

International Forum on Urban Insecurity

Great Cities Institute
College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs
University of Illinois at Chicago

A Great Cities Institute Working Paper



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The Great Cities Institute

The Great Cities Institute is an interdisciplinary, applied urban research unit within the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). Its mission is to create, disseminate, and apply interdisciplinary knowledge on urban areas. Faculty from UIC and elsewhere work collaboratively on urban issues through interdisciplinary research, outreach and education projects.

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The forum on which these proceedings are based was organized by the Great Cities Institute and co-sponsored by the Office of International Programs, Center for Research in Law and Justice, and the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Globalist Edward "Buzz" Palmer, a life-long resident of Chicago, has an enduring interest and concern for the quality of urban life everywhere. From experiences during his youth and during his career in the Chicago Police Department, and as a human resource development specialist, community activist and expert in international urban affairs, Mr. Palmer has continuously fostered the development of programs that support an awareness of the interdependence of peoples and agencies.

Early on, Buzz Palmer envisioned this International Forum on Urban Insecurity as an opportunity to learn from other organizational leaders and their vision of building a society that appreciates the growing racial and ethnic diversity of countries and cities. From this process, he sees the opportunity to learn more about the concerns of world urban communities and to support policy development organizations and government agencies in confronting and solving urban problems. The presentation of this international forum on urban insecurity is a direct product of Mr. Palmer's tenacity and constant advocacy to bring these issues to an academic forum.

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Great Cities Institute (MC 107)
College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs
University of Illinois at Chicago
412 S. Peoria Street, Suite 400
Chicago IL 60607-7067
Phone: 312-996-8700
FAX: 312-996-8933

ã **Great Cities Institute**

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International Forum on Urban Insecurity

Executive Summary

The contemporary terms *urban security* and *urban insecurity* follow a common theme of analyzing public safety in cities. However, the semantics of this field are not our primary concern: the imperative is the identification of quantifiable infrastructure components and qualitative programmatic initiatives for securing a sense of social place. Based on this perspective, the first forum on *urban insecurity* was conceived at UIC in September 1993 and held there in September 1995. The forum provided an opportunity for attendees from the United States to learn about urban issues from the European perspective.

The problems and aspirations of cities around the world have much in common and today's shrinking globe brings focus to these mutual concerns. Acknowledging this, the University of Illinois at Chicago shares its Great Cities Institute with the global arena. The mission of the Great Cities Institute is to create, disseminate, and apply interdisciplinary knowledge about urban affairs to improve the quality of life in Chicago and other urban areas nationally and internationally. The Great Cities Institute conducts projects on issues facing metropolitan areas and provides assistance on policy issues confronting urban policy-makers in the government, community, and business sectors. Thus, the Great Cities Institute at UIC is viewed as a working model.

In this context, networking and paying close attention to places and situations of insecurity is not only from the point of view of the criminal justice system, but from multiple points of view. It becomes the *modus operandi*. This brings together a wider arena of people from all sectors of society, as well as professionals in academia, research, planning, and development programs.

The strategic priorities will be pursued through the research of individual scholars and affiliated programs worldwide. This complements the need for developing a common set of criteria for the *collection, analysis, and evaluation of data concerning prevention* projects. The urban environment permits the efficient mobilization of people's energies and resources. It enhances the income-generating ability of the informal sector and promotes education and skills training. Greater participation in the urban economy leads to the creation of a skilled and literate work force. Thus, the promise of cities is to liberate the mass of people from poverty, hunger, disease, and premature death.

A compelling and deliberate theme exploring the paradoxical nature of cities more as places of *possibility* rather than merely places of *problems* was utilized for the opening session of the UIC International Forum on Urban Insecurity. This theme, so eloquently expressed by the United Nations delegate, Mr. Jonas Rabinovitch, presented the contradicting and dual reality of the world's cities.

To think urban is to think hope, not despair. Cities are indeed centers of opportunity. Urban dwellers usually find a better life. The assumption that urbanization leads to catastrophe is not borne out by fact. The poor are not satisfied to remain poor. They move to the city to improve their condition. Cities thus become settings for dynamic expression of human potential.

This paradoxical perspective opens new dimensions for creating positive change. By looking

at both sides of things, one is aided in looking at the potential for positive change. Security here is understood not only in the physical sense, but as a broader social and participatory umbrella.

The program format followed a deliberate structure of an international and local voice of cities. The opening session was presented by a representative from the International Development Program of the United Nations, followed by perspectives on *urban security* from the European Forum for Urban Safety (Paris) and the United Towns Development Agency (Paris). A United States perspective was then presented by the director of the Mega-Cities Project (Los Angeles), the director of the Great Cities Institute (Chicago), and a distinguished panel of urban affairs experts. Fifteen invited urban scholars served as the faculty of the UIC Forum. The program was attended by approximately 100 government officials, the press and other media, public and private organizations, and faculty and students interested in urban issues.

The methodology was highly interactive, engaging the participants and presenters in social debate and discussions toward the end of developing solutions. Each of the sessions involved an impartial facilitator, and discussions were tracked for common themes and innovative solutions. It is a privilege to make available the major papers that framed the Forum's content. The issues they address are of an abiding and global interest, and are now being discussed within urban institutes worldwide. The challenge is to take the critical thinking and inspiration presented at this forum and use it to create administrative systems responsive to the needs of cities.

Wim Wiewel, Dean
College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs
Director, Great Cities Institute

Jess Maghan, Executive Director
Center for Research in Law and Justice

International Forum on Urban Insecurity

Introduction, David C. Broski, Chancellor, University of Illinois at Chicago

Our cities are the homes of our greatest projects and our greatest achievements, but are also the homes of our greatest concerns about the future. In this spirit we are very pleased and proud to host this important forum. I am especially pleased to note that this program provides an opportunity for attendees from the United States to learn about urban issues from the European perspective. The problems and aspirations of cities have much in common, and today's shrinking globe brings these concerns into a focus of mutuality.

In this context we are working in a network and paying attention to places and situations of insecurity, not only from the point of view of the criminal justice system, but from multiple points of view. This forum brings together participants from many sectors of society, as well as professionals in academia, research, planning, and development.

The University of Illinois at Chicago, truly an urban university in every sense of the word, is well suited for this approach to urban development. Situated in the heart of one of the most dynamic cities in the United States, UIC has developed numerous programs to serve the urban environment.

Most noteworthy is our "Great Cities Program." Initiated in 1993 as a multifaceted human resource and economic development program, the Great Cities program is designed to improve the quality of life in cities throughout the world. With partnerships in 42 countries, UIC enjoys a respected international reputation as a quality provider of research, teaching, and a program of professional development in health services.

The Great Cities Program reflects UIC's commitment to the metropolitan area and urban issues in general. As a public university, we have a responsibility to address the problems facing Chicago. We do this through our research and teaching and by applying it, in partnership with others, to help identify solutions to such important societal issues as health care, education, violence prevention, and economic development.

While our location obviously makes us focus on Chicago, we cannot be parochial. We seek to learn from other urban areas, and to share what we learn here for application elsewhere. Thus, this conference, which brings together faculty and practitioners from Chicago, elsewhere in the United States, and abroad to deal with major issues, expresses the best of what we as a university stand for. I wish you a successful conference and pleasant interactions at our university and in our city.

Summary of Presentation by Jonas Rabinovitch, Senior Urban Development Advisor, United Nations Development Program

Poverty and The Urban Environment: The Perspective of the International Community and the Opportunities for Action

On behalf of the United Nations Development Program, I would like to thank the Office of

International Programs, the Center for Research on Law and Justice, the Department of Criminal Justice, and the Great Cities Program for the invitation to open this forum. I am very pleased and honored to be here.

The Urban Trend

It is estimated that the world's population will grow to 8.5 billion people by the year 2025. More than 5.5 billion will live in urban areas.

The number of cities in the developing world with more than 4 million inhabitants will also increase. In 1960, there were 9; in 1980, there were 22; by the year 2000, there will be 50. Approximately half of the urban dwellers in developing countries will live in cities of a million or more.

Cities are also becoming the setting for concentrated poverty. Between 1970 and 1985, the proportion of the rural population living in poverty increased by 11 percent; over the same interval, the proportion in urban areas jumped by 73 percent.

By the year 2000, about half of the poor will live in urban areas: 90 percent of the poor people in Latin America, 40 percent of the poor in Africa, and 45 percent in Asia.

Unprecedented in scope, dramatic in consequence, and irreversible in direction, the rural-to-urban movement is inevitable.

The Paradox of Urban Poverty

Cities have a contradictory and dual reality. They are places of need and plenty, growth and congestion, poverty and wealth. Urban insecurity issues exist for both rich and poor; the rich fear more for their own personal and property security, while the poor do not have access to substantial means of livelihood, or simply do not have choices that allow any form of security. Security here is understood not only in the physical sense, but also as a broader social and participatory umbrella.

The linkages between urban wealth, urban poverty, and urban criminality have several implications which fill newspapers pages daily. This presentation does not intend to examine urban insecurity from the criminal perspective. There are people in this Forum who are more qualified to undertake the issue from this perspective, which will be discussed in the course of the day. This presentation focuses on the preventive side of the equation and outlines linkages between urban development, urban poverty, the role of the international community, and the prospects for action.

Structurally, urban poverty is connected to monetary and fiscal policies that lower real wages of urban workers, raise unemployment, keep prices high, and restrict access to public services.

To think urban, however, is to think hope, not despair. Cities are indeed centers of opportunity. Urban dwellers usually find a better life. The assumption that urbanization leads to catastrophe is not borne out by fact. The poor are not satisfied to remain poor. They move to the city to improve their condition. Cities thus become settings for the dynamic expression of human potential.

Cities are catalysts for economic growth. The highest rates of urban population growth are associated with countries experiencing the highest rates of economic growth. Cities spearhead economic development. They transform society through growth in the productivity of labor. The economies of scale found in large cities make them capable of generating goods and services in excess of their share of the national population.

Cities produce 60 percent of gross domestic product, indicating a high average per capita productivity. Markets for labor, capital, and technology transform advantages of location into higher incomes and employment opportunities.

The urban environment permits the efficient mobilization of people's energies and resources. It enhances the income-generating ability of the informal sector and promotes education and skills training. Greater participation in the urban economy leads to the creation of a skilled and literate work force.

Thus, the promise of cities is to liberate the mass of people from poverty, hunger, disease, and premature death.

United Nations Development Program and the International Perspective: Toward a Balance Between Economic Capital, Environmental Capital, and Social Capital

The United Nations Development Program is the United Nations' largest provider of grant funding for development, and the main body for coordinating UN development assistance.

With 136 offices worldwide, UNDP has the largest on-the-scene representation of any development assistance organization. Through these offices it supports the development efforts of 175 countries and territories, working with other UN agencies, with governments, with organizations of civil society, and with the people who benefit from its support. At the present moment, UNDP has some 5,000 ongoing projects throughout the developing world.

UNDP focuses its support in four priority areas: poverty elimination, creation of jobs and sustainable livelihoods, advancement of women, and protection and regeneration of the environment. Urban areas are regarded as a cross-sectional setting, generating pertinent development demands and challenges related to an integrated vision of these priorities.

From the Earth Summit to the City Summit: International Support for Sustainable Human Development

The Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, highlighted the fact that the protection of the environment is directly related to development goals. It also demonstrated that the natural resource base of the planet will not allow all nations to reach the same "level of development," if present "development" trends and consumption patterns persist.

UNDP argued that the improvement of the urban environment cannot wait until economic development creates the resources to tackle the problems. UNDP also argued that neglecting the urban environment profoundly threatens the capacity for social and economic development.

The meeting represented the largest gathering of heads of state ever and concluded with the signature of Agenda 21, a document that establishes a basis for the understanding that development should ultimately lead to the benefit of people and the protection of the environment.

The World Summit on Social Development (WSSD), held in Copenhagen in March 1996, represented a landmark for sustainable human development. Significant commitments were reached on a worldwide scale for the first time and supported by the 134 nations that signed the final declaration. The primary commitments refer to the creation of an enabling environment to achieve social development, including social, political, economic, cultural, and legal aspects; a commitment to the goal of poverty eradication; a commitment to the goal of full employment as a basic priority; and a commitment to the goal of social integration and to the achievement of equality and equity between men and women. There is a remarkable fit between UNDP's policy framework and the decisions reached at the World Summit on Social Development.

The Social Summit confirmed the primary responsibility of national governments for the social development --not only the economic growth -- of countries and called on the UN system and other international organizations to ensure that follow-up activities remain country-driven.

UNDP regards the final report of the WSSD as a worldwide pioneer framework for social development, and has translated its outcomes into an implementation strategy called "From Poverty to Equity." UNDP's 136 country offices, from Argentina to Zaire, are currently providing comments and considering specific inclusion of WSSD commitments into country programs.

I would also draw your attention to the fact that all other recent UN conferences bear, in different degrees, a relationship with the issue of urban insecurity from the development perspective: the Human Rights Conference held in Vienna in 1993, the Small Island Conference held in Barbados in 1994, the Population Conference held in Cairo in 1994, and the Women's Conference held in Beijing in 1995.

The next UN Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) to be held June 3 through 14, 1996, in Istanbul, Turkey, is one of an extraordinary series of UN Conferences. This happens in a moment in which the world is experiencing a massive urban transition unlike any other time in history.

UNDP has prepared an Action Package for HABITAT II with over 30 activities, including regional workshops, a series of technical monographs, country-level preparatory activities, and an interregional workshop on methodologies of social governance. This action package exceeds the technical support grants for the HABITAT I preparatory process.

Each previous conference, regardless of its major theme, dealt with a common set of issues including sustainable development, human rights, population, social integration, poverty alleviation, sustainable livelihoods, and gender. In fact, each conference provided a unique entry point for viewing what is increasingly being seen as a holistic, interconnected set of concerns. The United Nations Development Program, as a multi-sectoral and central coordinating body of the UN system, has come to call this holistic view *sustainable human development (SHD)*. Sustainable Human Development is development that not only generates economic growth, but distributes its benefits equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it; that empowers people rather than marginalizing them. It is development that gives priority to the poor, enlarging their choices and opportunities and providing for their participation in decisions that affect their lives. It is development that is pro-people, pro-nature, pro-jobs, and pro-women.

United Nations Development Program's Urban Development Cooperation Strategy

The United Nations Development Program manages a series of projects and programs designed to counteract the negative effects of urbanization and to take full advantage of the human element existing in cities throughout the developing world.

UNDP has adopted an approach to urban problems that links human development with economic productivity. The goal is to enlarge people's choices by assisting in the development of their capabilities; improving their access to employment, credit, health, and education; and increasing their participation in economic, social, and political activities.

UNDP-assisted development programs are designed and implemented by governments, associated agencies, UN specialized agencies, and NGOs in the developing countries.

Within the framework of government priorities, UNDP plans to increase technical assistance to deal with urban problems, supporting national, regional, and global urban development cooperation projects in five priority areas.

1. Alleviating Poverty
2. Strengthening Urban Local Government and Administration
3. Improving the Urban Environment
4. Promoting the Private Sector and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
5. Providing Urban Infrastructure, Shelters, and Services

As of the first quarter of 1994, UNDP, including the UN Capital Development Fund (UNCDF), was assisting over 280 ongoing urban development and human settlement projects at a total cost of over U.S. \$470 million. Of this amount, \$330 million was provided from UNDP resources and \$140 million from government and third party cost-sharing contributions.

UNDP-assisted programs are executed by specialized agencies of the UN system, and increasingly by the governments of developing countries and NGOs. UNDP's main partner agency in the urban sector is the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (HABITAT), which is promoting the role of cities in sustainable development, strengthening urban managements, and coordinating the implementation of the Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000. UNDP also works in close collaboration with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Department of Development Support and Management Services (DSMS), Regional Commissions, and the World Bank.

United Nations Development Program's Urban Development Cooperation and Poverty Alleviation

One of the priority areas for UNDP's urban development cooperation is poverty alleviation. The following categories of projects are being implemented:

- Promoting income-generating activities for disadvantaged groups;
- Promoting the participation of women in shelter finance, vocational training, and income-generating activities;
- Improving the productivity and income of the urban poor by supporting informal enterprises and investing in human resource development;
- Enacting appropriate legislation and economic policies to promote the role of the urban informal sector;
- Expanding job opportunities through economic growth of small and medium-sized cities.

Apart from urban-targeted assistance, UNDP also supports interregional and global-level initiatives, in cooperation with partner agencies and the international development community.

Urban Management Program (UMP)

UMP is a ten-year global technical support program designed to strengthen the contribution that cities and towns in developing countries make toward human development, including economic growth, social development, and the reduction of poverty.

UNDP provides the core funding and overall monitoring of the UMP and HABITAT is the executing agency, with the World Bank as associated agency. In addition, the World Health Organization, bilateral donors, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide various types of support.

The program's uniqueness is its capacity to draw on the strengths of the three multilateral partner agencies to create a demand-driven, coordinated approach to technical cooperation in five areas of concentration: municipal finance, land management, urban infrastructure, urban environment, and poverty alleviation.

Local Initiative Facility for Urban Environment (LIFE)

The principal objective of LIFE is to promote "local-local" dialogue among municipalities, NGOs, and community-based organizations (CBOs) to improve the quality of the urban environment. Through LIFE, developing countries and multilateral and bilateral donor agencies recognize the crucial role local authorities, non-governmental organizations, and community-based organizations play in promoting a sustainable urban environment and development.

Eight countries --two per region -- have been chosen for the first phase of the LIFE program. In each selected country a participatory consultation will be held to bring together NGOs, CBOs, local authorities, central government, and the private sector to establish priorities and guidelines for the selection and funding of small-scale projects by a national selection committee. Proposals for regional and interregional activities are submitted by NGO networks and cities' associations. LIFE is administered by the Office for Project Services.

Public-Private Partnership for the Urban Environment (PPP)

The purpose of the PPP program is to create a mechanism which can help promote the involvement of the private sector in programs and projects addressing urban environmental problems in developing countries.

This initiative is the result of our assessment of the needs and opportunities for greater private-sector involvement in support of sustainable development goals. The Public-Private Partnership program (PPP) focuses on enhancing the role of the private sector in three specific areas: water and sanitation, waste management, and energy.

A small number of cities have been selected initially. In each of these cities, models of technology cooperation will be established. It is hoped that these models would be replicated in other cities. The main goal of the projects, therefore, will be the dissemination and exchange of technology and information in job generation activities to improve the urban environment.

At this point, I have demonstrated with images/slides the above ideas, mostly with UNDP projects. Poverty alleviation and social integration objectives have been illustrated with the following:

- Public transport networks, as opposed to individual approaches to transportation. The possibility to turn used buses into mobile training centers;
- Innovative approaches to public transport;
- Cycleways and non-motorized forms of transportation;
- Community-led waste management programs;
- Labor-intensive drainage works;
- Community urban agriculture;
- Incentives to the informal sector;
- Incentives to participatory community education;
- Support of small-scale private enterprises;
- Support of land-use legislation which promotes social integration and cultural preservation;
- Participation of women in manufacturing and maintaining low-cost urban infrastructure facilities and services.

Conclusions

This presentation hopes to have demonstrated that the last few years have brought about an entirely new approach to tackling urban poverty issues and urban insecurity issues, from the international human development perspective.

The United Nations in general, and the United Nations Development Program in particular, have been advocating international platforms for discussion, consensus-building, and growing commitments toward sustainable human development. Moreover, UNDP has increasingly been

providing technical assistance to a number of targeted activities aimed at poverty alleviation and the overall improvement of living conditions in urban and peri-urban areas worldwide.

But we cannot act alone. It is fundamental to continue building partnerships between the international community, national governmental organizations, the private sector, the scientific and academic communities, community-based organizations, trade unions, and the civil society as a whole to achieve secure and sustainable communities.

The United Nations Development Program congratulates the organizers of this event, in the understanding that the discussions that follow constitute an important step in the path toward urban safety and people-centered sustainable development.

Summary of Presentation by Michel Marcus, Chief Executive, European Forum on Urban Safety, Paris, France

European Perspective

The benefits of the economic development of European societies are becoming less and less evenly distributed. Society can be divided into three distinct groups: a powerful economic group, a middle class with variable economic characteristics, and finally, a growing underclass suffering from poverty and exclusion. Some members of this underclass come from families that have experienced unemployment for three generations. In addition, poverty has begun to affect the middle class, particularly those who are unable to adapt to the changing economic environment. Escaping poverty and exclusion has become more difficult. Growing productivity has led to a reduction in the work force. In addition to this reduction, we find that the increasing levels of qualifications required for employment make the integration process more difficult. A financial crisis in the public sector is responsible for a decrease in sanitary and social services welfare. These phenomena are manifested by riots in cities and neighborhoods. Such factors are a threat to the social ties and the daily cohabitation of social groups. This turmoil is also aggravated by racial tensions. The large immigrant population is competing against the native population for scarce housing and unskilled positions. Violence rises, and persecutions caused by racism and Anti-semitism multiply.

The classic methods for integrating adolescents into society are failing. The family has lost its educative role and is weakened by the effects of single parenthood. Schools are looking for a new identity. More generally, schools are questioning the nature of the values they should inculcate. Students are affected by the lack of future opportunities. All these tensions are manifested in a rejection of the value of politics, a mistrust of collective action.

In this European context of socioeconomic crisis we have observed a 10 percent increase in criminality in the last 20 years. This increase has occurred over the years, regardless of the economic situation, whether growth or recession. What is interesting, though, is that environmental changes have changed the nature of crime and made it more difficult to curtail.

Weapons, drug trafficking, and white-collar crimes have increased. Property crimes have increased drastically. However, the numbers of violent crimes have remained stable. The new habits of consumption-oriented societies and the development of insurance companies have made property crimes common. The cost of these crimes is absorbed by insurance companies. The criminal justice systems have become the mere recorders of claims to insurance companies. The service offered to the victims is reduced to a minimum, and police actions are nonexistent. The rate of conviction is very low. This enormous mass of misdemeanors is gradually taking a new name: *incivilities*. But we are also the active actors in and victims of incivilities such as telephone or public transportation frauds. For example, a young man can destroy a subway seat in public under the eyes of passive commuters. The behavior of the young man will later be the topic in a conversation on the insecurity of adults. Youths have become objects of fear. The perception among adults is that juvenile delinquents are not punished severely enough. They perceive these incivilities to be more threatening to the values of social life than crimes per se. This threat is made even more important because it comes from across the spectrum of social class, and more especially the middle class.

The development of the phenomena surrounding delinquency has created an institutional crisis. On one hand, there is a long-term crisis in the criminal justice system. On the other, there is a massive increase in regard to means of individual protection.

No matter what the international context, when a criminal justice system is analyzed, the conclusions always confirm a loss of legitimacy. Most crime statistics in Europe reveal that 30 out of 100 infractions are known to the police. Only half of those will be investigated, and only 5 percent will result in a conviction. This example gives credence to the critics who see the lack of police response as a threat to the security of people and goods.

A saturated system

All our criminal justice systems are saturated. A large majority of complaints are never examined, prisons are overcrowded, recidivism is as high as ever, and alternatives to incarceration remain marginal.

The fiscal crisis in the public sector stops us from significantly increasing the capacity of the system. In France, for example, each additional police officer requires an administrative support system of seven individuals. Besides, the creation of 2,000 new jobs would only have a minimal effect in terms of affecting crime prevention on the street.

Even if an increase in the number of police officers were possible, it might not reduce insecurity. Indeed, the impact of police presence depends on the quality of the historic and concrete relationship between the officers and the population. It also depends on the manner in which the presence of the police is exercised. Police officers can temporarily bring a feeling of security, but numerous studies show that an increased police presence in public areas can increase a feeling of insecurity.

A blind system

Police and justice system statistics only show a relative reality; they are insufficient to truly convey the sense of urban insecurity that is emerging. Victimization studies show that the more complex forms of criminality take place outside the scope of formal social controls. Professionals in the field and urban residents know there is a gap between the institutional reading of reality and life in the neighborhoods and the streets.

A split system

The criminal justice system, though having the appearance of an unified model, is in reality deeply divided between the way it deals with delinquency and the way it deals with more severe crimes which are more costly to societies. European states have improved the way they deal with the most severe specialized crimes. They have increased their budgets for the prevention and interdiction of specialized criminality, and they are able to use the most sophisticated techniques. Particular procedures have been created, regulation and sanction systems have been organized. Cooperation between countries is often remarkable.

The situation is much different in regard to how "ordinary" delinquency is dealt with in our cities. It is wrong to ignore the close relationship between delinquency and the more severe forms of criminality. Phenomena such as international car or drug trafficking show the necessity of combining actions, of investigating not only the locations in which these crimes are committed, but also the networks which are laundering the money.

There is certainly a crisis of legitimacy in regard to the systems of justice, and beyond that, a crisis of values. More specifically, the crisis is a result of the gap between judicial values and social values, between the severity scales imposed by our penal codes and the citizens' response to

these scales, and between the budgetary limitations imposed on the system and the priorities of the citizenry.

What shall we say to those living in the city when they say "We know who the delinquents are!" What shall we tell the delinquents who are known but not caught, or who are arrested and released, and are left with a feeling of impunity?

Our penal codes cover an incalculable number of behaviors. Despite the detailed listing of transgressions, their obligatory processing by the police and criminal justice system, and the multitude of measures centered around the prison system, we have no adequate way to stop micro-criminality. Our system often intervenes without a coherent regularity. It is placed in a passive position, reduced to the acknowledgement of the crime, *in effect delivering receipts for reimbursement by insurance companies*. The technology (computers in particular) is generally unavailable to the public agencies. Complicating this further is the public perception that computers can be an invasion of private liberties.

The feeling expressed by judges and police officials is one of frustration. They believe that while delinquency rates are increasing and jeopardizing the public interest, the recourse to repressive sanctions (such as incarceration) is only targeting a few delinquents.

What are the limits to the modernization of the criminal justice system?

All European countries have modernized their criminal justice system. Italy, France, Belgium, and Germany have made enormous investments over the last ten years. And with what result? This modernization has improved the fight against serious white collar crimes, but the major impact is on the police, the prosecutors of high-profile crimes, and the correctional agencies, and not on the street police officers, the local judge, or the community corrections officers. The modernization of criminal justice systems has improved the interdiction and reformatory sides of the justice system: we increase productivity, we privatize some parts of the prison system, we build new prisons. The result is a sharp increase in the number of incarcerated individuals, with a decrease in funding for alternatives to incarceration and social programs. Finally, this process has resulted in benefits mostly to the private and public sector victims of organized crime, as opposed to the bulk of small plaintiffs and victims.

In times of social crisis, the criminal justice system acquires a new symbolic value: it becomes the magic wand. As if it were the ultimate step to socialization, after the family, the street, sports, and school. It is not seen as an extreme response, limited and used as a regulator for the situations which were not handled by the other legislative branches. What would we say about the blacksmith who would double the number of blows on his anvil? Shall we think that we prefer to maintain a system simply because we do not know how to train its agents to other missions, its equipments to other functions, its brain to the production of other markets?

Systems of Private Protection

Europe should meditate on the situation of some cities in Latin America. Some areas are protected by walls behind which citizens pay up to \$20,000 per month for security. In other areas, private security towers are built at street corners. Those who live in these neighborhoods have to pay to be protected.

The power to symbolically or physically privatize the public space is not reserved only for the rich. The presence of a menacing dog can be enough to disturb the normal routine of its neighbors. The

disproportionality of the dissuasive forces, because of their cost, turns the privatization of the police into a means of reinforcing social differences in urban areas. This scenario is being developed because of the shortcomings of public services. It symbolizes the abolition of the public space and the destruction of the principle of equality by law, of safety for all, and of safety as a public property.

Police for the middle class

In Latin America, the police do not go into the ghetto or into the "free" territories behind walls. Therefore, they are removing themselves from half of the urban territory, and limit themselves to the streets where only the middle class circulates.

Self defense for the rich

When the installation of an alarm system is worth 10 times the minimum income, who is able to pay? Handguns are sold in Latin America under the principle that "if the police do not do anything, I will do it myself." And many are those who are willing to justify why the murderer of a radio thief should be set free.

A displacement of delinquency to non-protected zones

And inside these fortresses, no one is able to guarantee that the private security guards are not stealing from offenders or extorting money from others.

Will these scenarios of private protection progressively become a part of the European collective imagination? We already know the rich, protected areas of the French and Italian Rivas. And who, following an IRA bombing, was talking about surrounding the city of London with a protective wall?

In 1988, the European Council acknowledged that the private sector that provides personnel and materials for protection was increasing in all the European countries. In some, the number of private security guards is higher than the number of public police officers. Already, private expenses outweigh public investments. The question is now one of organization and coordination between the private and public sectors, with an emphasis on strengthening the public sector.

Search for a Politics of Public Security

From punishment to prevention

It would be normal now to go from a chaotic, expansive, unreliable, form of interdiction to a more proactive and preventive system. Prevention is an old idea in the European intellectual world. Developing policies that encourage crime prevention has always been the obvious idea. It is interesting to explore the reasons why such a persistent idea was never put into action. Many have researched the causes of criminality, but they have neglected the concrete propositions. Theories about the causes of crime are multiple, but they have only contributed to the confusion and social discomfort.

Social policies have replaced a more focused approach on criminals and criminality. The constant development of these policies has confused their application, and one of the most severe effects is the fact that they do not deal with criminals anymore. In addition, these policies operate with inappropriately high funding in comparison to their results. It would be appropriate to create preventive measures related to the particular situations or the locations associated with crime. This approach cannot be conceived without the integration of interdiction. These two areas should complement one another.

From prevention to security

Many organizations and policies result from a dichotomy between prevention and interdiction. Is this dichotomy still appropriate? The organizational competencies of the states still justify this distinction, but we will see that these two sectors are interrelated.

What does history tell us about the formation of our democracies? It shows that the patiently constructed distinction between prevention and interdiction is unclear. This breach appeared when criminal behavior ceased to be viewed as the exclusive social history of an individual, a private affair between himself and some higher power, with a judge as mediator.

The progressive affirmation of modern states coincided with the birth of new social and economic roots for men. These new roots dictated their behavior, and more specifically their criminal behavior. It was tempting then to prevent the commission of a crime and at the same time avoid the legal intervention, which symbolism is due to the rarity of its manifestation. The result was a strong emphasis on prevention. The rule of the game is clear: those who have not benefited from prevention and its numerous tools are subject to interdiction. These dynamics create the following logic in people's minds: the stronger the prevention, the less need for interdiction. Victor Hugo found a vigorous expression: "A school opens, a prison closes." Does that suggest that those who do not go to school go to prison?

Interdiction is also subject to a dilution originating from both internal and external factors in the criminal justice system. Beyond the pronouncement of a defendant's culpability, judges are faced with imposing a sentence. The criminal justice system revolves around prison; its modernization depends on the creation of alternative programs before and after incarceration. In order to create these programs and make them successful, it is necessary to use the social institutions that surround the criminal justice system. Finding a job or an apartment becomes one example of the good functioning of the system. Criminal justice employees then concentrate on prevention strategies that have to do with prevention: the aim is to prevent incarceration or stop an individual from committing another crime as soon as he is out of the system. At the same time, the progression to a consumer-oriented society is creating a complex situation for interdiction. In this context police and justice lose the monopoly of interdiction.

Today we are in a transition period. Interdiction and prevention are experiencing a period of confusion. Professionals are asking for a redefinition of their functions and their practices, and politicians are arguing about effectiveness, and especially about the increasing gap between reality and what is written in textbooks.

We have witnessed a reconciliation of professional practices, with each area borrowing from the others. Indeed, in the domains of corrections and juvenile justice, the judicial branch has developed modes of reflection which resulted in a position of leadership among those involved with juveniles. The police have witnessed the development of prevention services in schools and in the private sector, or have organized a field approach facilitating dialogue with the citizenry.

The drug phenomenon is an important factor in the reconciliation between practitioners. They realized that their traditional efforts were not adequate to the problem at hand. In order to determine a common philosophy, they had to create structures that would allow consultation and regular meetings between professionals.

The intervention of local officials was also a determining factor in that it resulted from the pressures of the public in a debate which was, until then, the domain of professionals and militants. It is in this atmosphere of fusion and debate between prevention and interdiction that the politics of safety

became legitimate.

Summary of Presentation by Robert L. Little, President, R. Langdon Company, Lansing, Michigan

Urban Insecurity: Increasing Chaos Into The Twenty-First Century

With less than five years to the twenty-first century, those who are concerned about the future of urban centers have ample reasons for insecurity. By most statistical measures, the quality of life in most major urban centers is deteriorating. We have observed evidence of this deteriorating quality of life in the increasing incidence of crime, poverty, and substance abuse, and in changing family systems. Technology, and with it the emergence of improved productivity and less demand for unskilled workers, has produced major changes to the economic life of urban America. The gap between the resourceful and the resource-less has grown to crisis proportions.

Older systems of governance, community mediating structures, and human services systems are under siege by those who believe that different approaches to old problems must be implemented if we are to remain competitive in the world marketplace. The costs of containing an urban underclass, which appears to be consuming a larger share of available resources, have caused many citizens to support public social policies that give emotional relief to a few, while increasing stress on our most vulnerable.

As emerging technology plays an increasingly more influential role in shaping our economy, the nature of our economy and the demands on our labor force will also change. Hourly wage rates for semi- and unskilled workers have not kept pace with inflation. Technological advancements, productivity improvements, and downsizing have further depressed the work force. Recently displaced workers with education and extensive work histories are now competing for jobs against persons previously thought to be on the fringes of employability (also, the underground economy has become more accessible and available to those who are pushed behind by these developments).

Business and political leaders continue to suggest that job opportunities in a high-tech job environment are attainable for displaced workers. With appropriate training or re-training, they say, these displaced workers can become competitive. Yet no major retraining initiatives have been implemented, in part because there is no strong consensus on what the work force of the twenty-first century will look like. Since our leaders discovered the National Deficit, some suggest we defer this issue until we resolve other more pressing problems.

The shift in employment opportunities has devastated the ranks of the unskilled, low-wage worker at a time when public social policy appears to be emphasizing the necessity of work as a responsible alternative to governmental assistance. Recent actions by the U.S. Congress to end welfare as we know it will serve to further force millions of Americans into a permanent underclass of workers without security, who must negotiate the survival of their families with limited governmental assistance. At the same time, Congress continues to underwrite over \$160 billion dollars in corporate welfare (as we know it). Even the proposal to reduce the Earned Income Tax Credit, while expanding tax loopholes and incentives for certain businesses raises serious questions about national priorities and human consequences.

The linkages and relationship of poverty, joblessness, and economic downturns to urban disturbances and crime statistics are well documented in the literature. What may not be so well documented is the impact of social welfare policy and programs on family life, neighborhoods, and community life, and the role of social programs in fostering urban security.

The four P's -- Public Safety, Public Social Policy, Public Information, and Partisan Politics -- have the potential in the 1990s to create major opportunities for chaos in our cities. The conservative activities of our current leadership, influenced more by opinion polls than rational thought, have begun a process of not only dismantling our nation's safety net, but ensuring a greater sense of hopelessness and despair among urban poor.

Some have characterized the last three decades of social programs as a grand failure. I don't agree. Many of the Great Society initiatives C efforts to empower the powerless, the growth in entitlement programs, the struggle for equity and justice C were noteworthy and necessary initiatives, given the conditions at the time. These programs and policies that emerged have now been declared failures by those in control of our nation's future. They cite the mounting costs, limited outcomes, and growth of the poor and disenfranchised as proof these programs failed. Government, once considered part of the solution, is now considered the problem, along with those who receive government assistance.

The new visionaries do not seem to respect history. Much of the growth in federal government, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, was in response to state and local governments' limitation, and lack of capacity and motivation in addressing pressing social, health, and economic needs of their citizens. The new leaders have determined that states now have that capacity and motivation because the governors say so. What about the mayors? Block grants, an old idea that by many accounts has not worked well, is the new solution to addressing the needs of the poor. The "new visionaries" appear to have the votes to pass repressive and regressive policies, and this may also be a part of the problem.

While I agree that it is necessary to make major changes in many social programs, I disagree that the current system of programs and services has not helped the poor. Available data suggest that programs like Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, housing assistance, affirmative action, and Social Security have enabled millions of urban dwellers to remain alive, and above water. Apparently "a rising tide" does not lift all boats, especially when some boats have holes in them. The recent politically conservative rush to simplistic solutions, while benefiting a few, will have the effect of increasing the misery index in our urban centers. While I share concern about rising rates of children born to unwed teens and welfare dependency, I do not believe that the welfare system is the cause of these problems. Eliminating or substantially reducing assistance will not solve them. The human costs of these policy choices, while not yet calculated, will make the deficit calculations seem small by comparison.

Perhaps those who suffer the most will be the children, who are most often victims of adult choices.

Of the over 14 million Americans receiving welfare benefits, 9.5 million are children. In this country, allegations of the maltreatment of over 3 million children were made to state child protection agencies in 1993. Sixteen of every 1,000 children in the United States were substantiated to be victims of abuse or neglect. Child welfare workers in urban areas have experienced unprecedented growth in child protection and child placement demand. As one who has spent many years in the children's services field, I can state comfortably that incidents of child maltreatment are grossly underreported. Those who have served in the Justice System are convinced that inadequately funded and poorly implemented programs for young children and their families also increase the demands on the justice system as well. Nothing in the recent effort to dismantle social programs will reduce these trends.

I find it difficult to discuss issues of race and gender in this era of simplistic solutions. We now have a group of policy leaders calling for a "color-blind society," where such things as institutional racism, blatant economic exploitation of human capital, and discrimination have no place. They say that "with the major problems ahead of us, we cannot afford to look back, or dwell on such unpleasantness as racism and sexism." I noted with amazement that race was carefully avoided in the limited discussions of welfare reform.

I also note with alarm new forms of intellectual and academic dishonesty emerging from the Conservative Right. New think tanks have replaced the old liberal ones. Leading the charge in the human services and urban policy arenas is the American Enterprise Institute, a D.C.- based-ivy covered organization (poison ivy). Staffed by so-called scholars armed with extensive degrees, questionable research, and books with catchy titles such as *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and *The End of Racism* by Dinesh D'Souza, these new policy gurus have created an environment where old ideas are considered new. If there is a genetic basis for our current urban insecurities, or if racism is irrelevant as a contributing factor to the plight of the underclass, their simple solutions just might work.

Those of us who live daily with urban insecurity understand that solutions which offer less money and fewer services will not adequately address these problems. We need new concepts of leadership, and elected leaders who do more than feed citizens digestible sound bites written by lobbyists. We need to establish mechanisms whereby those who receive government benefits (whether corporations or individuals) are actively involved in demonstrating personal and social responsibility. There are very few local mechanisms to encourage active involvement of the poor in problem solving. We seem to be losing our national sense of compassion and our commitment to improving the quality of our lives.

The measure of a caring community is how well we treat our youngest and oldest citizens. To be international leaders, we must first address our domestic policy concerns in a more humane and compassionate manner. I believe it is not too late to do this. We must stimulate responsible searches for solutions which enable all boats to rise with the tide.

Summary of Presentation by Olivier DeGeorges, Deputy Director, United Towns Development Agency

The Facts of Life in the Twenty-First Century

I am pleased and honored to be given the opportunity to address such a distinguished audience to speak about urban insecurity as a major fact of today's life C urban life C experienced by most city dwellers around the world. Everyone has an opinion on how it should be dealt with. And everyone knows that our lives are deeply affected by the way we consider it.

Attempting to answer the questions that were asked of me when I was invited by Dr. Maghan to speak in this conference, I will first describe the reality of urban insecurity, violence, and crime, and how they are dealt with through both crime prevention and "community safety" in a medium-size European urban area: the county of Nottinghamshire in England. I hope to thereby convey an idea of what it takes for local authorities to deal daily with vandalism, crime, and drugs in an "ordinary," provincial British city.

I will then move to my home country, France, to give a factual, descriptive overview of the most current manifestations of urban insecurity in French suburban centers, from riots to, more recently, the rise of so-called "civic offenses."

Much attention has been given in Europe to the reduction of urban insecurity by local authorities, which, I believe, have a fundamental role to play in the improvement of the urban environment. I attempt here an analysis of the current situation of local authorities in Europe in combating crime, and recall some of the recommendations formulated by some mayors who gathered a few years ago to reflect on the issue of urban insecurity.

Finally, I will present the United Towns Organization, formerly called the World Federation of United Cities and which I represent here, and the kinds of actions it has undertaken to address the problems of urban insecurity. The UTO brings together more than 2,000 towns around the world concerned with the conditions of "city life." As a network of towns representing a wide variety of urban environments, it is a perfect ground for exploration, research, exchange of experience, and cooperation with a view toward urban living conditions and reducing urban insecurity.

Tackling Crime in Nottinghamshire

Although there is plenty of debate about how crime, vandalism, and drugs could be prevented, which inevitably leads to the problem of their roots in society, no one can deny the existence of the problem, in Europe just as in the United States or in many other parts of the world. And in Europe, just as in the U.S., every year the statistics show depressing increases. Let me briefly outline the official scale of the problem in two European countries, England and France.

In England, for instance, crime increased nationally in 1989 by 17 percent and at a similar pace since. Ninety-four percent of these crimes were against property, and crime increased in all the police districts. A recent study, "Delinquency in Paris in 1994," compiled by the Paris Police Commissioner shows that "crimes against property" (frauds, robberies, forgeries) increased 22 percent in one year.

In 1989, which is the year during which the Nottinghamshire study was conducted, crime increased by 27 percent. Specific types of crimes increased dramatically. Auto thefts, for example, accounted for 47 percent of the overall crime increase in England. We could go on and talk about increases in the rates of violent crime, street crime, and burglaries. However, the point is made: the rate of reported crimes is increasing in Nottinghamshire and everywhere else in Europe.

Of course, crime statistics are notoriously unreliable, as the figures only relate to reported crimes and the information is not available at the appropriate level. I personally tend to regard crime statistics in the same vein as Disraeli when he said, "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics." This is especially the case with crime statistics.

The shortcomings of assessing the crime problem on statistical evidence alone are only too evident. In Nottinghamshire, it was found that the perception of crime is as important as the reality of crime in influencing behavior. For instance, the fear of crime inhibits shopping and leisure activities in urban areas. The fear of crime also varies around the country: in the city of Nottinghamshire, residents' fears are different to those in suburban areas.

Of course, the different perceptions in regard to the level and nature of urban insecurity imply differences in the demand for security, and therefore, different arrangements for policing. What has been the response of concerned local authorities in the county of Nottinghamshire, and what is their point of view? A wide variety of activities have been undertaken by the different agencies to reduce or prevent crime through developing active citizenship. Today in the county, 95 percent of all drug arrests come from information given by the public, and a real confidence has been established between the police and the citizenry, which is somewhat exceptional. Today, there are more than 750 watch schemes in operation in Nottinghamshire. They are covering more than 63,000 households and are coordinated by the police but run by the residents.

Urban Violence in France in the Mid-Nineties

The studies conducted at the local level in the county of Nottinghamshire in England, which mainly attempted to break administrative sectoral approaches in dealing with urban problems on the one hand, and to involve citizens in the production of "security" on the other, are somewhat similar to those conducted in France at a national level since the early 1980s. These approaches were formulated in 1982 in two reports. The first one, "In Front of Delinquency: Prevention, Repression, and Solidarity," was compiled by the Commission of Mayors on Security. The second one, "Reinventing the City Together," was written by late mayor of Grenoble Hubert Dubedout. Together, these two reports paved the way for the formulation of a nationwide "Politique de la Ville," or "City Policy," a national program and framework for action which provides incentives for doing things differently than they used to be done.

Did it succeed, and what can we say about urban insecurity in France today, after more than 10 years of a special endeavor to reduce poverty, social exclusion, and spatial segregation and after launching a national debate on the question? Let me give you a brief account of the current level of urban violence in my country.

If revolutions have been part of the history of France and major upheavals occur at a higher pace than in other countries, rioting has become, since the early 1980s, a new expression of urban and social violence. Today, more than 32 neighborhoods in France are considered as "hypersensitive."

They are under a siege of daily violence at a high level, which often manifests itself in aggressions against police officers as well as the tendency to close a certain territory to outsiders and public authorities. This tendency for "closure," rejection of the outside world and the creation of "extraterritorial" areas in which public power is not welcome, strangely recalls, from the Bronx to the favelas of Rio, a more global urban phenomenon: the appearance, within our cities, of new frontier lines that delineate, not the rich from the less rich, but those who have work from those who do not even know what work and mainstream society are about. These neighborhoods have become "supermarkets of drugs," in which various groups fight for hegemony. Some of the most spectacular riots in France in recent years may have been started and fueled by drug dealers trying to preserve their territory.

Apart from those 32 "hypersensitive" neighborhoods, police statistics for 1993 report 105 "high-risk neighborhoods" in which daily violence takes the form of repeated aggressions against representatives of public institutions (schools, urban transport, firemen, police forces, social services), often taking the form of visible rejection such as throwing stones, graffiti, burning of private cars, etc.)

According to the evaluation that was formulated by the police to measure the level of violence and insecurity (8-level scale), 210 other neighborhoods in the country are the object of a major increase in what is now called "civic offenses" and youth delinquency (defying institutions, vandalism, razzias in supermarkets, etc.).

The Paris region concentrates a large proportion of each of these dysfunctioning neighborhoods, whatever the category. But apart from those urban and suburban centers, uncertainty and its corollary, insecurity, are also present in more rural and remote urban centers. There, the forms of despair are different and more oriented toward oneself than to others or society in general. They are manifested in suicides, alcoholism, domestic violence, fights, and car accidents. In these more rural neighborhoods, says the police report, "the experience of exclusion results in auto-depreciation and fatalism," while it turns into public violence in suburban neighborhoods.

The specificity of urban violence in France today is twofold: on the one hand, we see the rise of "civic offenses" of a "recreational nature," committed by both individuals and groups, such as graffiti and destruction of public goods. On the other hand, there is the formation of groups that identify themselves through some distinct element, such as music, and develop a subculture hostile to any form of authority. The recent French movie "The Hate," which will be released soon, perfectly describes these mechanisms.

The Role of Local Authorities: Analysis of the Current Situation and Recommendations

In most industrialized democracies, as well as in many other countries, and not only in France as just described, police statistics suggest dramatic rises in common crime or civic offenses in recent years. More specifically, data show an acceleration in the late 1980s that can be significantly correlated, in France for example, with the deep and repetitive economic crisis affecting the country. Such crimes, a particular urban phenomenon of our time, have their roots in social and economic causes (social alienation, high rates of unemployment, urban decay, racial and integration problems, disruption of the family unit, etc.), producing frustration, bitterness, and

anger, especially among deprived and underprivileged groups.

Studies such as those quoted above show crime rates to be highest in poor, disadvantaged areas, where access to recreational, health, and educational services may be lacking, and where poor quality and crowded housing conditions exist.

On top of the objective reality of urban delinquency, there is a high level of subjective fear of crime felt by the local population. This feeling of insecurity, the fear of crime, is the major concern of town dwellers. It is an anxiety that does not necessarily stem from the most serious crimes, but primarily from minor offenses happening in public and that psychologically affect every member of the community.

From this perspective, although “urban insecurity” seems at first sight an ambiguous concept, for it refers to two obviously interrelated but different things, it in fact implicitly refers to the same issue: that of the well-being and of society in general, of local urban communities in particular. It addresses the quality and density of existing “social ties” within local communities as well as across areas of cities; the level of acceptance of the current social organization, values, and functioning.

The level and the nature of “common crime” allow a global diagnosis of society: it is a gauge of a society's level of despair and destruction, and works as a revealer of the state of society. *Urban insecurity and its various manifestations are not just symptoms of social and urban dysfunctioning: they are meaningful symptoms that we ought to analyze at the local level as well as at more collective and global levels, and which call for international cooperation and exchanges.*

For instance, this very important increase, in Europe, in the level of “civil offenses” against various targets needs to be further explored, and comparative studies are needed. Indeed, although crime prevention is well studied and documented, there is still no significant advance in reducing the level of delinquency in European cities. Central and local governments are not always capable of dealing effectively with the complicated causes, for a variety of reasons. Graffiti, for example, seem to pose a marginal problem when in fact they are complex in nature. And although it seems of a small importance compared to other types of crimes, we should not forget that graffiti, as symbols of rejection and conflict, have a strong impact on the image of a city: for 20 years, they destroyed the image of New York City.

Local authorities do not always have up-to-date information on current techniques for dealing with crime in urban areas; there is inadequate transfer of information between the different categories and sectors of professionals called upon to deal with the problem.

The experience of France’s City Policy and Social Development of Neighborhoods programs, which attempted to address the issues of insufficient coordination and sectoral approaches to global problems on the part of institutional and public authorities, and the relative failure of these approaches, have shown the difficulties and complexities of the task.

Above all, the process of implementing existing machinery is difficult because of the traditional divisions between different administrative sectors; this creates inefficiency and the irrational use of manpower, equipment, and budgetary resources, leading to recriminations between the various professionals involved. Most public school principals in France do not even know the name of their police district commander.

Such deficiencies lead to a growing lack of public confidence in the criminal justice system, and occasionally gives rise to a fortress-like mentality and the privatization of security, a particularly dangerous response implying that authorities have relinquished their own responsibilities. The much publicized rise of the extreme right conservative and racist movements in most Western and Central European countries can be explained by this novel and amplified distrust between citizens on the one hand, and current forms of city governance and leadership on the other.

The possible causes of the current rise in “urban insecurity,” delinquency, and civic offenses are reported in the final declaration of the Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities in Europe on the reduction of urban insecurity. Indeed, those causes, outlined during the 1987 Barcelona conference, seem strangely up-to-date.

It would be useful to recall, as a consequence of this global analysis, a few recommendations that were formulated by representatives of local authorities, because they are obviously, and unfortunately still valid.

What we see through the example of Nottinghamshire is that whether it is information, cooperation, or advice that is required, crime cannot be prevented unless ordinary people are willing to participate. But people are willing to participate only when a minimum consensus exists on the main values, functioning, and organizing principles of the local community, and more generally, of society. Any endeavor to reduce urban insecurity must therefore be geared to securing the confidence of the people, which can only happen in the framework of a largely accepted social contract.

(From "Partnership in Crime Prevention"): Effective crime prevention is essentially local. It is frequently small-scale and depends greatly on the enthusiasm of communities and individuals. This is bound to lead to problems with continuity and cooperation. However, these problems are made worse in many areas by the lack of focus for crime prevention schemes and the lack of an organization to support them. This suggests that there may be a need for local structures that can take an overview of crime prevention in an area, coordinate existing activities, and initiate and maintain new schemes. And if organizational support for crime prevention needs to be structured in order to coordinate existing activities and initiate and maintain new ones, as we saw in Nottinghamshire, these structures will inevitably call for leadership of some form.

Of course, all these recommendations do not derive from my own reflections: they come from people who have been in daily contact with violence and insecurity, and who have tried to devise and test solutions. They come from concerned and involved mayors of European cities, some of whom I represent here, including Dennis Petit, mayor of Nottinghamshire, and others. Their insights show that whenever the issue of insecurity has to be addressed, cities, as political, social, and administrative entities, are the main actors. Two examples are the European Forum on Urban Safety and the United Towns Organization (UTO). Both are constituted of member cities which try to exchange ideas and innovations, and to put their resources together to act in common (this can involve training programs; formulation of policy orientations; sharing comprehensive data; etc.).

United Towns Organization on Insecurity, Democracy, and Urban Governance: City-to-City Cooperation for Better Urban Living Conditions

Local authorities often look to each other for support, for the sharing of opinions and experiences and for solidarity. UTO, the organization I represent here, has for 40 years provided a forum for the free exchange of ideas throughout Europe and the world. The United Towns Organization now has over 2,000 affiliated local authorities in 79 countries, and is a major forum for local authority cooperation. Its achievements in the field have been fully recognized by world bodies. It enjoys Consultative Status 1 with UNESCO and with the Council of Europe. It is also recognized as a public service in Africa.

But UTO is not just a federation of cities. It has a unique role and an important potential for action. As resources become increasingly scarce, the benefits of mutual cooperation and the sharing of expertise are emphasized everywhere. Partner towns and cities can work together to produce realistic solutions to problems which are common to both, and urban insecurity certainly belongs to this category. Many towns and cities with mutual difficulties have come to value the sharing of failures as well as successes, as they realize that much can be learned from each other's mistakes.

In recent years, UTO has initiated action in the field of social affairs. People belonging to different cultures, ethnic groups, and social classes are living side by side in towns and cities, and the considerable changes which are taking place are a source of conflict and insecurity. It is in this area that the local authority can play an important part in helping to unite and integrate different sections of the population through appropriate policies, in a broad perspective.

Moreover, since its creation UTO has been concerned with peace. Today, situations which threaten peace, as we have seen in Europe and obviously in the United States, are also developing within towns and cities themselves. As a consequence of economic and social difficulties, a precarious or marginal existence has become the fate of an increasing number of people. This often disrupts the very life of the community when reactions take the form of a rejection of minorities, growing intolerance, and a refusal to accommodate differences.

This type of situation develops particularly in Europe, and creates an extreme form of urban insecurity. The World Federation of United Cities has often intervened to respond to extreme gestures of urban violence, such as occurred in Rostock, a German town which has been the scene of racial outbreaks. When such dramatically alarming situations are experienced, cooperation between cities not only provides circumstantial support, but also helps in analyzing the roots of the problems and devising solutions.

It is up to municipal officials to assume their responsibilities toward their fellow citizens. UTO calls on them to take initiatives aimed at informing the townspeople and involving them in action against urban insecurity, violence, and intolerance, and in local policy-making to promote integration and the preservation of social ties. Quoting Gilbert Bonnemaïson ("Mr. GoodHouse," as his American colleagues call him), the president of EFUS, I want to stress the fact that "the" question of insecurity is essentially of a political nature, to the extent that democracies can be judged upon their capacity to integrate the margins of society, to consider all individuals as citizens, and to accept negotiation and pluralistic solutions to problems.

It would be a tragic mistake in these times to turn our backs on the outside world, limit exchanges, and refuse solidarity. I believe this is why the Great Cities program has been created at the University of Illinois at Chicago. I would be glad to further explore with you new ways of fighting urban insecurity, in favor of "peace at the grassroots."

As we saw, fighting insecurity cannot be addressed independently, and more global issues of social organization and functioning are involved. These are:

- Participation of inhabitants;
- Partnership and coordination of services;
- Decentralization and neighborhood democracy;
- Articulation with national regulations, services, and policies;
- Contracting between various levels of governments for mutual financial, logistical, and administrative support;
- Fighting for education for all, and against scholastic absenteeism at school;
- Promotion of activities for young people;
- Integration of ethnic minorities;
- Local strategies for reintegrating delinquents and the rehabilitation of victims;
- Collecting the right data and developing prevention programs with the police;
- Improving the physical urban environment; and last but not least,
- Fighting drug abuse.

On all of these points I believe that the exchange of experiences, analyses, innovations, and data collection make a difference. In 1989, UTO was invited to participate in the preparation of the North American Conference on "Urban Security and Crime Prevention" in Montreal. Attended by many representatives of cities from around the world, the conference was of particular interest because as it enabled a comparison of the problems that existed in the different participating countries. The Montreal meeting showed the overall similarity of the policies of European towns. It emphasized the importance given to long-term prevention policies and the short-sightedness of policies favoring prison-building and repression.

Is it useful for themes such as those to be dealt with in the framework of cities' international exchanges, and do they have their rightful place in this context? The answer is yes. Accepting responsibility for problems of exclusion, with their fair share of injustice and risk, is a means of consolidating democracy at a grass-roots level by providing everyone with the conditions necessary for a better life.

Towns and cities worldwide are often confronted with the same problems. The overall configuration may be different, but the basic mechanisms of exclusion are similar. We feel that exchanges between towns and cities belonging to different countries, cultures, and systems are an important means of finding answers to the various difficulties of urban life.

Moreover, an evolution is underway. Whereas in the past, cities had a tendency to limit their international relations to the fields where there was usually consensus of opinion, an increasing number of towns and cities, in Europe in particular, are today exchanging ideas on drugs or sharing their experiences on the integration of immigrants. In short, the fight against exclusion and urban insecurity is gradually becoming a sphere of investigation and solidarity in city-to-city relationships. This is not only an expression of democracy, but also of human rights, firmly anchored in everyday life and the desire to transform it.

Summary of Presentation of Elwood M. Hopkins, Director, Los Angeles Mega-Cities Project

Innovative Approaches To Urban Insecurity Replicating and Scaling Up Solutions That Work

The Mega-Cities Project fieldsite teams worldwide have documented a wide range of innovative urban initiatives that address the issues of crime and violence in cities. Many of these can be scaled up within their cities through replication in other neighborhoods or incorporation into citywide policy. And many can be transferred and culturally adapted among many large cities of the world. Below are 17 illustrative examples of innovations which the Mega-Cities Project teams are now disseminating and transferring within and between cities.

1. Sao Paulo's "Delegacias del Mulher": In the late 1980's, women in Sao Paulo, Brazil, organized to create a police station staffed solely by women police officers, so that women who were victims of domestic violence and rape would feel safe coming forward. While only half of the women who come in actually press charges, the station's effectiveness lies in its capacity to provide immediate support to victims and to intimidate, if not punish, offenders. The first station had served more than 10,000 by its second year. The idea has since been replicated across Sao Paulo and transferred to Rio de Janeiro.
2. Bangkok's "Drug Free Zones": In Bangkok, the residents of several slums and squatter settlements have organized to turn their neighborhoods into "Drug Free Zones" by identifying local drug dealers and pressuring them to leave the community and enter a Buddhist monastery for treatment if they wish to return. The neighborhoods group uses a variety of methods to get the dealers to leave, including pressure by local associations, refusal of local shops to sell them goods and services, and sometimes, coercion by local youth gangs.
3. Bombay's "Police Project": In Bombay, the municipal police force is underpaid, overworked, and tend to live in the city's most impoverished slums. With the incredible pressures they face, many police officers resort to domestic violence to release their anger. In response, the Bombay School of Social Work created "The Police Project" through which students and professors of social work live on-site in the police dormitories, and provide various forms of individual and group counseling as well as conflict resolution exercises to help the police "practice what they preach."
4. Buenos Aires' Banks on Public Plazas: In cooperation with local government, private banks are opening new branches fronting on public neighborhoods plazas as a security measure. The banks provide full-time security service for the bank and the plaza area, reducing the incidence of crime and making the plazas safe place for community life.
5. Tokyo's "Koban System": "Koban" is a unique system of community police stations in Japan. These ward substations and branch stations, established in 1881, provide a network of small police units throughout all communities in Tokyo. They are focal points for the collection of data on citizens, and provide a range of services including point duty, lookout, patrol, information, and directions. They serve as an important contact between police and citizens, and provide a sense of security because they are never more than a short walk away.

Appendix

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONFERENCE BROCHURE

**INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON
URBAN INSECURITY**

University of Illinois at Chicago

September 22-23, 1995

Sponsors:

**Office of International Programs
Center for Research in Law and Justice
Great Cities Institute
College of Urban Planning and Public Administration**

INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON URBAN INSECURITY

There is a need for new interactive leadership in the development of responses to the emerging sense of urban insecurity. New and intense forces of change such as population destabilization, the international drug trade, and an aggressive worldwide spread of organized crime activities are dramatically altering the public safety environment in urban settings. In Russia, for example, the police now "compete" with organized criminals in providing security for citizens.

Coupled with these profound changes in public domain security is the rapid growth of the underclass in the world's cities. This underclass will not decrease. It is creating an entire population living outside society, though still requiring a costly welfare and benefits system. This is paradoxical. The welfare state was supposed to take care of individual people at risk from crime, illness, poverty, illiteracy and insecurity in old age. Now it is expected to prevent entire ghettos from becoming zones of social exclusion.

All success in improving the quality of life eventually comes down to the principle of empowerment of individuals and organizations. Successful reform efforts that bring about a lasting change will require far more skill at conflict resolution and consensus building than is usual in traditional urban development programs.

This Forum will explore how this can be done and the questions that must be addressed by all parties concerned.

**INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON
URBAN INSECURITY**
September 22-23, 1995

**SEPTEMBER 22:
6:30 - 9:00 P.M.**

Opening Banquet

PRESENTATION OF FORUM THEME:

Dr. David Broski, Vice Chancellor
University of Illinois

Edward L. Palmer, Executive Director
COMPRAND, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

There is a need for new interactive leadership in the development of responses to the emerging sense of urban insecurity. New and intense forces of change such as population destabilization, the international drug trade, and an aggressive worldwide spread of organized crime activities are dramatically altering the public safety environment in urban settings.

**SEPTEMBER 23:
8:30 - 8:45 A.M.**

INTRODUCTIONS AND PROGRAM FORMAT:

Jess Maghan Executive Director
Center for Research in Law and Justice

8:45 - 9:30 A.M.

**POVERTY AND THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT:
THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY AND THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTION**

Jonas Rabinovitch, Senior Urban Development Advisor
United Nations Development Program

Cities have a contradictory and dual reality. They are places of need and plenty, growth and congestion, poverty and wealth. Urban insecurity issues exist for both rich and poor; the rich fear more for their own personal and property security, while the poor do not have access to suitable means of livelihood, or simply do not have choices that allow any form of security. Security here is understood not only in the physical sense, but as a broader social and participatory umbrella.

9:45 - 10:45 A.M.**URBAN INSECURITY: EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE**

Michel Marcus, Chief Executive
European Forum on Urban Safety / Paris, France

The marginalisation of the urban young runs contrary to an open society but, ironically, the existence of an underclass in a community-oriented society is easier to understand. This underclass has two identifiable groups: those who know they have been expelled from mainstream society and those who don't even know what society is, and are not interested in trying to join.

10:45 - 11:45 A.M. FULL EMPLOYMENT: ASKING THE WRONG QUESTIONS

Robert L. Little, President
R. Langdon Company, Lansing, MI

Experience has shown that economic growth doesn't reduce long-term unemployment. When the economy picks up, jobs are created, but they are filled by people who are still a part of society and who are capable of getting down to work immediately - the short-term unemployed, not the underclass unemployed. Sadly, the real question is not so much how to bring the underclass back into society, as how to prevent their children from becoming permanently trapped in an underclass status.

**11:45 AM - 1:00 P.M.
CITY****LUNCHEON SPEAKER: THE FACTS OF LIFE IN THE 21st CENTURY**

Oliver DeGeorges, Deputy Secretary General
United Township International, Paris, France

All well-intentioned leaders, especially mayors, accustomed to pragmatism and condemned by the needs of their fellow citizens to use their imagination, have set comprehensive policies in motion to reduce insecurity. Dialogue for policy development must occur not only between professionals, but, importantly with the inhabitants of our cities

1:00 - 3:30 P.M.**USA RESPONSE PANEL: CONTEMPORARY URBAN INSECURITY CONCERNS****Moderators:**

Wim Wiewel, Dean, College of Urban Planning & Public Affairs; Director, Great Cities Institute

Dr. Bobby Austin, Program Director, Kellogg Foundation

Panelists:

Robert Hill, Director, Urban Institute, Morgan State University
Historically Black Universities & Colleges: A Resource for Developing Solutions

Hon. William Bowen, Former US Senator (Ohio)

Taskforce: Black Men & Young Black Boys

Joe Boyce, Senior Editor, *Wall Street Journal*

Don Wyclife, Editorial Director, *Chicago Tribune*

Art Norman, President, Chicago Chapter, National Association of Black Journalists

3:30 - 4:00 P.M.

**CONFERENCE SUMMARY:
BUILDING AN ACTION AGENDA**

Jess Maghan, Executive Director
Center for Research in Law and Justice

4:00 P.M.

CONCLUSION OF CONFERENCE

