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Defensible Space in Australian Urban Areas

HAROLD G. WEIR

Defensible Space

Last year American architect, Oscar Newman, hit the headlines with a book which *The New York Times Book Review* said 'should be a required guide for those shaping and mis-shaping our cities today'.

Defensible Space - Crime Prevention Through Urban Design - Oscar Newman's book - proposes the use of new architectural forms and technology to reduce the incidence of street crimes and burglary which is making urban areas places of misery for those who must live in them. Drawing heavily on New York City Housing Authority data Newman's study noted the traditional correlates of crime with income, age, family pathology and other variables but focused its attention particularly on the impact of the residential environment on the victimisation of city dwellers.

Defensible space is defined as

> 'A model for residential environments which inhibits crime by creating the physical expression of a social fabric that defends itself. All the different elements which combine to make a defensible space have a common goal - an environment in which latent territoriality and sense of community in the inhibitants can be translated into responsibility for ensuring a safe, productive, and well-maintained living space.'

Newman says that defensible space is

> 'A surrogate term for the range of mechanisms - real and symbolic barriers, strongly defined areas of influence, and improved opportunities for surveillance - that combine to bring an environment under the control of its residents. A defensible space is a living residential environment which can be employed by inhabitants for the enhancement of their lives, while providing security for their families, neighbours and friends.'

Whether or not agreement emerges about the application of the 'defensible space' concept to Australian cities I am assuming that the starting point in this seminar is a desire to reduce crime and delinquency in Australia's urban areas and thereby improve the qualify of life for those who live in such areas. That assumption was the basis of the Institute's invitation asking you to devote your interest, knowledge and experience for the next three and a half days and nights to this problem.

Institute

In the Library there is a 'Spectrocon' audio-visual unit which is available to those who would like to learn more about the operations of this Institute. Literature on its history and past projects of various kinds is also available.

In brief, this is a statutory authority, funded by the Australian Government and managed by a Board on which State Governments, as well as the Australian Government, are represented. Research, training and information dissemination are our main functions.

The five training projects in which we have so far engaged, like this one, have brought together a wide variety of men and women from different disciplines and with different qualifications. Those two hundred people were selected because it was believed that each of them had a contribution to make to the subject approved for consideration by the Board of Management.

The purists who like to debate the differences between training and education may want to quibble with our use of the term 'training' because, by popular request, although we make use of lectures and audio-visual materials to convey information, ideas and opinions, we do not attempt to regard presence at Institute projects as a passive and possibly pleasant week away from the normal round of duties. These are 'audience participation' ventures in which the emphasis is on small group discussions in workshop-type situations. Everybody is expected to be at every session and we make no apologies for that because each person is important and has been invited for his or her own special contribution.

Programme Arrangement

The subject of 'Crime and Delinquency in Urban Areas' is complex and includes a great number of factors. We are fortunate in having a distinguished panel of consultants, lecturers and workshop leaders whose presence we appreciate and whose skills are available for the asking.

A committee of visiting specialists drew up the programme outlines and suggested the particular topics I shall mention shortly. The end of the programme has been deliberately left fairly open. In previous projects of this kind some small groups have reached concensus of opinion on particular issues and when we have been asked to do so we have received notices of motion and arranged for workshop resolutions to be debated in plenary sessions. At other times there have been informed opinions and ideas which have been reported without formal debate. Final decisions on procedures are taken at 'morning prayers' when group leaders, reporters, course consultants and staff meet at the beginning of each day.

With each successive project the Institute's Training Branch is gaining new ideas and one that is to be tried this week is the use of group

reporters who may, if they wish, participate in discussions but whose particular responsibility is to write up a daily report for each group. The aim is to have these five reports duplicated and distributed to every participant before the next day's workshops begin.

A session has been set down for individual reporting so that each participant will be given an opportunity to make his own personal, if he likes anonymous, contribution, in writing to the subject. This contribution is not to be confused with the Project Evaluation Forms which will be sought from everyone.

Information Dissemination

I mentioned 'information dissemination' as one of the main functions of the Institute. There is no point in coming here unless the week's work is made known to those who make the laws, decide policies and design and implement programmes. Consequently the procedure has developed whereby the final report on the seminar in general and the workshops in particular is printed as soon as possible after each course and widely distributed to national and State legislators, ministers, administrators, institutions, statutory and voluntary agencies and organisations in Australia and overseas. That report sets out the problems that have been defined, solutions, if any, proposed, the main issues debated and the general findings.

We are fortunate in having here Colonel G.I.A.D. Draper, O.B.E. He has come from the United Kingdom to work on special assignments in the Attorney-General's Department for a couple of months and, by courtesy of the Department, he has been made available to act as Workshop Coordinator and principal report writer for this course. Colonel Draper is Reader in Law Studies, University of Sussex, and is an expert in Military Law and Public International Law, was formerly Consultant to the Human Rights Division of the United Nations Secretariat and is Titular Professor at the International Institute of Humanitarian Law at San Remo. He has particular interests in the field of juvenile delinquency and its handling and modern trends in the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders.

An innovation in information dissemination for this week will be the use of video tape to record summaries by keynote speakers. The television cameras will record some of the later workshop discussions and the whole of the final presentations. When suitably edited the film will be available for closed circuit viewing in Australia and overseas.

Wall charts, diagrams, maps and such like have been prepared for use during this week and we are grateful to Dr Tony Vinson, Director of the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, to his colleagues and to others who have put a lot of work into the collection of the data and the preparation of the display material.

Subject Treatment

Let me now tell you how the advisory committee of consultants suggested that the theme should be tackled.

Professor Peter Scott of the University of Tasmania School of Geography is a distinguished scholar whose world-wide reputation forces him to be one of Australia's most popular peripatetic professors. Like many others who contribute their skills to crime control Professor Scott is both scholar and humanitarian. He has added much to our knowledge of the evidence of urban crime and if he were ever to slacken in that course he would soon find the reins tightened by his wife who is actively involved in the field in Tasmania and includes honorary probation supervising in her other community activities. Professor Scott will provide the keynote lecture and be chairman of the panel of experts who will open each day's topics.

Like a few other disciplines criminology lacks precision not only in the sense of absence of data which physical scientists would regard as indispensable but even in defining the parameters of its own discipline and the qualifications of its teachers and practitioners.

Crime and deviance are often wrongly treated as synonymous - a confusion which could allow the new criminology painlessly to replace the more familiar model unless definitions receive more attention.

Jaques in his famous speech in *As You Like It* told the Duke that

> 'All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players',

and spoke of

> 'the Justice . . . full of wise saws and modern instances . . .'

Some of the 'wise saws' quoted with reference to the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders are as yet, unsubstantiated myths and part of this Institute's charter is to replace myths with realities. Tomorrow we shall focus our attention on 'The Relationship Between Urbanisation and Crime Patterns' and endeavour to find out what we do, in fact, know about the relationship.

Facts

A year ago the Criminology Research Council convened a meeting of researchers from three States who had each submitted applications for funding of projects related to juvenile delinquency. Later the Council agreed on a proposal for a nationwide survey of juvenile delinquency which remains a distant ideal. However the report of the first piece of research funded by the Council has now been published. It is the work of Dennis Challinger who was one of the researchers at the meeting I mentioned. His study of Victorian juvenile offenders used data on

10,850 cases which attracted official police contact during 1972. Amongst the useful information in the Challinger report, Table 12 shows postcode areas with the most Children's Court appearances and the most warnings. Table 13 shows delinquency rates for metropolitan Melbourne Local Government areas and on page 33 a map plots the delinquency rates listed on Table 13. I commend the Challinger report on 'The Juvenile Offender in Victoria' to your attention.

Adam Browne, our own Institute Special Projects Officer, has also prepared a wall map showing delinquency prone areas in Melbourne and that map is displayed in this room.

By courtesy of Dr Tony Vinson and his colleagues, an excellent series of maps is displayed here showing the distribution of offenders in Sydney urban areas. His four charts show the areas of residence of

1. Offenders appearing before higher criminal courts in 1973.
2. 1973 drug offenders.
3. 1973 breathalyser offences.
4. Petty sessions offenders for 1972.

Also by courtesy of Dr Vinson every participant in this seminar has received a photocopy of the comparative report of the New South Wales Bureau on 'Crime in Our Cities' and this may become a seminar document for workshop consideration tomorrow.

Using the 1971 Uniform Crime Report of the American FBI Dr Vinson and Mr Marshall related the crime level of Sydney to eight American cities of comparable size. They found that Sydney has a much lower rate of offences against the person, although its rate for breaking and entering and associated offences was only fractionally better than average for the eight American cities. Sydney's rate of property offences was nearer to the American pattern than was the case with offences against the person.

Vinson and Marshall also compared the crime rate of Sydney with the two Canadian cities of Montreal and Toronto and found that the rates of homicide and rape are comparable for Sydney and the Canadian cities while Montreal's robbery rate is much higher. For property offences, burglary and car theft, the Sydney rate is substantially greater.

By courtesy of our sister institute, the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in Tokyo, you have each received a summary of the 1973 White Paper on crime prepared by the Research and Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice of the Government of Japan. Pages 7 - 9 of this report contain a geographical analysis of criminality in Japan and an international comparison of urban criminality.

Dr Paul Wilson, in the *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Volume 51, Number 1, June 1974 said that

'Compared with the United States, we are not a criminal society. But the trends in Australian crime are very similar. For example, the urban crime rate in Australia is nearly 2.7 times greater than that in country areas. Similarly, young people under the age of 21 are increasingly becoming involved in crime. People between the ages of 14 and 21 are twice as likely as any other age group to be involved in most serious offences and indications are that this figure could increase still further in the next few years. Although male offenders commit four out of five criminal offences, records maintained by police departments and Departments of Children Services suggest the rate of female crime has doubled between 1969 and 1973 and that females are becoming increasingly involved in traditionally male crimes such as robbery, bank hold-ups and breaking and entering.'

Canberra

By way of contrast to the other cities it is fashionable to point to the National Capital, Canberra.

By the courtesy of the National Capital Development Commission, copies of their prestigious Annual Report have been made available for your use. This report sets out in detail the policies and planning behind the development of the city of Canberra. There is an informative map in the centre of the report showing current developmental projects in Canberra, both government and private enterprise, and the facilities of the city.

Writing on 'The Planning of Cities' in *Australia as Human Setting* (ed. Amos Rapoport) Maurice Dalby of the School of Earth Studies, Macquarie University, said

'Given enviable political and economic powers, and an uncluttered landscape the Canberra planners have created respectaburbia, in Jack Kerouac's terms; the city is clean and orderly, stereotyped and antiseptic. The standard of public services is the highest in Australia, and business and entertainment nodes are reached along free-flowing roads; the city has been saved from the devastating economic and physical effects of land speculators and rapacious developers who have blighted the older cities.'

Unfortunately for those who live in Canberra, Dalby went on to say

'Yet few Australians look to Canberra as their ideal city. To many outsiders Canberra presents an image of monotonous residential suburbs and a rigid society in which variety is scarce and artificiality is common. Canberra is often viewed as an expensive and interesting oddity, but something removed from the "real" life of the nation and offering few palliatives for the chronic problems of the State capitals.' (pp.183-184)

As recently as October 9 1974, one of the local newspapers, the *Canberra Advertiser* contained a statement by Inspector R.J. Dillon of the Australian Capital Territory Police, who was reported as having said

> 'It is a pity pride in the development of a city, such as Canberra, is offset by an increase in crime as offenders become more prevalent with population increase. One yard-stick of the crime trend in Canberra is the increase in breaking, entering and stealing offences. Ten or 12 years ago any spate of shop or house breaking came to an abrupt halt after one or two offenders were caught.
>
> This is not so today. Despite frequent arrests by police the offences continue to be committed.'

Population

The growth of population in Australian cities in the last few decades is shown in the following tables

POPULATION GROWTH OF MAJOR AUSTRALIAN CITIES 1931-1971

(ooo's)

Year	*Sydney*	*Melbourne*	*Perth*	*Hobart*	*Canberra*
1931	1,319	1,021	222	58	6
1941	1,538	1,189	269	74	13
1951	1,825	1,460	353	97	29
1961	2,303	1,985	475	130	67
1971	2,802	2,500	700	153	143

Year	*Newcastle*	*Wollongong*	*Geelong*	*Rest*	*Australia*
1931	198	54	50	3,035	6,556
1941	217	62	53	3,078	7,193
1951	252	85	66	3,310	8,405
1961	309	150	96	3,715	10,582
1971	351	199	122	4,081	12,757

Not only has the number of large cities in Australia grown but each of them has grown rapidly. It has been estimated that in 1947, 50.7 per cent of the Australian population was found in capital cities and 18.1 per cent in other urban areas, making 68.8 per cent of the Australian population urbanised in 1947. By 1971 the corresponding percentages were 60.1 per cent and 25.5 per cent giving a total urbanised population of 85.6 per cent in 1971.

An important component in Australian metropolitan population growth has been the immigration of foreign-born persons who comprised more than half of the total population increase of Sydney and Melbourne in the period 1947-1966.

THE NET MIGRATION OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION GROWTH IN METROPOLITAN AUSTRALIA 1947-1966

Metropolitan Divisions	*Numbers*	*Percentage*	*Total Growth 100 Per Cent*
Sydney	463,413	55.0	842,463
Melbourne	522,111	58.7	889,198
Brisbane	108,820	34.0	320,212
Adelaide	203,887	56.5	360,838
Perth	114,488	44.8	255,853
Hobart	18,286	32.1	56,978

(Figures taken, with permission, from unpublished study by Dr B. Hanna, Department of Urban and Regional Development.)

Psycho-Social Stress in Urban Areas

It has been argued that the 'defensible space' concept, using architectural and mechanical crime prevention techniques can be included in the planning stage for new towns and cities at less cost than its implementation in existing cities where the need would seem to be greatest. In both old and new urban areas architectural and mechanical defence against depredation would be more tangible than measures to deal with the psycho-social stresses which appear to have become symptoms of urban conglomerates, showing up in various forms of social deviance, including crime and delinquency.

Our panel discussions and workshop deliberations will consider whether or not society is delinquent. That topic suggests a sociological bias

but the advisory committee did not intend that. It felt that there were medical and psychological, as well as sociological, indicators which were relevant to the overall theme of the relationship between urbanisation and crime.

As a contribution to the United Nations 'Conference on the Human Environment' the Swedish Preparatory Committee studied psycho-social stress factors which can occur in urban conglomerates. Sweden itself has no big cities or large urban areas but the report which Doctors Gosta Carlestam and Lennart Levi prepared is a useful contribution to discussion on some specific problems.

The Swedish study found that 'psycho-social environmental stimuli are closely interwoven with physical stimuli and are extremely difficult to isolate with any degree of accuracy'. (p.7)

The authors acknowledged the difficulties in analysing human stressors in urbanisation. They pointed out that

> 'The city is not uniform but a whole series of worlds, housing a galaxy of human groups. The apartment house and the suburban house offer rather different formulas of life, although both are classified as urban. The great complexity of the pattern of stimuli, and their different meaning to different individuals and groups, makes it therefore a herculean task to try to arrive at any definite conclusions concerning the stress and disease-provoking qualities of urbanisation and urban life.' (p.7)

They found that the first and most important need in dealing with psycho-socially mediated urbanisation problems was the achievement of an early warning system which would signal impending trouble at a time when something can still be done to prevent the trouble. These early warning signals can be obtained from many sources

> '. . . individual, family, special sub-groups (*ad hoc* sample studies, doctors' records, hospital records, factory records, parish records), community records, national statistics and plans, serial photographs.' (p.52)

Possible hazards can be monitored at a national, regional and local level but they can also be monitored from a smaller group such as a factory or enterprise. High and/or rapidly increasing rates for suicide, neuroses and psychosomatic disorders and juvenile delinquency call for alertness and may suggest the need to focus on a district, a class of people, a school or a family.

Multiple copies of the anthology of readings published under the title *Social Science and Urban Crisis* (Ficker and Graves) have been obtained so that each workshop at least can have access to a copy.

In your consideration of the question of whether society is delinquent I invite your attention to an article in the reader by A.M. Rosenthal on 'Study of the Sickness Called Apathy'. (p.335)

Rosenthal says that

> 'As our cities become larger and our nation becomes increasingly urban, the search for value dimensions becomes acute in the lives of all of us. The rural society bred a sort of quiet strength and togetherness which the impersonalness of our urban centres can never repeat. Yet we must find a bond of some kind which can serve to unite us if we are to survive in the urban world.' (p.335)

He warns that apathy and non-involvement must not become a way of life for the city dweller.

An interesting contribution to discussion on 'Urban Living and Its Discontents' is contained in a paper with that title presented last year to a conference on 'Engineering the Environment' by my colleague, Mr David Biles, the Institute's Assistant Director (Research).

Mr Biles concludes that urbanisation 'does not seem to have harmful effects on physical or mental health; it does not induce a heavy consumption of alcohol, nor does it reduce longevity'. He does, however, allow that urbanisation may be '. . . a significant factor in the incidence of crime, suicide and divorce' but warns that information which appears to be factual 'is open to considerable distortion and misinterpretation'.

By courtesy of Mr Biles, copies of his paper have been made available to all participants.

Low Crime Social Environment

Our advisors suggested that the seminar should not waste too much time in the low-crime versus crime-free debate but should concentrate its energies on suggestions for planning urban social environments in which the crime and delinquency content would be kept to the lowest feasible levels. This is an enterprise which involves both treatment and prevention approaches.

In this process we shall be concerned not only with existing urban problems but with the cities of tomorrow and it is appropriate that we should be so concerned when both Australian and some State Governments are committed to the development of new cities. The mistakes in the planning of Green Valley have been publicly discussed, documented in Professor Tom Brennan's book *New Community* and in a movie film. The problems in towns like Doveton in Victoria and Elizabeth in South Australia have also been debated. There is agreement that the mistakes and omissions of past town planners should not be repeated in Albury/Wodonga, Bathurst/Orange and Monarto.

The *Canberra Times* of 11 October 1974, reported that 'A Task Force of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies has recommended that each capital city in Australia should have a top level officer appointed to

coordinate planning and its implementation throughout the region'. One wonders if in the planning of new urban areas consideration is being given to Newman's concept of 'defensible space' and to the provision of services able to provide the 'early warning signals' which could reduce the incidence of psycho-social distress.

The book by Ficker and Graves, *Social Science and Urban Crisis* to which earlier reference was made, has a section containing readings on the 'City of Tomorrow'. As might be expected from an American publication, the readings have a cultural component which is not entirely relevant to Australian and New Zealand conditions but they do focus on the relationship between planners and politicians at local, state and national level. An article by the New York Institute of Life Insurance suggests that not only skills, training and materials are needed to build tomorrow's cities, but also personal participation.

Dr B. Hanna from the Department or Urban and Regional Development, who has kindly provided some of the figures used in the data presented today, has made population projections for the present major Australian cities. He warns that the growth of human population cannot be expected to conform to a precise mathematical law because human behaviour changes constantly as a result of deliberate action. His projections up to the year 2001 are shown in the following tables.

POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR MAJOR AUSTRALIAN CITIES
UP TO THE YEAR 2001

(000's)

Year	*Sydney*	*Melbourne*	*Brisbane*	*Adelaide*	*Perth*	*Hobart*
1981	3,325	3,150	1,172	1,143	898	201
1991	4,010	3,948	1,537	1,496	1,174	254
2001	4,828	4,933	2,002	1,945	1,523	319

Year	*Canberra*	*Newcastle*	*Wollongong*	*Geelong*	*Rest*	*Australia*
1981	276	405	265	157	4,270	15,262
1991	449	470	364	198	4,564	18,464
2001	637	544	490	247	4,875	22,343

(Figures taken from unpublished material computed by Dr B. Hanna, Department of Urban and Regional Development.)

Dr Hanna points out that as well as deliberate human action there are other new factors emerging which may bring about the redistribution of urban populations in the future. Increasing automation and improved communications can be expected to reduce the demand for concentration of factories, offices and people which have been keynotes of the industrial age. On the other hand the increasingly capital-intensive mechanised nature of modern primary industry has changed the traditional pattern of Australia's employment. The present Australian Government has concentrated attention on the problem of our cities in general and on the development of alternative regional growth centres. Dr Hanna is of the opinion that the combination of some of the factors just mentioned may justify the assumption that the rapid rate of growth of the present major cities may slow down after reaching a significant size. Whether that assumption is correct or not it is predicted that the total Australian population will double within thirty years.

Conclusions

So far as the Australian Institute of Criminology's Training Division is concerned, this seminar is tackling the biggest problem of its short history. The control of crime and delinquency in urban areas is a problem which is of significance throughout the world. When due allowance is made for all the mitigating factors and Malthusian-type beliefs, it is still possible that by the year 2000 there may be over 1,000 cities scattered throughout the world with populations of a million or more each.

If there are times in the next few days when our tasks appear unduly arduous we can take comfort in the knowledge that the report of our deliberations will have not only Australian and New Zealand, but also a world-wide circulation. It is not too much to hope that some new ideas, or some fresh expression of old ideas, worked on this week may, in some way, help to improve the qualify of life of many people, including generations yet unborn.

It might help us to listen to the words of C.A. Doxiadis - that expert in 'anthropics', 'ekistics' and, more recently, 'anthropocosmos'. Speaking about achieving the goals of human happiness and safety, leading to what he calls the 'human city' Doxiadis said

> 'The task is hard. People have to learn how to be very conservative when dealing with man, and very revolutionary when dealing with new systems and networks. The task is hard since man does not yet have a system of values with which to define what a good life is.
>
> Personally, I am convinced that the root of all problems in our cities lies in our minds, in our loss of belief in man and in his ability to set goals and to implement them. We can never solve problems and tackle diseases unless we conceive the whole. We cannot build a cathedral by carving stones but only by dreaming of it, conceiving it as a whole, developing a systematic approach, and then working out the details.

But dreaming and conceiving are not enough. We have also to carve the stones and to lift them into place. Thus, I turn to myself and ask whether we can build the human city. My body is beginning to get weaker, my senses, especially my eyesight, do not help me as in the past but my mind advances in knowledge and sees the confirmation of this possibility and my soul mobilises my whole self into a very positive affirmation: yes, mankind can build the human city.'[1]

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1. Gwen Bell & Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (eds), *Human Identity in the Urban Environment* (Penguin Books, 1972), p.162.

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Crime and the Urban Community: Sickness or Symbiosis?

PETER SCOTT

I should like to say at the outset how delighted I am to be able to take part in this seminar. But I should also like to add my dismay at being billed as the 'Visiting Expert'. In my own defence I would suggest that the Australian Institute of Criminology is guilty of false pretences. For I would regard myself essentially as a generalist, one who trained initially in Economics and Geography, Sociology and Political Science, and one who is primarily interested in the process of urban growth. Although I have worked on various aspects of the distribution of crime and delinquency in cities, my main concern has been with the total process of urban development.

I would hope that in our deliberations and discussions this week we focus a good deal of attention on public policy and urban programmes, and what can be done in the future to improve the situation in our cities; this is certainly the line I shall take this afternoon. I am not going to spend much time discussing the detailed findings on crime and the urban community; rather will I focus attention on policy issues, taking examples of research findings to illustrate my points.

I should also like to reiterate a point already made by Harold Weir that to discuss this problem at this stage is timely, given the substantial and increasing involvement of government at all levels in the urbanisation process and the widespread concern which is now manifest for the quality of life in our cities. I think it is fair to say that on the whole the research which has been done - and this is a shocking generalisation (in the time available this afternoon I have to generalise shockingly) - on crime and delinquency in cities, even though prolific (my own bibliography approaches a thousand items), contains very little which has a direct bearing on the problems of planning, development, and the growth of cities. A great gulf therefore exists between the findings of much research and what is available to the planner, the policy-maker, and the decision-maker in the urban context. To some extent our function in this seminar is to try to bridge that gulf. It is tremendously advantageous to have people of such a wide range of relevant backgrounds to contribute from their practitioner standpoint to this discussion and hopefully to some crystallisation of the resolutions at the end.

My role, and certainly my task this afternoon, is threefold (it is three 'Ps'): the first is to provide some sort of <u>perspective</u>, which I must confess will almost certainly be idiosyncratic and will highlight the question of policy; the second is to pay attention to a few of the basic <u>problems</u> involved; the third is to <u>provoke</u>. I am after all an academic, and therefore like criminals, artists, scientists and other deviants from generally accepted cultural norms, my function *inter alia* is to provoke. Unfortunately if the criminal provokes he

tends to suffer; I hope I shall not suffer too much for my provocation.

Now how am I going to go about this? I could of course take each of the themes of the three days and say something about each of them in turn, and I will in fact say something relating to the first and the third. But at this stage of the proceedings I will leave the question of society's delinquency to your tender mercies. I will however discuss three particular topics. First, I will comment on this general and vexed question of the relationship between urbanisation and crime. I am certainly not going to be comprehensive or conclusive on the subject. I simply want to raise certain aspects which have a bearing on policy issues. Secondly, I propose to say something about the incidence of crime and delinquency within urban areas but again with the same purpose of policy formulation in mind at this stage without going into details. And then, thirdly, I will say something about government intervention in the urbanisation process, and particularly in relation to questions of crime treatment and crime prevention within cities. Here I shall be especially concerned with the question of metropolitan planning.

Doubtless my title will immediately provoke because it is, I admit, a loose title: 'crime and the urban community'. You may say at the outset that there is no such thing as the urban community. We are told so frequently about the non-cohesive nature of groups within major metropolitan areas that it might be contended the community does not exist, at least in the traditional sense. I am certainly using this term by default. I would prefer to talk about metropolitan social subsystems and other jargon but it might be simpler just to use the term community: at least my focus is people.

The second aspect that you will certainly challenge is my subheading: 'sickness or symbiosis?'. Admittedly this is just popular jargon but I have used these terms to focus attention on the two polarised extreme views which I submit we should bear in mind in relation to looking at the problem of crime in the cities and what can be done about it. The one extreme view, to put it simply, is that our cities are sick and that crime and delinquency are symptoms of this sickness; if only we can diagnose the symptoms, presumably we can prescribe the cures. The other extreme view for which I have used the unsatisfactory term of symbiosis (symbiosis, as you know, is simply a permanent union between organisms which depend on each other for existence) is that crime is an inevitable accompaniment of the process of urbanisation; if this is the case, then presumably there is not a great deal that can be done to mitigate the situation. Well, these are just polarised viewpoints. The truth lies somewhere in between the two and also involves a mixture of both but if we have the extremes at the back of our minds they provide essential reference points. Although it is quite clear that both extreme views are not the whole truth, both views are very elegantly expressed in a voluminous theoretical literature.

Obviously the view that cities are sick is over-optimistic. For one thing, almost all the evidence that we have about crime and delinquency in cities derives, as you know, from official sources which simply define the failed offenders, the inefficient, unlucky, or unskilled offenders, and this represents only a fraction of the total incidence

of those who violate legal norms. American evidence suggests that the official offenders are only about a quarter of the total universe and those who are charged are only a quarter of those arrested.

In Australia we have recently gained much information on this question from the work of Congalton and others on the incidence of unreported crime but the extent of non-reporting varies very markedly according to the type of offence; details are readily available in a publication of the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. But I think what stems from this is that innumerable hypotheses which have been formulated in the past, tested, been found wanting, and only partially satisfactory - hypotheses that seek to establish the causes of criminality and therefore to explain it (economic deprivation or maternal deprivation or paternal deprivation or biological inferiority or mental inferiority, whatever it might be, or combinations of these) - are only a part of the picture. And there are no universals on which crime depends. Crime is a function of a whole host of variables functioning differentially in different situations, some of which can be expressed spatially on maps. While I think that multivariate analysis and all other sophisticated tools now available can assist us to some extent in understanding these situations, the findings from such research are only a very small part of what is really required.

The other side of the coin, the other extreme view, that I label 'symbiosis' - the inevitability of crime in urban areas - is also one which is only partially true. Obviously there would be no crime if everybody kept the rules all the time, which they obviously don't and won't, or if there were no rules. Since we emphasise in our democratic society 'freedom' and extol originality and independence, then clearly there will be those who deviate from the legal norms; some of them will be apprehended and accordingly will enter official statistics. Some there be who even argue that crime performs a positive role socially in that it promotes social solidarity. It continually serves to remind people what the community values are, and what their rights and duties are, and so on. These polarised views are nevertheless relevant to the question of urbanisation and crime, and the incidence of crime and delinquency within cities.

Some of you will doubtless be familiar with the work of Wilkins who in 1964 presented a graph of the normal distribution of human behaviour, the vertical axis showing the frequency of behaviour and the horizontal axis showing on the right the very good behaviour and on the left the very bad behaviour. Obviously the point on the horizontal axis at which society begins to take action in relation to deviant behaviour will vary culturally, over time, and with different types of offences; but there will always be a dividing line determined *inter alia* by the tolerance of society. It is important to note the nature of that division, what determines the point, and what might be done to shift it to the left: in other words, what is necessary to reduce crime as a product of either urban sickness or urban symbiosis.

Urbanisation and Crime

Now if we turn to the general question of urbanisation and crime, the first point that might strike one is that there seems to be some support for the symbiosis viewpoint because over time it does appear, at least from the experience of recent decades, that crime is on the increase, that urbanisation is on the increase, and that the twain obviously go together. I should like to begin by commenting on some of the broad generalisations concerning urbanisation and crime which are widely accepted and then break these down into more detail, so as to focus attention eventually on the importance of policy in this question. First of all one or two obvious generalisations.

The first is that urban areas have higher crime rates and delinquency rates than rural areas. This is well established, the average crime rate being 2.7 times greater for urban areas than for rural areas in Australia (according to Paul Wilson), 2.8 times in New South Wales (according to Tony Vinson), and 2.4 times in Tasmania, where of course we have much smaller towns. The rural-urban differential is more marked in relation to property offences than it is in relation to offences against the person. These differences hold whether we consider arrests or those convicted or those imprisoned. In recent times I have investigated variations in the rural incidence of crime in Tasmania and there are quite clearly marked differences between rural communities but I will not take up time on this as we are dealing with the urban community.

The second generalisation which is well established in the literature, though this is a much more questionable one, is that larger cities tend to have higher crime rates and higher delinquency rates than smaller cities. In Tasmania we have a very small sample of cities, our largest being Hobart with only about 140,000 people. But if you take the urban centres of Tasmania ranging in population down to about 1,000, of which there are about 26, the correlation coefficient between town size and the crime rate is only 0.39, which is significant at the 5 per cent level but not at the 1 per cent level. It is just marginally significant and that is all. Though the correlation is more significant in some studies of much larger universes of cities, nevertheless it is never found to be all that significant, so it does not necessarily follow that larger cities have more crime than smaller ones. One can only say that this size relationship with crime rates tends to occur.

The third generalisation is that the growth of cities and the rise in crime rates go hand in hand. The more urbanisation there is, the higher the crime rate; this of course has a very respectable theoretical basis and a fair amount of empirical work has been done to support it. On the other hand there is a good deal of evidence which refutes it. Certainly in recent decades in Australia, America, and Britain, the generalisation seems to have held. It also holds in popular opinion, as Tony Vinson's study in Sydney reveals; he demonstrated that just over 40 per cent of Sydney respondents thought the crime rate in Sydney was on the increase. But this is probably the most questionable of the three generalisations, just as the second is more questionable than the first.

I should now like to show in what way this generalisation is questionable. One type of analysis which has recently become increasingly important in the social sciences is that of multivariate techniques. Multivariate analyses of social and economic data relating to crime rates and the size of cities show that an important component in the incidence of crime is simply the opportunity to commit crime. This has recently been built into models of urban systems (that is, of a universe of towns and cities) that show for instance car stealing to be very closely related to city size and opportunity, as is assault, while larceny, burglary, rape, and particularly murder are less clearly related. If we could separate the opportunity factor and hold it constant, crime rates are considerably modified, and this is relevant of course from the standpoint of policy. We all know that it is difficult to generalise about offences against the person since they tend in some societies to be more significant in small communities than in large ones.

I should now like to take just one study on this question of urban crime rates by city size to illustrate some of the factors which are relevant to policy. Last year in America K.D. Harries carried out a multivariate analysis of metropolitan areas of the United States, in which he took a range of crimes and a sample of metropolitan areas, using factor analysis on 32 variables which have been found to be associated with crime (Social Indicators and Metropolitan Variations in Crime, *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 5, 1973, pp. 97-101).

Although I have many reservations about factor analysis, this type of analysis is useful for screening a wide range of heterogeneous data. He found that nine factors accounted for or statistically explained over 80 per cent of the variance. The first of the factors was population or the size of the city. This is what so many people have already established. But even though the most important single factor was the size of the city, it was only one of nine. The second factor was the rate of population change or the rate of growth of the city. This confirms the findings of many ecological studies that began with the classical work of the Urban Ecological School in Chicago. The third factor is the proportion of black or negro population which is of course a particular problem of crime in North America. The fourth factor is that of the proportion of youth in the population, and the fifth is unemployment. Of those five factors three of them are obviously related to a dynamic changing situation: population change, the proportion of black population, and unemployment. The other two one might say belong to the symbiotic fringe - the size of the population and the proportion of youth in the population - while the three might be said to relate to the sickness of cities; clearly there is a mixture of the two elements. Now this seems to me to be important because if in fact three of the five most important factors are dynamic, they are much more relevant to policy formulation and decision-making, and therefore much more amenable to change; the other two would seem to be the inevitable concomitants of the size of cities and a result of the process of urbanisation.

The next stage of developing my theme is therefore to look at trends over time to see what happens. I could draw on innumerable studies to illustrate recent trends in urbanisation and numerous recent studies

have indicated an increase in crime but I want to try and put the current trends in perspective. Unfortunately there is no satisfactory longitudinal data available on Australian cities but time-series data are available for several American cities. I shall therefore take the example of Boston, as analysed by T.N. Ferdinand in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 73, 1967, pp. 84-99). I am well aware that all crime data are suspect and time-series data especially so. But Boston provides a perspective of the century from 1849 to 1951, and deals with the total crime rate as well as seven specific crime rates. In general, as the trend in the total crime rate indicates, the overall trend has tended to be downward, despite oscillations from time to time and a number of sharp peaks and troughs. Once the analysis extends to disaggregating the data for specific crimes, it becomes more complex. As the graphs illustrate, murder, assault, and larceny have all manifested a downward trend, while manslaughter, rape, and robbery have tended to increase, manslaughter sharply so after the advent of the motor vehicle. Only burglary presents no clear trend but its trend has been, if anything, upward.

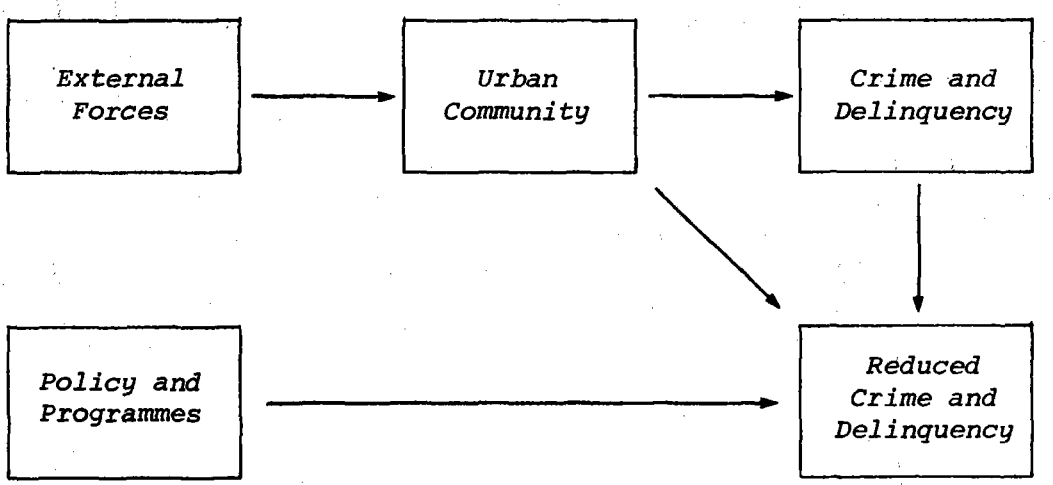
The purpose of showing these graphs is that the three reasons which are postulated to explain the trends carry important implications for the future and for policy formulation. The first hypothesis relates to the attitude and policy of the police, the second to national events or forces external to the urban system such as war or depression, and the third to increasing affluence and the evolution of the middle class. The precise hypotheses do not matter all that much; what is important is that all three hypotheses relate to major policy issues, which are subject to decision-making at either the national or the state level. Thus the long-term trends were partly the result of policies formulated both within the urban system, as for example those relating to the police force, and external to the urban system, as for instance income distribution and employment policy.

Today the situation is not one of declining incidence but of rising incidence in urban crime and delinquency, which is causing widespread concern in our cities. But the vast amount of publicity which is being given to urban crime merely increases the feeling of insecurity, already surprisingly widespread in the community. I would rather that attention was focused on the long-term downward trend and the likelihood that the current upsurge in crime is merely a temporary phase. There may be very good reasons for the current trend in terms of greater freedom of society, rapid social change, and the greater opportunities to commit offences against property, which are obviously a major component in the rapidly increasing crime rates. But in the long-term one hopes that a downturn will occur, particularly given a massive input into social planning and development and its incorporation within truly comprehensive and integrated planning. Such planning and development will require more sharply defined goals and objectives, as well as a coordination of social with economic and physical planning.

Two other factors should also combine to bring about a reversal in the current upward trend. Firstly, the rates of urban growth and social change may slow down as a result of a decline in fertility and immigration and of changing attitudes to the environment and resources. Accordingly metropolitan communities may by the eighties experience

greater stability than in most of the preceding postwar period. Secondly, law reform and changing social attitudes to certain types of behaviour currently regarded as delinquent or criminal may help to reduce the incidence of official crime. Thus in the foreseeable future urban society may experience greater stability and affluence, and if we can design, educate, and influence in all sorts of ways, we should be able to modify trends. Our central concern must therefore be with policy.

In the limited time at my disposal I propose to build a series of diagrams on the board, which I would describe as policy models that relate to a variety of situations concerning national and metropolitan development.



In the first model the first set of factors are the external forces which operate from outside on the urban community and through it influence on the incidence of crime and delinquency. The second box is the urban community itself, which contains of course its own set of factors contributing to crime. The third box indicates the output of criminal behaviour but as we have seen the long-term trend is to reduce crime. I have therefore incorporated this trend as well as the important policy component which is important in bringing about a reduction. The model at this stage is a very simplistic model but it focuses attention on the role of external forces interacting with the urban community to produce crime and the longitudinal trend which is subject to policy manipulation and influence. It is this policy aspect that I want to stress.

Criminal and Delinquency Areas

I turn now to the question of criminal and delinquency areas within cities. In the time available I can deal only with a few very broad issues. Let me first say something about residential patterns of criminals and delinquents. At this seminar we have some excellent illustrations of criminal patterns which show for Sydney, Melbourne, and Canberra the residential areas where offenders reside. The first thing that strikes one about such maps, whether they be of cities in Australia or England or the United States or wherever they might be, is that they highlight the inner-city areas as having a very high incidence of both delinquency and crime. There may be variations in the detailed patterns but broadly speaking they all manifest features which so many workers have emphasised: the coincidence of crime and delinquency with areas of low socio-economic status, low family status (a high incidence of homeless and/or single men and single-parent families), and low social cohesion. Such findings have emerged from countless studies. I would affirm that studies of statistical association of crime and delinquency with inner-city deprived areas and their economic and social attitudes are unlikely to give us new insights in the future. I know that this is a very provocative statement but there is so much literature on this subject that almost any association anyone cares to point to I can guarantee that I can produce a study which shows it. In fact only the other day I browsed once more through Mayhew's work on *London Life and London Poor* - a series of volumes published between 1851 and 1862 - and it stressed the concentration of criminals in the inner-city areas. It also paints a terrible picture of associated poverty, insecurity, overcrowding, substandard housing, and low education. Mayhew wrote more than a century ago and we have not added a very great deal to our basic knowledge since then. Current research is much more sophisticated and employs much better jargon for describing phenomena but basically the findings are similar. It is also true that these findings are confirmed in the popular image. Tony Vinson's seventeenth report published in August this year reports that in Sydney no less than two-fifths of the respondents said a defective home environment was the main cause of crime. Moreover about one-third gave depressed socio-economic conditions as the major cause. In short, an overwhelming proportion of respondents gave socio-economic conditions and home environment as the principal factors. As a geographer I find it fascinating that only 4 per cent gave the opportunity to commit a crime; yet in terms of the planning and design of cities this aspect is very important. What is important in research on these inner-city areas is that we need much closer observation and participation of researchers in these areas. We need either to get out and live in these areas and participate or get others to do it who are more competent at this kind of investigation, for there is a lot to be learned from applying some of the method of social anthropology to research on these areas. I find the current preoccupation with sophisticated mathematical endeavour less satisfying than the potential for closer observation and the participation of researchers. It follows that I would advocate very strongly involvement in community development.

An important aspect of inner-city areas of crime and delinquency is their persistence over time. Challinger's recent studies of delinquency in Melbourne show, as Shaw and McKay and many other earlier workers

have shown, that criminal and delinquency areas tend to stay more or less in the same places over long periods. They exhibit spatial stability but community change, a continuity of subculture but a change in population.

If however a sufficiently rapid change of population takes place, the entire subculture may be translated to another district, such as a fringe housing estate. In Hobart for instance a delinquency subculture has persisted in North Hobart throughout the postwar period but over the past two decades a similar subculture appears to have moved out from Battery Point to a fringe government housing area.

Crime and delinquency in inner-city areas may be accentuated by rapid population change and a transient migrant group. In such circumstances the principal offenders may not necessarily be those of striking cultural differences from the local residents. In Australia the continental European immigrant groups have not, in general, contributed their fair share to criminal behaviour. Rather are the offenders those sufficiently identified with the dominant culture to feel able to express their insecurity and dissatisfactions overtly. In the Argentine for example delinquents in Cordoba have been found to comprise a high proportion of rural-urban migrants; in the United States a high incidence of crime in the northern cities derives, at least in significant part, from southern negro migrants; in the large English cities, such as London and Birmingham, there is an above-average incidence of crime among the Irish rather than among the West Indians. What is important is not so much the precise groups involved in each case but the dynamic context in which delinquency and crime occur and which is the product of and subject to policy influences.

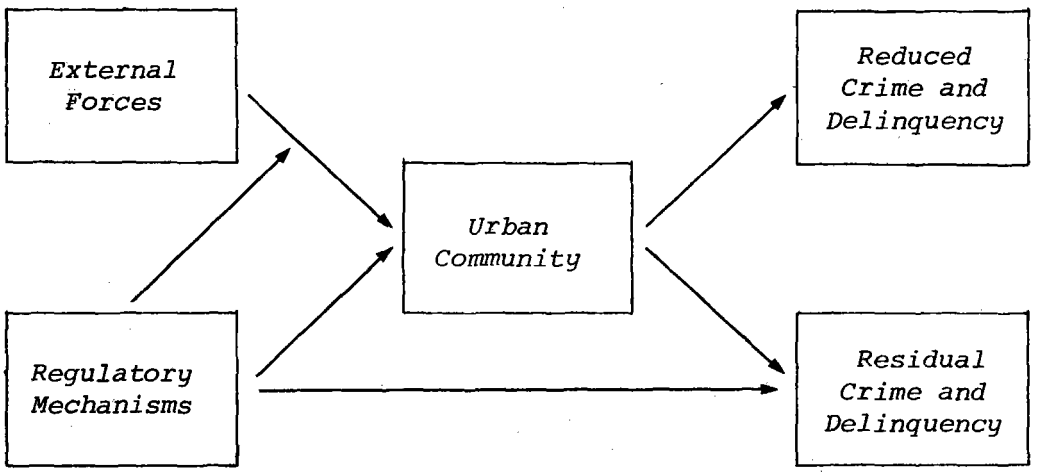
Yet the inner city is not the only metropolitan area in which there is crime and delinquency; deviations from generally accepted social norms also occur in the vast expanses of suburbia and the fringe, which are perhaps the more important and certainly the more fascinating areas for two main reasons. Firstly, the suburbs and the fringe contain much of the government housing which tends to have above average rates of crime and delinquency, as Challinger found in Melbourne and I found in Hobart, but not necessarily always so, as Brennan found in Sydney. Secondly the suburbs contain many areas that are markedly affluent and many, such as the western suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, that are economically and socially deprived. In fact, the maps displayed in this room reveal that in Sydney the western suburbs rank after the inner-city in having the highest incidence of breathalyser offenders. Such areas tend to manifest the suburban syndrome, to which reference was made earlier this afternoon, and more attention should be paid to them both in academic research and in practice. While there is now a fairly substantial literature on social deviance in areas of public housing, we know relatively little about the social background to the suburban syndrome and its more extreme manifestations.

Clearly the inner-city and the deprived suburb together do not constitute the sum incidence of crime and delinquency in cities; if they did, the problem from the standpoint of policy and programmes might be difficult enough but perhaps not beyond our resources. Among other facets of the problem is the particularly intractable one of the

professional criminal. Although professional criminals may not be very numerous, they constitute the hard-core problem about which many of you doubtless know far more than I do. Mack's work on Glasgow which has always fascinated me probably points to comparable circumstances in Australia. He has provided much insight into the able, habitual criminal who is virtually a white-collar worker living in a good suburb, respected locally, well adjusted, efficient, and with a substantial income. Mack contends that the able, habitual criminal is a slowly increasing component of society, numbering about one in 10,000 of the population in Britain. This figure seems high but what the figure might be in Australia is anybody's guess. While it is difficult to carry out much worthwhile research on the efficient offender who makes his living from crime without being apprehended, he is certainly a critical element of the urban-crime problem and should undoubtedly be considered in our deliberations. Other elements that also merit attention are organised crime and middle-class delinquency.

So far I have mentioned only the residential patterns of offenders in cities; equally important are the places where offenders commit their offences. If we knew more about the patterns where crimes occur in cities, we might perhaps be in a better position to plan and develop our cities so as to minimise the incidence of crime. But even though we now know a great deal about residential patterns, it is only in recent years that we have gained some insight into the spatial incidence of crime. Much of what we do know derives from North America and regrettably disappoints; it merely highlights the obvious that potential offenders tend to seek out places where the opportunities to commit crimes are greatest. Unfortunately these studies, with but a few notable exceptions, tell us little about the places in question or the circumstances in which the offences are committed. Obviously such studies are more illuminating in respect of crimes against property than of crimes against the person, for violence, homicide, and so on tend like charity to begin at home. Even so, studies of homicide in the United States have shown that for crimes against the person the nature of the micro-environment can be of considerable importance. This suggests that we should not confine our attention solely to identifying the physical environments which favour or facilitate property crime and to planning cities to avoid these conditions; we need to probe delicately and in detail the circumstances in which many offences against the person are committed. Whether we analyse criminal residential patterns or whether we study crime patterns in cities, the dominant consideration should always be what actually took place within these areas. Such knowledge is fundamental to decision making and policy formulation.

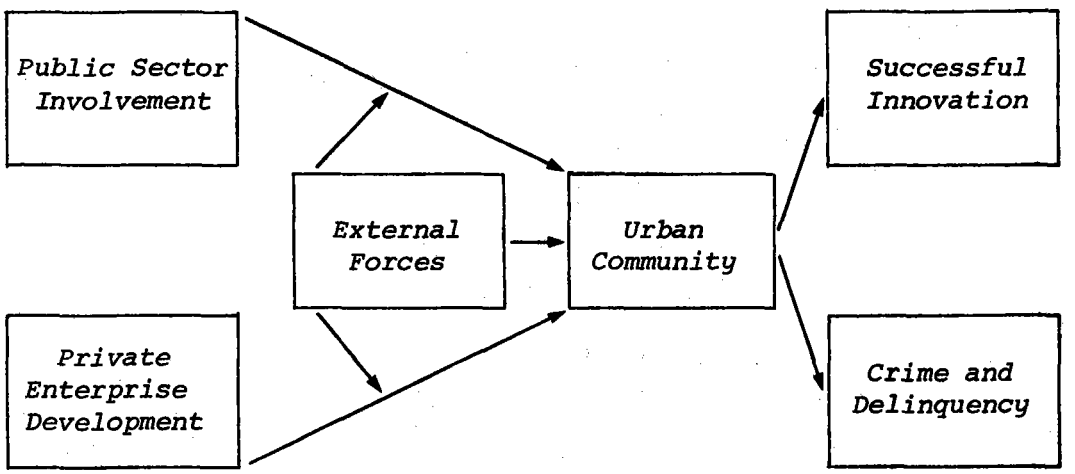
It behoves me now to restructure the policy model advanced a few minutes ago to take account of the opportunities that exist to ameliorate the incidence of crime and delinquency in urban areas by social and physical planning. The second model relates therefore to existing urban areas.



In this diagram the external forces both social and economic impinge on the urban community, as before, but the outcome is a combination of reduced crime and a residual component. In our discussions this week we should dwell on what I would call the regulatory mechanisms: that is, what can and should be done not only to modify directly the external forces as they impinge on the urban community but also to modify their impact within the urban community. Manipulation of the external forces is essentially a function of central government operating through a broad spectrum of economic and social policies. However programmes designed to mitigate the resultant impact of external forces are the responsibility partly of central government and more especially of state and local government. These programmes involve both prevention and cure. One of our tasks this week is to identify those areas of potential involvement of government that hitherto have been neglected, and to establish the prerequisites for consistent action by federal, state, and local government. We need pithy and punchy conclusions as to where government at all levels can be brought to bear more effectively on some aspects at least of the problems of crime and delinquency in our cities.

Since the second model applies to the inner-city, the deprived suburb, and other existing urban areas, it is necessary next to restate the model for application to new urban areas, whether these are on the expanding metropolitan fringe or in new growth centres such as Albury-Wodonga. An important feature of any new urban area is the extent to which it is being developed by the public sector and the extent to which its growth depends on the private sector. Theoretically, though unhappily not much evidenced in practice, the higher the degree of involvement by the public sector, the greater the opportunity to formulate comprehensive and relevant policies and programmes incorporating a judicious blend of physical, economic, and social planning. In my third model I have therefore referred specifically to the public sector and to private enterprise development. But it should be noted that the public sector here embraces a range of actual and potential initiations

by federal, state, and local government, preferably in partnership. Federal government initiatives cover many things from providing growth centres to relieving unemployment and from reducing inflation to promoting social welfare.



State governments have a comparable range of initiatives in planning, housing, transport, education, and so on. Moreover the relationship between the private and public sectors is important and can indeed be crucial for urban well-being.

These models are of course highly abstract, so it is necessary to fill in, describe, and interpret in as much detail as possible the precise contents of each box. But at least the models, highly simplified as they are, provide a convenient framework for examining the policy implications of the numerous forces that impinge on the problems of crime and delinquency in urban areas. Above all, they are designed to highlight the role of forces lying outside the urban society but amenable nevertheless to influence by federal and state governments. All too often it is these forces that are neglected in the minutiae of our concern with particular delinquent or criminal situations.

Government Intervention

My third and final theme which underscores all that I have tried to say so far is therefore government intervention; but I must be brief as my time is almost up and you are doubtless in need of refreshment after this depressing interlude. In any event the topics of crime treatment and crime prevention are to be discussed on Thursday morning. Let me provoke at least the sociologists among you by quoting from a recent book by David Eversley, formerly Chief Planner (Strategy) for the Greater London Council, on the subject of *The Planner in Society* (Faber and Faber, London 1973), pp.239-240. Although Eversley is discussing

broadly the contributions that British sociologists have or have not made to town planning, much of what he says is relevant to the much more difficult problem of planning cities so as to prevent crime.

> 'British sociologists have, collectively and individually, roundly condemned just about everything that has been done since the war to provide a new environment for almost half the population of the British Isles (eight million new houses and at least a million converted, improved or entirely rehabilitated). They do not like new towns, they do not like peripheral estates, they like neither segregation of social classes nor mixtures, they condemn the monotony of terraces as they do the tower blocks, they have judged privacy to be unnecessary, and open-plan housing to be anti-social. The planner looks in vain for any ray of light.'

Obviously this quotation embodies an extreme view to which I would not wholly subscribe. But at least it points up the limited basis of much relevant sociological literature for social engineering.

So pervasive are the criticisms advanced by planners and practitioners in urban affairs of the findings of urban sociology that the scope for social planning and urban design in crime prevention has hitherto been largely overlooked. In the Australian Institute of Urban Studies for instance we have only recently engaged in social as distinct from economic and physical planning research. Similarly the focus of most planning authorities tends to be primarily on land use, secondly on economic activity, and only thirdly and then not always on social planning. Yet there are obvious dangers and unforeseen pitfalls in attempting to plan, design, and develop cities physically in order to prevent problems that are essentially social. Although books such as Oscar Newman's *Defensible Space* contain many findings of great value, their application has to be undertaken with great sensitivity and much caution.

Similarly many simplistic concepts regarding the incidence of crime and delinquency in cities have very limited implications for policy. To take but one much researched and debated issue, the relationship between crowding and crime, though supported by much empirical research, is by no means universal. While one can cite numerous situations where crime or delinquency has been found to be associated with crowding, many other situations with marked overcrowding and acute poverty exhibit crime and delinquency rates even below the average. Crowding *per se* is not necessarily related to deviant behaviour, just as low-density development is not necessarily the panacea. Witness for example the very low densities coupled with the high crime rates of Los Angeles, as discussed by Jane Jacobs in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Again, housing policies have too often been made the vehicle for abortive social policy.

The folly of architectural determinism may be illustrated - and I appreciate that at this stage you are desperately in need of light relief - by quoting these words of an American housing offical published

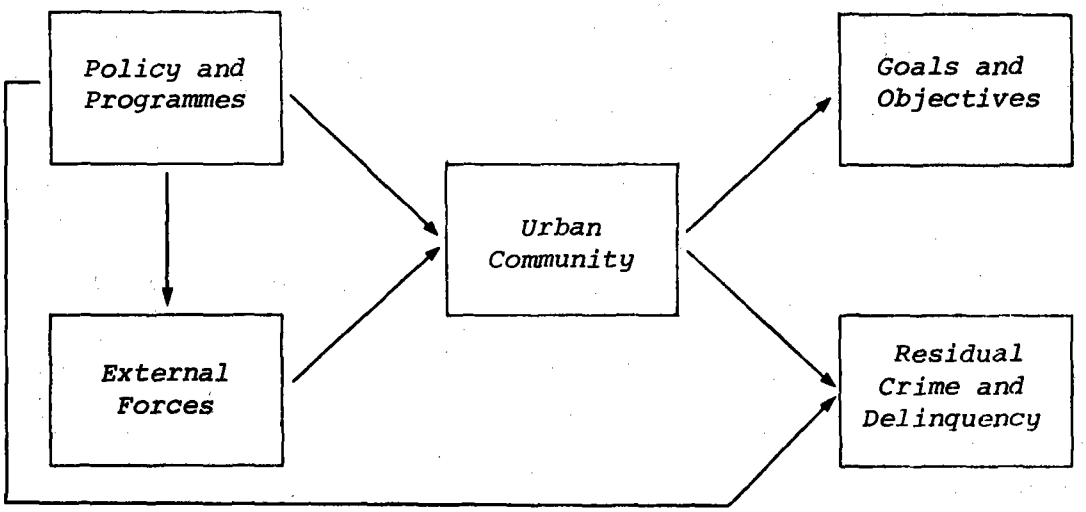
as long ago as 1958 in the magazine *Fortune*.

> 'Once upon a time we thought that if we could get our problem families out of these dreadful slums, then papa would stop taking dope, mama would stop chasing around, and Junior would stop carrying a knife. Well, we've got them in a nice new apartment with modern kitchens and a recreation center. And they're the same bunch of bastards they always were.'

It follows that the incidence of delinquency and crime in many urban areas will not necessarily be reduced simply by improving the physical environment. Much might be said in this regard on the problems of slums, government housing, and high density development. Evidence could be presented that runs counter to some of the findings of Oscar Newman. Nevertheless the problem of crime and delinquency in urban areas requires a comprehensive approach and among the many lines of attack is that of improving the quality of the built environment, a goal desirable in any case on its own merits.

It is a great advantage to have present on this occasion so much relevant expertise covering so many diverse specialisms. There need to be more opportunities of this kind when experts from various backgrounds and experiences can pool their knowledge and interchange ideas as to what should be done in respect of policy and programmes in the future. A prime issue is the allocation by government of resources appropriate to the task, and here I am thinking more of professional skills derived from a wide range of disciplines than of money and bricks and mortar. From my standpoint there would seem to be a great need for urban communities to be studied preferably by people living first-hand in problem areas and monitoring the process of change. I find studies such as Tom Brennan's work on Mount Druitt and Green Valley most illuminating but as a social geographer interested in urban growth I also find many questions unanswered. Admittedly most of these questions lie outside Tom Brennan's terms of reference and can be answered only by longitudinal community studies. While I would therefore advocate more participation and more longitudinal studies, I would maintain that the foremost requirement is operational multidisciplinary research oriented to policy making and the formulation of programmes for the future. It is equally important that we get things moving on the practical front in fields such as planning, housing, education, and so on, however imperfect our knowledge at this stage.

Finally the emphasis I have placed on policy and programmes requires that I advance a fourth model, for policies and programmes should be formulated only in relation to clearly defined goals and objectives.



Ideally our cities should be developed in relation to specific goals and their derived objectives but perhaps the hardest thing in this world is to get pragmatic politicians and bureaucrats to define their goals. One such goal is to minimise the incidence of crime and delinquency in urban areas. To this end the policies and programmes would be directed not only to the urban community and its social development but also directly to the residual crime and delinquency as well as to the external forces that impinge on urban areas.

In the four simple models postulated in this paper I have embodied a situation of attempting to ameliorate existing urban-crime areas in the first model, to regulate crime trends in existing urban areas in the second, to develop new urban areas with minimum crime and delinquency in the third, and to promote goal-oriented crime-free development in the fourth. In reality elements of all four models can be detected in the Australian metropolis. It would be a step forward to attempt to unravel these elements, to identify the various empirical situations, to define as clearly as possible the forces at work, and to review in the light of all these facets the existing policies and programmes. Perhaps our discussions this week may make some modest contribution in this direction, so that the extent to which action falls short of a comprehensive goal-oriented approach might become apparent. But whatever might be done in the future, one thing remains certain: that there will always be a residual, though hopefully declining in the long term, of crime and delinquency in urban areas.

Probation and Parole in the Community

B.J. BRINLEY

It is now over a year since a probation and parole officer was seconded to work with a Community Development Group in the hope that something constructive might be done to lower the abnormally high proportion of social ills being experienced by certain segments of society, which research had revealed as being 'at risk' areas.

Today of course, such controversial action would almost certainly go unnoticed and would be absorbed in the long list of almost daily changes, which are occurring in our Service. It should, however, be remembered that this secondment marked the first of such changes and hopefully a new trend towards prevention rather than cure.

In the time available I would like to examine the background and philosophy behind my appointment to such a project and to look critically at what has, or has not, been achieved to date.

In 1972, the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research released the results of research carried out in the Newcastle area. The research revealed a disproportionately high incidence of medical and social problems among just 5 per 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 disease, divorce and truancy were more prevalent among this group than in 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 concerned were understandably deemed to be 'at risk'.

It was never intended that the actual 'at risk' areas should ever be positively identified, but by some means, which still remains obscure to me, the suburb of Windale in particular was singled out by the media. As a result there was a considerable amount of hostile, emotional reaction. The local press raised a hue and cry and Windale was described as a disaster suburb. Some politicians appeared to be extremely annoyed, local government even showed some interest and a public meeting of protest was organised. To his credit Dr Vinson, the Director of Crime Statistics, attended the meeting and to some extent succeeded in calming the storm.

In the short term the adverse publicity, with some justification, undoubtedly angered and may have been harmful to the residents of Windale. However, in the long term it will probably prove to have been a blessing in disguise because the very fact that the community was angered provided the motivation for the people concerned to try and bring about a change

in their community and focus attention on the 'at risk' areas. Above all it highlighted the need for welfare and semi-welfare agencies, both government and voluntary, to critically re-examine their traditional roles and re-think some of their hitherto hallowed policies.

On the positive side, Dr Vinson held the view that the carrying out of research and gathering of statistics, for statistics sake, is of little value unless action is taken to constructively use the information obtained. Accordingly he made an application for the services of a probation and parole officer to work full time as a community development officer.

After a delay of almost twelve months, finally approval was given for an officer to be seconded to the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, for 50 per cent of his time, such time to be spent working on community projects. As a result I found myself being 'the successful applicant', without ever having applied for the position. At this particular stage I found myself asking: 'What then does a Community Development Officer really do?' Of course, because of the advent of the Australian Assistance Plan, much has been written about the role of such an officer. However for my particular role I could find no real precedent or hard and fast rules by which to abide. Nothing appeared to be black or white but rather a huge area of grey into which one would venture at his own peril.

Fortunately with the expert guidance, assistance and kindness of Dr Vinson a clear shorter term aim did in fact emerge. That aim was to help solve existing problems and inspire the community to work together to build confidence, acquire self-reliance and to grow from within. It would also support initiative and encourage the community to participate in, and identify with various projects. Having this aim in mind, it was considered that one of the basic essentials would be the establishment of an effective Community Development Group, which would be capable of gaining the respect of all sectors of society.

Following a seminar held in Newcastle in 1972, to discuss the implications of Dr Vinson's report, an unstructured community group was formed, with the view to carrying out further social action and a total of ten recommendations were adopted. The recommendations were:

1. That an education/homework centre be established in the inner city area.

2. That the two local councils be approached to employ social workers.

3. That a government officer be seconded to work with the group.

4. That the group encourage development arising out of the publicity in the Windale area by supporting local people and providing professional guidance when it is requested.

5. That the group work towards the relocation of the medical and general health and welfare services at a community level in order to be closely in touch with and to identify emotional and social factors leading to breakdown. These services should be readily accessable to those using the service and to involve the local community in meeting particular needs in the area.

6. The local planning authorities consider the setting up of a community forum so as to bring together the wide variety of interests involved in a local or regional plan.

7. That a controlled 'action research' project be started in a selected inner city area. This may involve the implementation of programmes involving local people to help meet some of the apparent needs of the area.

8. Because of the importance of education in a child's life opportunity, it is vital that the basis of educational retardation be established and remedied.

9. That some research be carried out into the problems faced by people living in high density housing commission projects (for example, Hamilton South Flats).

10. A study be undertaken of the users of the existing health and welfare services to determine if there are any sections of the community which do not receive the benefit of these services.

Although well intentioned, the group appeared to be making little headway in regard to the above recommendations. There was no formal structure to the group, and other than a dedicated, hard working and very capable young woman, acting as convenor, there were no other office bearers of any kind. It was not constituted and meetings were conducted on an informal basis, usually very lengthy and minimum records of any kind were kept. The initial group was small in membership and did not represent a fair cross-section of the community. It is understood that the informality of the group was deliberate and was designed, as one member stated, 'to avoid members becoming bogged down in red tape'. However, I believe that it is a fact of life that to be successful any organisation must be structured and the areas of responsibility should be clearly defined.

Perhaps at this point of time it is worthwhile to reflect on what the attitude of the group was to my appointment and how they saw me fitting into their structure. Also to consider how I saw my position in relation to the group. To my surprise a most impressive statement of duties comprising three foolscap pages was produced. It fairly stated that I would be required to act as secretary to the steering committee, take minutes of meetings and organise meetings, report developments arising out of functions as a Community Development Officer, follow up

decisions agreed on by the steering committee and allocated to the Community Development Officer, liaise between *ad hoc* committees and steering committees to ensure the communication and continuity of the projects and to organise an efficient filing and information system for the general community development group. This of course was considered to be quite reasonable but unfortunately, that was to form only a minor part of my duties. The statement then went on to cover almost every conceivable duty that could arise in relation to the group and its various projects.

Having in mind the secondment meant in fact that, and I would be required to spend a period of 18½ hours per week with the group, I felt to have performed even half of these duties it would have been necessary for me to have been able to walk on water. After my initial meeting I left with the distinct impression there was little doubt in many of the members' minds that, I was to provide the 'legs' and would relieve them of any responsibility other than to attend an occasional meeting. I later came to recognise that most members were only too happy to work and accept responsibility.

How then did I see my position in relation to the group? To be quite frank my first reaction was one of disappointment. I imagined myself as being seconded to work with the group rather than for it and in fact would carry out those duties as detailed in the first part of the statement of duties. Furthermore I felt my task was one of providing motivation for the group and to help it grow in strength and reach a stage where it would demand the respect of most segments of society. My immediate impulse was to terminate the secondment as soon as possible and return to Probation and Parole. I had previously been given a personal assurance that I could terminate the secondment at any stage I saw fit. In retrospect, it is indeed fortunate that I did not take such action because in a short period of time I began to appreciate the excellent personal qualities of the people with whom I was to work and the valuable support I was to receive from Dr Vinson.

Together with the steering committee we set about the task of structuring the group. A most successful public meeting was called and the membership of the group was considerably widened and now includes a very broad cross-section of the community. To illustrate this point, it should be noted that, the group now has on its membership a member of State Parliament, the secretary of one of Newcastle's largest and most powerful unions, members of the clergy, pensioner organisations, the legal profession, civic action and research groups, members of Australian and State Public Services and most important of all a large number of interested, individual citizens. At the time of writing this report Mrs Joy Cummings, a member of the Executive Committee, has just been elected as Lord Mayor of Newcastle. Following the meeting a constitution was drawn up, which was subsequently adopted, and the group officially became known as the Newcastle Community Development Group, (N.C.D.G.).

What then has the N.C.D.G. achieved since its inception? Probably the most successful of the group's activities has been the setting up of the following projects:

The Huyton Project

The 'Huyton Project' began in July 1973, because research, which has previously been referred to, had indicated certain suburbs, one of which was Huyton, were more disadvantaged than the city as a whole.

The objects of this project are

(a) To take a positive and comprehensive approach to social problems which seem to be community based and to attempt to break the repetitive cycle of social problems arising from deprivation in some communities.

(b) To overcome community despair and resignation and awaken residents to their own capacities for dealing with their social environment. (The Vinson-Homel survey indicated that people from such suburbs were discouraged and fatalistic about their ability to do anything to assist themselves.) The project provides easy access to social agencies which are either participating in the project or available as required by children or adults.

(c) To provide consistent adult interest and stimulation for children who lacked effective parent figures. Volunteers from the teacher's college, university and the community have been encouraged to take a personal interest in the small group with whom they are in contact.

(d) To broaden the present educational approach by incorporating both parents and children in a stimulating after-school programme.

(e) To provide a link between professional educators and parents. By involving parents in after-school activities it was hoped that first, educators might become more aware of the personal background of their pupils and second, parents might be more conscious of the problems of dealing with their children in the school environment.

(f) From the institutional point of view it was hoped that educational resources could be more fully mobilised to serve the community.

The specific choice of Huyton Primary School as a base for community development programmes was influenced by the extremely cooperative outlook of the headmaster and some members of the staff. The fact that the Newcastle Community Development Group was given approval to use a school building after school hours was in itself a breakthrough.

Since commencement the project has continued on a purely voluntary basis staffed by interested people, teacher's college lecturers and

students, university students and parents from the Huyton area. Other than a grant of $50 from a Rotary Club the project has been conducted without funds. The lack of finance has been a distinct disadvantage and there is little doubt that such a project could be easily established in a more affluent suburb, but of course that is not where the need exists.

Recently advice was received that a grant of $200 from the Arts Council will be made available to the project and a submission has been made to the Schools Commission for a grant. In addition the Newcastle University has now made provision for the Huyton 'After School' centre to be taken as an elective subject by Diploma of Education students in Third Term.

Dixon Park Housing Committee

The original housing sub-committee was formed to examine several aspects of high density living, which was expected to become increasingly used in the Newcastle area by the Housing Commission. Several areas were looked at for the purpose of deciding which area lent itself more suitably to practical work and research.

Dixon Park was chosen because it was 'medium density', contained units for young single-parent families, elderly people and married couples with children. Also it was only half occupied so the opportunity of initiating a community group which would grow with the expansion of the Housing Commission area was good. It also provided an opportunity to see if by working through a community group, with the children and their parents, the Dixon Park area could avoid the sorts of delinquency and social problems common to other similar developments.

A community group was initiated, following talks with the Housing Commission (and promises of cooperation). Letters of invitation were sent out, a survey of attitudes and problems associated with the new development was conducted and about eight families participated in the first meetings.

Local residents working with the N.C.D.G. became involved with the children (a local minister conducts recreational programmes there during holidays and weekends). Children were encouraged to participate in a poster competition for a new pedestrian crossing in the area, the people took part in the Film Australia project and certain things were gained partly as a result of the efforts of the residents; phone box, new litter bins and so on. Enthusiasm has dampened lately because of lack of real cooperation from the Housing Commission.

One of the aims of the project was to encourage a 'spirit of community' within the development, to establish a viable 'self-help' type operation among the residents and involve the children if possible in the functions of their community. One of the faults as I see it now, was that we left too much to the residents themselves. We were afraid to 'organise' them and our timidity left them floundering a little. We

thought that the entire project had to come from the grass roots but it is simply not possible for ill-equipped people to develop into a viable community group without the constant assistance of a Community Development Officer or a project officer feeding them information and supplying them with the necessary expertise until their own skills and resources are fully developed. Also we had no muscle with the housing authorities and this time I would use a slightly less 'grateful for your help' approach to such authorities.

Hamilton South Resident Action Group

This group was formed following a local survey which received an enthusiastic response from families in the area and indicated a desire by the residents to take some form of united action to achieve common goals, particularly in relation to improvements in environment and living standards and activities of minimal financial costs, for all age groups. Previous attempts at resident action had been negligible and individual attempts at gaining improvements, such as installation of better lighting in the estate had been ignored by the Housing Commission.

Reports from the Police Department and the Housing Commission showed that the area contained a very high percentage of one-parent families (mainly deserted wives) and that the area had more than its fair share of domestic disturbances requiring police intervention. It also indicated that a considerable amount of vandalism occurred between the hours of 3.45 pm and darkness when the children appeared to be without adequate supervision.

The group was established with the following aims

1. To encourage residents to form a local committee to put proposals to the Housing Commission, City Council, service organisations and other appropriate authorities, for the building of a community centre and recreational area, to help alleviate the needs which they expressed for:
    (a) child care facilities;
    (b) day-time craft, social and sporting activities;
    (c) youth centre with study and recreational facilities;
    (d) activity centre for aged residents;
    (e) facilities for medical, legal, social welfare advisory services, etc.
2. To support the integration of Housing Commission residents with the local community.

During the period of operation the Hamilton South Resident Action Group has been most successful. Satisfactory negotiations are continuing with the Housing Commission and considerable progress has been made

towards obtaining a community hall for the area. In spite of strong opposition from the Education Department, an 'After School' centre similar to that operating at Huyton centre, has been established and will commence operation in the very near future.

The Windale Progress and Community Action Group can truly be said to have come into being as a result of conflict within (and without) the local community. Dr Vinson's research, which was certainly controversial at the time, acted as a stimulus within the local community of Windale for united action to overcome the problems delineated in his report. It would seem to demonstrate that perhaps there can be little change without 'conflict' - and Windale certainly experienced the 'conflict' - perhaps real change is still not in evidence.

There has, however, been some constructive and beneficial developments as a result of the efforts of the Community Action Group. A Community Health Centre is well into the planning stages, a playgroup has been established, and a survey is being conducted using local people as resource people to establish the need for child care facilities in Windale. These projects have been established with the assistance of many outside experts, but the initiative has remained very much with the local people. They are producing a local newssheet which the children in the area distribute and which helps to maintain communication amongst the people of the Group and the people they serve. They have attracted a more active and accommodating political interest from local politicians, because of their own concerted efforts at self help, and are building towards a strong sense of community.

As with Huyton it is perhaps a little early to draw concrete conclusions on the beneficial effects of such programmes as far as delinquency is concerned, however, it is apparent that many more people are aware of the dangers inherent in the isolation of a community from the broader environment, and it is likely that the lessons learned from the Windale experience will have a direct bearing on the planning and development of the new Windale extensions, soon to get under way.

Perhaps it is pertinent to say that the question of concrete results cannot be examined without an assessment of the more nebulous results of the actual process of community development. In many of the areas Community Development Officers will be required to work, there will indeed be little in real terms that they will be able to display as an achieved goal. However the learning process involved in setting up community activities, involving kids in projects, establishing contacts with families who would otherwise remain outside the ambit of the social worker, except as a client at crisis point, are extremely valuable social experiences and should not be underestimated. They are valuable, too in that the Community Development Officer hopefully will learn a great deal more about the people who go to make up such a large proportion of the clientele of the correction agencies and presumably this information will assist in formulating effective policies for any future preventive programme.

Secretariat for the Regional Council

In 1973, Mr Hayden, Minister for Social Security, announced that the submission by the Newcastle Community Development Group had been successful and that a grant of $60,000 would be made available for the establishment of a Secretariat for the formation of a Regional Council for Social Development, under the Australian Assistance Plan.

Although the injection of such a large amount of money and the associated publicity provided a very strong stimulus and created an upsurge in interest in the activities of the Newcastle Community Development Group, it was, nevertheless, not without problems. It was very difficult to convince many members of the group that the money was purely for the formation of a Regional Council and, therefore, could not be spend on various projects. One such suggestion was that we should buy a bus for the excursions for the children from our Huyton Project.

Following six months of extremely hard work and frustration, during which the group participated in the production of a documentary film on the Australian Assistance Plan, the Secretariat for the formation of the Hunter Regional Council for Social Development was formed. A social planner has been employed and a number of development groups throughout the region have been formed. Fortunately this project has now reached the stage where the Secretariat is, to a large extent, administratively self-supporting. A separate committee is to be formed to work with the social planner and to participate in the formation of the Regional Council.

The setting up of the Secretariat has probably been the most difficult and time consuming task that the N.C.D.G. has undertaken. The amount of effort that had to be concentrated on this task may well have been to the detriment of the other projects of the groups and certainly detracted from the original aims. However, providing that the Australian Assistance Plan continues, I feel that the amount of effort involved will prove to be well worthwhile.

Because of the general trend at present towards community involvement and the possibility of secondments from other departments, I would like to examine some of the difficulties that I have experienced during my period as a Community Development Officer.

Probably the most limiting aspect of a secondment of this nature is the complete lack of financial support of any kind, even for petty cash. As a result one can often be out of pocket or expected to rely on the good nature of some voluntary welfare agencies. Because of the lack of finance and suitable equipment a considerable amount of valuable time is lost in carrying out mundane tasks and in relying on voluntary organisations to assist with such matters as duplicating, photocopying, etc.

Considering that our service has now been operating along traditional lines for almost 23 years, it was to be expected that many would remain unconvinced about the value of this new departure. My problems were those of anyone trying to implement organisational change from within. Although initially some difficulties were experienced, because of the assistance and cooperation of my Regional Director and Officer-in-Charge

a most satisfactory working arrangement now exists and there has been an almost general acceptance of my new role.

Initially I feel the fact I was known as a Probation and Parole Officer and that I came from the Department of Corrective Services was a distinct disadvantage. The announcement of my appointment, among some community workers, met with a hostile reaction and a complete misunderstanding of what my role was to be. There was a feeling that my appointment implied that the community was delinquent and in need of some type of corrective service and that this would mean an extension of an authoritative setting. Unfortunately to many the Department of Corrective Services and gaols are synonymous and generally there is not an awareness of the Department's involvement in the progressive and promising programmes such as, work release, periodic detention, Milson Island and probation and parole. Recently, however, a complete change in the attitude towards me personally has been noted and I have now been accepted as just another member of the Community Development Group, rather than a public servant working with it. The fact that there are now other officers from the Department working on community type projects and in particular the changing role of some of our prisons, may well be instrumental in enhancing the Department's public image. At the very least it now focuses public attention on the broader role of the Department, instead of narrowly on the much publicised punitive aspect.

The office accommodation at Newcastle, as I feel sure most other open type office accommodation would be, proved to be most unsatisfactory. The nature of a community involvement demands that the Community Development Officer be readily available for discussions with interested individuals and groups. The authoritative setting of the Probation and Parole Office, where people are required to wait in a waiting room, together with clients, and then in their turn be ushered into small, stark interviewing rooms, leaving them with the distinct feeling that anything they may say will be taken down and used in evidence against them, is unacceptable. It can be appreciated that this atmosphere is not conducive to satisfactory relationships on a voluntary basis and as a result I found a number of people were either too embarrassed, or not prepared to contact me at the office. To illustrate this point, on one occasion a rather embarrassing incident occurred. A Catholic priest, together with several probationers and parolees, were in the reception room waiting to see me. One parolee was heard by the priest to say to the other 'I'll bet he got into the housie money'. Fortunately, however, a short time later the Service at Newcastle rented an additional office space which was detached from the main office, and this arrangement proved to be most satisfactory and successful. It is, therefore, strongly recommended that for any future secondment of this nature, it is imperative that some form of separate office facilities be made available.

Where any person is required to perform two vastly different and somewhat unrelated tasks, and to work for two different departments, there must inevitably be some conflict of roles, and this project appears to be no exception. The fact that I retained a part-caseload, which was above the recommended maximum number for a full-caseload, together with a limited pre-sentence report commitment, meant that I still had the

responsibility for forming a personal realtionship with probationers and parolees. There was also the strong possibility of the customary crisis arising and the possibility of breach, or revocation action, at any time. On some occasions, I felt that the relationships with the latter suffered to some extent, because of my commitment and the fact that I could not be available as often as I would have liked to, particularly at the time of a crisis. Still present also was the statutory requirement to meet court and Parole Board deadlines, which of course are inflexible. On the other hand, my involvement in the group demanded that I not only attend, but frequently arrange seminars, meetings and conferences and on many occasions I found the two roles to be incompatable, in which case the statutory body naturally had to take precedence, sometimes to the detriment of the Development Group. A further conflict of roles occurred because generally public servants are not allowed to make public statements or to invite publicity. However, within the community setting it is vital that public statements should be made, sometimes even to the point of criticising government departments and some forms of publicity must be encouraged, not necessarily of a personal nature but rather for the benefit of the group.

It has been my experience that the life of the Community Development Officer is indeed a demanding one, both in time and energy. It is important that he should attend public meetings in order that he keep himself informed. This of course, involves working at night and weekends, which is particularly difficult for a married man. The work requires a considerable amount of patience and at times can be terribly frustrating. His function is to help the community, accept and take responsibility. His role does not involve taking major aspects of responsibility away from the community. The Development Officer who yields to the temptation presented by these situations, who yearns to be the 'recognised leader', who wants to 'run the show', who craves recognition for 'his part in the work', will almost certainly fail. In addition, there are no rewards forthcoming from the Department, no extra gradings, and certainly no acceleration on the revered seniority list. On the other hand, however, the work can be extremely interesting and personally satisfying.

At present it is the in-thing to talk about community involvement. Governments, both Australian and State, have adopted, in theory, a policy of community participation and decision-making. However, in practice there is a huge gap between theory and practice. Numerous advisory councils have been established, so many in fact that it has been suggested that a directory of them be prepared. The aims, membership and constitution of many of these councils certainly raises a number of questions, and one wonders just how much say the community really has in its own affairs. There also appears to be considerable difference between the stated policy of governments and the practical implementation by their own departments. There is of course always the outward veneer of cooperation, but beneath the surface, in many cases, can be found the usual antagonistic obstructionist and a general feeling that the community should be told and not asked what is best for it. If community involvement is ever to be successful and to play a meaningful role in our lives, both Australian and State Governments must make a sincere effort to ensure that their policies are generally designed to allow community participation and not just to pay lip-service to it.

Although there are numerous grants available for various types of projects, one must have tremendous determination to successfully obtain one. The delay between the time of making a submission for a grant and the actual receipt of the grant is far too long and on many occasions good projects will fail, just for the want of the injection of a small amount of money.

Fortunately there exists in our society a vast number of capable, dedicated and genuine people, who are sincere in their desire to be involved in community development. Many of these people are not anxious to be involved in charitable organisations and are not keen to be aligned with activities which would tend to have them identified as 'do gooders'. Given some small recognition, encouragement, and support and in particular some small financial backing the potential for the improvement of the quality of life is tremendous. However, there also exists in our society a small minority, who are prepared to use community groups purely for selfish or political motives. The presence of such people, particularly those with political motives, in a group can be disastrous, and any form of political or religious affiliation must be avoided at all costs.

In conclusion it is considered that the secondment of a Probation and Parole Officer, or the work of the Newcastle Community Development Group may never be able to be actually measured in terms of success or failure. It may never, certainly in the short term anyway, be possible to produce a neat graph showing a downturn in social ills or crime. What is however, at this stage abundantly clear, is that the quality of our life for many people in the Newcastle area has been improved and that the potential for this type of work has not yet even been tapped.

Community Relations and Law Enforcement - A New Initiative

A.J. GRASSBY

It was Pericles who said that a nation comprises all the people not just some of the people. It is because we do not always acknowledge this on occasions that we plan inadequately and administer ineffectively. There is some confusion in Australia today as to who are the Australians.

This confusion must be resolved if vital community services such as law enforcement are to be geared to the realities of today and not what they may have been in times past or even what some of us would like them to be. Let me put the demographic position clearly. Australia comprises the newest people in the world outside of Israel. This has nothing to do with politics or the rhetoric of government or opposition: it is a statement of fact.

Let me explain. Shortly half the Australian population will be under twenty-five; one Australian in three one way or another is the product of post war migration. The result is that anyone who was alive in Australia at the time of World War II is now in a minority. But we of the old minority still hold the major positions of responsibility in our society, in our country. But the people we are administering are a new people, either in age or in background. So when I talk about community relations tonight I will be referring to all the community, not just to those who might have come to join us from other countries.

One vital and often neglected aspect of community relations concerns the one per cent of the population comprising the descendents of the first settlers who came 30,000 years ago. It is well for us to remember that when the first fleet arrived on 26 January 1788 all Australians were black; the minority were mostly white, but not exclusively so.

Each age brings changes. The pattern of Australian settlement has four major features. The first fleet heralded a new era. The thousand people in the first fleet included 12 different nationalities. Neither England's judges nor her army and navy press gangs were very much interested in colour, creed or ethnic background. Then nothing very much happened until the 1850s when the tiny European population of about 400,000 for the entire continent received a tremendous boost to more than 1.1 million from the diggers who came from 20 different countries.

Again there was a long period, about 90 years, when tiny trickles of settlement continued but the four great landmarks in population building in Australia came in the 50s and 60s of this century when more than 3 million people came from 70 different countries and locations. So I stress again particularly in the context of your specific concern with urban areas that we have a new people.

The changes have been dramatic. Marrickville was settled in the last century by a small cluster of Irish potato growers. A few Scots and others joined them. Today Marrickville is one-third Greek and the original Irish and Scots have become the minority after long being the majority. It well may be in Marrickville in the future there will be a similar dispersement of the Greek majority and the next groups, the Yugoslavs or the Lebanese, will move into first position.

Let me stress there is considerable mobility in certain urban areas. The old idea that once a suburb was predominently Irish, Italian, Greek or English it always remains so has not been true in Australia. In Leichardt famed as the major settlement of Australians of Italian birth or descent we find in the 10 years between the last two census takings the Italian origin population dropped by 50 per cent and indications are this trend will continue. Who will the new group be there? I do not intend to speculate.

Of the poor refugees who crowded into Paddington tenements after the last world war and were anxious to get out - as most of them did within five years to their own houses and suburban gardens - who would have thought or predicted the North Shore minority, the oldest and wealthiest of Australians, would be moving back to Paddington at $100,000 a house. So I stress the mobility of our society again compared with the United States, to which I am going to refer at length to draw lessons from past errors and inspiration from the new beginning they are making in community relations. But again to illustrate the changed face of Australian cities particularly let me remind you that Melbourne today is the fourth largest Greek speaking city in the world. Yet when I watch and listen to the rituals of city government I hear no acknowledgement of that fact and when I mentioned this to a former Lord Mayor he was amazed that it was his city I was talking about.

Research which I encouraged by the former Department of Immigration established that in Australia today there are one million people of Italian birth or extraction, 400,000 of Maltese birth or extraction and approaching 500,000 with Greek connections. Of course there are many other ethnic or cultural groups represented in Australia, an estimated 70 all told, and about a million Australians belong to one or other of 2,300 ethnic groups ranging from scores of Irish societies, Caledonians and English County associations to the newer smaller groups such as the Assyrians. It comes as a surprise when we are talking about the composition of the Australian people to find that the Welsh, who have produced prime ministers, judges, police chiefs and community leaders for 200 years, are one of the smallest ethnic groups with only about 30,000 identified by birth or descent.

I mention all these things to set the scene for a new approach to community relations in relation to crime prevention in a democratic society. The very existence of this Australian Institute of Criminology is a major step forward in shaping new initiatives to the new age. The recent seminars seem to have set the scene for my submission particularly well.

I particularly welcomed reading the discussions on 'Crime Prevention and the Community - Whose Responsibility?'. As a former member of a State

Parliament, the National Parliament and the National Cabinet and Executive Council I believe the community by its attitudes makes it possible to control crime. I have long held the view that there is no way of enforcing a law. I noted in the report of that seminar that it was considered that in general terms the public is not adequately involved in crime control and that current measures to control crime could not be considered to be working effectively. There was also a very wise and pertinent observation about the non-community which exists in our cities today. Again I quote from the seminar report: 'It was thought that in many urban areas communities in the true sense might not have developed or may no longer exist.'

In his paper Mr Harold Weir drew attention to Toynbee's description of man as a social animal and the fact that under modern conditions the individual's participation in society's life is becoming more difficult. The International Welfare Concern Commission held in The Hague in 1972 urges governments to ensure maximum public participation in social policy. The Commission distinguished two types of socially passive groups: those alienated from the mainstream of the community because of lack of opportunity to participate; and those who have the opportunity but not the inclination to participate.

It was also encouraging to read that the Commission affirms the right of minority groups to participate in the community in such a way that they can retain their heritage and indeed identity. This is the concept I have of the Australian family of the nation, as separate as the finger of the hand in matters personal but united as the hand itself in matters of the community.

The Canberra seminar by the Australian Institute of Criminology held in June this year laid considerable stress on education, particularly as in our pluralistic society in an urban setting there were often a proliferation of value systems and a variety of basic principles which were often in tacit or express conflict. So there has been emphasis time and again on the need to understand the community you are serving and to involve people in the task of preventing crime.

Having said that and put it forward as a desirable objective it is necessary to look again at the people who occupy the urban areas at this time. In many cases families live in painful isolation, particularly those who have come from overseas. The non-communities in our cities include people who have come from close-knit village situations where everyone is known and everyone cares to a situation where they know no one and no one wants to know them. It is not always a matter of language. Many English migrants have come to Australia over the years and found the community too alien in its ways and attitudes and they have returned home. Because of the rapid growth of the Australian cities in recent years we find suburbs in which as many as 30 per cent of the people categorise themselves as 'transients'. This includes the locally born as well as people who have settled in the cities from other countries.

The pressure for growth has changed the face of areas such as South Sydney; in that one area migrants form the majority and they come from three very different countries. There is a large population of women

without men, deserted wives in Housing Commission accommodation, and service wives; and then there is a considerable group of old age pensioners and finally Aboriginal refugees from the countryside who came during the rural recession of a few years ago. To build some cohesion and cooperation from such diverse fragments is a major challenge. If we are to meet it at all we have to establish communication with the people and this is where the language barriers must be broken.

If you adopt the now discarded and discredited melting pot theory of bringing in people and then leaving them to their own devices with the injunction they should assimilate as quickly as possible, then all you do is to force people into ethnic isolationism.

Every Migrant Task Force in reporting on the major defects in service to newcomers stressed the need for adequate interpreters - if you cannot properly communicate then you will never gain confidence and enlist the cooperation of the people concerned.

From time to time there is an upsurge of fake driving licences and some racketeer is dealt with for selling forged licences. How does this come about? Simply because the new arrival without a working knowledge of the language will turn to some one who knows Australia and its laws and customs and can help him. The racketeer simply asks for $50 or $100 and says: 'Leave it to me. I'll fix up all the complicated formalities. You don't have to worry.' So the newcomer has his licence and the racketeer has another addition to his income.

The tragedy is if the newcomer went to his nearest Motor Registry Office in most cases he could not make contact adequately in his early days here and so he has to find a voice, he has to hire a voice. As for the courts, I knew two District Court Judges who could speak Italian and it would not be the first time either of them intervened after listening to a defending solicitor using a bad interpreter put his client more and more in the wrong because the questions were not being asked properly and the replies were not correct. It is a pity all our judges are not multi-lingual but the fact is they are not and so we have to ensure sound communications are established both in courts and in police stations.

If it was possible for the new arrival to go and put his case for a licence to a government official in his own language there would be no room for the racketeer. If it was possible for him to find assistance and advice when he needed it then the racketeer would be put out of business. It should be part of the education or the briefing of the newcomer to describe our system of law and justice. It differs considerably from the practices in most other countries and faced with new and strange procedures in another language he has not yet mastered, the migrant has been known in the past to cap off his confusion by pleading guilty and being sentenced for something he did not do and he had denied. So communication is the key to community relations.

I would like to examine what happens when you do not communicate, when you place the full onus on making contact with the new arrival, when you pretend he can become overnight an 'instant Australian'. This was the approach in the United States until recent years. The melting pot

theory provided for instant Americans. After nearly 300 years of applying this theory they have discovered they have driven people into isolationism and facilitated the retreat to ethnic groups.

And at this stage I want to describe the situation as it was outlined to me in New York City six weeks ago by officers of federal, state and city agencies concerned with community relations. For most of our history the population of Australia has been less than the city of New York. New York has the greatest variety of people from the greatest number of countries of any city on earth.

This has been so since the United States became independent and put the colonial times of the British and Dutch behind them. But after 300 years of settlement, New York faces a crisis of identity. How could it happen? How could it be? I suppose it happened because the myth of the melting pot lived too long and while governments believed it they did nothing about the real problems of the world's most populous city. They believed that New York was a mecca for the emigrants and that to arrive was the equivalent of admission to paradise itself, the end of the road to freedom and liberty and the beginning of the pursuit of happiness. In fact it was the beginning for most New Yorkers today of their entry into ethnic communities which are as separate today as when they were established.

So New York today has a score of areas all inhabited by separate distinct national groups. It has jobs, which are traditionally reserved for various national groups. It has trade unions that close their doors to most national groups. Above all it has community organisations which are becoming increasingly militant and dominating all the rivalries in the confrontation between Americans who categorise themselves as the whites and the blacks.

This seems to me to be a very artificial categorisation in view of the fact that some blacks seem extraordinarily white and some whites seem extraordinarily black. Today, for example, I met a blonde who was black with a capital 'B' of course. But behind all of this lies 200 years of the most painful discriminations. Some of the discriminations are just plain incredible. Today I had a talk with an officer of the Justice Department who in his hometown in Southern Texas eighteen months ago found there was no local funeral director willing to bury a Mexican American.

He told me of an organisation of American veterans which would continue trying to fight discrimination because a winner of a Congressional Medal of Honour, the equivalent to the Victoria Cross, could not be buried in his hometown because nobody would bury a Mexican American. So he found a grave of honour in the Arlington National Cemetery in Washington. Until recent times there were barbers who would not cut the wrong hair, restaurants that would not serve, cinemas that would not admit, firms that would not employ and to add fuel to the flames, massive institutionalised unemployment.

Officially unemployment in the United States is running at 5.3 per cent. This according to civil rights and community relations authorities is a fiction. They put real unemployment at 10 per cent and a New York City

official told me that in some areas among 16 and 24 year olds, unemployment was as high as 50 per cent. Today following the success of black Americans to get a bigger share of national welfare, housing and labour programmes, the poor Italians, the poor Irishmen, the poor Orthodox Jew goes to his ethnic group and plans political and community action on an ethnic basis. Against this background, federal, state and city authorities are working with the best will in the world to make changes fast.

After 300 years it is only this month that ethnic heritage programmes are starting in schools; after 300 years it is this year that the right of migrant children to special language training has been recognised. For 82 years there was no civil rights legislation passed in the United States. For 100 years there was only one Mexican American lawyer who ever graduated. But there is great goodwill to make up for lost time and New York streets this summer have failed to ignite. The ghettos are relatively peaceful. It might be that the crisis is over and the great proliferation of civil rights programmes are having their effect. New York in 1974 is a city in a hurry to make up for the sin of omission in race relations for 200 years.

I think for us in Australia the lessons are obvious. Above all they tell us not to live with myths but to recognise we have a job to do in building amity and unity out of diversity which we find particularly in our cities following 25 years of mass migration from 70 different countries around the world. We can learn from New York, we can learn from the United States but most of the lessons are things not to do. But there is a new hope and a new humour. It is reported that Governor George Wallace said, 'If I had known integration was coming this fast I would have waited and married the woman of my choice'.

Part of the new beginning in community relations in the United States of America is the recognition that there is a need for special training particularly for policemen. The policeman is usually the only representative of government either federal, state or local government who is still on duty after 5.00 pm. After that hour all other departments shut down for the night or the week-end or the public holiday. Only the policeman is still on duty and still accessible to the public. In the country of course the police officer in charge can also be the local coroner, licence issuer and administrator of a dozen jobs on behalf of other departments. In the city he does not have so many formal additional roles but he is nevertheless the only representative of government available after 5.00 pm.

To be able to do his job properly he must know the people he is dealing with; he must know something of their background, their customs; ideally he should be able to communicate in the same language. To neglect this community relations training is to repeat the American mistakes of the past.

They used to take a young man from the upper middle class Anglo-Saxon-Jewish suburb of Scarsdale give him some formal training in law administration and police duties and then send him out to keep the peace. The impact on some of these young policemen when they were first rostered for duty in Harlem was harsh. They had never seen such

conditions, they had never known such people and according to the book of rules the law was being broken on every hand right on the public pavement.

It is said everything happens on the streets in Harlem in summer, and that word 'everything' is literally correct. The young inexperienced policeman's reaction was to run in everyone on sight. Every ordinance that was bent or broken meant an arrest. What happened was that racial tensions rose, the only symbol of government was the policeman and instead of being a help and controller he and his colleagues ended up in a state of seige in police stations. Communication had ended; the writ of the law stopped at the bottom of the front steps of the beleaguered police stations.

It was at this desperate point that the New York administration began to review the training and operations of their police force. They set out to re-establish communications, to involve the citizen in the maintenance of law and order, to build a partnership for the prevention of crime and the protection of the weak and the innocent. It was necessary first to review the Police Academy training, to see if it was adequate. They recognised the policeman had to know something of the people he was trying to serve and so they built into police training a community relations course so the boy from the upper middle class suburb learnt something of the people, their background and origins and their life styles in areas they had never got to know before. It meant the upgrading of the standards of police education, indeed the year course attracts 100 university credits.

Then, to involve the citizens in the job of keeping the peace, the New York City Commission on Human Rights investigated a series of incidents involving arson and violence and strongly recommended that potential violence should be identified and precautions taken before serious outbreaks occurred. This meant involving citizens in many different ways. The Community Relations Court at the Police Academy was continued and goes on today through the Community Relations Division of the Police Department. Officers of this Division went out to organise more than 100 community councils made up of local citizen volunteers to help guide and support the police in crime prevention. These community councils work from within the police stations.

They then organised 5,900 block watchers throughout the city who were all given special training in ways and means of combating crime. Since October 1972 block watchers have helped to catch burglars, uncovered gang weapons, and drug pushers.

When the precinct committees began meeting almost all of them immediately demanded more police protection. When it was obvious the city budget could not find all the money needed the civilian patrols were made up of people willing to give a few hours per week to patrol their own neighborhood usually with one or two partners either on foot or in private cars. Each volunteer is issued with an official accreditation either as a 'block watcher' or as a 'civilian volunteer' performing patrol in cooperation with New York City Police Department. Today there are about 100 civilian patrols and a further 15,000 residents of public and private housing developments forming patrols to action within their own building.

In addition highway assistance groups have been formed to help stranded motorists and to summon tow truck or police. They have flashing yellow lights distinguishing their patrol cars. Another variation is the 300 strong group which is dedicated to seeing children safely to and from school and patrolling in the vicinity of schools. The civilian radio taxi patrol is another group of people who have set out to be involved with the police in crime prevention.

They also have precinct receptionists. These are civilian women mostly bi-lingual or multi-lingual who help with advice and guidance. There are also 5,000 auxiliary police - these are civilians who actually don uniforms and who receive 40 hours of special training - their role is to patrol, observe and report. All of these groups receive some basic training in their duties from the Community Relations Division men.

I realise we are talking about a city with a population almost as big as Australia and a city which has an arrest every two minutes every day of the year; a city of 1,200 murders and 1,300 rapes and more than 18,000 robberies every year. But there has been in two years a tremendous effort to enlist the help of the citizens and it was reported to me there has been some success achieved, though the Community Relations Division had as much trouble trying to persuade policemen that the citizens would help not hinder as they did organising the civilian assistance.

In considering how to relate this effort to our situation in Australia I had in mind the kind of continuing confrontation between police and Aboriginals in such urban centres as Sydney; and the incident where two police officers looking for a Fijian labourer arrested an American Negro opera singer by mistake. I can recall the many times when a call has gone out from police stations to find someone who spoke this language or that because there was an accident victim who could not be understood.

Above all the lesson seemed clear that every police course in Australia should embrace community relations and teach something about the background and culture and customs of the people who have come from up to 70 countries and locations around the world in the past 25 years. This training would promote understanding and above all enable the policeman to do his job better and more effectively.

I also believe that each State should have a community relations unit as part of the Police Department to enlist the active support and involvement of as many people as possible in crime prevention. Such training is vital for the policeman because he is the government after 5.00 pm. But at the same time such community relations courses should also be undertaken by other public servants who come into direct contact with the public and are there to provide a service. It is difficult if not impossible to work with people you do not really know or understand. Positive training about the Australian community and its people today would help obviate many misunderstandings and end many a confrontation which should never have begun.

My message is clear and simple. To serve successfully and effectively any community you must know who lives in it and what they are really

all about. Above all public servants dealing with the public at first hand should be specially trained in community relations and Australia's twenty-four hour public servant, the policeman, needs the additional training to fit him for tasks increasingly more complicated and challenging.

I leave that message with the Australian Institute of Criminology and hope it can be examined constructively in the course.

Report on the Seminar

G.I.A.D. DRAPER

Introduction

The seminar 'Crime and Delinquency in Urban Areas' was held at the Institute premises, Phillip, Australian Capital Territory from 14 to 18 October 1974. The seminar had the benefit of a bibliography (which is to be published separately, at a later date), charts of urban areas showing crime density were available, and an introductory paper by Mr N. Kerkin on 'Town Planning and Crime Prevention'.

Appendix I contains a list of consultants and experts who attended the seminar. The participants of the five workshops are shown in Appendix II. Each of these workshops had its own leader and rapporteur.

The proceedings were introduced by an address on 'Defensible Space in Australian Urban Areas' by the Institute's Assistant Director (Training and Information), Mr H.G. Weir, followed by a delineation of the subject matter of the seminar by Professor P. Scott of the University of Tasmania entitled 'Crime and the Urban Community: Sickness or Symbiosis?'. This paper was designed to set the pattern for the seminar and to promote debate in relevant areas requiring exploration and discussion. Professor Scott pointed out that it was necessary to bridge the gulf between many spheres of knowledge appertaining to the question of crime in urban areas. Extreme views, either of pessimism or of optimism, should be avoided and the polarities of proposed solutions also presented difficulties. He thought that one should not discount, in assessing criminality in urban areas, the policies of the police from time to time, the impact of national events and the factor of increasing affluence.

As a preface to the work done in the workshops, four panel discussions were held, under the chairmanship of Professor Scott, which discussed the following topics:

(a) 'The Relationship Between Urbanisation and Crime Patterns: What Do We Know?'

(b) 'Community Relations and Law Enforcement - A New Initiative'

(c) 'Is Society Delinquent?'

(d) 'How Do We Plan a Low-Crime Social Environment?'

These panel discussions set the direction of the debates that followed in the five workshops.

Each workshop selected its own manner of proceeding and topics of debate and presented reports of the work done on Tuesday 15 October and Wednesday 16 October, together with a final report from each workshop by way of resumé.

The workshops concluded their tasks by formulating resolutions, which were then subjected to a filter process by a steering committee composed of workshop leaders and rapporteurs. From this filter process, seven resolutions were selected for submission to the plenary meeting of participants held on the fourth and fifth days of the seminar, namely Thursday 17 and Friday 18 October respectively. In the course of the debates in the plenary session, seven resolutions as selected by the steering committee were subjected to amendments. The final form of the resolutions are set out in Appendix III. Appendix IV sets out the programme of the seminar.

The Workshop Proceedings

The debates and the reports of the five workshops reflected the extensive range of a complex seminar topic. The width of the concept of 'crime', the difficulty of defining 'an urban area' and the complex concept of urban growth presented the five workshops with a very wide terrain for consideration. The formidable literature on the subject illustrated in the bibliography and the wealth of statistical information presented the workshops with a difficult task in getting to grips with a topic as wide as it is complex.

The workshops reflected the mounting awareness, interest and concern on the part of governmental officials, voluntary organisations and many kinds of experts, at the growth of juvenile delinquency in urban areas corresponding with the ever expanding process of urbanisation in Australia. The workshops also reflected the contemporary anxiety to find some remedial action as soon as possible to meet one of the major difficulties of our society and of our time.

In spite of the formidable amount of literature, statistical data and specialist writings, it was apparent that much crucial data relating to crime density, delinquent areas, patterns of criminality and patterns of criminals, as well as criminogenic factors in urban areas, are still missing. In particular, accepted causes of criminal and delinquent conduct are still not available; the causation of crime still eludes criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, governmental agencies and social welfare organisations.

The workshops concentrated on the experience gained by government officials and the police, welfare organisations and social workers, and avoided, in the main, attempts to analyse basic concepts such as 'crime', 'delinquency', and 'urban growth'.

It was generally considered that contemporary analysis indicates that there are discernible delinquent areas, urban in nature, both in old town and inner city areas and in the new urban developments such as

housing estates. There is a consensus that in urban areas:

(a) the bulk of the crimes committed and reported are directed against property;

(b) such crimes are mainly committed by male juveniles with a descending average age;

(c) that juvenile delinquency is expanding among female juveniles;

(d) that the urban areas of marked crime density can normally be identified with low standard socio-economic conditions; and

(e) that the new housing areas, or housing estates, have their own crime problems, but that the pattern of criminality is different from those prevailing in low standard socio-economic conditions.

At the same time the workshops accepted that the causes of crime cannot be laid entirely at the door of poor socio-economic conditions, although such conditions both generate and stimulate juvenile and other delinquency. The workshops were of the view that criminal behaviour has not yet been attributable to established and defined psychological causes.

The topics discussed by the workshops ranged considerably wider than those indicated in the seven selected resolutions of the seminar set out in Appendix III. This wide area of debate is a reflection of the numerous variables that must be taken into account in seeking to establish the conditions that stimulate, if they do not generate, crime and delinquency in urban areas.

One group considered that the topic of school truancy in urban areas must be closely studied, both as to its causes and effects, because truancy was thought to be an 'early warning' of juvenile delinquency symptoms.

Associated with this view was that children with marked defective capacities to communicate, even on the simplest matters such as social exchange and telling the time, are also part of the 'early warning' system of future delinquent behaviour from such children.

This group also considered that the avenues of communication between all levels of officialdom and the 'consumer' citizen, particularly in the areas of social welfare and assistance, were in need of considerable improvement. It was pointed out that crucial advice and assistance is needed to prevent or reduce the commission of crime and delinquency, and that all too frequently the communication was blocked or came too late and failed to take account of 'early warnings'.

The workshops also pointed out that there was considerable need for education in regard to the use of leisure time by juveniles. Defective use of leisure was frequently the doorway to delinquency in that those with an inferior education and those not capable of resisting stress

had no defensive measures in the form of effective uses of leisure.

This attitude corresponded with the view of writers that criminal behaviour is part of a sub-cultural and often inheritable pattern within families. Hence improved education standards, including education for leisure in urban areas with poor socio-economic conditions, was of vital importance. In the raising of educational standards in these areas, the task should not be confined to teachers but should also involve agencies such as social workers, and the parents themselves.

The workshops also expressed the view that society is itself in part to blame for the delinquency within it, both in failing to prevent an unfavourable environment in social and economic terms and, on the positive side, to establish an environment that experience shows is not congenial to the growth of delinquency.

Another suggestion from the workshops was that any domestic 'human rights' system of law introduced in Australia should find an express place for patterns of conduct that at present stand condemned under the penal law, but belong more properly to the moral area and are opposed to the moral standards of the majority; the so-called 'victimless crimes'. This was a plea for minority group activities, particularly among juveniles, that should be allowed within the law if confined to specific areas not likely to disturb the majority.

The workshops also proposed that there should be removal of the permanent stigma of conviction of a criminal offence as one of the means of rehabilitation of the delinquent. This was required particularly to avoid hardship in the employment market, to remove a normal barrier to obtaining of credit facilities and to inhibit social ostracism. These questions were particularly relevant in urban areas. The analogy of the recent United Kingdom *Rehabilitation of Offenders Act,* 1974 was urged as a precedent for consideration in the State Legislatures.

There was also apparent in the reports of the workshops the view that law is, as sociologists point out, only one means of social control, although it is an indispensable one. If society experiences the pattern and scale of delinquency that it deserves, then public participation in crime prevention and in rehabilitation is required. There was a feeling that the handling of criminals, and particularly of juvenile delinquents, should be a matter in which the community was more actively engaged, and particularly by the parents of juvenile delinquents.

Conclusions of the Workshops

It was accepted at the outset by the workshops that the removal of criminality from urban areas is an impossible ambition. The most that could be hoped for is reduction of criminality in such areas, particularly crimes committed by male juveniles in the under-privileged urban areas.

Expanding urbanisation is today carried out within a planning framework. The concern of the workshops was that, in the urban planning process,

insufficient account is taken of a diversity of relevant interests; also, the planning process is too closely confined to architectural and physical considerations to the detriment of social and behavioural considerations. It was admitted that, as has been pointed out by Oscar Newman in his book *Defensible Space, Crime Prevention Through Urban Design,* (1972) certain types of architectural planning facilitated the activities of the criminal, for example by making supervision of public corridors in large high-rise blocks of flats virtually impossible.

Modern urban planning excludes in large measure public participation by the 'consumer'. The latter feels that the planners make their decisions behind closed doors, with the result that the 'consumers' have to adjust themselves to these decisions, without participation. This process tends to set up stress and disorientation in those for whose benefit the planning is ostensibly made.

The workshops also considered that in urban areas there is a marked failure in community relations between official bodies, for example the law enforcement agencies, and the citizen. This failure of community relations in a sub-standard environment stimulates crime and delinquency and impedes its detection. A large part of public indifference and failure to report criminality is seen to stem from poor community relations between law enforcement agencies and citizens. Far from the citizen assisting the law enforcement agencies in alerting them as to impending crime or aiding the police in detection of crime committed, there is a wide scale apathy, even when crime is openly committed in the presence of members of the public.

A view strongly held by the workshops was that appropriately trained senior police officers should play a regular and active part in the urban planning process and that such participation should not be limited to advice on traffic flow and control. In the urban planning process, steps can be taken to avoid creating conditions favourable to the commission of crimes, particularly crimes against property. Further, the question of open spaces, adequate street lighting and siting of banks, etc., are also matters on which urban planners should be guided and informed by a police participant in the planning process. It was understood by the workshops that up to date no such participation on a regular basis throughout the States and Territories is known.

The planning process should also take into account the views of social workers and welfare officers upon such matters as recreational facilities and social amenities. The consensus of the workshops was that the urban planning process should not be confined to urban planners taking into account solely physical and architectural factors, but should extend to behavioural considerations.

A strong suggestion emanating from the workshops was that State Governments should encourage organisations, such as trade unions and the more important professional associations, to assist as much as possible in programmes directed at the reduction of crime and delinquency in urban areas.

The question of stress difficulties as factors affecting urban crime had not in the view of the workshops, hitherto received appropriate

attention. Poor urban environment conditions created stress for many families who are unable to respond adequately. Frequently, such families at stress risk proved the seminal points for juvenile delinquency. Such stress weaknesses were thought to be related in part to the educational system and to the quickening pace of youth development and premature career choice.

Stress situations were also a feature of the new housing estates. Although the socio-economic conditions were better than in the inner city areas, the removal into such housing estates created its own problems of isolation, disorientation, boredom and lack of community sense. These factors generated their own breed of delinquency and anti-social behaviour.

There was a strong feeling in the workshops that the 'consumer', that is the members of the public, should be encouraged to take part in the monitoring of the implementation of official decisions in urban planning and community relations. This public participation in the monitoring of policy execution would go far to break down certain aspects of bureaucracy which were distasteful to citizens and accounted for their lack of response in the social life of an urban area.

Urban planning should take into account such questions as the mobility of teaching staff and community officers. In many cases there was a failure to meet the expectations of those who had been moved from underprivileged urban areas to new housing estates. This generated a sense of discontent as well as disorientation, and was partly the cause of the apathy in regard to the public responsibility for crime detection and prevention.

The workshops also concluded that the present method of handling juvenile delinquents and child welfare cases was not adequate for our time. It placed too much emphasis on the judicial penal process. More might be done to dispose of juvenile delinquent cases by non-judicial processes in which there was participation by parents, social and welfare officers and members of the public. The accent should be upon something of the nature of an extended family council rather than a penal judicial proceeding.

General Conclusions

The workshops assumed as latent premises for their discussions a number of factors to be favourable to urban delinquency:

(a) poor socio-economic conditions;

(b) substantial increase in the number of juveniles in urban areas;

(c) the increasing number of children on the streets;

(d) the formation of gangs by juveniles; and

(e) extended opportunity for 'property' offences.

The workshops assumed and accepted that urban area development entails a certain rise in the crime rate in urban areas. In other words, growth cannot be disassociated entirely from the growth in the crime rate.

The workshops assumed that urbanisation means social, economic and psychological change at an ever increasing pace. These developments have not yet been met with adequate control, either by official or non-official agencies, and much could be done to bridge the gap by a monitoring control system on the part of social workers, parents and members of the public.

The general feeling of the workshops was that urbanisation must be subjected to an improved planning process if crime is to be reduced. Planning should be an 'open' process with a wider participation of an extended range of participants. In particular, the question of juvenile delinquency has not yet been properly handled at any level. A combination of extended urban and social planning, with a wider participation in the process, together with an extended public participation in crime prevention, achieved primarily through improved community relations with official agencies, would do much to reduce the incidence of crime in urban areas.

Neither panic nor pessimism are adequate responses to the statistical display of delinquency in urban areas. There is a reasonable prospect that in spite of initial disorientation caused by re-housing in housing estates, given time and patience and remedial measures, these areas may settle down to a lower rate of crime incidence.

The workshops did not have time to consider the 'white collar' crime, although it was recognised that this is a phenomenon of urban life, particularly in the more privileged areas. Anxiety was felt that this type of crime will be disregarded to the peril of society. 'White collar' crime is more sophisticated, less reported, and frequently more harmful to society in its consequences than the large scale petty criminality against property on the part of juveniles in the inner city areas.

The deliberations of the workshops made clear that much further knowledge is needed by way of survey data and research before the true proportions of crime in urban areas can be established with that certainty which will enable the appropriate response in selected remedial action designed to reduce criminality. The elimination of criminality for the discernible future is not practical in urban areas. The present levels of criminality in urban areas should not be a cause for pessimism or 'instant' cure techniques. Short-term projects are not the answer. There is no one answer and there is no 'instant' answer. Patient study and cautious empirical experiment would seem to be the better response to the present situation.

The situation may be summarised thus, in the view of one writer: 'While the precise aetiology of delinquency and crime must vary with each individual case, the broad conditions which generate and stimulate them are well known. It is the final eradication of such conditions which alone provide the only sure guarantee against the continued presence of anti-social behaviour which involves the community in expense which is not limited to the financial sphere'. (*The Criminal Area*, T. Morris, p.198).

Appendix I

Seminar Specialists

Project Director

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Visiting Expert

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Appendix II

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Appendix III

Resolutions

Control Participation

That the seminar recommends that all agencies of social control in urban areas give priority to the establishment of mechanisms to enable the active participation and involvement of citizens and client groups.

CARRIED

Personnel Exchange

That governments explore the feasibility of establishing personnel exchange systems between as varied and as many appropriate instrumentalities engaged in providing services to the community as can be induced to join such a scheme.

CARRIED

Police Participation in Urban Planning

That active recognition be made of the need to have a senior police officer to participate with urban planning authorities to provide the opportunity for police experience of crime and delinquency problems to be utilised by urban planners.

CARRIED

Social Behavioural Factors

That there be a national strategy to ensure that the governments at all levels and the various planning agencies devote greater attention to human and social behavioural factors in crime and delinquency prevention, than is at present given.

CARRIED

Neighbourhood Prevention and Community Relations

That the emphasis on the prevention of delinquency be developed at the neighbourhood level and that law enforcement agencies place greater emphasis on community relations.

CARRIED

Trade Unions and Professional Associations

That the Australian and State Governments encourage trade unions, professional associations and other appropriate influential organisations further to assist in every way open to them, programmes of social concern which aim to reduce crime and delinquency, and to encourage training, employment and rehabilitation of known offenders.

CARRIED

Extra-Judicial Handling of Juvenile Delinquents

That existing Child Welfare Acts and Ordinances of all States and Territories be revised with a view to incorporating techniques that will remove juveniles from having to undergo the traumatic experience of being processed through the courts except in the case of serious offences.

CARRIED

Appendix IV

Bibliography

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