.T. leasehold system of land management. In essence policy plans, whether at the metropolitan or local scale, are statements of commitment to the stated policies and development plans are statements of commitment to the stated development and reflect a programme and funding commitment.

Process Example

If one takes a particular product, the functions of the NCDC can be better appreciated supposing such a project is the building of a school. The client is the A.C.T. Schools Authority and in the assessment of need and user requirements, demographic factors, education philosophy, political climate, public expectation and funding have to be taken into account. These are controlled by an annual review of activities at specific weeks in the operational cycle and of identified sub-activities leading up to these particular outputs. This sequence of activities is identified in Figure 6.

The spatial location of the school is first identified at the scale of the district and then in detail in the planning of the neighbour-hood. The town planning policy in relation to location, urban structural significance, associated or dual uses is controlled through the development plan and the programme monitoring. Finally the feedback becomes an input for the next school.

Education is part of one of the eight programme areas which are the physical outputs of the Commission's activities. The whole programme area is identified in Figure 7.

Order of Decision

The above description no doubt sounds far too deterministic and to bridge the material to be discussed on special aspects of the urban mosaic, this simple model (see Figure 8) is proposed. The model has two axes: a town planning scale axis and a level of certainty axis.

Within the model particular planning decisions are identified

Figure 5
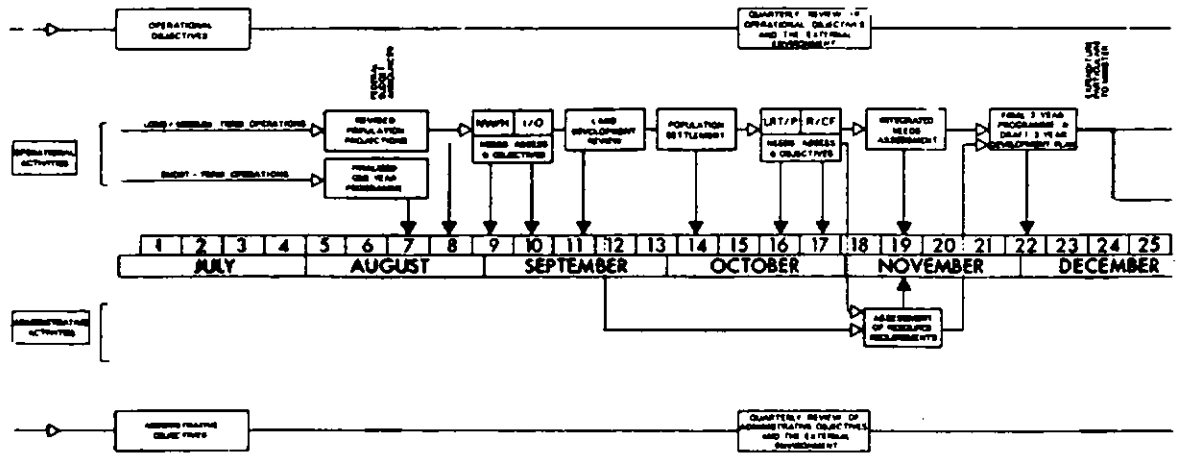
(Continued)

Figure 5 (continued)

Figure 6

NEEDS FORECASTS

SET OBJECTIVES

SET PERFORMANCE STANDARDS FOR OBJECTIVES

CONSIDER CONSTRAINTS SOCIAL-GOVT.-RESOURCES

DEVISE ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMMES

1   2   3

CONSIDER INPUTS/OUTPUTS AND CONSTRAINTS FOR EACH PROGRAMME

EVALUATE PROGRAMMES

CHOOSE OPTIMUM AND IMPLEMENT

IDENTIFY PERFORMANCE AREAS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

MONITOR INPUTS/OUTPUTS OF EACH PROGRAMME

EVALUATE

EVALUATION REPORT ON THE PERFORMANCE OF EACH PROGRAMME

MODIFY PROGRAMME

DATA REQUIREMENTS

PLANNING CRITERIA, RESEARCH, SURVEYS, ETC.

EVALUATION METHODS

FINANCIAL RESOURCE, CONSTRAINTS, PLANNING CRITERIA, PUBLIC PARTICIPATION.

MONITORING METHODS

QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE, FINANCIAL.

Figure 7

Figure 8

	Futures	Metropolitan	District	Neighbourhood	Sites
Uncertainty	Strategy Advice	Metro Plan Metro Issues			
Risk		Metro Issues	District Plan District Issues	Neighbourhood Plan Neighbourhood Issues	. Site Resource
Certainty					. Site Allocation . Site Development

according to scale and level of certainty.

The following examples expand on this model:

Example 1 : Uncertainty/Futures
Decision: Political — to develop a new capital, Canberra.
Comment: Utopian roots.
              High degree of uncertainty.
              Even up to 1958 there was talk of failure.
Social Impact: Major relocation of people from existing cities to raw new area.

Example 2 : Uncertainty/Metropolitan
Decision: Growth strategy plan for Canberra.
Comment: Uncertain because of unknown future but because of development powers, less uncertain than master plans for other cities in Australia.
Social Impact: Dependent on the rate of change and unexpectedness of change.

In the 'certainty areas' there are the following characteristics:

. Financial and contract commitments.

. Social consequences but not necessarily those identifiable at the time.

. Numerous separate areas of decision-making in most cities.

. Quick and urgent decision response times.

. High market interest but little academic interest.

. High level of local political interest.

PART II

'What excites me . . . is the possibility of planning for man, instead of a "forbidding" urban environment, a facilitating one . . .'
— E.H. Erikson, 1973

'The [environment] proposed by the planner is only a "potential environment", the social system and culture of the people who will use it determine to what extent (it) becomes an "effective environment".'
— H.J. Gans, 1968

The first part of this paper considered the planning authority, its powers and its processes. This second part considers the users and/or participants and the social strengths and problems related to areas of town planning decisions.

The two quotations above are sufficient to emphasise the confidence and the caution which are necessary for any progress in this field. The confidence is required to understand the possibilities of planning. to move forward and to prepare the potential environment. The caution is necessary to understand the limitations of planning. to resist simplistic solutions and is of equal importance to enable a move forward in the preparation of the potential environment.

Life Cycle

Erik Erikson published in 1950[4] his description of the life cycles of man. starting with infancy and moving through to old age, with eight stages in all. There have of course been other descriptions including those of Shakespeare, World Health Organisation and Doxiadis. I have made use of Erikson's description for two reasons: First. Erikson identifies for each stage the psychosocial crises that man is likely to face and second, he used this description in a discussion on a city for human development at the 1971 Athens Ekistics Month and I have been influenced by the points made in that paper[5].

Erikson's life cycle description is identified in Figure 9 and has eight stages. These are infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood and old age. For each stage Erikson identifies the psycho-social crises, the significant relations and the potential psycho-social strength.

Planning Elements

A useful description of planning elements is shown in the NCDC diagram in Figure 10. This indicates the relationship between land, access, facilities and open space with the house, the housing group, the suburb, the neighbourhood group and the town at these increasing scales.

Figure 9
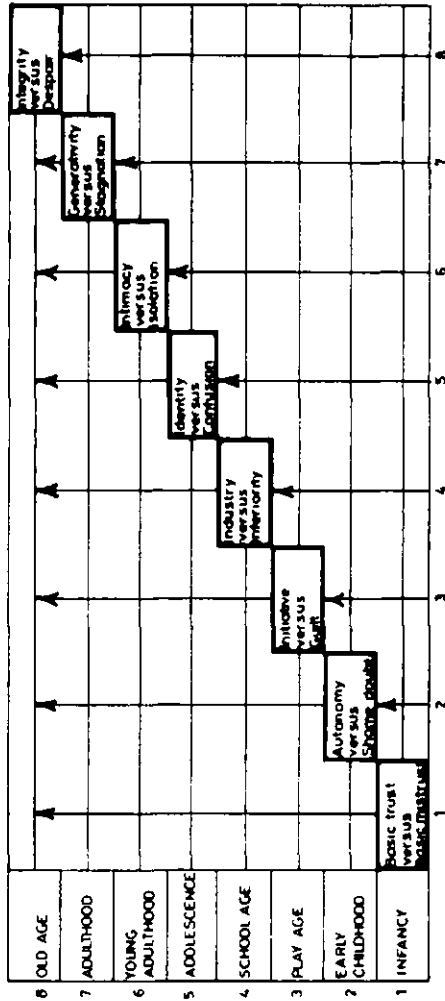
The material which follows uses the Erikson life cycle table and enlarges it, first with some of his comments and then into the design and town planning realm with identified social implications. At the conclusion of each stage, particular discussion points are identified. The issue of environmental health and the freedom from pollution is an issue for all eight stages.

Stage 1: Infancy

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as trust-v-mistrust.

. The significant relationship is with the maternal person.

. And, if positive, the development is hope.

The prenatal stage is omitted by Erikson but included by others.

In planning terms the provision of health services is of major importance. It should be remembered that the increases in average life expectancy over the past 50 years are principally due to the decrease in death at infancy.

The relationship with the maternal person is the significant personal relationship and therefore the maternal person's view of the world is critical to the development of hope in the child. Further, the demeanor of the child inspires hope in the adult. It is therefore mutually reinforcing if successful.

The issue for planners is therefore the environment of the maternal person rather than the infant. The provision of a house, the location of the house, the design of the house in basic terms of space and orientation may be the important planning issues.

Discussion Points

1. How does the relationship of the adult of child-bearing age and settlement in a new suburb affect the mother and infant relationship?

   That is, is the establishment of a house an exciting and growing experience for a mother at the same time as raising an infant?

2. How does the issue of provision of health services and the provision of housing weigh against the issue of the quality of these products? That is, is it more important to provide a house with space and sun than to provide a house with quality fittings?

Figure 10

CITY PLAN SYSTEM
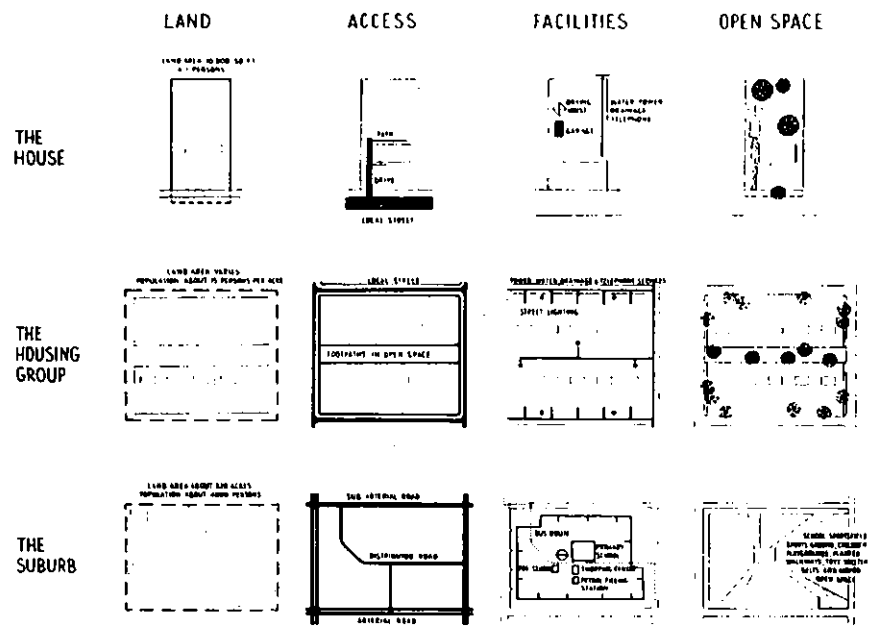
(Continued)

Figure 10 (continued)

THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD
GROUP

THE
TOWN
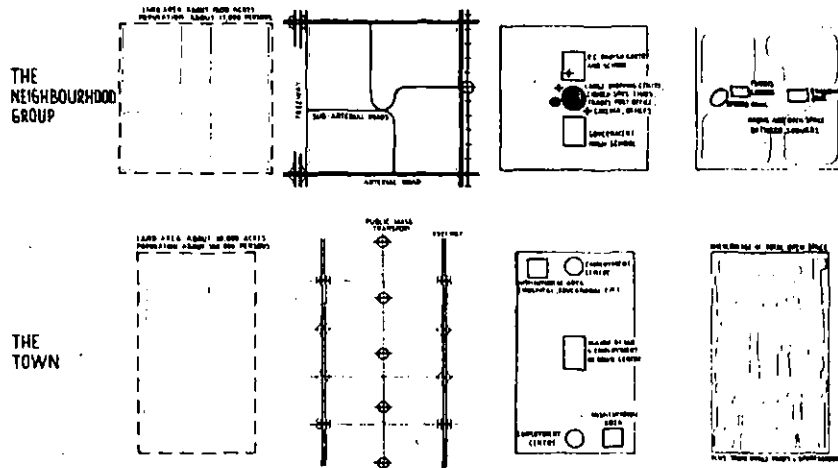
Source: K. Storey, N.C.D.C.

Stage 2: Early Childhood

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as autonomy-v-shame/doubt.
. The significant relationship with the parental persons.
. And, if positive, the development of will.

The relationship with the parents and the parents' view of the world is likely to be influenced by the issues of employment and the gap between the parents' desired life style and their income.

In the case of single parent or two-job families, the opportunity for convenient child care centres, open at appropriate times, is important. In Sweden a significant increase in the choice of employment for working mothers was achieved by relating the opening and closing times of the child care centres to the times of the public transport services into Stockholm.

The immediate environmental issues are walks, parks and access to nodes such as shopping centres. The issue of the design of the house is similar to Stage 1 except that it now also relates to the child in that provision extends to the garden, courtyard or balcony.

Dicussion Points

1. What is the likely effect on early childhood of the parent(s) facing a possible future with unemployment a permanent characteristic?

2. How will the single parent maintain a developing relationship with the child when he/she faces a considerable number of problems? Can child care centres be available and be staffed and equipped to set the stage for the physical, mental and emotional growth of the child?

Erikson identifies this stage as decisive for the development of 'a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem', because it is from this stage that emerges 'the propensity for compulsive over-compliance or impulsive compliance'.

Stage 3: Play Age

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as initiative-v-guilt.

. The significant relationship as the basic family.

. And, if positive, the development of purpose.

· The importance of the earlier issues of employment, child care centres. etc., continue into this stage.

The issue of housing becomes more significant. The question of high or low density, of high rise development, and of space requirements for a family are influential. The considerable problem of supervision of the child at play when the parents are housed in a multi-storeyed tower block is of major planning significance.

The provision of play spaces, their location, and the relation to the supervision from the home are all important. A particular example drawn from Livingston was an initial development of equipped play spaces accessible to children. However, this generated a lot of opposition from residents in the area as the play spaces were close to houses and the area housed many who were shift workers and therefore attempting to sleep during the day. The Corporation had to remove much of the equipment and rethink its planning for play spaces. It later identified 'noisy' play spaces adjacent to primary schools where adjacent residents would expect noisy play. An illustration of different types of play spaces is given in Figure 11.

The safety of the street and the definition of the street zone is important as it is a potential area for play for this age group.

Discussion Points

1. Will the child's initiative be encouraged by the play areas we design and build? For example, adventure playgrounds?

2. Is the street an equally challenging environment?

3. Is the most critical planning issue of this age group the freedom to leave the house and yet to remain secure in the know-

Figure 11
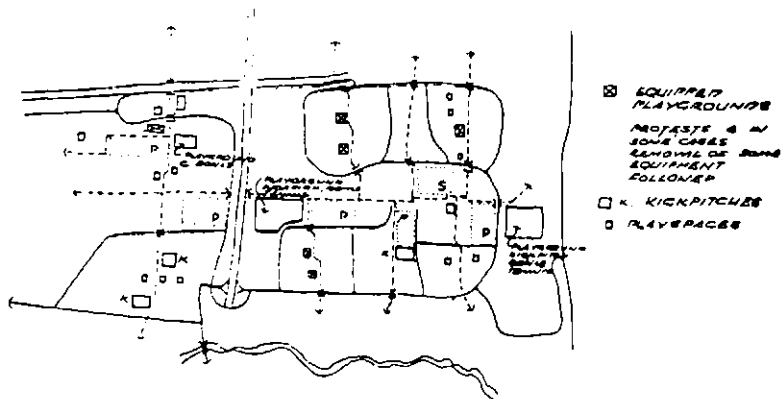
NONDEN EAST   CRAIGSHILL

PLAYGROUNDS IMPLEMENTED IN FIRST DISTRICTS
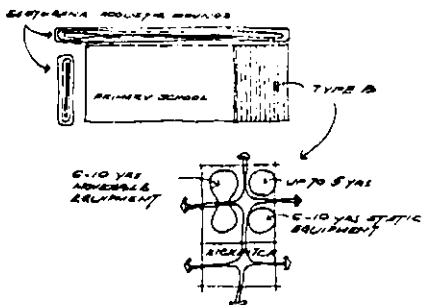
POSSIBLE SITING OF TYPE 'B'
ADJACENT PRIMARY SCHOOL

TYPICAL DISTRIBUTION FOR
DISTRICT OF 10,000 POP'N

A ● MINOR PLOTS - SMALL, FREQUENT

B ///// SECONDARY AREAS
1-2 ACRES EQUIPPED
ADJACENT OTHER NODE
SOURCES EG. SCHOOLS

C ✖✖✖ MAJOR PLAY AREAS
5 ACRES SPECIALLY
SELECTED SITES.

DIAGRAMATIC LAYOUT OF
TYPE C
ABOVE IS POSSIBLE ONLY
WHERE A SITE IS SUITABLE &
SEPARATED FROM HOUSING.

POSSIBLE APPROACH TAKEN
FROM REPORT, BY THE AUTHOR
ON PLAYGROUNDS AT LIVINGSTON
APRIL 1970

PLAYGROUNDS

ledge that a parent is at hand? If so, what are the implications of high rise housing for child-raising families of any socio-economic class?

Stage 4: School Age

Erikson identifies:

.   The psycho-social crises as industry-v-inferiority.
.   The significant relationship now extends to the neighbour-hood and the school.
.   And, if positive, the development of competence.

The provision and location of schools becomes an important planning issue. The staffing and equipment of the schools becomes important in the child's comprehension of the tools of his culture.

The street layout and safety continue as important. In fact, the structure of the neighbourhood and the safety at potential conflict areas whether with vehicles, rivers, etc., is a major planning issue. The development of 'Radburn' planning principles has been justified on the basis of this emphasis on safety. Although there are numerous examples of 'Radburn' principle neighbourhoods throughout the world, there are not numerous studies demonstrat-ing the effectiveness of these schemes. There is a danger that much of it is 'paper planning' and that children naturally play in the areas of interest, not the areas marked for safe play.

The interaction with others in the neighbourhood can lead to confidence or lack of confidence in terms of class, race and skill relationships.

The search for competence extends beyond the school curri-culum to other community services and facilities.

Discussion Points

1. Do Radburn principles in housing layout increase safety and increase or decrease social interaction at the street level?

2. Is it more important to provide quality teachers and basic

schools or quality schools and basic teachers if that is the choice?

3. Is this stage in the life cycle strongly influenced by the school environment? If so, how critical is the provision, size and location of the school?

4. Can communities afford the investment in schools and not permit community use outside school hours?

Stage 5: Adolescence

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as identity-v-confusion.
. The significant relationships as peer groups, outgroups and models of leadership.
. And, if positive, the development of fidelity.

This is the stage of potential commitment to causes, ideologies, or repudiation of causes and ideologies.

In planning terms it presents the problem of planning for spontaneous actions of cliques and clans who change with the use of new leaders. It is the first real stage of potential danger to the rest of society. It is a high 'risk' area of the life cycle in terms of crime. The issue of future employment opportunities or lack of opportunities must be influential. The issue of facilities in educational, leisure and recreational terms is also of significance but difficult to relate to the need of the adolescent.

The provision, location and courses at high schools, technical colleges, universities, etc., and their associated forms of apprenticeship result in a major structural element in the planning of a town. The encouragement of involvement in sport results in large areas of open space being developed and maintained by the community. The issue of transport mobility and the opportunity it offers for anonymity, status and for leisure is a high priority for many adolescents.

The recent increase in adolescent group living has raised questions of housing types and assumptions on the make up of residential areas.

The clan tendency and its related problems of violence leads to questions of street length, street lighting and supervision, however, this must be placed in perspective. For example, if you, as an adult, walk along an empty street near your house in day time you feel confident. Place 10 adolescents, all known to you, on the corner and you are still confident. Now consider some changes. First, you don't know the adolescents, or the street is in another area of town, or it is dark but the street is lit and, finally, it is dark and the street is not lit. These changes will increase your suspicion of the adolescents who may remain the same people. The change has not been in the adolescents but in the environment. This clan tendency is in Australia related to car groups, motorbike groups, high mobility and an activity area which from Canberra can range across two States.

The problems of vandalism by adolescents, particularly of schools and perhaps symbolically so, leads to questions of design and security. The problems of potential for criminal acts becomes significant in this age group. In some cultures street violence has been a characteristic over recent years.

Discussion Points

1. Is it possible to provide leisure and recreational facilities that are attractive to this age group who by their nature have spontaneous and changing patterns?

2. To what extent should a community set aside so much of its land for recreation space for adolescents?

3. How will the adolescents be affected by a future of uncertain employment?

4. How will a petrol crisis affect the mobility and therefore the life style of adolescents and how will they react?

5. What are the implications for housing layout of an increased demand for group accommodation?

6. How will the prospect of street violence affect the design of our streets?

Stage 6: Young Adulthood

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as intimacy-v-isolation.

. The significant relationships as partners in friendship, sex, competition and cooperation.

. And, if positive, the development of love.

'Freud when asked for the criteria of a mature person is reputed to have answered "Love and work". All three words deserve equal emphasis'[6].

The earlier comments and discussion points on the maternal person and parents for Stages 1 and 2 are related to this young adulthood stage. Questions of accessibility and journey to work, shops, etc., are vital planning issues.

This age group is the major one affected by government housing policy changes. As an example, in Canberra, a housing scheme was planned and designed under a government policy which did not impose a means test and permitted sale of houses to tenants resulting in mixed social communities. Before completion, a government policy change introduced a means test and withdrew the opportunities for purchase. This resulted in an identifiable physical and social relationship.

This age group is affected by restrictions on borrowing. It is the group facing the major investment decisions of their life with the least experience at hand. Work and progress through energy and skill are most important and yet this group faces high risks with unemployment because of investment in a new house, new fittings and a new car.

The recent increased involvement in public partipation has developed as a result of the activity of those of this stage and the next stage. This participation can be vocal, articulate and energetic.

The question of 'achieving' is an important one. It may be more useful to encourage involvement in 'doing' than in 'opposing'. As an example 'Craigs Farm', an old farmhouse in Livingston, was rehabilitated and established as a community centre by the efforts of the residents without financial assistance from the Corporation.

Discussion Points

1. How does housing policy, with its opportunities or restrictions

on location and purchase, affect young adults?

2. How does housing location and pricing determine their life style?

3. How important is the staging of the town with its effect on settlement of similar age groups or dissimilar age groups?

4. What is a supporting environment for young adults? Is it one of their own age group or a mixed age group?

5. Has the provision of facilities led to a frustration of the energies of this age group? That is, would there be greater satisfaction and personal development if more facilities were left to the efforts of voluntary groups?

Stage 7: Maturity

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as generativity-v-stagnation.
. The significant relationship as divided labour or shared household.
. And, if positive, the development of care.

This group is characterised by a concern for establishing and guiding the next generation. It is a period where individuals wish to have their developed skills recognised and their capacity 'stretched'. Service to various organisations or a complete lack of involvement are characteristics. The problems of loss of employment and of necessary changes in employment, are critical. The breakdown of marriages leads to greater demand for more and different house types. A high degree of mobility among successful members of this group leads to changes of house, location and employment.

The effect of major social changes can be of great significance. As an example, Canberra is experiencing a sharp reduction in its population growth rate. What is the likely effect on this age group?

The major planning issue is one of a greater range and quality

of housing types as this group relocates. Questions of accessibility and journey to work are other vital planning issues. Public involvement in the planning process, particularly as related to concern for the local area, is characteristic, informed and usually skilled. Experience, maturity, skills and finance assists this group to be involved in many development initiatives.

Discussion Points

1. How best can the experience and skill of this group advise on planning matters?

2. What are the implications of a sudden social change or loss of a job to a member of this group?

Stage 8: Old Age

Erikson identifies:

. The psycho-social crises as integrity-v-despair.

. The significant relationship as mankind or my kind.

. And, if positive, the development of wisdom.

'A meaningful old age... provides that integrated heritage which gives indispensible perspectives to those growing up, "adolescing", and aging'[7].

The importance of special housing, the room, the health service returns as a critical issue and the questions of a mixed neighbourhood and the extended family become very important.

The integration of those of old age into a mobile, achieving community is difficult but recognised as important. The use of community facilities and specialised facilities is often also a municipal issue. The problem of accessibility and need for transport as well as access to convenient shops is important.

Discussion Points

1. How can housing be provided to cope with active and later

passive old age?

2. Is it possible and desirable to provide community facilities that meet the needs of the aged and of other groups?

3. Why do we employ people in child care centres to look after children and employ people in old folks centres to look after the aging?

Concluding Statement

'What excites me. . . is the possibility of planning for man, instead of a "forbidding" urban environment, a facilitating one; that is one which supports man's developmental and creative potentials and permits him to feel central rather than shunted to the periphery, active rather than inactive, challenged to participation rather than isolated, enhanced in awareness rather than manipulated by blind forces, etc.'[8].

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1. Ashworth, W., *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.

2. Gans, H.J., *People and Plans*, Basic Books, 1968.

3. The initial work in the Operational Cycle was developed with two members of staff, David Parkin and Peter Emery. The references which follow to Corporate Planning Material were developed with Peter Emery.

4. Erikson, E.H., *Childhood and Society*, 1950, later published by Penguin Books in 1965.

5. Erikson, E.H., 'Notes on the Life Cycle' *Ekistics*, October 1971, and 'Thoughts on the City for Human Development' *Ekistics*, April 1973.

6. Erikson, E.H., 'Notes on the Life Cycle', *Ekistics*, October 1971, p. 264.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

8. Erikson, E.H., 'Thoughts on the City for Human Development' *Ekistics*, April 1973, p. 217.

12 Police Policy Planning

R.W. Whitrod

Introduction

Police organisations are much the same everywhere but because of geographical, social and political differences, policing practices do vary, nationally and locally. Generally speaking, there are two main types of policing. These are usually known as 'policing from above' and 'policing from below', terms which are indicative of their distribution of power.

Briefly, 'policing from above' means that power is bestowed and exercised, by delegation or direction, from superior to subordinate. Such police forces are characteristic of highly centralised governments.

On the other hand, 'policing from below' springs from the recognition in Anglo-Saxon countries that the power of search, seizure, detention, and the use of reasonable force to secure compliance, is not delegated by a superior, but is regarded by law as inherent in the ancient office of each constable.

Historically these constables did not use their inherent power to discover offences, rather they assisted complaining citizens if and when their help was sought. This constableship was a collective responsibility in which all able-bodied men were expected to share. It was not a specialist job, nor did it produce any income. It was supposed to be done as a service to the community.

With the formation of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829, the prevention of crime became the acknowledged primary task of a full-time, professional body of policemen. An emphasis on the preventive concept meant that the police had to take the initiative in seeking out those engaged in violating the laws. In this way police assumed a major role in social control.

Stemming from this responsibility police have tended to con-

centrate more on active repression as the best method of crime prevention rather than trying to identify and neutralize underlying social causes of crime.

Consequently police have usually advanced a threefold solution to prevent the growth of crime: more material resources in terms of manpower, pay and technology; wider legal powers to enforce the law; and criticisms of courts for not inflicting heavier penalties.

Shortly after the successful establishment of the London force, its methods and organization were copied in each Australian State. Recognizable uniforms, a career structure, individual accountability, mobility, improved training, and standardized procedures were all adopted.

But the Australian police, from the outset, diverged from the English model, and have continued to do so. From the start they were faced with different social problems — including a population largely descended from convicts, hostile Aboriginal tribes, and large tracts of sparsely settled land with poor communications.

Whereas in the English arrangement local authorities were responsible for meeting police expenditure from local rates, in Australia police funding is provided solely from Government budgeting. Many consequences flow from this different arrangement, one important one being that in Australia a locality can agitate for additional police to be stationed there well knowing that there will be no extra charge on them. This is a dilemma which regularly faces police planners, for scarce manpower may be deployed in a way which does not return the biggest reduction in crimes, or vehicle collisions.

Australian police forces now include a small Commonwealth force which is responsible countrywide for the protection of Commonwealth property and the prevention of crimes against Commonwealth laws. At present a merger is underway of this Commonwealth force and that of the Australian Capital Territory to form the Australian Federal Police Force. One of the stated objects of this merger is to provide a more efficient anti-terrorist unit which will undertake actions on a national basis. Because of constitutional restrictions, however, much will depend upon the degree of cooperation received from the independent State forces who, most jealously, guard their responsibilities for crime prevention within the geographical boundaries of their States. There is no

over-riding, central law enforcement body for crime generally, although certain areas such as illicit drugs and airport safety have a major claim on Commonwealth police rather than State. It is therefore not strictly true to speak about an Australian approach to crime prevention in general.

It is true, however, that a national committee, consisting of representatives of the States and Commonwealth, has been formed to coordinate preparations for the Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of the Crime and the Treatment of Offenders to be held in 1980. A recent U.N. Information Note states that Australia (that is, this committee) is of the view that this forthcoming Congress should devote attention to crime prevention planning. The Australian suggestions are:

(1)   One way of proceeding in this task is to adopt a case study approach in which practical examples of the application of techniques for crime prevention planning could be documented and assessed.

(2)   A similar study could be made of programmes designed to reduce opportunities for crime.

(3)   National, or regional, or local crime prevention bodies could be established to engage in educational programmes.

(4)   Encouragement could be given to local communities to participate in crime prevention policy decisions and implementation.

(5)   Crime prevention expertise could be developed in all social sectors such as health, education, social welfare, etc.

The Information Note does not specify if these suggestions have met with the approval of the various State governments in this country. Approval is necessary because the suggestions intrude into their areas of constitutional responsibility. My experience suggests that while it is unlikely that any formal agreement has been reached. especially at Cabinet level, these proposals represent the public policy of the States. If it is realised that State police

forces rely solely upon funds granted by State governments — they are not themselves revenue producers — then the importance of this official approval will be better understood. Any extension of their activities in the crime prevention field is dependent upon additional funds being granted by the government concerned.

This dependence upon funds from the annual budgets of the State governments imposes difficulties on police planners who seek to introduce long-term programmes, for there is no certainty that funds will be approved in the second and any succeeding years, especially if there is a change of political party in power.

Australian police forces seek to maintain a strict neutrality towards party politics, and on the whole, they achieve this. Recently in one State the Police Commissioner was sacked because of his failure to keep his Government completely informed about the activities of the Special Branch. It would seem that in part at least the Police Commissioner was influenced by a suspicion that if he did supply this information it might become available to people whose loyalty he was not sure of.

The kind of political party in power does affect the emphasis in crime prevention activities by police forces. The present State Government of New South Wales, our most populous State, is non-conservative in philosophy, and it is not surprising therefore that increased attention is being given to business frauds, computer crime, and other forms of what we term 'white-collar' illegal activities.

Police commissioners do meet in annual conference but any policy decisions are usually subject to ratification by State Governments, and on the whole, these conferences have not produced coordinated plans for crime prevention.

Each State force publishes an annual report for submission to Parliament on the activities of the force and its expenditure of public moneys for the preceding year. In general these reports do not contain much information on planning, although in recent years each force has established a Planning and Research Section.

As far as I can gather, however, these units do not engage in any assessment of overall police objectives, nor is much attention given to long-term change. Much of the unit's resources are devoted to restructuring administrative arrangements, and developing better supervisory techniques. In those instances where a research unit presents plans of improved response to social change, it must

overcome resistance generated by traditional police caution to new challenges. Perhaps also part of this particular problem is caused by our continued adherence to the military style of police organization copied from England. A more decentralized style of organization may provide a better environment in which to produce and implement new policies for crime prevention.

Each Australian police force has a small crime prevention bureau — totalling about 30 members. While the members of these bureaux may be enthusiastic about the value of their work, this seems to be a view not shared by police departments themselves. Basically they provide a customer service, responding to requests to address community groups, schools, and business organizations on better ways of protecting lives and properties. They also run campaigns, from time to time, to educate parents and children on the dangers of child molesters. In short, they seek to make crime more difficult to commit, but their concentration is on the traditional offences of robbery, burglary, and assault.

My point here is that for many years Australian police forces have had the benefit of laws specifically designed to assist in the prevention of crime — consorting with reputed thieves, loiter with intent, found in possession of housebreaking implements, on premises without lawful excuse, and the like — but there never has been any systematic attempt to evaluate their usefulness. Police have accepted them without realizing that one day they would be required to justify their continued existence in the face of sustained argument from spokesmen for civil liberties. Crime prevention bureaux have overlooked or ignored the need to prepare data for such purposes.

Much preventive practice does in fact mean intrusions into the private rights of individuals, and police forces should be prepared to objectively examine the benefit and social costs of such techniques. One simple illustration is the prohibition against leaving keys in the ignition of motor vehicles when the driver is absent.

Planning

The planning process requires firstly the identification of goals, then the development of an appropriate strategy to achieve those goals. and an adequate system of review and control.

In a political federation like Australia, there are difficulties in the formation of national plans because of divided constitutional responsibility for their achievement. The maintenance of justice and enforcement of the law is still very much a responsibility of the States and Territories, so planning within the Australian criminal justice system tends to be uncoordinated.

In democracies, such as Australia, there is substantial political opposition to so-called unnecessary government interference. It could be claimed that this country is almost evenly divided between the supporters of a planned socialist economy, and the proponents of a free enterprise system operating with the minimum of controls. I have already referred to the other big problem of Federal-State jealousies. Both of these make policy planning cumbersome.

One such example is the delays in bringing into existence the National Companies and Securities Commission. This needs the agreement of the six States and the Commonwealth, and despite almost two years of negotiations, its future is still uncertain because of a bitter dispute as to where the Commission is to be located.

In the area of crime prevention policies the situation is further complicated because of the absence, in many cases, of scientific proof of how best to deal with crimes. In its place we tend to rely upon traditional, commonsense solutions that do not always appeal, nor, to be honest, always achieve worthwhile results.

Moreover, each State Government and therefore each police force still uses the annual budgeting procedure which gives little scope for long term planning, and even within this restrictive approach, only limited use has been made of more modern techniques, such as management by objectives.

Overseas experience has shown that in selecting priorities, cost-benefit studies can be helpful to planners, but again there has been little exploitation of this device by police managers.

These omissions may have occurred because we lack adequate research facilities to demonstrate, by experiementation, the effectiveness or otherwise of any new proposal. Delay in the introduction of new managerial planning tools may have been caused by the promotional system and in the choice of politicians to be ministers in charge of very large organisations.

Australian police commissioners, almost invariably, have been career appointments from within the ranks of their own force.

Promotion is largely by seniority, with no lateral entry for commissioned officers. All must serve as constables as a first step. In consequence, Australian commissioners of police have been tough, practical officers, well versed in police procedures through long experience in each of the junior ranks, but usually have been individuals not greatly interested in the theoretical study of managerial principles.

In a sense this has also been true of their ministerial heads in government. They have tended to be pragmatic, successful politicians, more concerned with the political realities of the situation than in committing public funds and their own careers to innovative programmes of unproven value.

As a result, Australian police forces, generally speaking, have not responded spontaneously to impending changes in the social environment, nor attempted many long range strategies in crime prevention. They have waited until sufficient public pressure has first built up to justify their moves.

There is wisdom in this course of action. Police are correct in being wary of innovation, especially in the crime prevention area, for the art or science of criminology cannot yet be regarded as being much advanced. Many of its theories are not yet fully tested either in this country or overseas. As well, some criminologists have shown an anti-police bias which has not endeared them to the police, and academics have not always been welcomed at police headquarters for this reason.

Fortunately in Australia, especially with the advent of the Australian Institute of Criminology, this barrier is disappearing, and academic criminologists and police practitioners do meet in friendly debate. One of the stated objectives of this Institute is to make inroads into the mass of ignorance there is about crime prevention measures, and hopefully from gatherings of representatives such as this, there will come profitable ideas on how best to produce policies for use by the police.

In Australia we have been slow to recognise the necessity to involve police agencies in community planning. The police themselves have been tardy in pressing their claims for inclusion in any policy-making discussions. They have performed their traditional duties of investigation, detection and apprehension, and neither they nor the public have sought more than that.

A number of factors have contributed to this. Unlike other

organisations like the Armed Services, or the Telecommunications Commission, where there is a universal acceptance of the need to plan for future operations, and a staff provided to do just that, police forces invariably find themselves fully committed merely meeting the day-to-day tasks that face them.

Police administrators, with some exceptions, have been reluctant to divert able officers away from the daily crime scene into the more exotic, somewhat mysterious, pursuit of plans for the future. Indeed, unless the police commissioner has a reasonably long tenure of office in front of him, he is probably more concerned with attending to the immediate problems, and of satisfying his political superior and the public that the police are efficient in solving local murders, or suspicious fires, or horrifying totals of road deaths.

Naturally Australian police forces only have a share of the more intelligent and better educated individuals in our society. Consequently police officers with the capacity to undertake complex planning operations tend to be a scarce commodity. Such officers often prefer to be posted to more glamourous sections, such as detective work.

The comparative absence of planning detail in the annual reports of Australian police departments has never evoked any hostile criticism from opposition parties in Parliament, from the media, or from community spokesmen. Without this pressure police administrators have tended to neglect the need for substantial long-range planning.

As I have mentioned earlier, there are difficulties in the preparation of such plans, anyway. For example, there is no clear consensus of how far the police role should go in the area of crime prevention; and there are no accurate data on what crimes have been committed, or on how much crime police have prevented. No police admistrator has been given a statement in quantitative terms of his target for this year, next year, or the next five years. Perhaps it is naive of me to suggest this for governments realise that there are many factors beyond the control of the police which affect crime totals. Well, at least, it is believed that they affect crime totals. Take one important example. Criminologists are still uncertain about the effect of unemployment on the commission of additional offences.

For a further example we need only look at the somewhat

disunited approach of the three main elements of the Australian criminal justice system, and its combined effect on the growth or reduction of crime in this country. I refer to police, courts and corrections, and their responsibility to protect society from criminal activity. In 25 years experience as the departmental head of a law enforcement body at State, Territorial and Commonwealth level, I have never participated in any joint planning of these three bodies, nor have I heard of it occurring.

Fortunately, from time to time, informal gatherings of police, prison officers and the judiciary have taken place at seminars such as this, and together have discussed how best to prevent crime in our communities, but this has been very much on an individual basis. I have yet to see any formal recognition of the results of such discussions.

Australia is not alone in its lack of progress towards a clarification of objectives for its law enforcement agencies. The United Nations Organization has expressed its concern, and has stated that it would be appropriate for the United Nations to develop and make available to governments suitable guidelines for more effective crime prevention policies in order to enable them to deal with the ever-changing challenge of crime.

In the United Nations' opinion there needs to be a sharper focus on goals and policies in crime prevention, and better and more effective coordination with education, health, social welfare, labour and other programmes. The planning of criminal policy therefore should be part of national development planning. In order to achieve this, countries should establish a body in charge of criminal policy planning. If the creation of such a body is not feasible, governments should appoint, among the members of the agency in charge of national development planning, professionals who are fully conversant with crime prevention and control, criminal justice matters and the treatment of offenders.

The Commonwealth Government does have an interest in national development, but its responsibilities in this area are fragmented among a number of departments, and in any case it has no constitutional responsibility for overall justice. State and Local Governments similarly lack any department specifically charged with an overall supervision and responsibility for development. In practice such coordination and scrutiny of results of social changes as is required. is achieved through discussion at

meetings of government ministers. In more recent years there have been moves to strengthen the staffs of Prime Ministers and Premiers to enable them to provide an overall view of the outcome of any policy decision — so far none has included a police adviser.

There seems to be general agreement that conventional measures of crime prevention and control have failed to solve the problem of criminality in modern societies. Communities are unsure of the new directions to be taken and the policies to be adopted. New forms of criminality linked to the social changes that are occurring in the world are causing concern both to governments and individuals. While, on the other hand, perhaps the time has come when some of the older prohibitions might be removed. Certainly there are good reasons for the periodic reappraisal of our laws and reassessment of the effectiveness of our methods of dealing with crime.

This state of affairs causes concern for police policy-makers. Citizens are vague and ambiguous in what they expect of the police. Some demand greater police efficiency, others emphasize the over-riding importance of the preservation of individual rights. Anglo-Saxon style policing depends upon ready support from the public in the detection of crime, and a community too divided to be cooperative with the police is of little assistance in the prevention of crime. Efforts by police forces to achieve greater public participation in preventing crime will be unproductive if there are underlying causes for deep division in the community. One example is the present situation in Brisbane, the capital city of Queensland, where the police are being required to enforce a traffic regulation that is bitterly resented by a wide cross-section of the population.

The United Nations suggest that more coherent and more clearly articulated goals for criminal justice systems would be helpful and they argue for the creation of a special agency charged with the responsibility for developing new methods of crime prevention by providing financial assistance to law enforcement agencies. In this regard they appear to have overlooked the results of a similar arrangement in the United States of America — the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

So far I have been discussing crime prevention matters on a national scale rather than at State level. The problems that I have described have not blocked some worthwhile crime prevention planning at State and local level. One such example is in operation

at a large provincial city, Geelong in Victoria. Fortunately the Australian Institute of Criminology participated in its preparation, and there is sufficient documentation available to enable you to follow the procedure adopted. I refer specifically to the report by Denbigh Richards, *Crime Prevention: Planning and Participation in Geelong*[1].

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1. Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 1976.

13 Conflict and Cooperation in Criminology and Urban Planning

J.R. Minnery

In this paper, I will look at some basic problems of values faced (or more often, not faced) by urban planners. My contention is that similar problems are faced in the crime prevention field, and may also be unrecognised.

Any kind of planning can be classified and distinguished from other types of planning according to both the various ends it is trying to achieve and the means it proposes using to reach these ends. This applies equally to crime prevention planning and urban planning.

Crime prevention planning has as its main goal the prevention or reduction of crime. It appears not to have clarified the means by which this end is to be achieved, so presumably any suitable means would be considered.

Although, unfortunately, urban (or town) planning does not have this clarity of goals, it would be instructive to look at changes that have occurred in it in its relatively short history as a profession. For a long time, urban planning was identified with physical planning, where manipulation of the physical environment of housing, open spaces, roads, shops, etc. was seen by planners as a means of achieving a better society. It was thought that the provisions of satisfactory and well located facilities would lead to a strengthening of the population's moral fibre, to the development of a happy and contented populace, and to other social benefits.

Urban planning has tended to move away from this concentration on physical planning means, partly because of the amount of criticism it received from politicians, economists, and especially sociologists. Urban planners began to focus more on the physical environment as an end. Their objective became limited to the achievement of an attractive efficient environment, using whatever

means (economic, physical, social) that were available.

Most urban planners now accept that physical planning is only one of the means we should use, and the physical environment is only one of the ends towards which we are working. We have tended to return to social concerns as the ends for our actions.

Two problems are immediately apparent. The first is that urban planners have at their call a reasonable body of techniques, and some theories, for dealing with the physical environment, but few for dealing with wider social issues. Their kit of physical planning tools is borrowed from other professions such as architecture and engineering, both of which place a high premium on the nature of the final physical structures which their work produces. Both pay lip service to the social functioning of their physical creations, but in practice have a somewhat utilitarian approach. Both tend to assume particular unified social values as the norm for the society they are embedded in (although this situation is now changing slowly). Both tend to project their beliefs onto the rest of society. Architects in particular sometimes see their role as that of leading a reluctant social mass to a world of glorious design, a physical world which will be appreciated by all once all have accumulated the design understanding currently invested mainly in architects, designers, and artists. Urban planners have absorbed some of the less attractive aspects of these beliefs.

Logan described the situation well:

> In Australia, planning has always suffered from the virtual absence of what Eversley (D. Eversley 'The Planner in Society', 1974) refers to as the *utopian tradition*. It has always been preoccupied with engineering and architectural *means* and much less with social *processes* and *ends*. The utilitarian approach may be effective when the problems are physical in nature and easily definable, but it cannot readily come to terms with equity considerations, quality of life issues, poverty, and with social plurality[1].

This is one of the reasons that urban planning solutions have in the past neglected the issue of crime. Criminologists have been quite justified in criticising planners for this.

The second problem relates to the first, and that is that criminologists, sociologists, politicians and the like have had only minimal concern for the physical environment, so that when urban planners began to realise the shortcomings of their past actions, they gained very little support from criminologists, sociologists,

politicians and other social scientists. In this area as in others criticism is easier than the creation of solutions to problems.

The answers appear to lie in the direction taken in this training course, where we have planners stepping outside their usual area of concern to meet sociologists, administrators and so on who are doing likewise.

In making these moves it is well to bear in mind that a basic concern of urban planning is the solution of current and predicted problems. The whole basis of its professional concern is the taking of effective actions, some of which are immediate and some of which are not expected to reach fruition for some years. In this sense, urban planning can be seen as the link between knowledge and action; to function properly it needs both a sound body of theory and effective means of implementation.

The link between knowledge and action is clearly as important to crime prevention planning as it is to urban planning. Both need a sound body of supporting theory but in practice both types of planning are forced to take action based on rules of thumb, outdated assumptions, stereotypes and uncritically accepted values because more acceptable bodies of theory do not exist. This problem is certainly not unique to these fields. Keynes' famous remark bears repeating here:

> . . . the ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than are commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back[2].

The problems of values and theory in urban planning have been a concern of mine for some time. In this paper I would like to address some of the issues I feel are important in urban planning and which I feel by extension are important also in crime prevention planning.

Conflict and Cooperation

The starting point for this discussion is an issue which criminologists will immediately recognise as important but whose signif-

icance may not be immediately visible to urban planners. I will argue that it is in fact crucial. The issue is that of conflict and cooperation — our approach to them, our attitude to them, our understanding of them, and our beliefs about them.

Urban planning is currently undergoing a serious reappraisal of its beliefs about this issue, although some planners seem to be unaware of the upheaval.

As is the case with the many re-thinkings of basic values that occur within most professions from time to time, the one we are interested in started from criticism of urban planners by an out-side group, in this case sociologists. As far back as the 1960s, people such as Herbert Gans were critical of some of the basic assumptions urban planners worked under. One such central paradigm that came in for critical questioning was the belief that society is basically cooperative, the belief that given the opportunities people would almost invariably develop attitudes of community and neighbourliness. This belief is descended from the 'structural functionalism' school of sociology associated with Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and others and with the human ecology school associated with the University of Chicago in the 1920s.

In essence, the structural functionalist approach saw society as being analogous to an organism. Each part of society had a clearly defined function (as do the various parts of, say, the human body), and that in the ideal society there was a general consensus of values and beliefs. Thus, each part of society would work towards the greater good of the total society by performing its own function satisfactorily. There are many implications of importance which flow from this basic set of beliefs. Two major ones of relevance to the area of crime prevention planning are the implications for social stratification and for social change:

> The functionalist position on stratification is that material inequality exists in society because different social positions have different funct-ional importance. Society has to place and motivate people in important positions by offering them higher rewards of every kind. Therefore all societies are necessarily stratified and unequal[3].

Deviance within such a society was termed by Durkheim 'anomie', that is. a confusion of one's role in society, a breakdown of norms. The methods of controlling deviance were essentially

methods of socialisation, of teaching deviants to value the basic values of society, or of forcing deviants to alter their behaviour to conform to society's expectations.

This model of society is one which places high value on social cohesion: morality is based more upon conformity to accepted values than on the worth of the individual or the individual's sense of innate justice. The model also has difficulty in accepting the worth of value systems which differ from the prevailing norm.

As can readily be appreciated, this approach is basically (small 'c') conservative. It tends to see society's current values as the best possible and resists any change to these. It is thus acceptable to those in authority in both capitalist and socialist countries. Variants of the structural functionalist beliefs are still widely held in both urban planning and criminology circles.

Despite the fact that it has become trendy to criticise this structural functionist approach, and although quite possibly many people attending this session may quite unconsciously hold similar beliefs about society, there are a number of questions or problems which need to be faced.

If we start from the specific question of social stratification, some of the problems soon become apparent. First, the relative importance of social functions cannot objectively be measured, so that measurements of social value are themselves highly value laden. Who measures this importance, and for whom is the function important? School teachers are rewarded less well than movie stars. Does this really reflect the relative value society places on education and entertainment? Second, the theory pretends that societies are pure achievement systems and ignores the realities of life where important positions are inherited rather than won. Third, and most important for this course, the theory confers low social status on positions that are not well rewarded. In times of economic depression and high unemployment, those who have lost their jobs through the collapse of the firm they worked for, or who are unable to get reasonable work (or even any work) when they leave school, and get low levels of renumeration, are led to believe their position is relatively unimportant to society. The loss of dignity of many youthful unemployed is well documented. The social costs, in terms of welfare payments, crime, suicides, and so on, resulting from the lowered sense of purpose following from low levels of financial reward are enormous. This is not to say that we should

immediately pay unemployment benefits equivalent to the Prime Minister's salary. Rather, it is to point out that the model of society we work under places a premium on financial rewards for work and stratifies rewards in a system which parallels social importance. A greater acceptance of intrinsic rewards for work would go some way towards overcoming the problem. I accept that society should reward initiative, ability, and achievement. I feel, however, that our current system falls far short of the ideal; and that by its very nature tends to exacerbate many social problems.

In addition to the problems illustrated through aspects of social stratification another fundamental problem with the structural functionalist approach to society is the difficulty it has in explaining societal change. In an ideal functionalist world everybody in society (except deviants) would be working to maintain current values, the current structure of society. Yet the importance of social change, and its ubiquity, are familiar to all of us. Social change results from disagreements over the basic values or aims of society; without this conflict there is no mechanism for change. Crime, deviance, and general urban disorder are often correlated with the size of urban areas (though there is some doubt about the validity of such correlations). There is a stronger possibility that these social problems stem from urban change rather than urban size. Some writers feel such change leads to the breakdown of primary social relationships so that people are left without family or social ties or support, the situation Durkheim described as 'anomie'.

Others (for example, Richard Sennett[4]) feel that people should be educated and socialised to be able to handle change and disorder, for change is a basic characteristic of society and should be accepted as such, rather than relegated to the 'too hard' basket.

These criticisms of structural functionism are obviously applicable also to the cooperative model descended from it and expounded by many urban planners and criminologists. Identification of the problems inherent in the 'organic' description of society must cause us to question assumptions, such as that of cooperative neighbouring, developing when a group of people are housed in close proximity in a physical neighbourhood. Or the assumption that there is basic agreement about 'the public good' so that we can plan crime prevention programmes or urban strategies

which will enhance this single unified 'public good'.

A more realistic description of society is that it is made up of a variety of groups, classes, and divisions whose interests are often in conflict. I would stress that such a 'conflict' perspective attempts to understand society as it is rather than as it should be. By accepting conflict as a reality, as a mechanism for change, we can come to a more satisfactory understanding of the working and problems of society. This is increasingly being recognised by urban planners and sociologists.

Rather than dealing in detail with the voluminous literature from the conflict perspective on social relations, the use of an example will, I think, illustrate just how important it is that we recognise the potentiality for conflicts of values between different groups in society.

Studies by sociologists have shown that urban planners (and presumably criminologists) in western society tend to come from the middle class. They are well educated, relatively prosperous, and tend to accept the orderly, moderate, slightly conservative views commonly associated with the middle class. Yet the values of other groups may not necessarily coincide with these values. There have in the past been times when the difference between the values of planners and those planned for have resulted in open conflict: the urban renewal programmes in the United States are an obvious though now dated example. This conflict in values can be even more easily demonstrated in some developing countries, where urban planners are drawn from a relatively small well educated elite group. In a caste system, value conflicts could easily arise; where tribal or ethnic differences occur, similar conflicts are not only possible but likely.

If we are interested in linking knowledge and action into an effective implementation mechanism, we need to recognise the possibility, even the probability, of these conflicts. We cannot pretend that society is a coherent cooperative whole. We must accept class, religious, ethnic, and sex differences, accept the possible conflicts of interests among these, and plan accordingly.

We accept that crime cannot be compartmentalised and treated in isolation from its social setting, so a realistic appraisal of this social setting is fundamental to crime prevention planning. The contrast between the cooperative and conflict models of society, and the reality of the conflict perspective, persuades one to search

for other areas where urban planners have to deal with situations of conflict. In addition to the social conflict discussed above, my research has led me to identify seven other areas where conflict is a fundamental reality of urban planning work. I intend briefly touching on three of these[5].

Individual Conflict

The first of these focusses on the individual human being. Of the many potentially conflicting situations which face the planner as a human being, two are of special importance here. The first is the place of aggression and conflict in basic human nature: has man inherited the aggressive instincts supposedly found in his animal ancestors? Is man basically violent, basically liable to deviant behaviour, but only held in check by a thin veneer of restrictive social custom? My own feeling is that man's separation from his non-human ancestors is so great, and his capacity for learned behaviour so persuasive, that comparisons with animal behaviour are of very limited relevance. If this belief is incorrect perhaps we need to rethink our whole approach to violent crime.

The second aspect is also relevant to crime prevention planning and relates to the nature of the individual *homo sapiens*. It is the problem of behaviour stemming from the supposed tendency to delimit and protect territory; behaviour which Robert Ardrey has called the 'territorial imperative' and which Oscar Newman has developed into the concept of 'defensible space'. These beliefs can be developed into both conflict-strengthening and conflict-reducing mechanisms. No doubt they will be discussed elsewhere in this course.

The Professional Situation

An unpleasant but nonetheless significant area of conflict in planning stems from the planner's claim to the status of professional. The most commonly recognised area is the conflict between the professional ethics expounded by the planner and the situations that arise in his everyday working life. There is a parallel between, say, an urban planner working in local government who

is asked to perform a political task which is condemned by his profession's code of ethics and a policeman asked to perform an overtly political task which is inconsistent with the ethic of impartiality followed by police forces in democratic countries.

There is a somewhat fuzzy boundary between criminal and non-criminal deviance in the field of professional ethics. Deviance from ethical standards by policemen is more rigidly controlled by law than that by urban planners.

Some years ago, the Royal Town Planning Institute of the United Kingdom accepted the existence of this professional conflict situation and issued a position paper. Some urban planners found themselves in the invidious position of having to give evidence at appeal hearings which conflicted with their own professional judgment. Their choice was that of supporting the judgments of their elected councillors, their ultimate employers, or face disciplinary action at work. The R.T.P.I. was unable to make any specific recommendations, except to appeal to the ethics of employers.

Crime is rapidly becoming a political issue of some importance. It is not inconceivable that similar ethical conflicts will confront the many professions working in this field, if in fact they have not already done so.

Professional conflicts arise also among the various professions working on major projects. A simple question will illustrate the conflicts I refer to: in an investigation into urban crime, who should be the team leader, the urban planner, the criminologist, the sociologist, the administrator, or the social worker? All would claim special abilities, but not every one can, by their professional training, play the management role. Professional jealousies and conflicts are facts of life. We would do well to recognise them, as the first step to managing them.

Political Conflict

The range of potential political conflict situations in the urban context is too enormous to be covered here, but one aspect is too important to be neglected.

In Australia, as in many other countries, the day to day administration of urban planning is the responsibility of local

government. Some aspects of social welfare and other activities bearing on crime prevention are also dealt with at this level. In a tiered or hierarchical political system, local government is essentially the implementor of the policies and decisions of higher levels of government. Many urban planning strategies are aborted because the relationship between the two (or three) levels of government is far from cooperative. Administrative conflict of this type is also a factor in crime prevention planning, especially where the financial priorities of the various administrative levels do not coincide.

Yet even at the lower level alone the situation is not entirely conflict-free. Where, for example, an urban area is divided into a number of local authority jurisdictions, conflict between local councils is at least as frequent as cooperation. Proposals for reducing urban crime will often come to nothing unless this fact is realised. An example would be the conflict in financial priorities between an inner city and suburban local authority. The social and economic conditions of the two populations are quite different and so to a certain extent are the types of 'normal' crime. The suburban authorities are unlikely to agree to a total urban programme for provision of shelter for derelicts, (basically an inner city problem), and the inner city would not have play centres or youth clubs as a high priority.

Conclusion

I regret having to concentrate on the slightly depressing conflict side of the coin. Obviously, human relations encompass peace, harmony, cooperation, and love as well as conflict and tension. But the world we live in is very complex, no less in the developing countries than in Australia. Urban planners and crime prevention planners can do themselves a favour by accepting that in such a confusing place, conditions are unlikely to be as we would hope they would be and that people are not as we would have them be. Conflict situations are, in fact, part of the reality of life. We have tended to create a world in the image of our hopes. We need to take a fresh look at our basic beliefs and the tools we use to implement our planning actions. Conflict and change seem to have a symbiotic relationship: they exist together and for each other's

mutual support. Planners are trying to change the world, to make it a better place, hopefully with less crime and more happiness. I hope this paper has gone some way towards helping us recognise and understand the place we hope to leave behind.

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1. Logan, M. *Urban and Regional Australia: Analysis and Policy Issues.* Malvern, Sorret Social Sciences, 1975.

2. Keynes, John Maynard. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.* N.Y., Harcourt, Brace & World. 1964 Ed. p. 383.

3. Bailey, Joe. *Social Theory for Planning.* London: Routeledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p. 59.

4. See his *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life.* Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970.

5. The eight areas of conflict in urban planning relate to (a) the individual, (b) the profession, (c) social conflict, (d) political conflict, (e) the tools used by planners, (f) land use activities, (g) design philosophies, and (h) at national and international level.

14 The Problems of Implementing the 'Orderly' Philosophy in Urban Planning

J.R. Minnery

There are a number of concepts which in common usage are normally linked. 'Love and marriage' is one such pair; 'law and order' is another. Concern for 'law and order' is a major political and social issue in both Western and non-Western countries. Law and order issues are often seen as being central to the well-being and satisfactory development of society.

But everybody knows that love and marriage can in fact occur separately — you can have one without the other. Similarly, I contend that 'law' and 'order' can be considered separately, for they can each exist without the other. In separating the two, I would first like to look at some aspects of law, especially as they relate to the environment. I will then discuss 'order' as a general concept, but with special reference to the 'orderly' philosophy of urban planning. Finally, I will deal with some of the implications of working from a less orderly philosophy. I hope to be able to illuminate some of the problems which face urban planners in their professional work. I hope also to be able to illustrate by oblique references some of the problems which I feel may not be recognised by crime prevention agencies.

Law

Crime prevention planners and urban planners both have a healthy respect for the law. In both cases, the majority of their proposals and recommendations are implemented through the agency of State or Local Government legislation. In both cases, the starting point for consideration of the various forms of non-

conformity or deviance is the requirements laid down by law. Crime, by its very definition, occurs where a person breaks a law. We are taught that the law is, in essence, a codification of the values of society, so that in breaking a law the criminal is really flouting the values which society as a whole accepts.

Obviously then the legal system will function properly only if the various members of society respect it and see it as representing basic values which they believe in and support no matter what their class or ethnic values. If the law falls into disrespect no amount of enforcement will rehabilitate that respect.

I feel, probably without any real justification, that the law is seen by society as a relatively homogeneous entity. I do not think that most people see any real difference between common and criminal law, even though lawyers and enforcers do. And I think that people recognise that the body of law we operate under has an ancient and cluttered lineage. People recognise that in Australia at least we still have in the statute books many ancient but ludicrous requirements. Society has a degree of tolerance for the fuzzy edges of the law, at least partly because it recognises the importance of the central core of law.

The laws relating to the environment, however, illustrate a disquietening trend which is tending to undermine society's respect for the total body of the law. This disquiet arises from the obvious fact that the law, which is supposed to apply equally to all, is clearly and openly being applied unequally. Laws relating to air and water pollution are subject to impossibly low-key policing. Blatant violations often go unpunished. Fines for even major violations bear little relation to the damage done to neighbouring residents.

Disrespect and cynicism for the legal structure run rampant when law enforcement agencies are seen to be powerless, or ineffectual, or even worse, possibly corrupt. When relatively minor traffic violations are policed fiercely against powerless individuals but major violations by powerful companies remain unpunished, respect for the total law is diminished.

Environmental and other quality of life laws highlight another problem which society has failed to come to grips with, the problem of allocating responsibility. We would all accept that we must each bear the responsibility for our own actions as individuals. But where does the buck stop in a large organisation? If a bureau-

cracy is jointly responsible for its actions, then no one is responsible. So at what point is the law enforced: on the organisation as a whole, on the managerial decision-makers, or on the individual? Both the ponderous application of environmental laws (where the question is who is responsible for enforcing a particular alleged violation) and the illusive, shifting question of responsibility for actions affecting the environment are problems which must be tackled.

The further problem of the compensation of victims of crime is also well illustrated through environmental laws. Common justice would lead one to believe that punishments for violations of the law should in many cases, be aimed at restoring fairness to the situation. If, for example, a cement works can make high profits by refraining from paying for dust suppression devices, then fairness would suggest that some form of compensation is paid to victims of dust pollution. This distinction between equity-based punishments and deterrence-based punishments is well illustrated by Brickman[1] when he draws an analogy between justice systems in sport and in society.

In environmental justice systems, the use of equity-based punishments would have fascinating implications, especially where justice and fairness are taken to mean helping the victims as much as punishing the offenders.

This diversion into environmental law is necessary to demonstrate the importance to society of law, and the undermining of law which can occur when aspects of law are seen as separate from one another. It is necessary also to demonstrate that although I have some doubts about the necessity for order in society (a question I will look at in the next section) this does not diminish my respect for, ideals for, and belief in, the law.

Order

First, it is a truism that most of the great achievements of western civilization (and more than likely in most others) have come from abnormal people, men and women who disparaged conventional wisdom and the 'normal' ways of doing things. They were, and are, 'disorderly', if we take 'orderly' to mean 'well behaved' (as in fact the Penguin English Dictionary gives as one of

the meanings). It seems that complete order may lead us to miss out on some of the exceptional things we cherish for ourselves and for society.

But what, exactly, do we mean by 'order' and how do we relate 'order' to urban planning? Leaving out the specialised architectural, ecclesiastical and military meanings, the Penguin English Dictionary defines 'order' as:

> . . . relative position in space, time, or degree; systematic arrangements, tidiness; logical or natural sequence; plan; discipline, state of being under control; . . . authorized procedure; proper behaviour, especially in Parliament, committees, etc; . . .

Clearly 'order', and so 'orderly', have a variety of meanings. In relating order to the underlying philosophies of urban planning, however, some of these concepts are more important than others. In urban planning, 'ordered' tends to mean one or more of the following:

(a)   Structured and hierarchical.

(b)   Conforming naturally or by design to a predetermined (usually simple) pattern in space or over time.

(c)   With everything in its appropriate place.

(d)   Non-random, patterned.

Along with characteristics such as health, safety, amenity, convenience, efficiency, economy, and general welfare, good order is central to the purpose of most urban planning action. Many urban planners' vision of Utopia would be of a clean, tidy city with a place for everything and everything in its place. Such a city would be easy to regulate, and easy to control. I freely confess to finding this ideal somewhat dull. To me the most interesting parts of every city I have been to are not the clean suburbs nor the well-maintained city squares, but rather the confused, changing, cluttered zone, the 'grey area' around the central business districts. For one thing, it is always the best place to find secondhand book shops.

But interest is not usually one of the criteria by which urban planning proposals are judged.

Historically, urban planning has developed in two parallel parts. The first was the development of theories and concepts; the

second was the development of implementation tools. The first stream has attempted to grapple with the problem of the complexity of the urban system. The second has tried to develop increasingly powerful tools which are simple in concept and easy to implement, for these tools have to be administered in many situations and with the day-to-day abilities of a range of diverse people. The 'orderly philosophy' in urban planning thus related more to the second stream than to the first.

I would like to take the first three concepts of order in planning listed above and discuss these in some detail. In doing so, I hope to highlight some of the problems with implementing these concepts of order as elements in an urban planning philosophy.

Order as Structure and Hierarchy

I start with this concept because it was discussed as far back as 1966 by Christopher Alexander[2]. Much of the philosophy of urban planning assumes an ordered hierarchical structure of human interaction, which finds physical expression in a hierarchy of physical design units. Thus, people are assumed to interact most intensly with people in their own neighbourhood; and the local needs of people at this level of organisation can be met by providing small-scale, neighbourhood facilities (a primary school, local shops, parks, etc.). A number of neighbourhoods go together to make a district, where residents' higher order needs are met. Districts are combined into sectors, a number of sectors go together to make up the city. For each set of relationships, connections are to levels above or below, and not sideways.

In decision theory, such a set of connections is called a 'tree'. Alexander argues that in fact a city is not a tree, but rather a 'semi-lattice', where the connections individuals and families have with other people and families do not follow an orderly hierarchical pattern, but rather a more complex and subtle pattern. Human life is more confusing and ambiguous than most urban planners would like to believe. There is, of course, considerable benefit in using a neighbourhood-district-sector-city hierarchy as a simple rule-of-thumb for making preliminary estimates of land use requirements; but it is wrong to assume that social patterns will conform to this structure. Simple observation will tell us that

Alexander is correct and the city is not a 'tree'.

Following this argument would lead one to suspect that the liveability of older unplanned cities is a function of increasing ambiguity, of overlap, rather than of age. As Canberra, for example, becomes too large and complex to control, it may benefit from its increasing potential for ambiguity.

The late Margaret Mead[3], the anthropologist, has even gone as far as suggesting that the orderliness achieved by neighbourhood planning may even be dysfunctional. She claims that the inward-looking, physically safe environments resulting from formally planned neighbourhoods may help children grow up to be unable to cope with the difficulties, complexities, and ambiguities of normal city life. It is a thought at least worth keeping in mind.

Conforming to Pattern

The second major urban planning approach to 'order' is one which identifies orderly behaviour as that which conforms to some usually predetermined and usually simple pattern, behaviour that introduces a strong element of predictability. Clearly this type of order is associated more closely with the ideals of implementation schemes than with either the realities of implementation situations or with the philosophical basis of planning: in practice implement-ation involves complex by-laws, rezoning and other procedures, detailed codes, and rules of court procedure which are far from simple or ordered.

We should note also that politicians, who seem to be able to deal with great complexity in committee structures, number manipulations, and the twists in the corridors of power, do not seem to be able to step outside this concept of simple order when dealing with the urban environment. They expect planners to give clear, simple answers which can be capable of clean easy adminis-tration (often by the simple once-for-all application of money). Crime prevention planners no less than urban planners will recog-nise this symptom.

Everything in Its Place

The third aspect of the urban planner's approach to order is

perhaps the most widely recognised. It is most clearly illustrated in land use zoning, the most visible tool in the urban planner's kit. Land use zoning divides the particular administrative area into mutually exclusive zones, each zone being considered as most suitable for one major land use and as possibly suitable for a limited range of related uses (for example, single-family residential uses; plus parks, small shops, churches and low-key offices). Land use zoning aims at separating non-compatible uses by physical distance or buffer zones. It aims to get rid of 'spot-zoning' where very small zones (as small as a single ownership parcel) are given particular use rights.

Obviously the philosophy behind land use zoning is that there is an appropriate place for every land use, and that every land use should be in its place. Hugh Stretton recognised some time ago that this belief and the rules that buttress it are less than perfect and that some of these rules need to be broken[4].

I would like to discuss this approach and its problems at two different levels: that of practical implementation; and then that of underlying value assumptions.

At the practical level, we find the problems faced almost every day by urban planners working in the control sections of local authorities. When plans are promulgated, there are usually already in existence 'non-conforming uses' which do not fit into the list of uses appropriate to the zone by which they are now surrounded. In democratic societies which place a premium on equity and justice, they cannot be removed unless compensated for their trouble. Thus, a planner's part in an attempt to tidy up a dubious part of town by changing the uses permitted there would be either costly or ineffective or both. This assumes that the dubious activities have at least quasi-legitimate status: clearly, illegal activities are more the responsibility of the police than the planner.

In practice, also, it is usually possible for a case to be put by an applicant for the rezoning of a particular piece of land. On the whole, such changes result from sound arguments for the change being put forward and on the controlling authority being convinced that the change is beneficial (or at least not detrimental) to the surrounding area. It is not impossible, however, for detrimental changes to occur where powerful political forces rather than sound arguments decide the issue. A fascinating example of municipal powerlessness in the face of overt political pressure in Ramaran in

India is documented by N. Umapathy[5]. However, the problem is certainly not confined to countries outside Australia.

The need for a mechanism by which to alter zonings reflects the conflict between the planner's and the administration's needs for simple order and the complexity and changeability of the urban system. As I will show later, it also reflects the conflict between society's need for stability and certainty and this urban changeability.

A clear conflict is apparent also between the 'rules' (by-laws, ordinances, schedules, etc.) developed at a particular time to implement the orderly land-use zonings and the changing realities or urban life. The rules have to be amended as new uses are developed, such as heliports, hypermarkets, and grass-skiing fields. The purposes of some rules are superceded by new technologies but the rules remain. So relatively simple, orderly regulations become more complex, more confused, and more confusing. In some cases they even become totally inappropriate. A good example is the many building by-laws which are exported to developing countries, but are often completely out of touch with local reality. A United States low-cost house, which has one bathroom instead of two or three, is not a suitable model for, say, South America.

Thus, we approach the problems of underlying values. A recent publication by Constance Perin[6] gives a fascinating insight into the situation in the United States. Perin is an anthropologist interested in urban society. Instead of studying slum dwellers in exotic countries or recently discovered primitive tribes, she turned her attention to her home: the urban United States. She interviewed 'people active in responsible positions influencing aspects of (urban) development in metropolitan Houston and Philadelphia. These (were) people somehow figuring out the market for housing, neighbourhoods, and shopping centres'[7].

She describes her study as follows:

> I analyse directly the social meanings of homeownership, sprawl, newcomers, mortgages, housing styles, forms of tenure, the life cycle, status, and local control over zoning. These meanings arise from American conceptions of transition, citizenship, honor, marriage, success, and self esteem, cultural conceptions customarily addressed indirectly in deciding about 'a place for everything' in terms of density levels, housing types, price levels, subdivision layouts, and neighbourhood and community character[8].

An example used by Perin to show the impact of these 'conceptions' on the practicalities of zoning is instructive. She quotes the case of *Village of Belle Terre* v. *Boraas* (U.S. Supreme Court, February 1974). In this case, which revolved around an objection to the village ordinance prohibiting more than two unrelated persons from occupying single-family housing, a supposedly crucial issue was the definition of 'family'. In fact, the argument in the case brought to light the hidden values behind the ordinance. A 'family' of related people was supposed to be quieter, use fewer vehicles, and generally be more socially acceptable than a group of unrelated people living in the same house. In other words, one measure (relatedness) was being used to achieve other measures (peace, privacy, amenity, low traffic volumes) – a large noisy family of related but car-crazy criminals would in fact do somewhat less for a neighbourhood than a quiet group of bicycle-riding but unrelated professional people living in the same house.

If my concern over the use of such broad-brush, simple controls is taken to its logical conclusion, then urban planners should abandon controls on land uses and instead control the aspects considered needing control directly: traffic generation, noise, air and water pollution, visual amenity, and so on. Such a town plan would define 'performance standards' for parts of the city and cast a blind eye towards land-use mixing. It would let any use occupy any zone or area, so long as it conformed to appropriate standards. This would overcome many current problems related to the orderly placing of particular activities in appropriate zones for example. Are rented apartments 'residential' or 'commercial'? Do apartment dwellers have lower standards for the quality of their life than do dwellers in detached houses? Most likely they do not; yet apartments, being clearly definable neither as 'residential' nor 'commercial' are often allocated land where they act as buffers between noisy streets or shopping centres and areas zoned for detached dwellings.

In the long run, the problem of order is overwhelmed by the problem of change. Few rapidly changing phenomena can be orderly. Richard Sennett[9] goes as far as to call our passion for order in urban life pathological. He sees a disturbing parallel between the mechanisms adolescents in the United States develop to overcome the uncertainties and fears of this troublesome time of life and the mechanism of orderly segregated suburbs of de-

tached isolated houses. He draws a parallel between an immature person afraid of facing uncertainty, change, and possible pain and an immature society afraid of change and disorder and so creating housing areas with highly predictable sameness throughout.

Sennett argues that, in the long run, the only solution to the conflict between order and change is to educate society to a higher capacity for change. In other words, unless we as individuals and as a society are secure enough in ourselves to be capable of living in and dealing with a relatively disordered, changing environment, we will continue to suffer the various 'urban' pathologies, such as high crime rates and civil disturbance. Sennett argues that these problems stem from our inability to cope with change rather than from the nature of urban areas themselves.

Conclusion

The question then remains: Given these obvious difficulties in implementing an 'orderly' philosophy, where do we go from here?

My major message is a plea for the tolerance of lack of order. As I made clear at the outset, I do not mean by this tolerance of a lack of law.

At the more immediate level this implies a willingness to accept that many planning standards and guidelines have shakey value bases and that we must be willing to accept necessary modifications to them. It is amazing how relatively approximate housing standards are implemented with such exactitude, as clear, simple, orderly guidelines. A relatively harmless illustration will illustrate the attitude I mean. When, in Queensland, the Road Code was changed from imperial units to metric, first copies of the new Road Code translated the relatively rough minimum of '600 feet' between cars for compulsory dipping of lights to '182.88 metres'; and the '4 feet' a vehicles must be parked away from another vehicle as '1.2192 metres'. The original approximate measure gains an exactitude it does not deserve. The same attitude of mind can be seen in the application of housing standards, where simple guidelines gain power they do not deserve as administrators try to impose simple order on the complexity of human living requirements.

It is significant that a number of philosophers and men of good will have in the past seen a positive relationship between a

society's tolerance of disorder and its degree of freedom. Author-itarian and totalitarian regimes on the left and the right of the political spectrum are unable to tolerate more than minimal amounts of disorder.

I would like to end with a quotation which comes, strangely enough, from an introductory text on thermodynamics[10]. In explaining the Second Law of Thermodynamics ('entropy always increases'), the authors describe entropy as 'the quantity of disorder'. They then go on to say:

> One way of defining entropy is in terms of the number of states which are possible in a system in a given situation. The disorder arises because we do not know which state the system is in. Disorder is then essentially the same thing as ignorance, which is how entropy is related to inform-ation theory. In unsophisticated terms, entropy is a measure of the number of independent degrees of freedom that a system has.

In other words, in the natural world as in the social and political world, we cannot have freedom without disorder; but we pay a price in terms of certainty and predictability for that freedom. The choice is ours.

1. Brickman, Philip 'Crime and Punishment in Sports and Society', *The Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 33, No. 1, 1977, pp. 140-164.

2. Alexander, Christopher 'A City is Not a Tree', *Design* No. 206, February 1966; and in Bell, G. & Tyrwhitt, J. (Eds.), *Human Identity in the Urban Environment*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.

3. Mead, Margaret, 'Neighbourhoods and Human Needs', *Ekistics* No. 123, February 1966, pp. 124-6; and in Bell, G. & Tyrwhitt, J. (Eds.), *Human Identity in the Urban Environment*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.

4. Stretton, Hugh, 'Planning to Break the Rules', *Royal Australian Planning Institute Journal*, October 1972, pp. 135-139.

5. Umapathy, N., 'Municipal Regulatory Functions: A Case Study of an Encroachment on Government Land', *Planning and Administration*. Vol. 6 No. 1 Spring 1979, pp. 56-65.

6. Perin, Constance *Everything in Its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1977.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

9. Sennett, Richard, *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970.

10. Angrist, Stanley W. and Loren G. Hepler, *Order and Chaos: Laws of Energy and Entropy*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973.

15 Regional Planning and Crime

D. Winterbottom

This seems to be the last session which relates specifically to planning as part of your course before you go out on the field studies, and I am conscious that you are probably suffering from two lots of shock. First, because one is dealing here with physical planning (or in some cases social planning) and this is broadening horizons very much from what I take to be the normal kind of work that most of you are involved in, such as crime prevention or police work of one kind or another. Second, of course, one is talking about examples which have been taken from the developed world, and from Australia in particular, and most of you come from the less developed world. While there are things to learn, one has to be very cautious about these lessons since they may not be readily transferrable.

I have been asked to talk about regional planning and crime, and I have to admit from the outset that my experience is in regional planning and not in crime. Therefore my emphasis will be on the overall regional planning aspects, looking for implications for crime where it occurs. That means that I am not in a position to talk about the aspects of crime prevention or detection or apprehension or detention at the regional level or the way in which they operate. I am not able to describe the way in which you could organise your police force on a regional level or how you organise your prison service — I am merely talking about the overall organisation of society in relation to regional planning of which crime prevention and crime development is but one part.

The second sort of preamble relates to the question of what is a region. I looked up the literature to see whether anything had been written about regional planning and crime and the only reference I could find was in one of Mr Clifford's documents. His concept of a region appeared to be in terms of almost a global

region. He was thinking of South East Asia as being a region, or of Latin America as being a region, and at that kind of level it seems to me the connection between the regional planning is pretty remote where one has to rely on organisations like the United Nations. So I want to concentrate on two different kinds of regions – the planning of which I am familiar with.

One is what one might call the national or city and its hinter-land type region, that is, the whole of New South Wales could be said to constitute a region. The second area that one would disucss would be a major metropolitan area, that is, the Sydney area itself or Bogota or London or any of the major cities of the world. They are so large that they do constitute regions and have specific problems which are worth discussing and evaluating.

The problem one has when addressing oneself to this is whether there is any statistical evidence which would indicate that at that kind of very broad scale, where one is talking of millions of people, there is a direct relevance between crime, crime prevention and social indices and any of the factors which can be adjusted by government as a result of the policy. The only evidence that I was able to come up with is evidence that I think has already been in one of the other papers. That seemed to suggest that there was a correlation at town size level, between levels of crime in various cities. It suggested that if one had a relatively small city, crime levels, particularly crimes against property, would be considerably lower than they were in very large towns. That evidence came from the U.S.A. and Australia.

In terms of crimes against the person, the evidence seemed to be much weaker, certainly on the Australian scene. For crimes against the person, such as rape or assault, the rate in the country as against the town is similar, so when looking at whether there are general factors at the regional level in terms of the distribution of population and the size of cities affecting crime rates it appears that there are.

I shall now move on to some of the social aspects that are troubling the western world and I suppose to some extent the less developed world as well.

There are a growing number of sociologists and planners who are becoming more and more concerned about the breakdown of community. At the largest scale, the whole world is becoming one oyster.

The multi-national companies are imposing decisions on both the developed and the less developed worlds, which relate entirely to their own policies and are not really in the best interests of anybody else, the host country included. There is increasing evidence that the whole level at which society makes decisions is getting away from it, that national governments make decisions which people are just unable to relate to, unable to control, unable to help happening. These decisions then get handed down to the local level, to the local community who are unable to respond or to adjust or to alter those decisions. The problem is deciding at what level we make decisions about factors which affect society. At what level do you make the decision about where the police station is going to be or how your operations are going to be organised? Is that going to be at the local level, at the regional level or at the national level? Of course this also relates to a lot of things other than just crime such as in education and health. These are posing quite severe problems in the developed world and there is a deal of argument going on as to how that should be organised.

The other major problem, which really affects metropolitan areas, is the concentration of the poor. There does appear to be, and I am not quite sure whether it is true or not, quite definite tragedies occuring from the way in which the economic systems operate. These concentrate poor people in particular areas of a city, concentrate the crime there, concentrate the lack of facilities and generate all sorts of problems to the detriment of society. In concentrating them it would appear to intensify them as well. In other words, where you don't have those concentrations, you tend to have lower levels across the board and where they are concentrated you really have quite bad problems.

This seems to happen in both the developed and the less developed world. In Sydney, for example, there have been several studies which have tended to indicate that where there are significant areas of poorer people, the level of services is much poorer. There are fewer pre-schools, the hospital services are not as good, the people failing in school are more numerous. The one builds and feeds on the other, so that it generates a much worse situation than if everything was distributed evenly. In the United States one has the classic case of Atlanta where the whole of North Atlanta was white and the whole of South Atlanta was black and really

one got quite horrendous problems. In the Third World likewise, in places like Bogata which I am familiar with, the areas for the rich are very clear and the areas for the poor are very clear and they don't mix. There is no levening through the system and it does cause quite big problems — including crime problems. It happens for the very good reason that the rich like to be isolated even though this points up the differences. If you are living in a poor area and you can see there are concentrations of rich people, that emphasises how really poor you are and how rich the others are and you get very annoyed about it. This seems to me to be a regional planning problem of some magnitude and some difficulty.

Another thing happens in the western world, and in a different way in the less developed world, which I think certainly causes problems at the moment whereby people feel trapped in the city. The places where the jobs are is in the city. The only place they can move to is right on the outskirts, where they are then faced with very long journeys to wherever the place of work is. They are often still pretty divorced from the countryside, they are away from home for a lot of the time, and it is a vicious circle which somehow or other society has created, or the economic system has created, and individuals are finding it very difficult to break out of.

There seems to be a very great demand, certainly in Australian society and the United States as well, to break out of the cities situation and to try and find another pattern of settlements and that again is a major regional planning exercise. The economic forces are beginning to move very strongly in that way. Both Sydney and Melbourne in the last census period increased by less than their natural increase. This means that while the population went up, more people left the town than came into it and they are going into smaller towns and other parts of Australia which indicates that there is a very strong degree of support for decentralisation. There was a recent survey in Melbourne along the same lines and really quite staggering numbers of people would like to get out of town if only they could find themselves a job.

The other part of regional planning, apart from the social and societal issues, is that relating to economics and the provision of services. What tends to be happening in the major metropolitan areas is that it is relatively cheap for individual developers to put their services, their infrastructure, water, sewerage, etc., into their estates on the outskirts of the towns, but those incremental

developments impose quite considerable costs on the rest of the community. For example, you have then to build a rather bigger road through the middle of town to get those people from the outside into the middle and you have to build rather bigger sewer and water pipes, and those water pipes, sewers and roads have to go through the existing town to serve a community right on the outskirts which apparently has no connection with it. So one is getting a very odd kind of economic situation whereby every person coming into the city and settling on the outskirts gets quite a significant economic benefit while everybody else in town gets a disbenefit and loses. There seems to be no effective way of accounting between them at the metropolitan scale. However, if one is operating in a smaller town situation, it is very much easier to identify these sorts of costs. Also they are very much less because the land values are very much lower and because the size of the city means the distances that you have to move those services is less.

The second thing that is beginning to happen is in terms of the economic linkages. One of the reasons people are still going into town is that all the jobs are there, and have tended to continue to be, because that is where the labour is.

There are quite significant shifts in the industrial structure here and elsewhere which are tending to allow labour to be much more mobile in terms of where it locates. Much of the new growth in employment is not in manufacturing, it is in services or it is in distribution and warehousing and those particular activities are not nearly so tied to a city location. Also there are changes in technology which are allowing the whole communications side to be much freer and easier than it was. These together will allow a decentralised and a less concentrated pattern of employment to come into being.

A further link is that labour is becoming more and more important as a cost element in manufacturing and in other employment. Employers are beginning to look not just to where there are large numbers of workers but also to where there are numbers of workers who are less militant. Certainly, we are finding in Albury/Wodonga that one of the first questions we are asked is how many strikes have we had in the past three years and for the same kinds of reasons the multi-nationals are tending to go into the less developed world where labour is cheaper and less organised.

What can one do to take advantage of these trends and to help with the overall planning for a region in the hope that, by improving the overall lot of people, one is at the same time reducing crime rates and reducing anti-social behaviour generally?

The classic solution I think has been the creation of towns. This was piloted in Britain in the late 1940s and early 1950s although quite a number of industrialists had tried out the idea before that. It has been copied in a number of countries: France has done a lot of new town development; the United States has done quite a number; we have done some here; and places like Venezuela and Malaysia I think, have done a fair amount in this area. The general idea is two-fold. First, many countries still have a very significant drift of people from the country to the cities which is exacerbating the problems in the cities, and by deliberately locating a focus for employment and development in the country, one intercepts those people who would otherwise have gone into town.

Second, it allows the people who would otherwise have been in the capital city to live in a country town and have access to the countryside and really be able to get out. I can go fishing in my lunch hour if I want to and yet I've a fairly specialised kind of job. Anybody living in Sydney or Melbourne could not even reach the outskirts of town in their lunch time, and this different kind of lifestyle is very important to many people.

An other thing is that the country town needs to be big enough to be able to provide some at least of the kind of specialised services which a community looks to. Very often one thinks of services of that nature in terms of specialist hospitals and universities and things like that, but there are a number of other very important things that people require and don't get in country-type locations. We are talking about a good football match, a decent film, a sports stadium, or things which really relate to an every day situation, rather than things which you merely require on very infrequent occasions. If you can get your city to sufficient size, you can begin to provide a more adequate level of those kind of services which cannot be done in a purely rural situation.

In a major capital city situation the idea has been floated for some time now of 'new towns in town' — that is, instead of spreading out and building a new town 20, 50 or 100 miles away, you actually build your new town as if it were part of the city, as

a separate entity, with complete provision for employment, shopping and other services so that it has a separate identity. In some ways the model is Canberra where the satellites, really part of the whole city, have been developed as entities with their own centres and their own facilities.

There is a fair amount of debate at what level these cities should operate and to what extent they should relate to political organisations and political power. There is a school of thought that suggests that one of the reasons why crime runs riot in bigger cities is because of the anonymity, because you can 'do it' and no one ever knows you, because no one has ever met you. You only have to go two streets down and no one knows you and you can get lost. If in fact you can create within a city enough encounters for there to be a reasonable chance that there is going to be somebody who has actually seen you before and knows you and recognises you, then the overall crime rate would be less as a result. Various sizes have been suggested — Professor Friedman from Los Angeles was talking in terms of 30,000 or maybe 50,000 people as being the kind of level where that sort of thing begins to happen.

I'm not sure how this whole system is going to work and it seems to be a matter that we could perhaps debate. The desirability of trying to force people (if that is the right word) into a society which they know, rather than a society in which they feel comfortable because they are anonymous, it is very difficult to establish. I think that it might be something that the different communities that are represented here would have different attitudes to. I mean, if you come from a small nation in the Pacific presumably you already have that situation where you know everybody. However, if one comes from Kuala Lumpur with a million or two million people I find it difficult to know how you can convert into the 30,000 or 50,000 module using that as your basis for your neighbourhoods trying to establish your local government, shopping and police force. At that level there is likely to be a fair amount of interaction between people but it is a quite difficult debate and a quite interesting one.

It is not just physical development — it is social development as well. So that if one were to suggest that a breakdown into neighbourhoods or a breakdown into townships of that kind would help, it would not do simply to provide those facilities in

that kind of a way and say: 'right, now we will have a crime-free society or a crime-preventive society, because we have organised it down to the scale that people have got an opportunity for everyone to know the other and everything will be beautiful'.

People very likely won't use the facilities in that way. It does imply that there is a social structure of some description that may be political or maybe some other, to reinforce the situation. There is, too, a danger, and again I suppose it is epitomised by what happened and still happens to a large degree in the United States but very much less here or in Britain. That is, there they have gone in for community participation to the point where the community makes a great deal of decisions about what is done. The local people run their own schools, their own police force, health programmes down to really quite small levels of population. Theoretically at first glance, that is still an attractive model, because here you have a community which presumably will inter-act because they are the same people living in that area who are going to school and are on the hospital board, meet at the football match, etc.

The participation there was real, and by that I mean that they actually raised funds and expended funds themselves. The partic-ipation was not ephemeral in the sense that somebody put up a plan on the board and said what do you think, and when you actually said what you thought, they did it anyway, which is the kind of participation that very often happens. They actually had power, these local people in the United States. Unfortunately, one then got a polarisation of the society because the people who lived in rich neighbourhoods paid out a lot of money, they got a lot of facilities, they got big hospitals, wonderful teachers and marvelous recreation areas, and they were dashed if they were going to contribute to the little municipality in the centre of town which had absolutely nothing and could not do anything about it. That of course is the tragedy of New York – you have a situation with one of the most powerful and wonderful cities in the world and it is bankrupt and derilect and has dreadful problems from crime and everything else, which I think happened because there has been too much participation at the local level.

So one is a bit caught isn't one? – On the one hand one is arguing to scale it down, make them small groups, make people understand, make them see how they all interact with one another.

To make that actually happen you have to give them power, you run a very grave risk in terms of your regional structure. The whole thing could come down about your ears. The rich are going to want to keep what they have, the central areas where the poor will increasingly go, because the property values are going down, get more and more segregated, the school services deteriorate, etc., and you have chaos. So I think when we discuss timing later this is an area that might be quite useful for us to debate. It is an area which in regional and physical planning we are very involved with, but it seems to me to be an area which is very directly related to the way in which the police force and crime prevention people cope with problems they have to deal with on an everyday basis. Also it seems that we could quite conceivably come up with very different compromises in different countries. In other words, if you have a country like Lesotho, which is basically rural I presume, without large cities, then your problems and solutions could be very different from a more urbanised situation.

I shall now move on to the economic kinds of solutions which have been adopted in various areas to tackle this problem. The new town idea is interesting because having said,'yes, it is cheaper to go out into a green fields situation, build a beautiful new town without having to worry about anybody else's drains or slums, and that that would mean that the people have an alternative lifestyle and can do things differently', nevertheless, there is the imponderable problem of how you get it started. How do you pay for the initial costs which are sometimes enormous? The trick, if that is the right word, which is usually used is in terms of land values. The system in all cases is to acquire the land at values which are rural values. In the case of government sponsored schemes like Britain and Venezuela, the land is bought by the government. In the U.S.A. the land is bought secretly by the private developer who wants to develop his new town so that no one knows that he is acquiring the land until he has enough land to be able to organise his new town, because if he told any one about it the land values would go up and he would be held to ransom for those properties he had not yet acquired. Having bought the land at rural values, one then provides the services. Once provided with the drains and roads the increase in land value is enough to pay for those services over a reasonable period of time. We suffer quite a lot in Albury/Wodonga because the claim is that all this money that has been

poured in and given away to the Corporation and it is a drag on the nation's resources. In fact the money has to be paid back. It is a loan, and the expectation is once the land values have increased and the Corporation recoups the money, it will pay back the Government. So it is a loan situation, it is not a give-away situation and the same applies in Bathurst/Orange and the other new towns as well.

The traditional approach to achieving a regional pattern of many cities rather than a single city, has been to offer incentivies to industry and that is done to a marginal degree in Australia. The various State Governments have money which they give to industry if they are prepared to locate in decentralised places. In Britain they also have disincentives − that is to say, if you put your factory there we will give you this much money and we are not going to let you put your factory anywhere else. So the choises are rather more limited. They restrict very much where the new factory and new office development can go, and it has been very effective to have the stick and the carrot situation to achieve these kind of policies. One of the ways in which new towns have been used in Britain is a little bit different in that it has not merely been to reduce the expenditure on services but in fact to use up existing facilities. Several of the new towns have been located in areas which are of declining population, there is quite a big housing stock, in particular, which would otherwise have just become derelict. By creating new towns and creating incentives for industry to go there, the British have managed to rehabilitate that housing and use up resources which otherwise would have been wasted.

The other major system is the allocation of resources and in many ways this is probably the major one used in the Third World where one is not going to put any disincentive into any industry that one can possibly avoid simply because one is so desperate for employment. Any fancy theory about whether you go here or there is chicken feed compared to the overall kind of problem that one has. What is happening is a continuation of the growth and the grandeur (if that is the word) of the capital city of the country concerned. If you look at an Australian situation, you have Sydney and Melbourne, both of which are much of a muchness in terms of size and neither really dominates the economy. If you look at the U.S.A. one can think of half a dozen cities that are really pretty substantial and you would hesitate to say that one of them was

the centre of the U.S.A. In the Third World countries, with one or two exceptions, that does not seem to be the case.

I mean, you all have one capital city, such as Buenos Aires, which is really the dominant centre and very often has as much population as the rest of the country put together. This seems to create a vicious circle in terms of the provision of the infrastructure and in terms of the spending of money. If you spend all the money or the resources of the country in one place, then obviously everyone is going to go there, because that is where everything is happening, that is where the money is being turned over, that is where the work is and you can never break out of it.

If one is going to try and break out of it, one has got to think very, very carefully about an alternative strategy, in terms of the way one is providing facilities. This is politically nearly always unacceptable, because the government has prestige projects and they are not going to have them put where no one will see them. Anyway, they argue, there are more people in the capital city and they need it more and there are millions of reasons that you and I all know to prevent decentralisation. The net result of this is just more and more disaster, more and more polarisation and growth of those cities to the detriment of the rest of the country and I suggest more and more crime and problems as well.

Those were really the main issues which I wanted to raise with you. Because my background is so different from yours, I find it very difficult to know just what issues to put up and what to debate and spend some time on and what to just cover briefly. I thought the best thing to do was to raise those issues which seemed to me to be relevant and then let us have a discussion about them. It seemed to me that there were good social and economic, and I suggest criminological, reasons for looking quite carefully at the pattern of settlements of a country, looking at whether or not we want to have one dominating city and the rest countryside, or whether we want to try and encourage and develop a pattern of settlements which have substantial towns and villages in the countryside as well.

Second, one wants to look at ways and means of desegregating cities so that the blatantly apparent differences between the very rich and the very poor are not so marked and are not so resented; and third, we want to explore the political and social organisations for providing those services in relation to those kinds of patterns.

16 Educating for Less Crime

C.R. Bevan

There is a temptation abroad to accept crime as inevitable and endemic in all cultures and to take for granted the permanent institutionalisation of means of dealing with it. Prisons are designed and built to last. The administration of correctional measures becomes cemented into a bureaucratic structure promising life-time careers for field and administrative staff. We resign ourselves to crime being always with us.

Admittedly, we are often confronted with evidence that human ingenuity applies itself readily to the abuse of measures designed to improve quality of life for all. Doctors manipulate health benefit schemes, lawyers and accountants devise tax avoidance programmes and fraudulently use trust funds. We read of passport swindles, politicians being accused of jet-travel irregularities and police and politicians in this country deeply concerned about the extent of fraud, corporate and white collar crime. As a pre-requisite to devising educational programmes which may lessen the incidence of crime in our culture, we should attempt an analysis of crime in the community into broad categories, and also attempt to classify, if possible, the kinds of people who commit it.

We are made conscious occasionally of fraudulent manipulation of the stock market. monopoly profiteering, tax avoidance by high income earners. (to the tune of some $3000 million dollars per year[1]) false advertising. bribery and corruption in high places — all of which is generally beyond the reach of the law. While it is sometimes difficult to categorise such behaviour as criminal, it still represents exploitation of the public and the acquisition of wealth and power by extremely dubious moral means.

There is the white collar and computer crime committed by employees both within government service and private enterprise. Newspapers recently have quoted the concerned remarks of a

State Attorney-General about theft from commercial establishments by their own employees. Such theft apparently out-strips the amount lost per annum through shop stealing by customers. Office workers find it difficult to attach criminal connotation to private phone calls, the purloining of pens, pencils, note paper, etc., from employers and private unauthorised use of motor vehicles.

There is the crime committed by organised cartels which includes in its survival kit a ready willingness to engage in physical violence as an aid to extortion, etc. In fact, such cartels differ little in *modus operandi* from the big business cartels and corporations who also are known not to shrink from the imposition of violence if necessary.

There are the bank robberies, muggings and other small-scale robberies of unlimited description committed by people unwilling or unable to compete in our economic system by using the usual means provided through academic, professional or technological skills, or the application of unskilled or semi-skilled physical labour.

There is the property crime perpetrated by persons not necessarily prone to violence, but who are similar to the previous group in the inadequacy of their preparation to compete in the employment fields of our society. They are the breakers and enterers, the house breakers, the sneak thieves, pick-pockets and impulsive property offenders. They comprise the disadvantaged, under-educated, under-socialised, inadequate, under-confident section of the community.

There is the property crime often involving personal violence committed by a distinctly disadvantaged group in our community, the Australian Aborigine. Similar to the two previous groups, the Australian Aborigine's life circumstances provide him or her with little incentive to avoid breaking the law.

There are those offenders who are responsible for seemingly senseless crime like inexplicable murder, mutilation, maiming, rape, child abuse, family violence. Such people belong to the damaged, disturbed, pathologically disorganised, whose behaviour can be explained only by their total life circumstances. It is in this area that often the simplest explanations are the most likely to be correct and on that account are also most likely to be discarded as not sufficiently scientific. James W. Prescott, a neuro-

phsychologist with the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in Bethesda, Maryland, published an absorbing article in April 1975[2] linking lack of body pleasure experience by babies and young children with the origins of violence in later life. His ideas run strongly counter to the 'Judeo-Christian concept' of morality and on that ground are strongly criticised in our culture. He maintains however that: 'studies have shown that children who are deprived of physical affection by their parents are more likely as adults to indulge in crime and violence including child abuse. These violence-prone however, are also likely to have extremely poor sex lives and to be intolerant of pre-marital and extra-marital sex'. Prescott's article repays careful study as it makes a great deal of sense to those with experience in the supervision of violent offenders released on whatever pretext from prison during the course of their term of imprisonment.

There are those who commit generally less violent sexual offences such as multiple rape, child molesting, aggravated assault, indecent dealing, unlawful carnal knowledge. Such crimes are the result of neglect on the part of society to ensure an adequate programme of sex education. In spite of the endeavours of dedicated educationalists and others, the imparting of sexual knowledge to children is still surrounded in our culture by embarrassment, irrational fears of encouraging premature experimentation and promiscuity, and unwillingness on the part of many parents to entrust sexual enlightenment to others, or to undertake it themselves, or both. It is still preferred to wrap sex in mystery, taboo and guilt. Men in our culture are still ignorant both of their own sexuality and that of women, and on that account are largely all potential sex offenders.

A group which is increasingly deserving of mention among the list of offenders is the drunk-driver and the accident-prone traffic offender. These offences have never been adequately tackled by the legislature, largely because it is a criminal area most likely to be encountered at some time or another by those who belong to the law-making class. It is that same class however, which is also the only one with a sufficient reason to avoid criminal action against them and which therefore is the only class susceptible to the deterrent effect of penalties. Since it is highly unlikely that legislation will ever be passed to effectively control drunk-driving by the use of penalties, we might well claim nonetheless that it is

not beyond the wit of technologists to devise means to make it impossible for a driver too drunk to drive to start his vehicle. Some such devices have already been described in newspaper articles.

The group of offenders related to the use and distribution of drugs constitutes a category which causes considerable concern. Without entering into a discussion on the relative dangerousness to society of all the drugs available, including alcohol and analgesics, we cannot avoid, nonetheless, discussion about education on the question of decriminalisation and/or legalisation of drug distribution and consumption.

There is the group of status offenders known as children in need of care and/or control. The community should be informed that such children, through no fault on their part, must be brought under the protection of the state through judicial procedures. They are thereby labelled as offenders (however irrationally) and are thus disadvantaged in any subsequent court appearance by the stigma associated with current community attitudes. While we should wish to preserve some form of judicial intervention in this area, in the interests of natural justice, we should also promote community education to ensure a more rational understanding of the real status of children needing state care, protection and control.

The final group is comprised of homosexuals, prostitutes, and alcoholics, vagrants, peepers, exposeurs and the general assortment of social nuisances. Just how much need remains to include such people among criminal offenders reflects how pathetically we strive to retain a slipping grip on a traditional use of the criminal law as an arbitrator of moral values versus personal freedom in our culture. Once and for all we need to decide such issues and lay them finally to rest.

There has to be some good reason for the amount of dissatisfaction with the operation of our criminal justice system being voiced by thoughtful people well qualified to pass an opinion. When opening the 33rd Conference of the Australasian Universities Law Schools Association held recently in Perth, a High Court Judge, Mr Justice L.K. Murphy, remarked that the administration of criminal law in Australia and most other parts of the world was disgraceful. He said people directly affected by the law were alienated from it by court room language, dress and procedure, so

that people did not know what was going on in the court. He also drew attention to the incidence of corporate crime and tax avoidance, claiming that it had become a national scandal mainly because of the inability or the unwillingness of the legal system to deal with the problems.

Many people see the passing of more and more legislation as pathetic attempts to 'patch-up' already diseased and dying systems of social organisation. New legislation creates new opportunities for lawyers to find loopholes, which then have to be repaired by further legislation, and the process continues *ad nauseam* and *ad infinitum.* As was pointed out recently to me by a perspicacious colleague, other devices commonly relied upon in attempting to repair crumbling structures, such as Royal Commissions and administrative inquiries, are remarkable if they achieve more than an allusion to Pontius Pilate and Lady MacBeth.

It is undeniably public opinion that shapes penal policy. The general public's insistence on imprisonment is conveyed to sentencers, for instance, principally through the mass media, especially through the outcry which is raised by them whenever a particular offender is not given a custodial sentence, or receives a shorter sentence than might be expected, or has his imprisonment suspended.

Those people who constitute the first line of implementation of the criminal justice system, such as police, prison officers, judges and magistrates, court officers, probation and parole officers, etc., are recruited from the public. It is inevitable, therefore, that the views of the man in the street are reflected in the quality of attitudes and value systems imported by those first line workers, and thus inevitably determine the effectiveness of the criminal justice system they represent. It is not practicable or realistic to dream that members of our society will develop a respect for the criminal justice system and motivation to obey its dictates so long as research criminologists, in this instance Dr John Braithwaite of this Institute and Dr Paul Wilson, reader in sociology at the University of Queensland, feel able to claim that: 'rule makers are the most flagrant rule breakers in society', and the 'abuses by powerful people have been covered up by the traditional idea of crime'[3]. Among others, they are currently prominent in the attack on the serious level of corporate crime in Australia. They draw attention to the loss of lives among asbestos workers in Australia

working in unsafe and illegal conditions, and, though they tend to under-estimate it, the tax-avoidance levels previously referred to in this paper.

They advocate the need for the public to insist on exposure of corporate crime as a far more effective deterrent than taking companies or their employees to court.

The sketchy and inadequate attempt in this paper to describe the spread of crime in our culture falls far short of demonstrating just how much crime there is. It is reasonable to guess, nonetheless, that well over half of crimes of all sorts actually committed are not reported to police. That in itself points to some lack of confidence in the criminal justice system on the part of those subject to it. It is little wonder, therefore, that the system is not working, that it in fact does not prevent crime, it does not correct offenders, and, having in mind the reportability rates of all crime, neither does it deter potential criminals. It is therefore widely believed that crime rates in any culture are correlated solely with elements that lie deep within it and which are likely to be independent of its criminal justice and penalty systems.

The education of the public to a more rational view of the nature of crime would be helped if the media, particularly newspapers, were first educated to concentrate on really dangerous crime, namely, that perpetrated under the name of corporate crime. Dr Braithwaite claims that more ·Australians are killed because of corporate crime than street crime. 'Without any question' he says, 'corporate crime kills and injures many more people than murders, armed robbers and other such offenders[4]'. It accomplishes this, he says, in offences against industrial safety and consumer law. If newspaper reporters could lift their sights above the crime committed by the largely inadequate, some of the really powerful criminals in our society might be deterred. I have frequently claimed that some of the best criminological researchers in this country are to be found among newspaper reporters. I am still prompted however, to wish for such reforms to our laws of defamation as would allow more newspaper staff in this country to assume the 'crime-busting' stature of their professional colleagues prominent in the Watergate affair. People are more prone to read newspapers than to read criminological texts, thus placing upon the journalistic profession the responsibility they could discharge with informed zeal and deep social conscience. Newspapers

constitute an educational medium of tremendous power. They should not need to be reminded that the more complete the power the more the responsibility placed upon those in possession of it to use it properly.

The more that corporate and international crime are exposed, the less likely it is that white collar, computer, commercial and professional employees will indulge in systematic and conscienceless pillaging of their employers. In this context the most vulnerable group are the police. In the course of their duties, they come into possession of so much inside information about the fiddling, the bribery, the corruption, the untouchable crime committed by those with privilege and power, that it is small wonder the numbers of them are tempted to seek their share of the loot. The more familiarity one attains with daily work circumstances experienced by police, the more one is astonished, not that there is so much crime, bribery and corruption among police, but that there is so little.

Similar considerations apply to the pilfering by employees of commercial establishments. Most of them are aware of the profiteering that is part of what is considered 'good business'. It is small wonder that their sensibilities are eroded to the point of feeling it legitimate to share in what they perceive as legal robbery. No amount of education designed to dissuade people from white collar crime, shoplifting, writing valueless cheques and effecting false pretences on credit arrangements, etc., is likely to be successful so long as commercial morality is so suspect.

Those engaged in organised crime in any society no doubt welcome the concentration by the news media on individual crime, police corruption, prisoner and prison officer discontent, and the consequent management problems encountered by prison administrators. The greatest enemy of organised crime is the spotlight of community awareness of its existence and its extent. It is only the support of the community that will encourage those who know about it to report it.

To date no published national victimisation information has ever appeared, although some is expected shortly. The Australian Bureau of Statistics conducted such a survey in 1975 and the results are soon to be published. Surveys of the New South Wales and Queensland (Brisbane & Laidley) situations were done in the early 1970s[5] at the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and

Research and the University of Queensland. It is commonly found that fear of reprisal ranks highly among reasons given by victims for failure to report all crime to police. Another common reason offered is a belief that the police could not do anything about it, or they would not bother. No public educational programme would raise the preparedness of the man in the street to report crime against himself or within his knowledge without the confidence of police action and protection. The difficulties encountered by the police in coping with the volume of reported crime are well appreciated, but the amount of unreported crime and the reasons for its non-reporting should be brought solidly to the notice of the community and its legislators. It is not certain that more police will solve the problem, but it could be argued that the total amount of crime in the community and the ratio of unreported to reported crime is more a function of certainty of detection than severity of penalties. It should then follow that pressure for more severe penalties and a proliferation of legislation are exercises in futility.

A further exercise in futility and frustration is to be found in the composition of prison populations in our culture. Those in jail are largely those least likely to profit from the experience. They are the murderers, most of whom have committed their offences under conditions of ungovernable emotional disturbance, or the bank robbers, or the house breakers and the thieves, the rapists and the generally inadequate. Justification for their imprisonment is to be found in their temporary incapacitation and in the rather forlorn hope that the fact of their imprisonment might conceivably deter them and others from indulging in similar behaviour. I know of no way that this can be proved.

One is left to ask are we a violent, amoral society or, if not, whether we are growing more so with each generation. If we decide we are, we might decide to enquire of ourselves whether or not it is man's destiny and his natural state to be violent, aggressive, and competitive. The Advertising Federation of Australia[6] suggests we are a competitive, materialistic society, and that we do well by our children by preparing them to cope with it. To the Federation, a full life means one associated with new and improved products, and it rests confident that television advertising plays no part in lowering moral and social behaviour attitudes because of the advertising industry's own self-regulation and

policing. One wonders on what standards and on what criteria the policing and self-regulation proceeds. One suspects that materialism would loom large.

It is perhaps in the area of the quantity of violence in a community that a definitely fostered, planned and implemented educational programme might bear most success. If a propensity to violence, competitiveness, aggression and 'oneupmanship' were natural to the human species, one would expect to find all races exhibiting similar characteristics as a cultural norm. That such a phenomenon is not confirmed by some studies leads one to suspect that perhaps the violent cultures might be rendered less violent through a conscious effort to re-educate and re-stock the culture. Neuropsychologist James W. Prescott believes he has established that the principal cause of human violence is a lack of bodily pleasure during the formative periods of life. He asserts that laboratory experiments and cross-cultural surveys demonstrate that individuals in societies which experience and promote physical pleasure are also peaceful. He believes that a nation can reduce crime and violence in the future by providing more pleasure for its infants and young people.

Using the data gathered from cultural anthropologists and the arrangement of their findings by R.B. Textor[7], Prescott tabled the results of 20,000 statistically significant correlations from 400 culture samples of primitive societies. In 36 of the 49 cultures he studied, a high degree of infant physical affection was associated with a low degree of adult physical violence. When Prescott investigated 13 exceptions he found that the violence of all but one (the Jivaro Tribe of South America) could be accounted for by the presence or absence of pre-marital sexual behaviour.

Prescott called his the somatosensory pleasure deprivation theory. He goes on to claim that his data indicates that punitive, repressive attitudes towards extra-marital sex are also linked with physical violence, personal crime and the practice of slavery, and the societies that value monogamy also value military glory and worship aggressive gods. He maintains that his findings overwhelmingly support the thesis that deprivation of body pleasures throughout life, (but particularly during the formative periods of infancy, childhood and adolescence), are very closely related to the amount of warfare and interpersonal violence. These insights, he maintains, should apply to large and complicated industrial and

post-industrial societies. To prove his point he developed a question-naire which was administered to 96 college students whose average age was 19 years in his country, America. The results of his questionnaire support a connection between rejection of physical pleasure, (and particularly of pre-marital and extra-marital sex). with expression of physical violence. Respondents who reject abortion, responsible pre-marital sex, and nudity within the family, were likely to approve of harsh physical punishment for children and to believe that pain helps build strong, moral character. These respondents were also likely to find alcohol and drugs more satisfying than sex.

The data obtained from the questionnaire provides strong statistical support for the basic inverse relationship between physical violence and physical pleasure. Where violence is high, pleasure is low and conversely. The questionnaire bears out Prescott's theory that the pleasure-violence relationship found in primitive cultures also holds true for a modern industrial nation.

Naturally, Prescott's views find little favour, and, to be more truthful, excite the angry rejection of those who uphold a culture based on Judeo-Christian concepts of morality. To partake of the debate which was generated between Prescott and Nathan A. Barack, Rabbi of the Congregation Beth El in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, one should read the April 1975 issue of *The Futurist* previously mentioned.

I have no wish to enter the debate myself, beyond confessing that I lean to Prescott's views. Our kinds of attitude to physical pleasure and sexual expression have resulted in a culture in which it could hardly be denied that traffic in erotic materials and pornography flourishes healthily. Other psychologist researchers, namely Seymour Feshbach and Neal Malamuth of UCLA[8], believe they have proved through their researches the link between sex and aggression in our culture. They were, in effect, investigating the likelihood that the depiction of violent sex and sadomasochism in sex in the media would tend to raise the level of aggression, particularly sexual aggression, in society.

Feshbach remained among a minority who felt that the effects of televised violence as currently portrayed were greatly exagger-ated. The majority, however, shared a belief that the depiction of violence in erotica and pornography could be harmful. This majority declared themselves that, as psychologists, they should

support community efforts to restrict violence in erotica to adults who are fully cognizant of the nature of the material and who chose willingly and knowingly to buy it. They opposed vehemently advertisements that appear in some popular magazines depicting sadomasochism, and the practice of some therapists who try to help their patients overcome sexual inhibitions by showing them films of rape thereby encouraging them to indulge in rape fantasies. They further thought that physchologists should not support implicitly or explicitly the use or dissemination of violent erotical material. They admitted however, that some of their findings were likely to hold only for those cultures like ours, that link aggression and sex in a common taboo. In their own words:

> To eliminate this association requires sharp discrimination between sexual and aggressive feelings and behaviour. In the family, we can help keep the two separate by being more accepting of children's interest in sex, while discouraging violent or habitually aggressive behaviour. We can also work to change the macho image that sees aggressiveness as necessary to manliness. We can foster those childhood experiences and human relationships that will diminish the attraction that the depiction of violent sex has for many people, and, at the same time, diminish the incidence of violent sex in our society.

The views of both teams of researchers seem to complement one another. Prescott would claim that a culture which promotes bodily pleasure during the formative periods of life is less likely to be susceptible to, and needful of, pornographic and erotic experiences in their entertainment. Certainly he would claim that such a culture would be highly unlikely to react to erotica with sexual violence, that the lack of sufficient somatosensory pleasure is a principle cause of violence, that we can work toward promoting pleasure and encouraging affectionate interpersonal relations as a means of combating aggression, that rigid values of monogamy, chastity and virginity help produce physical violence, and that to develop a peaceful society we much put more emphasis on human relations. He would also maintain that family planning is essential, that children must be properly spaced so that each can receive optimum affection and care, that we must seriously consider new options to nuclear marriage, such as the extended family to share the responsibilities of child rearing, that we must teach children to love and not to compete, that we must recognise the sexual equality of women, and that the greatest threat comes from those

nations which have the most depriving environments for their children and which are most repressive of sexual affection. He would sum up his views by saying that the solution to physical violence is physical pleasure that is experienced within the context of meaningful human relationships. He fears that the world has only limited time to change its custom of resolving conflicts violently. To him it is uncertain whether we have the time to undo the damage done by countless previous generations. He is unable to predict or guess how many future generations it will take to transform our psychobiology of violence to one of peace.

However much one may sympathise with Prescott's views, one would hesitate to be hung by the thumbs until a culture such as ours (based on the Christian ideal and imbued with the virtues of sexual continence, monogamy, and the family as the key to the prevention of juvenile delinquency, etc.) would tolerate agitation to effect a change. On the other hand it is reasonable to assert that we reject Prescott's views at our peril. Even if we fear that to accept Prescott's views in their entirety is to sentence our society to the total destruction of our moral fibre through preoccupation with physical pleasure, it is not too much to suspect that there is room for considerable improvement in our educational programmes in the areas of sexual and human relations.

It surely isn't too much to dispel some of the myths and sacred cows that caused parents to find virtue in Dr Benjamin Spock's former beliefs that it was sound practice not to answer an infant's needs immediately and consistently, thereby teaching the child distrust at a very basic emotional level, and also establishing patterns of neglect which harm the child's social and emotional health. It is refreshing also to find an Associate Professor of Gynaecology and Obstetrics at Sydney University, Professor Derek Llewellyn-Jones, condemning those who find it scientific, modern and intelligent to discourage breastfeeding in favour of bottle feeding, and to separate healthy 'new-borns' from their mothers in our 'modern' hospitals, all of which constitute examples of harmful child-rearing practices.

Why do we persist in deluding ourselves that our culture, which purports to discourage pre-marital sexual behaviour, fails dismally in achieving the ideal, and serves only to fill our young people with guilt and the shame of pre-marital pregnacies? The Australian Bureau of Statistics' figures from health funds indicate

that 40 per cent of girls become pregnant before they turn 20 years of age; that in 1976 at least 25,000 teenage girls in Australia had abortions; and that, out of every one hundred teenage girls, eight have an illegitimate child, 11 marry because of pregnancy and 20 or more have abortions. A questionnaire conducted by Sydney's Pre-Term Clinic showed that 51 per cent of those interviewed had previously used contraceptives but had discontinued, 5 per cent forgot, 15 per cent used contraception that failed, (mainly through misuse), and 16 per cent thought their partner used contraception. Eighty seven per cent of pregnant unmarried girls and women kept their babies in 1977 in spite of the continuing harsh community attitudes to those who become pregnant. Attitudes of young people are hardening to forced marriage or abortion, and they tend to reject planning of sexual intercourse.

Dr Hepburn, Director of the Clinic, believes that one of the first steps in overcoming the problem is for parents to accept that teenage sexuality is beginning at an earlier age, that there should be included in school curricula a programme of family and school education on the facts of reproduction, including birth control, and that there should be easy availability of family planning information, education and services. All of this is aimed at prevention of the birth of unwanted children, who are highly likely to be deprived of the kind of physical attention and bodily pleasure that Prescott finds so necessary to their healthy development as non-aggressive and non-violent adults.

It is surely not beyond the wit of man to devise human relations courses for schools, to include sex education, the family and parenthood, and instruction and information on personal growth. We already know much more about fostering sound, healthy human relations that we as a society put into practice. The Status of Women Committee set up by the Queensland Teachers' Union submitted a report to the annual conference of the union in August 1978. This report sets out one example of what might be done. Aims of the course recommended are:

1. To improve self-concept.

2. To develop awareness of other people.

3. To develop awareness of different abilities.

4. To improve communication skills.

5. To improve a technique for solving problems.

6. To help the child understand parent, child and peer group relationships.

7. To clarify their values.

8. To develop an understanding of human sexuality.

9. To develop an awareness of the basis of good mental, physical and social health (to include the uses and abuses of drugs).

10. To develop an awareness of pressures to conform — expectations of parents, siblings, mass media, church, teachers, peer groups, etc.

11. The study of pressures to fit specific roles.

The report suggests a detailed outline of what might comprise the course in four units:

1. Sex education.

2. The family and parenthood.

3. Sex roles.

4. Personal growth.

We might look to law reform to eliminate archaic deadwood, to critically examine police and other legal procedure for humbug and practices that permit social discrimination, to improve penal and correctional practice, and to encourage the return of the community to an interest in and a sense of responsibility for the criminal justice system. It is less profitable to rely on legislation to control crime. Neil O'Reilly, writing for the *Sun Herald* in the article already mentioned, reported taxation officials as admitting, as just one example, that new taxation avoidance schemes are devised by lawyers and accountants for their business and professional clients as fast as old loopholes are plugged. Similarly, by the time customs officials have discovered a particular drug-smuggling manoeuvre, the operators have superseded it with a dozen others. The deterrent effect of penalties bears an inverse relationship to the seriousness of the offence, and is nowhere as effective, in any case, as certainty of detection, and so on. One wonders how much longer the old platitudes and truisms have to be repeated.

For the sake of less crime by the powerful and the hitherto relatively untouchable, the crying need is for information to be relayed to the community on its extent, and for it to be relentlessly exposed, regardless of whether there exists current legislation to deal with it. The very exposure of behaviour and the public naming of the perpetrators would place the onus on the community, the ultimate complainant, to stand up and be counted and thus declare the quality of its values: The ultimate values naturally reflect the kind of education the community demands. If suitable legal reforms to State and Commonwealth laws of defamation in Australia were to permit the fearless exposure of large-scale crime, the toleration of it would be blood on the community's head.

The control of property crime committed by the inadequate, (the crime which, under present conditions, occupies most of the media's attention in this area), is sensitive to physical (including technological) planning. Much of the crime in this category is influenced by the interaction of opportunity and liability to detection. Alteration to either or both of these variables in the logical directions would powerfully affect rates of property crime[9].

The burden of this paper, therefore, is a plea for a reassessment of the efficacy of the criminal justice and penalty systems as modifiers of rates of crime of all kinds. Once the community is thoroughly informed and educated as to real amounts of crime and the real criminals in its midst, there must occur changes of emphasis as to the means of its diminution. Many of our encultured sexual and other human values need alteration — a process accomplished only by a conscious reorganisation of educational ends and means.

The community can no longer ignore its courts, its prisons, the stigma, the life-time labelling of its known offenders, the quality of its police, prison, probation and parole officers and their administrators. It must listen to those trying to help it to understand that early childhood experience powerfully affects adult behaviour and sensibilities. And it must insist that school education pays due regard to human relations and preparation for responsible child-rearing skills.

If such emphasis is too antipathetic to the enjoyment of 'new and improved products' and a 'fuller, albeit materialistic way of life', then let us resign ourselves to the survival of the fittest, praise the Lord and pass the ammunition, cease blaming politicians,

police, priests, parsons and poverty for the state of crime, and, in general, stop complaining.

1. *Sun Herald*, Sydney, Sunday, 13 May, 1979.

2. Article published in *The Futurist*, April 1975 and reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 1975, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

3. Wilson, P. and Braithwaite, J., (Eds.), *Two Faces of Deviance*. Queensland University Press, St. Lucia, 1979.

4. Quoted by Bruce Best in *The Age*, Melbourne, 8 March, 1979.

5. Wilson, P. and Brown, J., *Crime and the Community*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1973. New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Statistical Report No. 12, *Unreported Crime*, 1974.

6. Reported in *The Canberra Times*, Friday 4 May, 1979.

7. Textor, R.B., *A Cross-Cultural Summary*, HRAF Press, 1967.

8. Feshback, S. and Malamuth, N., 'Sex and Aggression : Proving the Link,' *Psychology Today*, Vol. 12, No. 6, November 1978.

9. Bevan, C.R., 'Some Ideas for Crime Prevention', Regional Seminar on Crime Prevention, Darwin, 29 August – 2 September 1977.

17 Crime Prevention Planning - A Fieldwork Approach to Regional and Local Case Studies

J. Marjoram

Introduction

The aim of the crime prevention planning course was to provide participants with an introduction to planning methods and a practical insight into the possible application of crime prevention concepts and techniques to economic, social and physical planning at the national, regional and local levels. This required opportunities to be provided for participants to examine actual planning projects and to relate these to crime prevention. In Australia this could only be done in relation to local town or regional planning projects and the cooperation of planners and police working in such areas was solicited well in advance of the course.

Five fieldwork areas in south-eastern Australia were selected and with the generous collaboration of planning and criminal justice authorities, and other relevant bodies such as community organisations, it was possible for participants to spend the second week of the course gaining first-hand knowledge of urban and regional planning as practised in those localities. The chosen fieldwork areas were:

Albury-Wodonga: a non-metropolitan regional growth centre complex located on the New South Wales-Victoria border and designated as a growth centre by the Commonwealth, New South Wales and Victorian Governments in 1973.

Bathurst-Orange: a non-metropolitan regional growth centre complex located some 230 kilometres west of Sydney and designated as a growth centre by the New South Wales Government in 1974.

Campbelltown (Macarthur): a metropolitan corridor growth centre complex located on the south-west periphery of metropolitan Sydney and designated as a growth centre by the New South Wales Government in 1975.

Sutherland: a metropolitan local government area within the outer southern sector of the Sydney metropolitan area.

Geelong: a non-metropolitan growth centre located 70 kilometres south-west of Melbourne and designated a growth centre by the Victorian Government in 1974.

The fieldwork areas thus included the four growth centres in New South Wales and Victoria in addition to Sutherland Shire, one of the forty-odd urban local government areas within Sydney. They were chosen for several reasons including the following:

1. Each had experienced a considerable build up of population in recent years.

2. Local and/or regional planning authorities were operating in each locality; their structure, responsibilities and practices varied to an extent suitable for learning purposes.

3. A variety of criminal justice services were operating in each locality, their characteristics being in part determined by whether the area was in New South Wales or Victoria.

4. A number of community groups concerned with local and/or regional social issues were active in each area.

While it may have been desirable to select some fieldwork areas in other States, this was not possible because of the limited resources available for the conduct of the course and the very short time available for the undertaking of fieldwork and associated travel.

This being the first course of its kind to be held anywhere, there was no precedent which could be followed in designing and implementing the kind of fieldwork needed to supplement the lectures. Moreover, the concentrated nature of the course, connected as it was with the limited periods for which senior administrators were able to be absent from their desks, imposed restraints on teaching methods.

Adapting to these constraints groups of three to four participants were allocated to each fieldwork area, the principal objective of their assignments being to identify, describe and evaluate the local and/or regional planning processes and practices in relation to crime prevention needs. More specifically the participants were encouraged to consider the following broad areas of study and their interrelationships in each locality:

1. Social development in the community, including the community's socio-demographic structure, population growth and social problems and the significance of such factors in developing techniques for crime prevention planning.

2. The criminal justice system, including the functions, powers and resources of criminal justice agencies and the nature of present and future crime prevention planning activities which were being, or could be, practised.

3. The physical planning and development system, including the responsibilities, policies and processes of planning and development agencies and their implications for crime prevention planning.

Methodology of the Fieldwork Approach

Before the commencement of the training course preparatory meetings were conducted between Australian Institute of Criminology staff and representatives of relevant government authorities and community groups operating in all fieldwork areas. Objectives of the course proper and, in particular, the fieldwork component of the course, were clarified and details of the fieldwork programme were determined.

For each fieldwork area a background information booklet was compiled by the author, this provided details of the following matters:

1. The location, history and nature of planning activities relevant to each area.

2. The broad responsibilities of planning authorities and the general characteristics of criminal justice agencies.

3. Summary socio-demographic data and profiles.

4. Crime statistics and indicators for the State in which the area was located.

5. A select bibliography of relevant government reports, research studies and related documents.

These background notes were supplied to participants at the commencement of the course and a preliminary introduction to the fieldwork areas was provided at that point. At the completion of the first week of the course a more comprehensive orientation to the fieldwork was given, followed by discussion and clarification of the fieldwork objective and broad areas of study which had been provided in the preamble to the background information booklet.

There were, however, some serious problems. Undoubtedly the major obstacle encountered was the absence of crime statistics for the respective fieldwork areas. In Australia, offence statistics are readily available on a State-by-State basis, but local police boundaries are not usually the same as planning area boundaries and in most States there are no published data for local areas within States. Moreover, with computers programmed for other purposes, considerable logistical difficulties arise in any attempt to extract such data from State-wide record-keeping systems. There had been insufficient resources available for the Institute to provide staff to extract such data from police records and for similar reasons it was not possible for the relevant State police departments to provide additional manpower to perform this task. This meant that participants were forced to examine crime prevention planning activities with very limited knowledge of prevailing local patterns of crime.

On the other hand this was a constraint already imposed by circumstances upon the planners themselves and its identification for this course was a significant step towards a reorganisation of the recording systems to provide planners with the information required for their work if they were to give due consideration to crime prevention.

A further difficulty arose from the need to allow time for the writing up of fieldwork reports, and for their subsequent present-ation to the whole course with adequate time for discussion. During the fieldwork period the first day was allocated for an on-site orientation to the fieldwork areas leaving only four working

days for intensive examination and consideration of crime prevention planning in action.

State-wide crime statistics were made available to participants, as was a good deal of local and regional socio-economic data, and these were augmented by the local knowledge of planning and criminal justice personnel in the respective areas. Moreover the gaps in local crime statistics were filled where possible by the personal experience of the local police. Staff of the Australian Institute of Criminology were made available within the fieldwork areas to guide, assist, and supervise the work of participants.

The Case Studies

Albury-Wodonga

The planning and development of the Albury-Wodonga growth centre[1] is largely the responsibility of the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation, a statutory authority with the power to acquire, hold, manage and provide land in the areas designated for urban and regional development. In particular the Corporation is responsible for the building of new cities with local government authorities retaining responsibility for existing urban areas. Participants who examined activities in this fieldwork area noted that the Corporation is an excellent, and in some ways unique, example of collaboration and cooperation between the Commonwealth and State Governments.

Participants noted first the absence of a crime prevention planner − or a planner with specific crime prevention responsibilities on the Corporation or available to the Corporation's officials and planners. Policy-making was a Corporation-community process and a 'social planner' was appointed specifically to ensure community involvement, but the expertise for crime prevention planning was lacking and in any case, even if available, might have been hampered by conflicts of local interests. Nevertheless there was a clear awareness of the crime prevention issue within the Corporation as a result of its association over the years with the Australian Institute of Criminology and it was noted that a specialist had been selected for the area by the Australian Institute of Criminology but his appointment was prevented by cuts imposed on the Institute's budget. It was within such constraining parameters

that the participants conducted their study.

Participants examined the initial proposals for the growth centre[2] and were gratified to find that, while not being particularly concerned with crime as a separate issue, these early proposals endorsed the principle that the development of a successful and coherent community would require 'a concern for existing and future social conditions'.

It was as a result of this concern that a substantial amount of social research had been initiated by the Corporation but unfortunately and for the reasons already given there had been no studies of the local crime problem in relation to planning.

Corporation officers and local police indicated in discussions with participants that in the two urban areas, on each side of the Murray River, there were as yet no obvious crime-prone zones. Nor did there yet seem to be any major public concern with crime. Employment and future population growth seemed to be the major interests of the people as well as the Corporation. The interrelationship between the two urban councils, the two State Governments and the wider State-Federal Corporation was complicated and tended to affect policy decisions.

This was extended to the interrelationships between the two police forces, and the two systems of law divided by the river. For example, blood alcohol levels for dangerous driving differed according to the side of the river on which the vehicle was being driven. Again there were juvenile institutions for young offenders on the Albury side (that is, in New South Wales) and a prison on the Victorian side (but outside the Development Area), but Victorian juveniles could not be admitted to the nearby New South Wales institution and persons imprisoned by the courts on the New South Wales side of the river could not be held in the nearby Victorian prison. Crime prevention programmes operated by the police were oriented back to policy making centres in their State capitals and this somtimes prevented the most logical and least costly programmes being undertaken jointly in the Development Area by the direct cooperation of the police across the river.

The police programmes for crime prevention included the organisation of group discussions, films, seminars and lectures for local resident groups and the dissemination of information on crime prevention at the domestic level. The Victoria Police juvenile cautioning programme which allows police discretion for cautioning

young first offenders was considered an impressive innovation, particularly with its potential to reduce the incidence of serious crime committed by such offenders and to reduce the workload of the courts, enabling them to concentrate on more serious matters. It was fascinating to see this operate on one side of the river and the implications of this for planning did not need any emphasis.

The provision of a remand centre in the future was considered desirable, given the expected rapidity of population growth and the problems which may arise for both detainees and enforcement authorities when the former do not have regular contact with relatives and friends.

The recommendations of the seminar on planning a low crime environment for Albury-Wodonga[3] were endorsed by the participants and further strengthening of the coordination and colloboration between planning and criminal justice authorities was considered desirable as crime prevention was considered to be more than a by-product of balanced socio-economic development.

Bathurst-Orange

The Bathurst-Orange area was selected in 1972 by the New South Wales Government as its first growth centre to be planned and developed in accordance with its policy of selective decentralisation and two years later the Bathurst-Orange Development Corporation was formed to create the growth centre. The Corporation's primary goals were stated as being to attract people to the growth centre while retaining those already resident in the area and to create an alternative lifestyle in the growth centre to that found in the metropolis[4].

It was noted that the Corporation had declared in the past that its work would have only a limited direct influence on the way social facilities developed and on the general social development of the region. Participants felt that the Corporation's influence might be more directly significant for human behaviour in the area than they could as yet fully appreciate. Again it was considered unfortunate that planning had not included crime prevention as a basic element in the attempt to stimulate growth.

Criminal justice personnel pointed out that the crime situation in Bathurst-Orange appeared to have remained fairly stable in spite of the gradual build up of population, but expressed concern over drug problems, including drunken driving, and rising youth un-

employment. Projects concerned with the needs of the young which were examined and considered as being relevant to crime prevention strategies included the following:

50/50 House: a counselling and education centre funded by the New South Wales Government in conjunction with Orange City Council.

Youth Organisation of Unemployed (Y.O.U.): an agency providing various support services to the young unemployed which is conducted through the Commonwealth Employment Service with funding from the Community Youth Support Scheme.

Task Force: a work cooperative for the young unemployed.

The participants had some difficulty getting a grasp of this area which included plans to connect by the creation of a new town the two existing urban centres of Bathurst and Orange. In fact, at the time of the fieldwork in this area, the participants could consider only the plans and blueprints because the actual work on the ground was still in its early stages. They were concerned, however, with the need to anticipate possible crime which could develop from the process of allocating resources and the possible temptations of changes in local values as a result of the Corporation's activities. Such factors as action to meet the new needs which were bound to develop in families and communities as they moved in and in the effects upon the existing populations had criminogenic implications which would require careful attention. Social planning in the area needed, in the opinion of the participants, to remain responsive to the changing patterns of living and to incorporate the provision of a variety of social services – many of which would have implications for crime prevention.

It was acknowledged that these were only generalisations but the situation of the Corporation was such that anything more precise would need to await future policy decisions. Nevertheless it was at this early stage that crime should be considered and in discussion with planners it was this point which was stressed repeatedly.

Campbelltown (Macarthur)
In the Macarthur growth centre participants first noted the

respective planning and development roles of the Macarthur Development Board and the Campbelltown City Council. The Board was formed in 1975 with powers to plan, develop and construct the growth centre, while the Council, the major local government authority in the area, is responsible for preparing more detailed plans for Campbelltown and exercises its normal functions over privately owned land. The importance of the New South Wales Housing Commission's responsibility for providing public housing for the very rapidly growing population was also recognised. It was felt that this fieldwork area was an excellent example of accelerated industrial and urban growth in a metropolitan corridor aimed at relieving some of the pressure on the Sydney metropolis.

Participants noted the heterogeniety of population density and socio-economic characteristics of the community in the existing urban areas of the growth centre. The youthfulness of the population, the high proportion of women in the workforce and the ethnic diversity of residents were all identified as being important factors for broad social planning endeavours and for planning to prevent crime. Vandalism and other property crime were found to be a major concern of criminal justice agencies and the problems of unemployment, particularly among the young, and of providing adequate and appropriate recreational and social facilities and local transport services were highlighted by the planning personnel and community organisations.

A cursory examination of police reports was made by this group which revealed that theft, malicious damage and assault were the most frequently committed offences in the area. Money, electrical appliances, bicycles and car accessories were found to be the main targets of thieves.

Participants being aware that the prevention of crime is not only a responsibility of the criminal justice system alone, were gratified to find in discussions with the planning staff of the various authorities that the Macarthur Growth Centre was aiming to achieve balanced growth, that is, investment in urban and economic development in such a manner that would concommitantly promote social development and reduce social problems. Participants were pleased to note that one of the planning objectives for the area was the development of 'a strong and diverse community' and at the same time the aversion of 'social problems

of integration'[5] which can occur in rapid new town development.

The importance of attempting to remove or minimise those environmental considerations which directly or indirectly facilitate the violation of social norms and laws was stressed. However, it was also noted that there were a great many assumptions underlying the concepts of what environmental conditions cause or aggravate social problems. Therefore participants expressed concern that there were no preliminary pilot research studies to identify past, present and possible future factors in the growth of social problems.

The Macarthur Development Board's efforts at expanding employment opportunities and promoting balanced industrial-urban development and the Campbelltown City Council's concern with the provision of social services and the social well-being of the community were seen as significant efforts at primary crime prevention. Further coordination between planning and criminal justice agencies, it was felt, could only strengthen these achievements. At the same time participants considered that there was a need for further research into local crime patterns and for the inclusion of the findings from such research in future planning.

Sutherland

Sutherland is in many respects different to the other four fieldwork areas. While the others are non-metropolitan growth centres, Sutherland Shire is one of the largest of the local government areas within the Sydney metropolitan region and participants immediately appreciated the importance of the role of Sutherland Shire Council in town planning, social development and related areas.

Participants discussed with town planning staff of the Council the importance of the latter's contribution to crime prevention in the design and layout of residential, industrial and commercial land uses and in the provision of street-lighting, subways, parks, recreational facilities and other community services. The need for coordination between planners, law enforcement agencies and relevant community groups in planning to prevent crime was appreciated by participants, as was the necessity of informing the public of planning achievements and their importance in crime prevention.

In discussions with criminal justice personnel, participants

found that car theft, breaking and entering and vandalism were of particular concern, while health and welfare specialists considered that drug and alcohol addiction, youth unemployment, and child care for working mothers were important issues with implications for crime prevention planning. A visit was made to the Crime Prevention Unit of the New South Wales Police and the role of the Unit in providing security advice and in organising seminars and meetings with business and community organisations was considered in detail by the participants. Brief visits were also made to child care centres, the Police Citizens Boy's Club, and a community health facility, each of which was recognised by participants as providing important crime preventive services. Participants were impressed by the very large number of voluntary groups and government agencies working for the well-being of the Shire's population and the achievements of the Council in assisting to coordinate and plan their activities.

Sutherland Shire Council's scheme of honorary rangers was considered to be a valuable contribution to crime prevention at the community level. These honorary rangers patrol parks, gardens, public swimming pools and other public areas to ensure people's compliance with the requirements of proper conduct and to speak to offenders in a tactful manner, seeking their cooperation. Police support the rangers, if necessary, and the scheme has contributed greatly to crime prevention and, in particular, to dealing with the problem of drunkenness in public places. Participants were also impressed by the opportunity which this scheme provides for members of the public to contribute directly and actively towards community involvement.

Geelong
The Geelong Regional Commission was created in 1977 by the Victorian Government as a corporate body responsible for approving planning schemes and making interim development orders within the region. It was given authority to purchase, subdivide and sell land and undertake residential development. The Commission replaced the former Geelong Regional Planning Authority which had been formed in 1969 to plan for large-scale urban growth in Geelong and its environs. In discussions with planning staff of the Commission participants were informed that

the Commission did not employ a social planner and that its physical planning for the region involved very little direct action aimed at preventing crime[6].

While a regional crime prevention plan for Geelong had not been formulated, participants were aware of the report of a seminar organised by the Australian Institute of Criminology on crime prevention for the region and which set forth a blueprint for further action[7]. Furthermore, the Commission was well aware of the relationship between population growth and crime, and accordingly has devised plans to restrict urban sprawl. Considerable effort is made by the Commission to promote and encourage community participation in the preparation of strategic and statutory plans.

Unlike participants in other fieldwork areas, those in Geelong were provided with some detailed crime statistics for the region[8] although this data was to a certain extent historical. In discussions with police, participants became aware of the juvenile cautioning programme mentioned previously and noted its emphasis on giving support, assistance and encouragement to the offender and his parents and its capacity to avoid the stigma attached to appearance and possible conviction before a Children's Court. Also of interest from a crime prevention viewpoint was the showing by police of a film encouraging greater public awareness of criminal activities in the home and public places and depicting methods of safeguarding vehicles and personal property. This film was commissioned by the Lion's Club, a community organisation with membership throughout Australia, and presented to the Victoria Police to assist their community relations and information dissemination activities.

Participants visited the Geelong Attendance Centre, a community based correctional and treatment facility for those with short-term sentences who pose no threat to the community. Such persons perform unpaid community work on the weekend and in the evening attend the Centre where personal development, education and training programmes are provided. It was felt that attendance centres, of which there are four in Victoria, provide proof that the community is concerned and prepared to help and offer the offender an opportunity to repay the community by helping some of its members.

The Barwon Regional Crime Prevention and Corrections Council, a broadly-based community organisation interested in the

needs of offenders and potential offenders and the prevention of crime generally, was a group with no counterparts in other field-work areas and of considerable interest for participants. It was seen as a most desirable vehicle for voicing public opinion and in encouraging and assisting government authorities to provide for unmet needs. In addition to being instrumental in the establishment of the Geelong Attendance Centre as an alternative to imprisonment, the Council has been involved in interviewing prison inmates for prospective work release, establishing an alcohol and drug dependency centre and in the submission of a proposal for a half-way house for former prisoners.

Conclusion

The above case studies illustrate that crime prevention planning at the urban and regional levels is still at an embryonic stage of development in Australia today. This is quite remarkable given the fact that Australia is not only one of the most highly urbanised countries in the world, but has an impressive record of city and regional planning. Moreover, there is a concern with crime and related problems in the cities that is frequently being voiced by politicians. academics, decision-makers and the public generally. None of this has led to the inclusion of crime prevention in formal plans for the cities and regions. This does not mean that at an informal level there has not been action which is crime preventative — only that such action does not seem to have been consciously determined with crime prevention in mind and in general a coordinated approach has been lacking.

This is not to suggest that planning will automatically solve crime and crime-related problems; planning never has, and probably never will, eradicate criminal behaviour, but the very fact that planning can reduce the opportunities for such behaviour to occur makes it a worthy, and indeed necessary, endeavour.

But why is crime prevention planning lagging behind economic, social and environmental planning in this country, and many other countries? One commentator has pointed out that the various dimensions of the 'urban crisis' — housing, transport, poverty, pollution. crime and the like — are continually and fervently debated but that: '. . . the quasi-ritual incantation of this check-

list of urban problems generates a sort of cosy familiarity. . .
Particularly unfortunate is the tendency to regard each of the so-
called urban problems in isolation'9 .

Certainly the lack of research into urban crime patterns is
another factor that has retarded the implementation of crime
prevention strategies. Crime is by no means universally ignored in
urban and regional planning in Australia, but by the same token
crime, as a very real aspect of everyday urban living, is also not
given the attention it warrants.

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18 Country Studies

W. Clifford and J. Marjoram

Introduction

Course participants provided for each other detailed accounts of the workings of the criminal justice services in their countries and these are summarised here in accordance with the headings most appropriate for planning. Participants in the course came from the following countries: Bangladesh, Botswana, Costa Rica, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Lesotho, Malaysia, New Hebrides, Philippines, Seychelles, Swaziland, Tuvalu and Western Samoa.

While the following discussion is largely concerned with the situation in these countries, some information is provided, where appropriate, on planning and crime prevention in other countries including Gambia, Korea, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Sri Lanka, Syria and Uganda. These countries were among those represented at an international training course on problems in urban development conducted by the International Training Institute of the Australian Development Assistance Bureau during late 1978. Participants in this course attended a one-day conference on crime prevention in urban areas at the Australian Institute of Criminology and provided the authors with short papers on crime prevention planning in their respective countries.

National Planning

National planning was a feature of most of the above countries which brought these countries into sharp contrast with Australia and some other western nations for whom comprehensive national planning is still, if not a new concept, at least one which has found little favour and only piecemeal application.

Bangladesh has recently implemented its first Five-Year National Development Plan (1973-74 to 1977-78) which was designed by the Bangladesh Planning Commission to link individual annual plans and to relate them to the Government's economic strategy. The second Five-Year Plan is intended to commence in 1980 as part of a twenty year perspective plan. In 1976 Botswana published a new 'roll-over' plan for the period 1976-81 following the implementation of the National Development Plan, 1970-75. The latter plan mentioned the need for an increase in police strength to overcome border patrol problems and outlined plans for a coordinated judicial system.

Fiji is currently implementing its seventh Five-Year Development Plan (1976-80), this task is being performed by the Central Planning Office; Fiji's sole national planning authority. This plan is one of the few which includes investment in police, courts, corrective schools and prisons in its development planning framework. Total envisaged expenditure under the seventh Development Plan is $F 342,598,000 of which $F 14,600,000 (4.3 per cent) is proposed to be spent on the criminal justice system.

India is of course a classic example of Five-Year Plans, the first for the period 1951-55 to 1955-56 and the most recent, the fifth Five-Year Plan, covering the years 1974-79. The aims of the current plan are the removal of poverty and the attainment of economic self-reliance free from foreign aid. India's major national planning body is the Planning Commission which was created in 1950 to prepare the first plan and within the respective Five-Year Plans social defence programmes have been included — but only as part of the social welfare sector.

National planning in Lesotho follows patterns common in the Third World. The first Five-Year Development Plan was published in 1970 and covered the period 1970-71 to 1974-75. Like the Botswana plan (1970-75), Lesotho's first Development Plan referred to the need for additional police as well as mentioning projects for the non-custodial treatment of offenders and plans for open prisons for first offenders. It could be that the smallness of the appropriations in the smaller countries makes it difficult to draw the traditional (and unfortunate) distinction which has usually been made between recurrent and development budgets.

The Malaysian Government has implemented two national plans, the first Malaysian Plan (1968-70) which was largely con-

cerned with the infrastructure for growth and development, and the second Malaysian Plan (1971-75) which set forth the new economic policy. Peninsular Malaysia, while Malaya, did have five-year plans for 1956-60 and 1961-65 the principal aim of which was to improve the infrastructure. The implementation of the new economic policy embodied in the second Malaysian Plan was the responsibility of the National Action Council which comprised Cabinet members, the Chief Secretary, the Chief of the Armed Forces Staff and the Inspector General of Police. The National Action Council was also charged with the maintenance of national security by combatting terrorism (thus explaining the presence of the Army Chief and the Inspector General of Police in its membership). It was divided into the National Security Council and the National Economic Council. A National Development Planning Committee under the chairmanship of the Permanent Secretary to the Treasurer was also formed to serve the National Action Council while Goodwill Committees were created to promote social welfare and law and order at the local level. Under the second Malaysian Plan an amount of $M 281,130,000 was allocated for criminal justice services. While fuller information about the detailed work is required, this appears to be a rare example of crime prevention being integrated in national planning short of full totalitarianism.

Unlike other countries included in this review, the New Hebrides is a condominium representing the interests of Great Britain and France which are represented by High Commissioners who delegate their powers to Resident Commissioners.

On the basis of the Anglo-French Convention of 1906 the New Hebrides is administered for some purposes jointly, (for example, police) and for others unilaterally. In 1970 a joint development plan was prepared for the five year period 1971-75, which provided for a balanced and coordinated programme of development in those sectors for which the joint administration was responsible (for example, public works, communications, urban development and national resources). A Joint Office of Development Planning was created in 1976 to be responsible for the preparation of recommendations to the Resident Commissioners concerning development strategies.

In the Philippines martial law was declared in September 1972, and the following month the Government announced various

measures designed to boost economic development and attract foreign investment. A central planning and policy-making body, the National Economic and Development Authority, was created to perform such functions as the determination of priorities and incentives for economic growth. This authority comprised the Secretaries of major government departments, the Central Bank Governor, the Head of the Budget Commission and the Chairman of the Board of Investments and had its own Director-General. The Four-Year National Development Plan (1972-75) included social defence considerations and in 1976 a national strategy to reduce crime was compiled. In this respect the Philippines is making a deliberate attempt to implement the recommendations of the United Nations to integrate social defence with national planning.

National planning in Western Samoa is the responsibility of the Department of Economic Development within the Ministry of Economic Affairs. National planning decisions are made by a committee including senior administrators of various government departments and the Attorney-General under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. The Department of Economic Development supervised the preparation of the third Five-Year Development Plan (1975-79) and is currently preparing the fourth Five-Year Plan for the period 1980-85. In 1977 a Rural Development Fund began offering grant assistance for village infrastructure and productive projects. A somewhat similar situation is evident in Gambia where the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development and the National Planning Committee are responsible for national planning activities and the determination of relevant policies.

Korea has seen the implementation of three Five-Year Plans (1962-68, 1967-71 and 1972-76) by the Government's Economic Planning Board. In 1972 the Government launched the New Community Movement Planning Programme to revitalize rural communities. Thus in recent times there have been two types of planning machinery: the third Five Year Economic Development Plan (1972-76) and the more localised 'New Village' planning under the aegis of the Ministry of Home Affairs. In Nepal, on the other hand, planning from the national to the local level is undertaken by the National Planning Commission, a semi-autonomous body under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. The Commission has been

responsible for the preparation of five Five-Year Development Plans including the fourth Five-Year Plan (1970-75) which was largely aimed at improving communications and the current fifth Five-Year Plan (1975-80) which places a lesser emphasis on infrastructure and devotes more reserves to agricultural development, including extension of irrigation, creation of cooperatives and improvement of land administration techniques.

In Papua-New Guinea national development planning is the responsibility of the National Planning Office within the Prime Minister's Department. Area authorities have been established to give each province a greater say in planning, for advising the Central government on development priorities and for allocating Rural Improvement Programme funds to local organisations. In 1972, during the period of *de facto* Self Government, the 'Eight Aims' were announced as a first step to defining a development strategy. These emphasised rural development, self-reliance, more equal distribution of benefits, small scale economic activity, decentralisation of decision-making, increased participation of women and greater Papua New Guinea control of the economy.

During 1976 the Papua New Guinea Government published the National Development Strategy, which reviewed changes in the economy and population in the years leading to Independence. This strategy focussed on the relative lack of rural development and called for a redistribution of the nation's resources to benefit the rural majority of the population. The National Public Expenditure Plan (N.P.E.P.) was introduced in 1978 to control and limit expenditure on existing policy and to reserve the limited room for growth in total Government expenditures for clearly documented projects to achieve targets in defined strategic areas. All new projects for Government funding must be submitted through the N.P.E.P. process and those accepted as high priority within the guidelines of the National Development Strategy are funded up to the design ceiling.

In Sri Lanka national planning policy formulation and implementation is the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. At a more local level are District Planning Authorities which comprise District Ministers and local heads of Government departments. During 1971 People's Committees comprising representatives from cooperatives, trade unions, rural development societies and local government bodies were inaugurated to assist

with general administration and planning at the local level. These Committees have since been abandoned but rural development societies, local government authorities and farmers' organisations are still important planning units at this level. The Government's Five Year Plan (1972-76) placed considerable emphasis on an import substitution programme to create the necessary conditions for the rapid expansion of domestic production.

Syria has a National Planning Commission under the chairmanship of the President which is responsible for determining national planning policies and strategies. Regional and local planning is undertaken by the Ministry of Housing and Utilities in collaboration with other relevant departments. The Five Year Development Plan for 1960-61 to 1964-65 incorporated many of the features in the Ten-Year Plan of 1958 and has been followed by the second Five-Year Development Plan (1966-70) and the third Five-Year Development Plan (1971-75).

Uganda has also had three Five Year Development Plans (1961-65, 1966-71 and 1971-76) which have emphasised broad economic development but also have outlined social objectives in broad terms. The second Five-Year Development Plan recognised the importance of increasing crime rates while the third Five-Year Plan aimed to increase the recurrent expenditure on police by 9 per cent per annum.

In Hong Kong a Five-Year Plan for Social Welfare Development (1973-78) has been implemented. This plan was prepared by the Social Welfare Planning Committee which was established in 1972 under the aegis of the Social Welfare Advisory Committee, a standing committee appointed by the Governor. The Planning Committee was chaired by the Director of Social Welfare and included representatives of both the Government and voluntary sectors. The planning process was aimed at setting social welfare targets that were realistic in relation to the community's needs and capable of implementation given available resources.

National planning is still at an embyronic stage in Swaziland and the Seychelles, although Swaziland has prepared a post-independence development plan and the Seychelles has recently created a Ministry for Planning and Development with responsibility for national planning functions. Tuvalu and Costa Rica are countries which do not practise national planning and have not produced short or medium-term plans for economic and social development.

Criminal Justice Planning

In Bangladesh the Government is making moves to establish an Advisory Council to coordinate criminal justice agencies to advise in formulating policies for crime prevention and the treatment of offenders. It is envisaged that such a body might include representatives of authorities responsible for police, prisons, social welfare, women's affairs, manpower development and local government as well as appropriate community organisations. As in many developing countries, probation and after-care services are provided by the Department of Social Welfare and it is thus essential for this authority to be included in any moves to plan or coordinate criminal justice services. This Department is also responsible for facilities and services for juvenile offenders which have been provided, along with Juvenile Courts, under the Bangladesh Children's Act of 1974. The Bangladesh Government is very much aware of the importance of community organisations such as the Association for Correction and Social Reclamation in providing services related to crime prevention and treatment of offenders and the need for community involvement in planning to prevent crime.

The planning of criminal justice services in Botswana is yet to occur although the Criminal Investigation Department of the Botswana Police has recently decided to implement crime prevention programmes and the Police Force has recognised the need to strengthen its relations with the public. Fiji's current national plan makes no reference to a coordinated strategy for crime prevention but each criminal justice agency is permitted to prepare plans for inclusion in the national development plan. In 1975 the Fiji Government created a Royal Commission to conduct an inquiry into the causes of crime. This was a one man Commission, of the Chief Justice of Fiji, it published its findings and recommendations in 1976, and it is envisaged that the next National Development Plan for 1981-85 will incorporate aspects of the findings of the Royal Commission as the base for a national crime prevention plan. However, for the present, law and order is very much the prime responsibility of the Fiji Police Force which has been allocated $F 7.8 million under the present national plan.

Within India, States have divided responsibilities among home departments for police, inspectors-general of prisons, and director-

ates of welfare for the treatment of offenders. At the commencement of the fourth Five-Year Plan the National Development Council decided that social defence schemes would be the responsibility of the State sector, rather than being centrally sponsored programmes. Law and order is thus largely a concern of State Governments and Union Territory Administrators, although the National Government controls such bodies as the Narcotics Bureau, Central Bureau of Investigation and Central Reserve Police. National and State planning to prevent crime is largely ad hoc and is not a part of planning for other sectors. Although at the national level the Union Home Minister or Home Secretary may call a meeting of State Home Ministers and Secretaries to review the law and order situation, few efforts have been made at either the national or state level to generate integrated plans for crime prevention on a long term basis.

Like Botswana, Lesotho has yet to develop plans for the criminal justice sector and its component services although the first Five-Year Plan mentioned the need for particular facilities. Some tentative steps have been made with the formation of an anti-corruption police squad and with the deployment of policewomen to full-time delinquency prevention.

In Malaysia, criminal justice services are scattered under several headings employed in the national plans: 'internal security' (police), 'general administration' (courts and prisons) and 'welfare services' (juvenile offenders). Integrated crime prevention planning encompassing all these agencies has not yet been achieved although crime prevention planning committees have been created within the Police Force at the State and District headquarters levels.

The British Division of the New Hebrides Constabulary has very recently created a crime prevention section and there are plans for the formation of crime prevention panels in conjunction with the New Hebridean community. It is envisaged that these panels will, with public cooperation, put forward to the police suggestions for combatting crime and crime-related problems.

As mentioned previously the criminal justice agencies in the Philippines have prepared a national strategy to reduce crime during the period 1976-80. The goals of this strategy are a reduction of the rate for certain target crimes from 25 to 50 per cent; a reduction of court loads by at least 25 per cent; and decongestion of prisons and jails by at least 25 per cent. To achieve these goals

the strategy recommended the establishment of a National Criminal Justice System Coordinating Council to perform several functions including advising the President on crime prevention and criminal justice and formulating an integrated and inter-disciplinary national crime prevention programme based on crime prevention plans of each component of the criminal justice system for inclusion in the national development plans. The recommended priorities of action for crime reduction were the improvement of the quality of the criminal justice system and the management and operational skills of law enforcement; the reduction of delays in the criminal justice process; the improvement of correctional facilities and services; and the increase of opportunities for community participation in crime prevention.

Western Samoa, like most other countries considered here, has at this stage not drawn up a national strategy for crime prevention although the Police Force has very recently adopted an initial crime prevention planning scheme aimed at educating the community and acquiring its cooperation in preventing crime. In Gambia, crime prevention activities are also at present performed only by the police force. Liaison between the Inspector General of Police, the Commissioner of Prisons, the Ministry for Education, Youth and Sports (responsible for dealing with problems of juvenile delinquency) and the Ministry for Health, Labour and Social Welfare is maintained, particularly with respect to co-ordinating prisoner rehabilitation programmes, but no integrated crime prevention plan has been compiled.

Crime prevention planning in Korea has been largely confined to the creation of a voluntary citizens' crime prevention corps which assists police night patrols where local police forces are considered insufficient. The Nepal Police Force is the sole authority in that country which is involved in crime prevention; the national plans make no reference to the subject. In Papua New Guinea the Department of Police is largely responsible for crime prevention planning although other criminal justice agencies are also planning their activities. Considerable reorganisation of the instrumentalities concerned with legal matters is in progress, the system established prior to independence having been set up in traditional Australian fashion. A scheme to train local magistrates to work in the lower courts has been in operation during recent years.

Sri Lanka's national plans have omitted any crime prevention

strategies or objectives, but the need for coordination between criminal justice agencies is recognised. An interesting recent development has been the promotion of local arbitral councils (*gan sabha*) by both police and the courts. These councils comprise prominent citizens commissioned by the Ministry of Justice to handle many local disputes and are similar to the *Nyaya Panchayats* of India and the local *Panchayats* of Nepal.

During the 1960s the planning of criminal justice services in Uganda, particularly institutional treatment and vocational training programmes, was integrated in national development policies. National planning was the responsibility of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development and the National Planning Commission and close liaison was maintained between these bodies and those responsible for law and order, particularly the Ministry of Internal Affairs which had the task of directing, guiding and coordinating the activities of the prison service, police and immigration officials.

In Hong Kong, Costa Rica, Syria, Tuvalu, Swaziland, and the Seychelles there appears to be little, if any, planning for the criminal justice system as a whole, although particular agencies in some of these countries are involved in planning services and facilities for which they are responsible. In these countries crime prevention remains largely, if not exclusively, within the domain of police activities.

Problems in Planning for Crime Prevention

From the above discussion it is obvious that many of the countries considered have common problems related to planning for crime prevention. In general, crime is conceived compartmentally. It is regarded as a special problem for the police, the courts or the correctional services and as something which will be dealt with automatically by the funds voted annually to such services as a routine.

In most countries the absence of a national crime prevention or reduction plan or strategy is frequently coupled with limited coordinating machinery for criminal justice services. They have not been accustommed traditionally to working together.

The national plans which have been drawn up for many of the above countries make no reference to the need for planning to

prevent crime, although in some instances they do mention the desirability of providing particular criminal justice services or facilities. As the police are responsible for the maintenance of law and order they have frequently been identified by governments, or have identified themselves, as being the most appropriate agency to perform crime prevention planning functions. However desirable this may be in terms of target hardening as this is understood by the police, it is far from the economic and social planning to prevent crime as this is discussed here.

Most police forces in the above countries are involved, at least to some degree, in planning and/or implementing crime preventive programmes, these commonly taking the form of public education schemes or the creation of joint police-community groups to identify and deal with crime problems.

Many developing countries are confronted with rising crime rates, and the social and economic problems they generate. Increasing urbanisation, difficulties in providing educational, health, and welfare services and rapid population growth and social change are common and such factors are usually recognised to have crucial criminogenic implications. The realisation that crime prevention is not merely a police, or indeed solely a criminal justice system, function is obviously emerging in some countries and it can be expected that in the foreseeable future national planning will begin to address itself to considering the impact of crime on national development.

The scope of this review does not permit a detailed discussion of all the prevailing problems in planning for crime prevention in each country. Some of the more salient problems facing particular countries are, however, worthy of note. Some African nations, including Botswana, Lesotho and Uganda have needed to expand their police forces considerably to provide adequate border control. Considerable influx of refugees creates registration problems, differential administered prices encourage contraband and add to customs duties and the possibility of armed infiltration may be present in these countries. Lesotho is one nation with a stock theft problem which has necessitated the creation of specialised stock theft units within the police force. Uganda also faces this problem which is compounded by migratory pastoral populations and the vastness of the area needing to be patrolled.

In India the formation of plans for the social welfare sector,

which includes social defence, is undertaken as part of the national planning process but there are no planning units in the State departments for the formulation of five-year plans for social welfare. As criminal justice services are provided at the State level, the problems of planning for crime prevention can be appreciated. Due to resource constraints, social welfare and social defence have received a somewhat low priority in the development plans and the techniques of social planning. The integration of social and economic objectives and the determination of priorities for resource allocation are still in the process of development.

The above are only some of the problems related to crime prevention planning in developing countries. Planning for crime control or criminal justice may occur at three levels: comprehensive economic and social development planning; planning for the criminal policy sector as a single system; and planning for specific subsectors or subsystems in prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. While many of the above countries have comprehensive national development plans these do not, generally speaking, refer to the need for crime prevention strategies. In a very few countries efforts have been made, or are being made, to plan for the whole criminal justice system, but for most countries crime prevention planning has been confined to particular agencies (most notably police) or programmes (especially those for juvenile offenders).

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