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PLANNING A LOW-CRIME SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT FOR ALBURY-WODONGA

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Planning to Prevent Future Crime

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Whenever anyone talks of our modern problem of crime, he sooner or later
gets around to what society has done wrongly - or is still doing rather
badly. There are still some neo-Lombrosians who would claim that in our
genes and chromosomes are to be found the clues to abnormal behaviour;
but even these geneticists or biochemists allow that the social system
will still determine how much the inherent aggression, weakness or host-
ility, anxiety or cunning is accommodated, recognised or outlawed by
society. In dealing with crime, nurture affects nature and conditions
often make, prevent, or break both the offence and the offender. We
often say 'society makes the crime for the offender to commit' and
whether you believe that or not, you cannot deny its relevance to any
behaviour problem.

When we talk of crime prevention, we usually refer to better housing,
better education, better laws, better employment opportunities, better
child care, better police methods, more community interest and involve-
ment and, above all, the need to bring everyone into a neighbourhood
setting where he both knows others and is known and where he can get
help if he needs it: a potential offender - and that means all of us -
needs support to deal with problems before they get out of control - or
indeed the converse opportunity to find fulfilment and satisfaction in
helping so many others with their difficulties in life.

Whether you are looking at long case histories of individual criminal
careers which began with neglect at home, rejection at school or failure
at work, or you are considering the effectiveness of police foot patrols,
radio cars or detection methods, or you are looking at the physical
conditions of a city, the styles of life or at the opportunities for
individuals to get lost in the crowd or to get out of the system, you
are always confronted with the ways in which we have planned our past -
the measure of the importance we have placed on schools, on health ser-
vices, on industry and agriculture, on our roads and transport systems.
These, now they are with us, condition and contain our careers or our
policing problems.

Whether you are reflecting on the usefulness of a prison to hold in
custody or to reform, on the prospects for training, employment and
rehabilitation, the nearness of courts to the problems they deal with or
the incidence of robbery or rape in an area, you are always referring
directly or indirectly to the layout of the city, the placing of people
near or at a distance from services, entertainment or possible employ-
ment, the rates of migration in and out of the city and to the opportun-
ities which such conditions present for both the commission and detection
of crime. In fact we can hardly look back over 20 or 30 years of rising
crime without thinking how much better our situation would have been if

we had done things differently - if we had not built cities like this.

This is not to suggest that we be idealistic enough to suppose we can eliminate all crime. Societies of saints have some who fall below the high standards set, and, at the other extreme, there are standards within gangster or mafia societies, the breach of which is severely punished. So the meaning of crime depends very much upon the levels of behaviour we expect and in this sense we will probably never have a society without some forms of 'crime'. Durkheim, the noted sociologist, thought that since there had been no evidence of a society without crime, then crime was 'normal'. He admitted, however, the possibility of crime becoming abnormal given the conditions of a particular society and I believe this is what we have to worry about most. We have to concern ourselves with the intolerable levels of crime and we know that to a very large extent these will depend upon the opportunities to commit crime and the obstacles to dealing with it effectively which we build into our societies, the incentives to crime which we provide by our trading methods or the temptations we offer by our neglect of simple security measures; the openings for corruption and the maladministration of funds which permeate our disbursement procedures or our tendering and contract policies when dealing with public funds; the styles of life - conformist or non-conformist - which we induce by our regional distribution of industires, housing and recreation; the tightening of restraints which we impose by the way we allocate space; the problems we create for personally fulfilling employment, by the types of production we foster; the habits of health care and preventative practices which we develop when we plan both district and central services.

We have long known that the types of criminals we get depend very much on our ways of living and the ways in which we organise ourselves. The American Mafia was quick to realise how it could use the legal system itself to defeat the ends of justice by the employment of clever if unscrupulous lawyers. Modern crime syndicates follow the best patterns of business management and even our styles of fighting, killing or committing suicide are culturally and sometimes sub-culturally conditioned. The Italians or Japanese prefer knives or swords, the Arabs still have vengeance killings just as in Papua New Guinea it is 'payback' murder. I am generalising outrageously but I think this point is clear. Some housing areas are bedevilled with delinquency: others only a few streets away are often comparatively clear of crime. Some migrant communities are more likely to be in trouble with the law far more than others, although their physical conditions may be no worse. If we want to understand our crime, therefore, we have to understand our society, our towns, our neighbourhoods. If we want to prevent crime, we must look in this same general direction.

On a world basis there is a clear association between urban development and crime. This has never been proved to be a causal connection and may sometimes be an inevitable outgrowth of demographic changes or the families' progressive separation from the older and more socially controlled environments or the changes in values as a money economy dominates. It is obviously related to greater temptations and opportunities for crime and to changes in law enforcement systems.

Nevertheless, a great deal of crime is connected with the way we have allocated our public resources - by the way we have chosen industry or agriculture, capital intensive rather than labour intensive production, nuclear rather than extended families, competitive rather than cooperative relationships. Much crime is connected with the way we reward unproductive notoriety more than quiet unobtrusive output, by the relative priorities we have placed on social security, housing or education and by the way we have launched into new or so-called improved conditions without due attention to the harmful and negative by-products of such investments, however good they may have been for their own sake. For instance, we have many examples of the allocations of funds to industries, warehouses, transport and commerce which have eventually developed inner city ghettos and permitted the withdrawal from these areas of prestige office or housing, work opportunities and essential services to more profitable suburban areas. We have ample evidence of inadequate attention being paid to street lighting or public transport systems and new housing areas, creating both opportunities for crime and obstacles for the police in dealing with it.

As we look back at the crime breeding cities we have built; at the impersonal and vulnerable individual centred communities we have spawned; at the unreal expectations and consequent frustrations we have engendered; at the opportunities we have created for living on one's wits or at the expense of others; at the way we reward the unscrupulous and neglect the diligent; at the styles of life which tempt the weak, benefit the unprincipled and hamper any kind of protection; above all at the way we have so conspicuously, in the past, planned for physical production and commercial profit rather than planned for people, we can be excused for believing that we ought to be able to do better.

Of course this is rather virtuous hindsight, being wise after the event. We have the advantage of being able to look back down the years and to marvel at the folly of those who preceded us. We can see only too clearly how they fed rising crime, nurtured emotional instability, broke down the older social controls and moral standards. If then we criticise only, we are not gaining very much - or contributing very much. But suppose we try to put that past failure to good use. Suppose we seek to learn from our mistakes - to try newer and improved methods. Suppose we build in research - action research to feed back information on our own failures as we go step by step into the future - *then* we are learning by doing, seeking to profit from mistakes and in a word we are planning - planning a better future with less crime.

Planning ahead, even five or ten years for the kind of society we want, for the standards of living we aspire to, for the patterns of housing, levels of health and education we think we need, means setting a number of quite specific targets for ourselves. For crime it means looking squarely at the amounts of crime and the degrees of seriousness of crime we can expect and then determining what we consider to be tolerable and intolerable. I cannot use terms such as these without implying that we need precise social indicators of the amounts and levels of seriousness of crime. We have crime statistics but, both for local and national use, these need a great deal of improvement. We need a measure of public safety as well as an enumeration of offences dealt with by the police.

Planning ahead for social improvement and a better quality of life means better indicators of our wishes expressed in the number of schools, hospital beds, amounts of leisure, basic income and purchasing power levels, numbers of cars per family, dependence on oil or energy and a host of other calculations of the type and quality of life we seek. Some of these we are beginning to develop but, on the whole, we are a long way from the kind of precision in the social field that we normally associate with measurements of agricultural output, industrial production and its costs, or commercial enterprise, its benefits and distribution.

But crime does not belong to the social sectors of planning alone. It is not only connected with education, health, labour and social welfare. Crime is a likely by-product whenever we allocate funds to *anything*, if only because the funds themselves and the methods of allocating them can be illegal or potentially anti-social. Vested interests, undue influence and even bribery and corruption cannot always be excluded from the planning process itself with so much at stake and with so much to be made by those with foresight and the right connections.

There are some world famous airports that could have been far better sited but which were built on land sold to governments at inflated prices by those with influence in the right places. And in many countries, developing and developed, it is revealing to look at why public funds were invested in some forms of industry, agriculture or commerce rather than others. Above all it is important to look at how benefits are distributed and here, of course, we are in areas of crime which we call white collar crime or corporate crime - an area which is intimately connected with the planning process *ab initio*.

Similarly crime is generated by the decisions to site industry, build roads or to subsidise agriculture. It is not only the opportunities for crime created by the way in which contracts are made or their implementation supervised, but the changes wrought in the lives of people who gain or lose, move their families or change their living habits. Opportunities, temptations and new ways of committing and concealing crime are constantly being developed. When we plan for new forms of banking, credit, credit cards, for ways of paying salaries, for remote or nearby housing, we are simultaneously developing new openings for crime, new forms of offending and new complications for police, courts and corrections.

Planning to prevent crime, therefore, spans the entire spectrum of development, covers every sector of the decision making and the allocation of resources to new uses. This is, however, a specialisation which is as yet only dimly perceived in most areas of the world and we have a long way to go before we can develop the expertise in planning crime prevention which we badly need if we are to improve our communities - especially our urban communities.

The Australian Institute of Criminology is interested in all levels of the planning process and is currently considering the kinds of training which will be needed to provide the necessary know-how at all levels of government and community planning. The sectoral and inter-sectoral planning for industry, agriculture and commerce, no less than health,

education and welfare, have criminogenic potential and are our concern.
Albury-Wodonga is the first area where we have demonstrated this inter-
est, however, and in planning this seminar we used the traditional
planning procedure of asking you what you really wanted to concentrate
on in these few days which we have before us. You decided that it should
be the social welfare and community development sectors of the planning
of Albury-Wodonga which should be given attention. Accordingly we have
invited people here not only from the police, corrections and courts but
also from departments and agencies most directly concerned with social
welfare. Our emphasis is fairly specific therefore: we are not dealing
here with the broader aspects of planning or with industry, agriculture
or commerce, except as these are affected or affect community affairs.
To deal with these adequately, we need economic planners, industrial
planners, architects and regional or zonal planners. That must be a
later stage. Following the guidance you have given us we have concent-
rated on the social welfare and community aspects of our task, that is
on the subjects relevant to the people already here - and as I am sure
you will find, this sector is more than enough for our attention in these
few days.

I would, therefore, like to look briefly at the seven special groups
which will form the nucleus of our deliberations in the days to come.

The Law and Its Enforcement

Planning the law and its enforcement means asking how much law we need,
what are the standards we seek to enforce and what numbers and types of
law enforcement officers we need for how much deviation or how much
conformity with the law. It means setting targets for the levels of
behaviour we aspire to and being able to measure our progress towards
the goals we set. It involves identifying the means to be used to
achieve the targets, how many police, how many other officials of what
types, how much can be left to the public, to community self help, neigh-
bourhood patrols and the like, what controls there should be of strangers
entering the area, how mobility through the area should be controlled,
how many risks can be taken to avoid harassing tourists or making life
uncomfortable for the ordinary citizen, who can be trusted with law
enforcement, how can abuses of power be controlled and so on.

Planning the law and its enforcement must begin by trying to look at how
much law we need. This in turn feeds back into a consideration of how
effective the informal social controls really are. If people are suffic-
iently governed by the expectations of family and of friends, by the
danger of ridicule or shame or by the possible effect of their behaviour
on their careers, then there is little law needed. This happens in small
communities or in some ideologically or religiously uniform societies.
Ensuring effective law enforcement may, therefore, begin with developing
effective social standards of conduct.

It will be found probably that we have more laws than we need - more than
the police can possibly cope with. How are these to be streamlined and

organised so that the most important can be effectively enforced? What should be the planning for better police - community cooperation? Are the police the only law enforcement body to be considered? What about tax officers, customs officials, immigration officials, licensing officers, private security operators, local council officials enforcing by-laws, etc?

What are the main law enforcement problems of Albury-Wodonga? What are the crimes likely to increase with population increases of varying age groups? What level of crime and what types of crime should we expect in the next five or ten years?

How do we know when we have effective law enforcement? What are the levels of public safety we wish to achieve? How do we define a 'well-enforced' or law abiding community? Are the crime statistics now being kept, adequate? What do they tell us? How can they mislead? Can we set targets for effective law enforcement using either the crime statistics we have or better indicators? For example, should we aim at a five per cent or ten per cent reduction in the next five years in the crime presently recorded by the police, or should we seek to find a target which is based on the safe use of streets, security in people's own homes, safety for children?

If we set such targets, how do we implement them - how do we measure from time to time our success or failure? To achieve such targets, how do we allocate the existing resources to the best advantage? Where should the police stations be? Where should we concentrate law enforcement in the city?

Recreation and Leisure

Clearly we look into a future of greater leisure and a possible demand for more recreational facilities. The development of Albury-Wodonga involves the development of tourist facilities. Perhaps planning here must, therefore, begin with a general appreciation of the recreational facilities available or likely to be available and the leisure time for which it would be most appropriate to plan. Here the picture will differ according to age groups and different income groups and these separate interests should be provided for.

What are the facilities and services likely to be needed, given the demographic changes already anticipated in Albury-Wodonga? Where should these be sited in the area to ensure adequate supervision by the police and the community to make maintenance easier and vandalism difficult, and to make offences more difficult to commit? What special provisions might be made for the younger and more delinquency-vulnerable sections of the community so as to drain off any dangerous proclivities?

Given the population and its distribution, what level of services would be needed to cope with what extents and amounts of recreation and leisure? This implies the setting of targets within the possible range of

resources likely to be available. Having set the targets - what differ-
ent or alternative means are available for the attainment of the goals?
How is progress to be evaluated within the different services - how are
the separate tasks best allocated between available services and how is
coordination of effort best ensured?

A plan for this segment of human activity in the future of Albury-Wodonga
would presumably incorporate the challenges which youth requires, the
diversity of interests of the young married people and their older middle
aged neighbours and the special provisions necessary to ensure a comfort-
able unfearful golden age in this area in the future.

Education and Child Care

In this area of planning, there needs to be a careful examination of
objectives before a plan is devised. Can we have better child care with
more and more women in employment? Can nurseries fill the gap? Do we
provide enough incentives for women to give more time to their children?
If there is one thing clear in crime prevention work, it is that our most
dangerous psychopathic offenders are likely to be bred by defective child
care. Resources allocated to the improvement of child care are, there-
fore, vital to a future improved Albury-Wodonga. But how is the loving
care of children from birth to be assured? Are we doing just the opposite
by many of our schemes which divide rather than unite families? In ser-
ving the interests of individual freedom we are doing a disservice to the
family, the community and, above all, the essential needs of children?

Similar conflicts appear in educational objectives. Are we to educate
for conformity or for change? Of course, the answer must be both in
such a rapidly changing society but it is essential that the education
for change does not mean such fundamental change that all the older
standards can be discarded with complete impunity and everyone should be
so independent that he can ride roughshod over the rights of others:
there are some areas where education for conformity is just as important
as education for change. But all this has to be carefully spelled out in
defining the objectives of planning.

With the objectives defined, the targets for both education and child care
need to be set. Here, fortunately, there has been some good work done on
the planning of both education and social welfare. In an enquiry con-
ducted by UNESCO for the International Conference on Educational Planning
(Paris, August 1968) it was found that out of 93 countries surveyed, 73
carried out some kind of educational planning activity. In educational
planning there are both quantitative and qualitative objectives of any
educational plan - and they are closely related. The first step is to
determine the number of pupils or students likely to join the different
levels and sectors of the system (full-time, part-time, etc.). This
concerns not only youth but adults. The forecast of the evolution of the
school-age population is necessary, whether education is compulsory or
not, since this gives the need for schools and types of schools. Then
follows the need to plot the evolution of educational 'demand' - to what

extent there will be increases in the numbers of children staying at school longer or in the number of adults wanting higher education, etc. Then there will be structural factors in this assessment of need flowing from the duration of secondary education, the status and duration of professional and technical training and the methods used for the selection of those allowed to progress from stage to stage. In other words, the shape of our educational pyramid affects and is affected by other quantitative and qualitative decisions. On the qualitative side, planning the development of an educational system is by no means merely a collection of quantitative problems. Planning has to be so orientated that education in its structure, content and methods is well adapted to the human, social and economic requirements of the time.

This search for improved quality in education focuses on two points - the internal efficiency of the system (the quality of teaching) and its external efficiency (the quality of the matter to be taught). The first of these is amenable to a cost-benefit analysis of teaching methods if we know what we are aiming at. The second depends on its individual efficiency (the development of the personality and aptitudes) its social efficiency (effective participation in the life of the society) and its economic efficiency (the training for the labour force). Here functional and systems analysis can be used to determine the most desirable content of teaching at the various levels.

With regard to social welfare, this covers a body of organised activities intended to enable individuals, groups and communities to improve their own situation, adjust to changing conditions and participate in the tasks of development. These activities requiring special skills in social diagnosis, human relations and informal education, among others, can be differentiated for instance from the core of health services or from the basic facilities available for formal education and vocational training. In this area it is possible to use cost-effectiveness rather than cost-benefit analysis, for example how can these 'social standards' be achieved at least cost with the greatest effectiveness. This allows alternative ways and means to be compared.

Child care includes, of course, health and education as well as social welfare. The growth process formulates a number of clear needs. There is the maternity (intra-uterine) and infancy needs from conception to the first year of life when the basic physical needs relate to maternal health, ante-natal and post-natal care and then the early childhood or pre-school period from 2 to 6 years when basic needs are related to health, nutrition, opportunities for self expression including play and environmental care. Throughout both these periods, there is the need for socialisation of the child and the steady building in of those principles which help him to adapt to society and to develop normal healthy relationships with others. Experience in the past twenty years seems to indicate that we have provided the material and health care very well but we have been markedly unsuccessful in most other spheres of child rearing - or at least we have been rather less successful in this area than our preceding generations. Here again we are using official figures for juvenile offences as a guide to our success or failure. Are these a useful basis for planning to do better in the future? Should we judge our effectiveness by lower rates of juvenile offences?

Treatment of Offenders

Planning the treatment of offenders depends upon the success achieved by all other sectors in reducing the numbers likely to come before the courts. If success is achieved, then the treatment of offenders - and the planning for it - would be directly affected. Since, however, it is not known just how effective the other sectors will be in reducing crime, it would seem most appropriate to assume that the incidence of crime will follow the population trends for the future and to plan according- ly - paying special attention to the numbers of offenders likely to flow from an augmented 16 to 21 year age group which has been shown to be the most vulnerable to crime.

Given this number, how are they to be dealt with? What numbers are likely to require maximum security imprisonment? Should this be provided locally or can such offenders be sent elsewhere for custody? If an institution is likely to be required in Albury-Wodonga, what size and type should it be? Should there be several? Why? How many offenders are likely to be diverted from the criminal justice system to be dealt with by other services (for example drunkenness offenders)? How many can be safely expected to be disposed of by a fine or a warning or a bind over? To what extent should there be half-way houses for the pri- sons or the dealing with offenders by means of probation and parole? What is known of the respective rates of success and failure of these alternative measures? Perhaps behind the planning to deal with offenders could be a general objective of incarcerating in institutions as few as possible and using community alternatives as much as possible.

Are courts likely to be in need of more judges or magistrates, more sit- tings, decentralisation, etc.? How many other types of community solut- ions to breaking the law can be devised? What about work on projects of a community value as an alternative to imprisonment? Will it be possible to recommend (as the Advisory Committee on the Penal System in England and Wales has recommended) that prison be abolished for 16 to 21 year olds and Care and Custody Orders be substituted.

What forms of evaluation of the treatment methods to be used should be applied? How should success and failure be measured?

Alcoholism and Drugs

What is the current position regarding the use and abuse of alcohol and drugs in Albury-Wodonga? What is the position likely to be in the future five or ten years? Obviously this will depend greatly on the social climate between now and then, but for planning purposes it might be wise to expect the worst and to prepare accordingly. What objectives for planning should be adopted? Clearly it will not be reasonable to plan to eliminate dependance on alcohol and drugs but some reduction in present rates should perhaps be sought. This will entail statements as to the present extent of alcohol and drug distribution and consumption and the need to curtail or contain this.

Measures to be adopted to achieve the objectives are likely to be of
special importance since presumably they will extend from more effective
law enforcement to the promotion of a public education campaign for the
objectives sought and against the uncontrolled indulgences in alcohol or
drugs. The number of licensed premises, hours of opening and the life
styles of persons likely to get hooked on drugs will be part and parcel
of the general discussion of a plan for the future and how to implement
it.

Presumably there will also be a need to consider rehabilitation. Whether
there will need to be special facilities in Albury-Wodonga or whether the
few addicts or alcoholics can be dealt with elsewhere in the States will
depend upon the numbers of those unfortunates to be expected. However,
the need to organise community prevention and treatment will doubtless
be of special concern to any real study of this problem in the area.

Physical Facilities

If this refers to the physical planning of the new Albury-Wodonga, the
lay-out of the city, the siting of housing, shops and entertainment,
the placing of parks and recreational facilities and the selection of
locations for police stations, fire stations, post offices and the rest,
then it encompasses a vast area for the planning of crime prevention.
All such decisions will have implications for the kind of crime to expect
but probably no one of the decisions can be divorced from a host of
other decisions on needs for health, housing, labour, industry, commerce
and the rest.

Perhaps, therefore, it might be most useful for this section of the work
to be devoted to the population forecasts and to the actual plans
already drawn for the new area with the zones for particular types of
development already marked. If the aim is less crime, what are the
implications of the planning already done so far? Is there anything to
be learned from the planning already done in other parts of the world?
What about the concept of defensible space? Is sufficient consideration
being given to the lessions learned elsewhere?

The Media

It is difficult to consider the role of the media in planning unless all
other objectives are clear and the media is to be an instrument to
facilitate public acceptance. The converse is that the media does not
accept the plan for the future and harasses those involved by raising
questions at every stage to undermine public confidence and criticises
every move made. Of course, in a free society the media should monitor
progress and invite public attention to drawbacks, bottlenecks, incom-
petence or venality. Assuming, however, that the media is in favour of
the planning, then it can provide an immense and incredibly valuable

service of public education and encourage public involvement making everyone feel very much a part of the area development as it unfolds.

This is the media in general pursuit of the planning aims and objectives: it can help or hinder. Similarly it can prevent crime by 'selling' the value of good community behaviour or it can make the prevention of crime more difficult by exaggeration of the drama of crime and by disapproval of public policy; human interest stories of offenders which give only half a picture or even buying the stories of successful offenders to publish for the edification of others. It can alternatively extol the virtures of law abiding behaviour, ridicule wrongdoing, arouse public indignation, refuse publicity to the deviant despite the news value of deviance and, in general, seek to build up the community values which make crime seem less desirable. The media's real responsibility in this field derives from its control of notoriety and publicity. Denying this outlet to the offender and providing it for the law abiding implies an acceptance of community well being. There are ways and means of doing this without preventing the public being informed of the deviance in its midst and without the media relinquishing its essential role of holding a mirror to society. We are concerned not that there should be a mirror, but only with how it might be tilted to give a fair or distorted image.

In the planning of the new Albury-Wodonga, the cooperation of the media and the involvement of the media at all stages of the planning will be essential.

Now let me become far more general again. It is necessary for us to remember that any plan for the development of this area:

(a) symbolises the determination of the Government and the people to promote development;

(b) aims at arousing local enthusiasm and the mobilisation of people to serve their common development;

(c) coordinates the efforts of departments - central, state and local;

(d) seeks to specify the total impact of alternative courses of action on the local economy;

(e) provides the private sector with a basis for expectations; knowing what is intended they know how to invest;

(f) aids the market mechanism (or may even sometimes substitute for it) in the allocation of scarce resources.

Albury-Wodonga is going into a new era decreed for it by its citizens and by the two State Governments and the Federal Government. Is it possible that it can come out of it with a better record in crime prevention than its predecessor development? I do not know if it is possible to plan to reduce the impact of crime on society. I do not know if we can prevent criminals developing as we develop our greater cities. I only know that what I am proposing has been only dimly conceived so

far and has not been consciously tried anywhere in the world. Communist
(or Socialist) countries will claim that they have planned crime into
far lower levels than before and I believe they have done this to some
extent. But they have had rather different conceptions of crime and
they have used methods we would find incompatible with an open society,
committed to a maximum of individual freedom. They, of course, use the
concept of community freedom expecting the individual to serve the comm-
unity and we should not overlook some of the advantages of this. How-
ever, even the Communist (or Socialist) countries have not specifically
provided for crime prevention planning - it has just been assumed as
part of their more general economic, social and political planning.
Thus they have not developed a separate discipline or science of crime
prevention planning which we would hope to do.

The Third World has been planning its development for nearly two decades.
It has an impressive number of national five year plans, most of which
have been conspicuously economic, leaving social problems for elimination
by higher income levels in the long run. But in the long run, as Keynes
reminded us, we are all dead. Moreover, it is the most affluent count-
ries with the highest standards of living which have the most serious
problems of crime, so that the developing countries are currently re-
thinking all their plans for this second United Nations development
decade when environment, energy and the quality of life are the keynotes.
However, once again there has been no direct or special concern with
crime prevention in the process of planning and the law and order sector
is sometimes not even a part of the national plans - although crime in
its widest sense of corporate or multi-national corporate crime, corrupt-
ion, fraud as well as property theft and armed attack, has often diverted
the real benefits of development from the most deserving people and has
been responsible for tearing some of these economies apart.

In the West, planning of any sort has been pioneered by the big companies
with governments coming upon the scene only later and this has been the
case, especially in the United States. Europe has, of course, been
engaged in welfare state planning since the last war. But again, at no
time has thought been specifically applied to crime prevention as a nec-
essary area for planning with the result that the door has often been
left wide open to the unscrupulous operators to make huge profits from
the formulation and implementation of grandiose plans which were pushed
ahead as if crime just did not exist or was beneath the dignity of those
economic and social planners charged with creating a better society. As
long as basic living standards were ensured, incomes improved, housing
extended and refrigerators, washing machines and cars distributed, the
social problems like crime were expected to be diluted by good living.
But good living is more than material affluence and crime not only
survived, but permeated society and it has often destroyed the enjoyment
of benefits which we have worked for. This we do not want to happen in
Australia and we wish to guard against it in Albury-Wodonga. We, there-
fore, seek to develop together the expertise we need to grow this rose
of economic and social improvement without so many of the thorns of
intolerable crime. When Albury-Wodonga is great, it must also be a city
you can live in and enjoy without fear. To do that we have to begin now
trying to do better than anywhere else in the world. I believe we can.

The Community Implications of Growth

ANNE GORMAN

In choosing this topic as a background to the discussions which are taking place at this workshop I would like to emphasise that I am not attempting to enter into the crystal ball gazing business. I will leave that to the futurologists and maybe the workshop deliberations.

It is indeed very difficult for us to know with any great certainty what the implications of growth will be. The paramount question which arises in people's minds, especially in relation to what we are here to discuss, is: is growth synonomous with a deterioration in the security and safety and indeed lifestyle of the present city? Will we have more bashings, will we have more robbery, murder, rape, more drunks, vandalism, juvenile delinquency and all the things which have been worrying some people since the growth centre plans were announced? And as a corollary to that, what do we need to do to make sure we establish and maintain a safe and plea-sant way of life as growth takes place?

What justification is there for these fears? I think it would be useful to take some comparative crime rate figures for the purposes of examining what we *might* have to look forward to in the future. First let us look at the comparative figures of rural-urban crime rates in the United States. The table below shows the rate per 10,000 population crimes known to United States police in cities of different sizes.[1] And those figures taken at face value certainly indicate a worsening in the crime rate for all types of crime in the United States as cities get larger.

1971 CRIMES KNOWN TO UNITED STATES POLICE IN CITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZE[2]
rate per 10,000 inhabitants

	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Larceny	Car Theft
Over 250,000	1.9	4.4	63.3	35.1	202.6	124.1	109.9
100,000-250,000	1.1	2.7	22.6	23.9	178.9	135.0	73.9
50,000-100,000	0.6	1.7	12.6	15.1	124.3	118.0	49.9
25,000-50,000	0.5	1.2	9.5	13.1	104.2	111.7	39.7
10,000-25,000	0.4	0.9	5.1	12.3	88.0	92.4	25.1
Under 10,000	0.4	0.8	3.1	12.8	72.2	76.3	17.3

1. T. Vinson, *Crime in Our Cities - A Comparative Report* (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, November 1972), p.3.
2. *ibid.*

Comparing these figures with comparative data available in New South Wales it is also clear that rates of crime are higher in metropolitan areas in Australia than in rural areas.

CRIME RATES, METROPOLITAN AREAS: SYDNEY, NEWCASTLE, WOLLONGONG[3]
Rate per 10,000 inhabitants

	Murder	Rape	Other Sexual Offence	Robbery	Major Assault	Larceny $100	Breaking Entering
Sydney	0.4	0.5	3.6	4.8	2.0	29.5	132.9
Newcastle	0.4	0.3	3.2	1.2	1.1	15.3	59.6
Wollongong	0.1	0.5	3.5	1.1	1.2	17.1	65.8
Rest of State	0.5	0.4	4.4	0.5	0.8	14.7	44.9

If you examine these figures more closely however you will notice a significant difference between the American and the New South Wales figures. Whereas the American rates are higher for all types of crime, the Australian figures indicate that for offences *against the person*, murder, rape, manslaughter, abduction, homosexual offences, abortion, the rate is no higher in the cities than it is in the country.

American studies also show that murder is an exception to the general rule that crime rates are higher in cities than in rural areas. The offence statistics of New South Wales show that a similar pattern prevails in this State. The murder rate for the three urban centres Newcastle, Wollongong and Sydney was 0.31 per 10,000 population compared with the rate of 0.37 per 10,000 in the country. Compared with other categories of crime the rate of sexual offences in the cities and the country was also quite similar. Homosexual offences occurred more frequently in the cities but the number of heterosexual offences including carnal knowledge, indecent assault, and incest were slightly more common in the country area. See table below.

Type of Offence	Rate per 10,000 population	
	Urban Areas	Rural Areas
Rape	0.5	0.4
Other heterosexual offences	3.5	4.4
Homosexual offences	0.6	0.5
Total sex offences	4.7	5.3

3.   *ibid.*

Robbery and demanding money with menaces occurred eight times more fre-
quently in the urban areas. The combined rate for Newcastle, Sydney
and Wollongong was 4.3 per 10,000 compared with 0.5 per 10,000 in the
rest of the State.

It is clear therefore that people are justified, on these figures at
least, to be worried about the fact that the crime rate might rise as
growth takes place. We have to be very much aware, however, of the types
of crime which are likely to increase - from these figures the picture
which emerges is that we can expect to have a higher rate of car thefts,
burglary, robbery and crimes against property but not a higher rate of
homicide, rape or heterosexual or homosexual offences.

Of course, even these figures must be interpreted fairly cautiously. It
might be that the smaller a community is, the more easily people can deal
with crimes against property themselves without resorting to the law. I
am mindful of an incident which took place in the small community where
I have lived for some years, where a young man went for a joy ride in a
neighbour's car. The neighbour dealt with that young man himself quite
effectively since he was able to find out quite easily who had taken his
car. Everybody knew about it and I am sure the young man never took a
car for a joy ride again.

Cities also provide greater temptations and opportunities for crime and
also greater anonymity for those who violate the accepted norms. The
pressures to conform in the city are not so strong - the rural resident
as we all know is subjected to much closer observation from people who
know him as an individual. As the city grows he will begin to lose this
form of primary social control and those who want to do their own thing
might indeed be mighty grateful for the opportunity to be more anonymous
and that includes a whole range of people not just those who wish to
break the law.

If I can say two other things in a general way about crime in Australia,
one is that a large proportion of our crime is committed by young men
aged between 15 to 24 years[4] and the other is that there appears to be
a very strong correlation between social disadvantage and the likelihood
of being convicted of a crime.[5] This kind of evidence is also manifest
in other western countries, for instance the ghettos of most large
American cities.

In 1972 the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
carried out research in the Newcastle district to examine to what extent
the health and welfare problems of the city were concentrated within
just a few vulnerable neighbourhoods. The research revealed a disproport-
ionately high incidence of medical and social problems amongst just 5 per

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4. *ibid.*, p.5.

5. T. Vinson & R. Bonney, 'Social Welfare - Problems and Opportunities',
   Research Bulletin (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics, Newcastle,
   November 1972), p.5.

cent of the population of the city of Newcastle. The 5 per cent lived
in one tenth of the city's suburbs, mainly in the inner city. Infant
mortality, premature birth, incidence of notifiable diseases, divorce
and truancy were more prevalent among this group than for the population
generally. Dependence on relief agencies was six times greater than might
have been expected on a population basis. Juvenile delinquency was two
and a half times more prevalent, adult crime two times and drug offences
six times more prevalent. Having regard to these facts the areas con-
cerned were understandably deemed to be 'at risk'.

Further research tended to confirm the original findings and a series of
IQ, motor and posture tests carried out on children from three different
categories of suburbs, showed that children in the 'at risk' areas were
also more 'disadvantaged' educationally than their counter-parts in the
other suburbs. Yet another research into the use of welfare agencies
indicated that the types of problems presented by the client families
from high and non-risk areas were generally quite similar.

Financial problems were a notable exception. Almost twice as many of the
high-risk area families (36.3 per cent) compared with those living in
other parts of the city (20.8 per cent) needed assistance with financial
problems.

Marital problems were also slightly more prevalent among the high-risk
area families. However, financial and marital problems in high-risk
areas are interrelated. It is the family headed by a female single
parent which the reporting agencies frequently identify as having finan-
cial problems. This type of family is more prevalent in high-risk
neighbourhoods.

Some further, as yet unpublished, social research in Newcastle suggests
that the areas I have described as being 'at risk' contain a greater
number of undemanding, fatalistic families. Families living in non-risk
areas are more likely to share the view that it is within their power to
alter their circumstances.[6]

I think, having examined these figures, we have to address ourselves at
this seminar to the very real problems which face us all as planners.

Our job in planning is to look at the sorts of people who are going to
come here and, with the knowledge of human social behaviour that we
have, to predict what their needs might be and then to work with them
to see that those needs are met. The most important raw materials of
the new city will not, therefore, be the land and buildings but the
people who come to live here.

For a long time planners believed that changing the physical environment
would indeed change people's lives, and in the minds of the planners,
mostly upper middle-class people, that was synonymous with imposing a
certain value system in terms of planning. Canberra is a very good

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6. *ibid.*

example of a city built along these lines. Spatially beautiful but more often than not set out with a total disregard for the needs of the people who will live there.

> 'People do indeed reside, work and play in buildings but their *behaviour* is not determined by the buildings but by the economic, cultural and social relationships within them. Bad design can interfere with what goes on inside a building, of course, and good design can aid it but design *per se* does not significantly shape human behaviour.'[7]

Although Jane Jacobs in her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* makes a convincing case for the connection[8] between crime and the physical environment in large American cities and similar arguments are contained in *Defensible Space* by Oscar Newman,[9] I doubt very much whether we can relate the material they present to Australia generally, or even more so to a new town such as Albury-Wodonga. Of course we have to provide the best possible facilities in the most convenient spots. Of course we have to locate public transport so that people use it when they need and want it. Of course we can design areas that maximise surveillance and minimise the opportunity for bashing, robbery and vandalism, and I know you will be studying these things over the next few days. However, to suggest that those are the most important things we have to do, I think, fails to take account of the realities of human behaviour and human needs.

Some slum clearance programs in the United States and Australia, for example, have succeeded in providing people with better housing and better facilities, but often the cost has been enormous in terms of personality damage. By removing the structure of social and emotional support provided by the neighbourhood and by asking people to rebuild their lives separately amid strangers in another place, slum clearance has often been bought at an enormous psychological cost. One of the arguments used by the resident action group in The Rocks area of Sydney against indiscriminate redevelopment and resettlement, was based precisely on the argument that the social fabric which exists in The Rocks was worth preserving as much as any of the old buildings which stand there.

> 'Marc Fried, a clinical psychologist who studied the West[10] Enders (of Boston) after relocation, reported that 46 per cent of the women and 38 per cent of the men give evidence of a fairly severe grief reaction or worse in response to questions about leaving their tight-knit community. Far from adjusting

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7. Murray Stewart (ed.), 'City - Problems of Planning', *Planning and the Social Sciences* (H.J. Gans), p.370.

8. Jane Jacobs, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*. (Penguin, 1972).

9. Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space - People and Design in the Violent City* (Architectural Press).

10. Herbert J. Gans, 'People and Plans', *Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions* (Pelican abridged ed.), p.243.

eventually to this trauma, 26 per cent of the women remained sad and depressed even two years after they had been pushed out of the West End.'

People who came from ethnic groups who are intensely centred on the extended family naturally suffer greatly from clearances and moving. It is not surprising that they prefer to live close together in Melbourne or Sydney and I would doubt that Albury-Wodonga will attract more than a small number of migrants since it has already failed to achieve any-thing more than the national average, about 8 per cent.[11]

If we are in fact to plan a low-crime environment, we have to minimise social pathologies and maximise well being. The task is not easy since Albury-Wodonga does not exist in a vacuum but has to be seen in the total Australian context. It would be ridiculous to suppose that we will get more than our share of clinical psychologists, remedial teachers, social workers and legal aid personnel. It would be equally ridiculous to suggest that outside influences such as television and films will not play a part in shaping attitudes, and, of course, we are all constrained by economic and political realities.

There is much which we can do for ourselves once we are aware of the dimensions of the problem. Inevitably, for vulnerable groups of people such as those in the Newcastle study, planning a low-crime environment means planning a whole program of preventive and remedial measures and assistance, adequate income support, parent education, homework centres, playgroups, legal aid and surrogate fathers for the children of one-parent families. It also means finding ways of raising self-esteem and non-fatalistic attitudes. For women who move and who do not work and therefore run the risk of loneliness and boredom (which of course, reacts on the whole family), we have to think of ways of making them feel part of any new community. We have to stimulate appropriate welcoming pro-grams and neighbourhood support. Parent-child conflict could be relieved to some extent by enabling women to get away from young child-ren for part of the day and to be with other adults. They cannot do that if there is no one to mind the children or they know no one to mix with. I believe the success of the playgroup movement can be traced to the fact that the mothers are involved with other mothers and thus develop adult contacts on a regular basis out of which often grows a whole new social life.

For the young, especially those between 15 and 24, I think we must be especially imaginative and tolerant. This is how Cloward and Ohlin see the reasons why the 15 to 24 lower-class male is the most vulnerable member in society when it comes to delinquency rates. They write:[12]

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11. Bureau of Census and Statistics. 1971 Census figures.

12. R.A. Cloward & L.E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity, A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (Free Press Paperback ed. 1966), pp.106-107.

'It is primarily the male who must go into the marketplace
to seek employment, make a career for himself, and support
a family. It is during adolescence that decisions regarding
occupational selection and routes to occupational success
must be made. The adolescent male in the lower class is
therefore, most vulnerable to pressures toward deviance
arising from discrepancies between aspirations and opport-
unities for achievement. If educational facilities appear
beyond his financial reach, life may seem to hold very few
prospects for him. The 'permanent' quality of this dilemma
makes it all the more acute. If the problem were simply one
of achieving adult status, it would be less severe, for
adolescents are well aware that adult status will be accorded
them eventually. But improving one's lot in life constitutes
a more enduring problem. We suggest that many lower-class
male adolescents experience desperation born of the certainty
that their position in the economic structure is relatively
fixed and immutable - a desperation made all the more poig-
nant by their exposure to a cultural ideology in which fail-
ure to orient oneself upward is regarded as a moral defect
and failure to become mobile as proof of it.'

We must bear in mind that it is males also who have the most difficulties
with reading in school. They also suffer a higher incidence of dyslexia,
autism and cerebral dysfunction. In the groups you can decide whether
these things are in any way related to crime.

I think it was Arnold Toynbee who once said that the truly integrated
man is he whose work and leisure is as one. And once man did lead an
integrated life. He worked, worshipped, made love and celebrated special
events to a rhythm of life which was in tune with the changing seasons.
Today except for very few, a man goes to work sometimes miles from home,
his wife perhaps miles away in another direction, their children go to
another place again, a forbidding place into which mother and father do
not venture. Parents go for entertainment to the club or pub and the
children are likewise banned from attending that place.

The streets are planned to be kept off, kids like to use them to meet
informally but run some risks in doing so. They might be picked up for
loitering or knocked off in some other way. More can get around without
a car yet you cannot have a licence before you are 17, public transport
shuts off at 11 or sometimes even 7 and then presumably you walk home.

Houses are too small for more than four or five people to congregate in
(that is why mum and dad went to the club perhaps) and anyway the
neighbours complain of the noise. Granny has to go to an old people's
home because there is no room for her either.

It all adds up to a pretty fragmented, artificial, non-communicative,
alienated way of life. Is industry to blame, the economic system, the
planners, the sociologists or is it the value system which embraces
everything we do and how do we define that anyway? These are the multi-
dimensional questions which it is your task to expand on, reject, argue
out and hopefully come up with some answers. We look forward eagerly to
hearing of your deliberations.

Report on the Seminar

JOHN NOBLE

Introduction

The seminar 'Planning a Low-Crime Social Environment for Albury-Wodonga' was conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology, in collaboration with the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation, from 29 April to 2 May 1975.

At a previous seminar conducted by the Institute in Canberra, 'Crime and Delinquency in Urban Areas' 14 to 18 October 1974, concern was expressed over the lack of participation of communities in the planning and development decisions affecting them, and the relatively minor consideration given to the social health of communities in these processes. It was considered that the incidence of crime and delinquency in developing areas could be minimised by proper attention to those factors which might be regarded as being criminogenic and by the adequate provision of various community services. Albury-Wodonga was suggested as an appropriate area for such planning in view of its proposed development from a population of less than 50,000 to 300,000 by the year 2000.

The aim of the seminar was to deliberately commence planning for a low-crime social environment in Albury-Wodonga with an emphasis on enabling maximum feasible local participation. The seminar was the first stage in the planning process and brought together both local residents and crime prevention authorities to consider the issues involved. Appendix III lists all participants in the seminar. An examination of this list demonstrates the breadth of expertise available to the seminar and the degree of local participation. It is noticeable that 28 participants were secondary school students, all of whom made significant contributions to their respective workshops and to the seminar.

In terms of a participatory planning model the seminar concentrated on seven workshops, each one comprising local participants and visiting consultants, and each giving special consideration to a specific area related to crime prevention or treatment. The areas covered by the workshops were as follows:

1. The law and its enforcement

2. Recreation and leisure

3. Education and child care

4. Treatment of offenders

5. Alcoholism and drugs

6. Physical facilities

7. The media

Each of the workshops developed their own methods of approaching and con-
sidering their assigned subject areas within the time provided. Most
workshops undertook extensive fieldwork with visits to a wide variety of
local facilities as indicated by their subject areas. These visits
included police stations, Beechworth Prison, court houses and the local
media. As far as possible, workshops were encouraged to make their del-
iberations locally relevant and in keeping with local needs, facilities,
and experiences.

Although the main emphasis was on the workshop studies two public meetings
were held on Tuesday 29 April in Wodonga and on Thursday 1 May in Albury
to enable the participation of the wider community and to inform the
community of the work of the seminar.

The seminar also included a tour of the growth area, an outline of the
planning principles and objectives of the Albury-Wodonga Development Cor-
poration, and several plenary sessions at which various consultants were
able to present their particular knowledge and experiences for the benefit
of all participants.

Planning a Low-Crime Social Environment

It was recognised at the start of the seminar that such planning is an
extremely complex process that involves all aspects of the life of a
community. While the seminar concentrated on the social welfare and
community development sectors of planning, it was stressed that the effect-
ive prevention of crime required close attention to the entire spectrum of
development. Such planning would relate not only to the criminal justice
system, health, education and welfare, but also to industrial, agricultural
and commercial developments and plans. It relates to the development of a
satisfactory quality of life for all people in a community and in this
context it is not possible to isolate the welfare sector from the economic
sector, for example, unemployment benefits from employment opportunities.
Nor is crime prevention only a matter of better and more effective agencies
of social control and welfare services. It also requires a better under-
standing of the social structures and value systems of the community in
which crime occurs or develops.

Similarly an increase in population does not in itself mean that there
will be an increase in crime; but the accompanying effects of urbanisat-
ion, such as alienation and the development of areas of social deprivation
in a community, may present such a situation if adequate preventive
measures are not regarded as an integral and important part of the
planning process.

Various approaches to the development of a low-crime community were pro-
posed by the speakers and workshops for both specific and general issues.
In all these there was a very strong expression of the need to actively
involve the community both in the planning processes and in the implement-
ation of the resultant plans. Maximum communication was considered to be
a vital aspect of a healthy community - communication between people;
between government (local, State and Federal) and people; between service
agencies and people; between corporations, planners and people; and at all

other levels of social, occupational, recreational and religious life.
The participation and involvement of people at all levels was seen to be
necessary to create a fully functioning, alive community with a real sense
of its own identity, direction and future. Instances were cited of
government or industrially developed areas where little or no consider-
ation was given to such factors with the resultant development of various
social problems. It was stated that if planners did not make every effort
to preserve or create a sense of community they may 'destroy the people'.
In this the need for planning with, rather than for, people was stressed
but in Albury-Wodonga the nature of the proposed population increase
appeared unknown in terms of the people concerned. However it was of
some concern at the seminar that the planned developments might undermine,
change or eliminate the existing sense of community in the two towns.
While change may be inevitable in the growth area it was hoped that such
a challenge would be met and accommodated by the community and that the
detrimental, social-problem by-products of such development would not
result.

The recognition of the need for community participation in planning deve-
lopments and in service delivery poses a wide variety of problems regard-
ing the means by which such participation can meaningfully take place.
These planning processes are even more complicated in Albury-Wodonga by
the number of planning and government bodies concerned with the region.
The Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation established by the Federal
Government has prime responsibility for planning the development of the
growth area, but there are also various local government bodies, a
Regional Council for Social Development under the Australian Assistance
Plan, and two State governments involved. The two-State situation was
repeatedly raised during the seminar particularly in relation to the
differences in laws, health and welfare services, education services, and
other discrepancies between the two parts of the one growth area created
by the differences in services delivered by the States of Victoria and
New South Wales.

In planning a low-crime community the seminar considered it important to
significantly reduce opportunities for crime in the community and to
develop such an identity with the community, a real sense of belonging
among all people, that they would not be motivated to offend against the
accepted rules of that social environment. As a specific example of such
planning Oscar Newman's concept of 'defensible space' was presented and
discussed. In this proposal, residential environments are planned and
developed to foster a sense of territory and community among the residents
and to enable maximum surveillance of the area by the inhabitants. Such
a living area can be perceived by the potential offender as being well
protected by the residents who are motivated through their neighbourhood
identity to defend their territory against intruders. This concept
relates not only to the inhibition of crime by more effective surveillance
of the subject area but also to the creation of a group/neighbourhood
spirit among the people which enlists their participation in the defence
of the area. Planning of this nature can occur without encroaching on
the privacy of the inhabitants and can be applied not only to private
dwellings but also to medium and high-density residential developments,
for example, by sub-dividing interior areas to increase territorial feel-
ings, and ensuring that lobbies, paths and hallways are well lit and easily
seen by tenants from their apartment windows.

In reducing the opportunities for crime, attention was paid to various security precautions by home and shop owners: the temptations and lack of visible security checks at supermarkets; poor street lighting; and other such individual aspects of the environment which may inhibit or be conducive to crime. In the development of a sense of belonging in a community various welfare, recreation and social activities and services were considered in some detail particularly in relation to youth whose alienation is often regarded as being a contributing factor to offences against the community.

All the above relates to the general conceptual framework of the seminar as presented not only by the speakers and panellists in plenary sessions but also by the workshops in their reports. While the workshops presented specific recommendations for developments or services in their individual study areas they also tended to place a very high value on community participation and involvement in planning processes and most placed their proposals in the context of a community based system of services and developments.

The following workshop reports are brief summaries only of what were in some cases quite substantial presentations. Where possible they have been quoted directly but in some instances they have been paraphrased, with the emphasis being on their main proposals, recommendations, statements of concern and statements of principle.

The Workshop Reports

1. The Law And Its Enforcement

   (a) The ratio of police to population should be one officer to six hundred people and police should have sufficient support staff to enable maximum allocation of police resources to police duties.

   (b) While there is a need for a centralised mobile force, smaller police units are also necessary in the community to enable closer access to police services, and a closer relationship between community and police.

   (c) The public needs to have confidence in its police and an education program for the community was proposed to create a better understanding of the criminal justice system and in particular of the police role in this system.

   (d) The public should also be educated and encouraged to implement elementary security measures in their own homes and to demonstrate a greater willingness to assist in the reduction of crime in the growth area.

   (e) Police should be visible and accessible and through a broader training process should have a meaningful understanding of interpersonal, community and social relationships.

   (f) Mutual trust between police and public, and a police orientation that reflects the needs of the community are necessary to effective law enforcement.

(g) Officers of the police forces in Albury and Wodonga should have reciprocal rights and powers in all areas to overcome the inter-State border problems.

2. Recreation And Leisure

(a) Recreation and leisure may assist de-alienation and the development of self-image by providing a diversity of opportunities for inter-personal contact and self-achievement; but such activities may reinforce alienation if such opportunities are limited.

(b) Organised recreation activities alone are inadequate to meet the broad range of needs and desires of young people who require a diversity of opportunities.

(c) Volunteer effort alone is inadequate to effectively implement on-going relevant activities and there is a need for paid community workers to assist in the initiation and sustenance of programs.

(d) The investment in paid community workers will be far more valuable than a similar investment in physical facilities.

(e) Programs and activities should be regarded as being disposable and be terminated when they fail to serve a real need in the community.

(f) Recreation and leisure opportunities need to be thoroughly planned and evaluated, with major participation from the various client groups. There should be ample scope for experimentation on the part of young people.

(g) Education must be for the whole of life including the use of recreation and leisure time rather than simply for a career.

(h) There is a real need for greater use of existing indoor facilities such as those within schools.

(i) Public transport should not operate on simple economic grounds and, where necessary, routes and timetables should be subsidised to enable the adequate access of young people to facilities.

3. Education And Child Care

(a) The quality of child care and education is fundamental to the planning of a low-crime environment in Albury-Wodonga as the ability of an individual to relate satisfactorily to society and to respect the rights and values of other individuals is dependant upon his relationship with his own family.

(b) Every effort must be made to support the family in its child rearing role, and the value of the parental role should be properly recognised.

(c) There is a need for closer cooperation and coordination of the various services available to families, and they need to be made more available to families in need.

(d) Action is required to alleviate the critical manpower shortage in these various agencies, e.g., social workers and remedial teachers.

(e) State administered children's facilities such as remand homes,

reception centres and other services need to be established, but on a rationalised inter-State basis with reciprocal rights.

(f) The code of the school should be one of socialisation, providing children with not only information but also experiences in democratic decision-making processes and the development of meaningful interpersonal relationships.

(g) Schools should be community facilities available for after-school activities for children and continuing education for adults.

(h) The emphasis should be on child, family, school and community together, as all are of significant importance in the development of a low-crime social environment.

4. Treatment Of Offenders

(a) To avoid duplication of services it was considered necessary to approach the Albury-Wodonga growth area as a single planning unit with the jurisdictional and psychological barrier of the State border being disregarded.

(b) Wherever possible, offenders should be treated within their community and community-based correctional services should have the support of the public.

(c) Among the immediate needs of the area is an effective probation service, particularly in Albury, with one officer to each fifty cases under supervision, and a periodic detention centre for both juveniles and adults as an alternative to imprisonment.

(d) A remand centre of a non-punitive nature was recommended, with separate facilities for adult and juvenile offenders pending trial.

(e) The establishment of a prison for up to 80 prisoners was considered appropriate only in the latter stages of the development of the region, with very strong emphasis placed on the development and extension of probation and parole services and semi-custodial treatment techniques such as work release hostels.

(f) A Regional Corrections Advisory Committee was strongly recommended with adequate representation from all related disciplines and organisations to carry out the detailed planning required in the subject area.

(g) Treating offenders in ways that were likely to reduce rather than increase the probability of reconviction was the goal of this workshop.

5. Alcohol And Drugs

(a) Alcohol and drugs were considered an integral part of the Australian community and firmly embedded in the social fabric of the community, with alcoholism being regarded as the fourth major health hazard in Australia today.

(b) Strong emphasis was placed on the problems of the social acceptability of alcohol and drug abuse (sedatives, analgesics) and it was considered necessary to approach the problem at a community level through a widespread education campaign.

(c)   Alcohol and drug education should also be incorporated in school programs in both States as part of a broad subject in the form of an ongoing human relationships course which would be taught in graded form through primary and secondary schools.

(d)   It was recommended that a non-residential assessment centre be establishment to provide immediate medical treatment and counselling services to alcohol and drug dependent persons.

(e)   Hospital facilities for de-toxification of the severely affected were also reported to be lacking in the area.

(f)   Employers should also pay particular attention to assisting alcohol-dependent employees. It was proposed that, in terms of more controlled drinking patterns and the development of community spirit and identity, preference should be given to community-based clubs rather than hotels in the development of the region.

(g)   To enable the ongoing study of this reportedly neglected area in Albury-Wodonga, it was proposed that a committee be established as a matter of some urgency with inter-State representation to adequately plan and establish the required services.

6. Physical Facilities

(a)   In the housing development of the growth area the need to meet the individual requirements of the people concerned was stressed, with the focus being on the need to secure family and community life.

(b)   Care should be taken to avoid the development of deprived neighbourhoods with few available services and in this context it was felt that a 'mix' of housing styles (public and private) and of age groups in common areas was appropriate. Similarly, the grouping of single-parent families together was felt to be inappropriate in terms of possible stigmatisation and isolation.

(c)   The development of a community that lends itself to self-protection through adequate planning and design was recognised as a most important concept, as was the need for security and protection in the development of subways and other such pedestrian routes.

(d)   It was anticipated that the industrial and commercial development of the region would be diverse and this should be spread across the region to enable closer access to employees and perhaps avoid the development of the 'dormitory suburbs' common to some other areas.

(e)   In the development of industrial and commercial premises it was considered important to plan their security, both at an internal and external level, at the outset, to minimise the risk of crime against them.

(f)   Recreation facilities, various services, school buildings, and the natural environment were also considered by this workshop in the context of planning sufficient service facilities to meet the needs of the present and future population of the region.

7. The Media

(a)   The real potential of the media was recognised but concern was

expressed at the very narrow range of human experience and various stereotypes currently presented to the community.

(b) It was proposed that a community radio station be established to enable a free flow of information on a wide range of subjects of local interest and to facilitate the active participation of local residents and groups.

(c) A cable television system was proposed to provide all homes in the region with a wider array of live and recorded program material than is possible under the present system.

(d) It was also recommended that an FM radio station be established, that an additional commercial and ABC radio station be established and that provision be made for additional television channels to enable a wider diversity of experiences and choice.

(e) There was a need for improved communication with the media by the various agencies within the criminal justice system, police, magistrates, probation and parole officers and prison officers, to enable a better community appreciation and understanding of their activities.

(f) It was recommended that a committee be formed consisting of crime prevention bodies, the media, the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation and local seminar participants to ensure a steady flow of planning information to the community and to explore all the various aspects of the media in order to build up community values which make crime appear less desirable.

Conclusion

The planning of a low-crime social environment is an extremely complex task which relates to almost all aspects of community life. Yet, within the participatory base of the workshop format of the seminar, participants were able to come to terms with many of the specific, as well as the general, issues involved in the development of such an environment. While some of the workshop statements and proposals were directly related to crime, most had a broader emphasis related to general community welfare. In this there was a definite expression of the need to perceive crime as only one aspect of the total social environment which cannot be effectively studied in isolation from this setting.

The media was perceived not only as a vehicle for community education in crime prevention but also as an important means of developing a sense of community and more effective communication and participation in the growth area. Similarly, leisure activities were seen to play an important part in the development of a sense of belonging in the community in a process of de-alienation of youth. In the physical development of the area it was considered necessary to plan facilities so that a satisfactory living environment could be established that would be related to the needs of the people and enable maximum security, protection and community growth. At another level, education for living and education in human relationships was proposed to facilitate the healthy development of community members with a meaningful appreciation of community life. The various

agencies of social control (police, prisons and probation officers) were not perceived as existing in isolation from the community but as an integral part of it and there was a strong expression of the need for closer relationships between these agencies and the people they serve.

The workshops presented both specific proposals and planning principles which were considered in need of attention if a low-crime social environment was to become a reality in the region, and three workshops proposed that specialist committees be formed to continue the work initiated by the seminar in their particular subject areas. At the end of the seminar there was a pronounced feeling among participants that the planning processes initiated should be sustained with ongoing community participation in the development of a low-crime environment.

In his final remarks Mr G.F. Craig, Chairman of the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation, extended an invitation to the Australian Institute of Criminology to join with the Corporation and the people of the region to continue the work of the seminar. In reply Mr H.G. Weir accepted the invitation and commented that although the seminar was closed it was really 'the end of a beginning' in the planning of a low-crime social environment for Albury-Wodonga.

Workshop Groups

(1) THE LAW AND ITS ENFORCEMENT

R. Bird	Australian Institute of Criminology
L. Ellis	Australian Institute of Criminology
Detective Chief Inspector Kelly	Police Department, Victoria
Sergeant I. Avery	Police Department, New South Wales
R. Watson	Queen's Counsel, New South Wales
W. Clifford	Director, Australian Institute of Criminology
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M.C. Goddard	Student, Communications Course, Riverina College, Albury
Inspector G. Bruce	Police Department, Wodonga
C. Cole	Community Health Nurse, Wodonga
J. Billings	Community Nurse, Corowa
J. Palmer	Social Welfare Department, Wodonga
M. Bolton	Aquinas College, Albury

(2) RECREATION AND LEISURE

S. Millard	Director, Albury-Wodonga Regional Council for Social Development
M. Maclean	Australian Institute of Criminology
K. Batterham	Department of Tourism and Recreation, Canberra
Dr P. Wilson	Reader in Sociology, University of Queensland
K.H. Coghill	Veterinarian, Albury-Wodonga Consultative Council
J.F. Edwards	Executive Officer, Albury-Wodonga YMCA
E.A. Milne	Youth and Community Worker, YWCA, Wodonga Area

T. Gipans	Community Health Nurse, Lavington
M.L. Allworth	Holbrook
D. Danton	The Scots School, Albury
P. Duck	Aquinas College, Albury

(3) EDUCATION AND CHILD CARE

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A. Riley	Australian Institute of Criminology
H. Evans	Social Welfare Commission
J. Fry	Children's Commission, Canberra
W. Domaria	Social Planning Authority, Wagga
C. Lafleur	Education Department, South Australia
C.T. Ley	Wodonga
K. Hill	Administration Master, High School, Albury
A. Sinclair	Deputy Principal, High School, Albury
N.M. Phillips	Community Nurse, Albury
O. Wilson	Regional Nursing Officer, Albury
Father McEwen	Chaplain, St John's Orphanage, Albury
I. Fenwick	Aquinas College, Albury
M. Barron	St Josephs High School, Albury

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H.J. Driessen	Officer-in-Charge, Department of Labour and Immigration, Victoria
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R. Butler	Magistrate, Albury
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F. Hines	Social Welfare Department, Wodonga
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K. Harongozo	Aquinas College, Albury

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Rev. W.G. Embury	Wodonga
B. McLean	Wodonga
L. Mudge	Social Worker, Wodonga
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J. Border	Albury-Wodonga Consultative Council
F.E. Holmes	Community Nurse, Albury
Councillor Garoni	Albury-Wodonga Consultative Council
K. Stafford	The Scots School, Albury

(7) THE MEDIA

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P. Bottomley	Australian Institute of Criminology
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A. Lock	Wodonga
M.I. Spry	Social Welfare Officer, Wodonga Day Hospital, Wodonga
B.J. Middleton	Community Health Nurse, Wodonga
P. Crossen	Sales Manager, MSS, Victoria
G. Upshall	Aquinas College, Albury
P. Kelly	The Scots School, Albury
P. Carr	The Scots School, Albury

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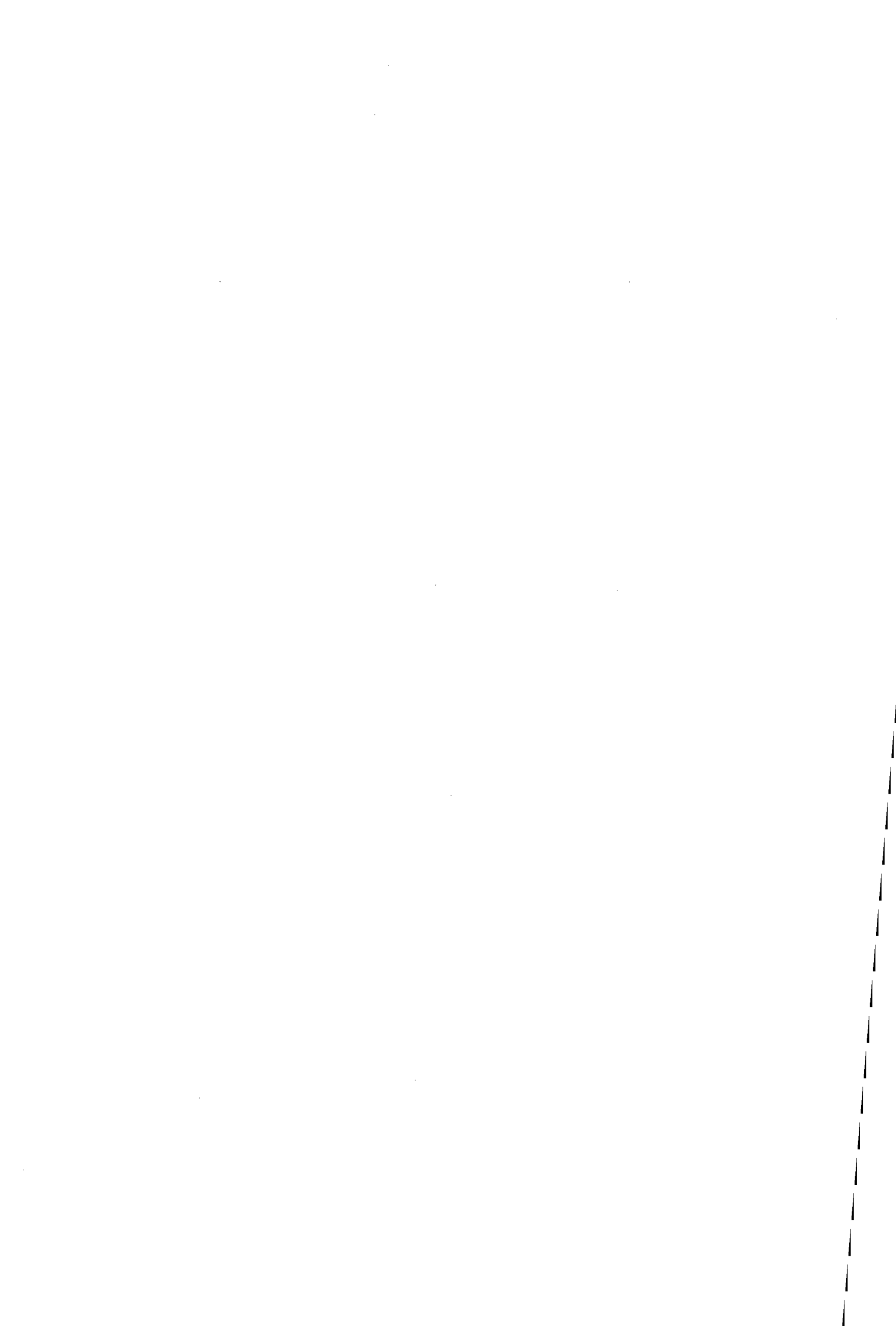
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