

THE TASKS FACING A REALIST CRIMINOLOGY

"THE RECENT SPEED OF GROWTH OF CRIME HAS BEEN UNPRECEDENTED. IT HAS ALSO BEEN PECULIARLY DISAPPOINTING. IN THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF THE CENTURY, EVEN DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR, RATES OF CRIME REMAINED FAIRLY LEVEL, NO MORE THAN KEEPING PACE WITH POPULATION. IT WAS IN THE POST-WAR DEPRESSION THAT A SUSTAINED TREND BECAME DISCERNIBLE. THROUGH THE YEARS OF ECONOMIC UPHEAVAL, UNEMPLOYMENT AND ANOTHER GREAT WAR, IT GATHERED PACE INEXORABLY, THOUGH THE YEARLY ACCRETIONS WERE SMALL COMPARED WITH THOSE WE TAKE FOR GRANTED TODAY. THERE ALWAYS SEEMED SOME REASON, SOME SOCIAL EVIL TO ACCOUNT FOR THEM. THERE ALWAYS REMAINED THE HOPE THAT IF WE COULD ACHIEVE PEACE AND PLENTY, THEY WOULD STOP. IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTIES IT APPEARED THAT THIS HOPE WAS TO BE ACHIEVED. THERE WAS EVEN A DROP. WE THOUGHT WE WERE AT LAST COMING OUT OF THE WOOD. WITH PROSPERITY, BETTER EDUCATION, FULL EMPLOYMENT AND THE WELFARE STATE, THE VERY ROOTS OF CRIMINALITY MIGHT BE STARVED. THEN SUDDENLY, AS POST-WAR RATIONING CAME TO AN END, AS WE WERE PREPARING TO HEAR WE HAD NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD, AS THE CURVE OF AFFLUENCE WAS GATHERING MOMENTUM, THE CURVE OF CRIME BEGAN TO FOLLOW IT...

'WHY SHOULD IT BE THAT A CENTURY OF THEORISING AND RESEARCH SHOULD HAVE MADE LITTLE OR NO APPARENT IMPACT EITHER UPON THE TRENDS OF CRIME IN OUR SOCIETY OR UPON OUR ABILITY TO MODIFY CRIMINAL TENDENCIES IN INDIVIDUALS?'" (SIR LEON RADZINOVICZ AND MRS JOAN KING, 1977, PP.4 AND 93)

THE TROUBLE WITH CRIMINOLOGY IS THAT IT CANNOT EXPLAIN CRIME. AND BEING UNABLE TO EXPLAIN THE PHENOMENON ITS PERSISTENT; IF DIVERSE SUGGESTIONS AS HOW TO TACKLE THE PROBLEM; GRIND TO A HALT IN A MIRE OF RECIDIVISM; OVERCROWDED PRISONS AND FAILED EXPERIMENTS. THE CRIME RATE SEEMS UNCONDUCTIVE TO HUMAN INTERVENTION. NOTHING SEEMS TO WORK; EACH PRIZED INNOVATION; FROM COMMUNITY SERVICE TO NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH; SEEMS TO HAVE LITTLE EFFECT. TODAY THE BEST FRIEND OF THE CRIMINOLOGIST IS THE DEMOGRAPHER. INDEED; THE ONLY ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES; OUTSIDE OF JAPAN; WHICH CAN BOAST A DECLINING CRIME RATE WOULD SEEM TO OWE THEIR GOOD FORTUNE TO DEMOGRAPHY; NOT CRIMINOLOGY; AS THE PROPORTION OF YOUNG MALES IN THEIR POPULATION *TEMPORARILY* DECLINES. PARADOXICALLY; THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A PERIOD WITH A WIDER RANGE OF WELL-WRITTEN TEXTS FROM EACH OF THE DIFFERENT CRIMINOLOGIES WHICH HAVE EVOLVED OVER THE LAST CENTURY AND; AS WE SHALL SEE; THERE HAVE BEEN SOME GENUINE INNOVATIONS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. YET THIS SEEMINGLY HEALTHY DEBATE CONCEALS A BABBLE OF PARADIGMS UNITED AROUND A SHARED INABILITY TO GET TO GRIPS WITH THE PHENOMENON OF CRIME.

THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF A REALIST CRIMINOLOGY IS TO BE FAITHFUL TO THE PHENOMENON WHICH IT IS STUDYING. THAT IS TO BE TRUE TO THE ACTUAL SHAPE OF THE PHENOMENON AND THE FORCES WHICH HAVE BROUGHT IT INTO BEING AND WHICH WILL TRANSFORM IT OVER TIME. REALISM IS NOT EMPIRICISM; IT DOES NOT MERELY REFLECT THE WORLD OF APPEARANCES; THE TRADEMARK OF CONVENTIONAL CRIMINOLOGY AND CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC WISDOMS. RATHER IT ATTEMPTS TO UNPACK THE PHENOMENON; DISPLAY ITS HIDDEN RELATIONSHIPS AND PINPOINT THE DYNAMICS WHICH LIE BEHIND THE APPARENT

OBVIOUSNESS OF A SINGLE CRIMINAL INCIDENT AT A PARTICULAR MOMENT OF TIME. TO DO THIS IT MUST CONTEXTUALISE THE MOMENT AND PLACE ITS TRAJECTORY IN TIME. FUNDAMENTALLY REALIST CRIMINOLOGY INVOLVES AN ACT OF DECONSTRUCTION. IT TAKES THE PHENOMENON OF CRIME APART, BREAKING IT DOWN TO ITS COMPONENT PIECES AND SEQUENCES; IT NOTES, IN CONTRAST, HOW THE VARIOUS CRIMINOLOGIES TEND TO FOCUS ON FRAGMENTS OF THIS CONSTRUCTION, TAKING ONE EMPIRICAL VERITY LIKE A SINGLE REFLECTION FROM A MULTI-FACETED MIRROR AND CLAIMING THAT IT REPRESENTS THE WHOLE. REALISM PLACES TOGETHER THESE FRAGMENTS OF THE SHAPE OF CRIME IN THEIR SOCIAL CONTEXT OVER TIME TO CAPTURE THE REAL FORCES BEHIND THE ONE-DIMENSIONAL, TIME-FROZEN IMAGES OF CONVENTIONAL ACCOUNTS.

REALISM IS NOT EMPIRICISM IN THAT IT DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC STEREOTYPES OF CRIME OR FEARS OF CRIME OR IMAGES OF OFFENDERS AND OF POLICING ARE ACCURATE. IT BELIEVES THAT FRAGMENTS OF REALITY ARE RE-CONTEXTUALISED JUST AS THEY ARE IN CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY ITSELF. TO TAKE CRIME SERIOUSLY, THEN, IS NOT TO REFLECT THE PUBLIC IMAGES OF CRIME. BUT IT IS TO SAY THAT THERE IS A RATIONAL CARE TO PUBLIC CONCERNS AND IMAGES. THAT IS, THAT POPULAR CONCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND POLICING ARE, IN THE MAIN, CONSTRUCTED OUT OF THE MATERIAL EXPERIENCE OF PEOPLE RATHER THAN FANTASIES IMPRESSED UPON THEM BY THE MASS MEDIA OR AGENCIES OF THE STATE. FANTASIES OCCUR, OF COURSE, WHERE THERE IS NO DIRECT EXPERIENCE; IT IS NOT THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN MUGGED WHO HAVE FANTASTIC IMAGES OF THE MUGGER, BUT THOSE SUBURBAN SOULS WHOSE SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE OF MUGGING - THAT IS, DIRECT EXPERIENCE OF THEMSELVES, FRIENDS AND RELATIVES - IS VIRTUALLY NIL.

AND AGAIN, THOSE IN INNER CITY BRITAIN WHO HAVE FREQUENT CONTACT WITH THE POLICE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE WIDESPREAD MALPRACTICES, THOSE WHO HAVE ZERO CONTACT OFTEN BELIEVE THE POLICE TO BE FAULTLESS (SEE JONES AND YOUNG, 1986). REALISM THUS SETS ITSELF AGAINST THOSE IDEALIST THEORIES WHICH PORTRAY MORAL PANICS AS MEDIA INSTIGATED EVENTS WITHOUT ANY RATIONAL BASIS AND AGAINST THOSE WRITERS WHO TALK GLIBLY OF IRRATIONAL FEARS OF CRIME WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHAT A RATIONAL FEAR WOULD LOOK LIKE.

BUT IF REALISM IS WILLING TO GRANT CONVENTIONAL ACCOUNTS OF CRIME A RATIONAL CARE IT IS ALSO EQUALLY ADAMANT THAT THERE ARE EXTRAORDINARY RECURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE CONTEXTUALISATION OF CRIME BY CONVENTIONAL CRIMINOLOGY AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE. CONVENTIONAL CRIMINOLOGY IS CHARACTERISED BY ITS PARTIALITY, IT TAKES PART OF A PROCESS, ONE MOMENT OF TRUTH AND ATTEMPTS TO CREATE FROM THIS A SOLID THEORETICAL EDIFICE. IT IS A CACOPHONY OF PIECES OF REALITY, EACH SEEKING TO BE THE TOTALITY: A 'SCIENTIFIC' PROCESS WHICH ATTEMPTS TO CONCLUDE AN EQUATION WITH ONLY ONE OR TWO OF THE VARIABLES AT HAND. PARTIALITY INVOLVES EITHER GENERALISATION FROM ONE FRACTURED PIECE OF THE CRIMINAL PROCESS, OR FROM A ONE-SIDED INTERPRETATION OF THE NATURE OF HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIETY.

PARTIALITY IS A PERENNIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY. IT CAN INVOLVE TAKING THE CRIMINAL AT ONE SINGLE POINT OF TIME AND DENYING THE PAST CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THE CRIME OR THE FUTURE POSSIBILITIES. IT CAN INVOLVE A FIXATION ON THE DISTANT PAST SO THAT PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES ARE ANNULLED. IT CAN INVOLVE A FOCUS

AN MACRO- STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND ITS LEGISLATION AND IGNORE THE RULE-BREAKER ALTOGETHER - AND, OF COURSE, IT CAN FOCUS ON THE CRIMINAL AS IF HE OR SHE WAS INDEPENDENT OF HUMANLY CREATED RULES. IT CAN HAVE CRIMINAL ACTORS WHOSE ACTIONS ARE PRESCRIBED BY THEIR BODIES; IT CAN HAVE THOSE WHO EXIST IN SOME AIRY LIMBO OF SYMBOLISM WITHOUT ANY BODIES WHATEVER. IT CAN POINT TO SIMPLE ACTORS WHOSE CHOICES ARE AN ARTIFACT OF THE SPATIAL OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES CONFRONTING THEM; IT CAN HAVE CRIMINALS WHO EXIST OUTSIDE OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD OF SPACE AND OPPORTUNITY. IT CAN TAKE ONE PART OF THE SQUARE OF CRIME; OFFENDER, VICTIM, POLICE OR INFORMAL CONTROL AND EXPLAIN ALL CRIME IN TERMS OF ONE (OR AT BEST TWO) OF THESE FACTORS. IT CAN BE BONE-HEADEDLY DETERMINISTIC OR CAN IMBUE HUMAN NATURE WITH PURE REASON. IT CAN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THE CRIMINOLOGICAL UNIVERSE IN TERMS OF RACE, OR CLASS, OR GENDER OR AGE, BUT SCARCELY EVER A GENUINE MEANINGFUL CULTURAL SYNTHESIS OF THEM ALL.

IN THE ACT OF DECONSTRUCTING CRIME, I WANT TO LOOK AT THREE ASPECTS OF THE CRIMINAL PROCESS: THE *SHAPE* OF CRIME AT A GIVEN MOMENT, THE CONTEXT OF CRIME AND THE PASSAGE OF THE CRIMINAL ACT THROUGH TIME.

A. The Shape of Crime

THE MOST CRUCIAL DIMENSION OF DEVIANCE IS THAT IT IS A PRODUCT OF ACTION AND REACTION, OF ACTORS AND REACTORS, OF BEHAVIOUR AND OF RULES. AND IN THE CASE OF CRIMINAL DEVIANCE, THESE ARE LEGAL REGULATIONS. EACH PART OF THIS DYAD IS VITAL TO REALISM. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE DEVIANT WITHOUT THE APPLICATION OF RULES, BUT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE RULES WHICH HAVE ANY HUMAN RELEVANCE WITHOUT THE EXISTENCE OF ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL RULE-BREAKING.

THE CRIME RATE THEREFORE MUST, OF NECESSITY, INVOLVE BEHAVIOUR AND RULE ENFORCERS. IT CANNOT POSSIBLY BE EXPLAINED SOLELY IN TERMS OF EITHER CHANGES IN BEHAVIOUR OR IN TERMS OF CHANGES IN RULES. THE NOTION OF A 'REAL' CRIME RATE, INDEPENDENT OF SOCIAL REACTION - A SIMPLE MEASURE OF CHANGES IN CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR - IS JUST AS ABSURD AS THAT OF AN EPIPHENOMENAL CRIME RATE MERELY CREATED BY REACTORS. THUS A QUESTION SUCH AS: 'HAS VIOLENCE GONE UP IN OUR SOCIETY?' HAS TO BE ANSWERED BY REFERENCE TO CHANGES IN VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR AND CHANGES IN THE CONCEPTION AND TOLERANCE OF VIOLENCE. ALL SOCIAL STATISTICS FROM SUICIDE, THROUGH ALCOHOLISM, TO POVERTY TO CRIME, SHARE THIS DYADIC STRUCTURE. AND IF SHIFTS IN OUR LEVELS OF TOLERANCE - TOGETHER WITH CHANGES IN BEHAVIOUR, CREATE INCREASES IN OUR RATES OF VIOLENT CRIME, THIS MAKES THE FIGURES NO LESS REAL. FOR THAT IS THE REALITY OF CRIME RATES: THE MOVEMENT OF TWO FACTORS. ACTION AND REACTION. SIMILARLY, THE DIFFERENTIAL RATES OF CRIME BETWEEN DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS CANNOT BE MERELY THE RESULT OF DIFFERENT DEPLOYMENT OF POLICE RESOURCES NOR MERELY DIFFERENCES IN BEHAVIOUR: THEY MUST - WHATEVER THE PRECISE WEIGHTING BETWEEN THEM - INVOLVE THE TWO FACTORS. THE *REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM* OF AN EITHER/OR ANALYSIS IS THAT ALL PEOPLE BEHAVE SIMILARLY AND THE POLICE ACT DIFFERENTIALLY BETWEEN THEM, OR THAT CRIMINALITY VARIES AND THE POLICE ACT TOTALLY SIMILARLY TO EVERY GROUP. EITHER IDEAL SCENARIO WOULD BE SO EXTRAORDINARY AS TO BE UNTENABLE.

LET US LOOK A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY AT THE SOCIAL REACTION SIDE OF THE EQUATION. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A TENDENCY - AMONGST A WIDE SWATHE OF THEORISTS AND POLITICAL OPINION - TO VIEW THE SOCIAL REACTION AGAINST CRIME AS A POLICE MONOPOLY, THIS IS OBVIOUSLY UNTRUE. PUBLIC OPINION AND INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL HAVE THE CENTRAL ROLE, NOT ONLY IN DEFINING WHAT IS CRIME, BUT ALSO IN MAINTAINING SOCIAL ORDER. FURTHERMORE, SUCCESSFUL POLICE ACTION IS VERY LARGELY DEPENDENT ON PUBLIC SUPPORT. IN URBAN AREAS 95% OF CRIMES ARE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE POLICE BY THE PUBLIC, AND SUCCESSFUL CLEARING UP OF CRIME IS ALSO LARGELY DEPENDENT ON THE PUBLIC REPORTING SUSPECTS TO THE POLICE AND WITNESSING IN COURT (SEE KINSEY ET AL, 1986). EVEN IN THE WORST POLICE STATE - AND OFTEN THE MORE SO - THE SOCIAL CONTROL MECHANISMS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ARE PARAMOUNT. AND THESE EXTEND FROM THE INFORMAL FORCES OF THE URBAN PUBLIC SPACE, THROUGH TO INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE FAMILY, TO PRIVATE AGENCIES SUCH AS THE MASS MEDIA, CRUCIAL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE SCHOOL, THROUGH SOCIAL WORK AGENCIES UP TO THE DIRECT COERCIVE AGENTS OF THE STATE: THE POLICE THEMSELVES. IF, THEN, CRIME IS DEFINED AND CONTROLLED BY A SERIES OF REACTIONS, THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL IS AN EXTENSIVE AND COMPLEX ONE.

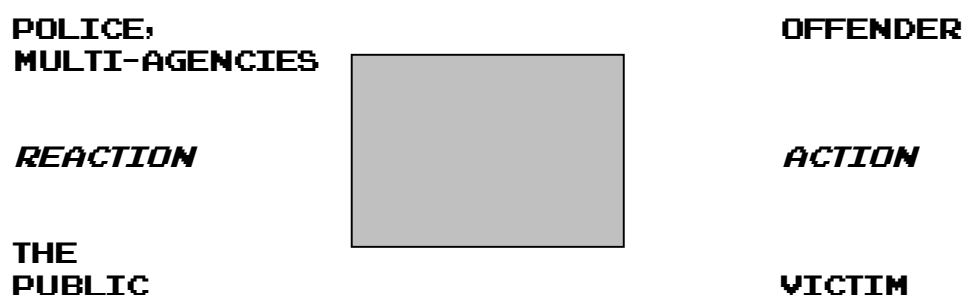
WE SEE, THEREFORE, HOW THE MULTIPLE AGENCIES WHICH REACT TO CRIME ARE INVOLVED BOTH AS DEFINERS OF WHAT IS TOLERABLE AND INTOLERABLE BEHAVIOUR AND AS *CONTROLLERS* OF THE LEVEL OF DEVIANCE. BOTH OF THESE VARIABLES, INVOLVING AGENCIES WHICH ARE NOT NECESSARILY IN AGREEMENT, ARE CRITICAL TO THE CRIME LEVEL. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS NO INTRINSIC REASON WHY THE DEFINITIONAL FUNCTION OF THESE AGENCIES AND

THEIR CONTROL FUNCTIONS SHOULD MOVE IN THE SAME DIRECTION. FOR EXAMPLE, THAT LOW LEVELS OF CONTROL SHOULD RELATE TO A HIGH TOLERANCE OF DEVIANCE, ETC.

LET US TURN, NOW, TO THE CRIMINAL ACT ITSELF. AT HEART THIS HAS AN OFFENDER AND A VICTIM. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, CRIMES WHICH SOME MAINTAIN ARE 'VICTIMLESS', BUT THIS APPELLATION IS MADE PRECISELY BY THOSE WHO WOULD ARGUE THAT THEY ARE NOT TRUE CRIME. THIS IS OF NO CONCERN TO US HERE. WHAT IS OF IMPORTANCE IS THE EXISTENCE OF THE SECOND DYAD IN THE CRIME EQUATION: THAT OF THE VICTIM AND OFFENDER.

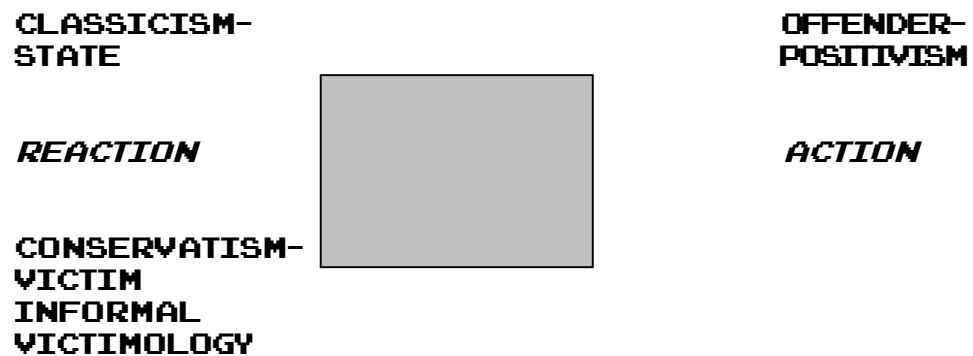
WE HAVE NOW OUTLINED THE FOUR KEY FACTORS IN THE CRIME EQUATION: FORMAL AND INFORMAL CONTROL SYSTEMS (THE REACTORS), AND OFFENDER AND VICTIM (THE ACTORS THE BEHAVIOUR REACTED AGAINST).

WE CAN EXPRESS THIS IN TERMS OF A SQUARE:



THIS CRIMINOLOGICAL SQUARE IS AT THE HEART OF UNDERSTANDING CRIME. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT SUCH A SIMPLE STRUCTURE IS SADLY NEGLECTED BY TRADITIONAL CRIMINOLOGY.

SOME INDEX OF ITS PARTIALITY CAN BE SEEN FROM THE FACT THAT CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES HAVE TENDED TO FOCUS ON ONE PART OF THE SQUARE AND LARGELY EXCLUDE

THE OTHERS.

THUS CLASSICIST THEORIES OF DEFERENCE HAVE QUITE HAPPILY TRIED TO EXPLAIN CHANGES IN THE CRIME RATE BY DIFFERENTIAL DETERRENCE ALONE, IGNORING THE FACT THAT THE STATE ACTION AGAINST CRIME IS DEPENDENT ON, AND ITS IMPACT A FUNCTION OF THE DEGREE OF INFORMAL CONTROL, THE MOTIVATION OF THE OFFENDER, AND THE EASE OF ACCESS TO VICTIMS. POSITIVISM HAS EXPLICITLY ARGUED THAT ITS DETERMINED HOMINICULAE ARE UNAFFECTED BY DETERRENCE, WHILST, AS DAVID MATZA (1969) POINTED OUT, IT ATTEMPTED TO DIVORCE THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE FROM THE STUDY OF THE STATE. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE HAS BEEN AN ONGOING DEBATE BETWEEN THOSE THEORISTS WHO HAVE SEEN CHANGES IN THE CRIME RATE AS A FUNCTION OF INCREASED SENSITIVITY TO DEVIANCE PLUS STRONGER ADMINISTRATIVE REACTION TO CRIME (EG PEPINSKY, 1980; PEARSON, 1983), AND THOSE WHO HAVE SEEN THERE BEING A RISE IN CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR ITSELF. ALL OF THIS DEBATE IS BEST PLACED WITHIN A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF ITS RECENT HISTORY AND THE IMPACT OF THE AETIOLOGICAL CRISIS ON CRIMINOLOGY.

Partiality and the Aetiological Crisis

I HAVE DETAILED THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AETIOLOGICAL CRISIS ELSEWHERE (1986). BRIEFLY THE DOMINANT CRIMINOLOGICAL PARADIGM IN WESTERN CRIMINOLOGY IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD WAS THAT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC POSITIVISM; NAMELY, THAT CRIME AND DELINQUENCY WERE A RESULT OF 'POOR' SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THAT SOCIAL REFORM, THEREFORE, WOULD REDUCE THE CRIME RATE. AS WE KNOW THROUGHOUT THE SIXTIES AND EARLY SEVENTIES THE REVERSE HAPPENED. SLUM CLEARANCE, THE EXPANSION OF THE WELFARE STATE, INCREASED EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS AND THE HIGHEST LIVING STANDARDS IN THE HISTORY OF HUMANITY WERE ACCOMPANIED BY A ROCKETING CRIME RATE. ALL OF THIS WAS UNDERSCORED BY OVERCROWDING AND RIOTING IN THE PRISONS, THE COLLAPSE OF THE REHABILITATIVE IDEAL AND THE WELL-PUBLICISED FAILURE OF SUCH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENTS AS MOBILISATION FOR YOUTH. THESE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS SENT CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY INTO A SPIN. ALTHOUGH, MUCH CREATIVE INNOVATION WAS GENERATED IN THE THEORETICAL FERMENT OF THE PERIOD THE RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF EXPLAINING THE AETIOLOGICAL CRISIS WAS DISTINGUISHED BY RENEWED LEVELS OF *PARTIALITY*. THUS EACH CORNER OF OUR CRIMINOLOGICAL SQUARE: THE STATE, INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL, OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS WERE *SEPARATELY* HUSTLED IN TO EXPLAIN THE RISE IN CRIME. THUS, FOR SOME, WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A STATE REACTION WHERE THE POLICE AND THE JUDICIARY WERE JUST, CERTAIN, AND EFFECTIVE. NEO-CLASSICISM EMERGED: BECCARIA, JOHN STUART MILL WERE REDISCOVERED. AND FROM AN OPPOSITE POLITICAL POSITION, THE STATE WAS SEEN TO HAVE MERELY MANUFACTURED THE RISE IN CRIME THROUGH MORE POLICE, MORE METICUSOUS COLLECTION OF STATISTICS AND EXPANDED PENAL CODES.

FOR OTHERS THE COLLAPSE OF INFORMAL CONTROL WAS SEEN AS THE PROBLEM. CONSERVATIVES OF ALL COMPLEXIONS SAW THE COLLAPSE OF PUBLIC STANDARDS, PERMISSIVENESS IN CHILD-REARING AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AS THE SOURCE OF OUR INCREASED CRIMINALITY. LIBERTARIANS REVERSED ALL OF THIS YET REMAINING PARTIAL TO INFORMAL CONTROL AS THE MAJOR EXPLANATION OF THE RISING CRIME RATE. FOR THEM, MORAL PANICS IN THE POPULATION OFTEN GENERATED BY THE MASS MEDIA, HAD CREATED A SORT OF MCCARTHYISM OF DELINQUENCY, WHERE FOLK DEVILS AND IRRATIONALITY ABOUNDED. IF, FOR THE CONSERVATIVES, THE IMMUNITY SYSTEM OF PUBLIC OPINION HAD ENTERED A SERIOUS COLLAPSE, FOR THE LIBERTARIANS IT HAD BECOME UNNATURALLY SENSITIVE AND AGITATED.

TURNING TO THE PARTIAL FOCUS ON THE ROLE OF THE OFFENDER, THEORISTS POINTED TO THE INCREASE IN THE PROPORTION OF YOUTH AND IN THE CONCEPT OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION AS EXPLANATIONS OF RISING CRIME. THE PROBLEM WITH SOCIAL POSITIVISM WAS MERELY THAT IT FOCUSED ON ABSOLUTE DEPRIVATION: IT WAS RELATIVE EQUALITY WHICH PERSISTED AND EVEN INCREASED WITHIN A WEALTHY SOCIETY, WHICH GAVE RISE TO CRIME. LASTLY, A FOCUS ON THE VICTIM AS THE EXPLANATORY FACTOR EMERGED. THE RISE OF CRIME AMIDST AFFLUENCE WAS MERELY THAT THERE WERE MORE GLITTERING PRIZES TO STEAL. AND THE NEW AFFLUENT PUBLIC COULD AFFORD THE SORT OF OPEN LIFESTYLE WHICH INCREASED THE TARGETS FOR CRIME BY TAKING THEM MORE OFTEN OUT OF THE SAFETY OF THEIR HOMES, WHILST AT THE SAME TIME LEAVING THEIR HOMES MORE OFTEN UNGUARDED.

ALL OF THESE VARIOUS PIECES OF THE JIGSAW PUZZLE, EACH WITH THEIR OWN PORTION OF TRUTH, WERE INVOKED

BUT ONLY RARELY - IF AT ALL - WERE THE PIECES EVER BROUGHT TOGETHER. IN CONTRAST, FROM A REALIST PERSPECTIVE RISING CRIME CAN OCCUR WHEN ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS PREDOMINATE:

- WHEN STATE DETERRENCE IS LESS EFFECTIVE;**
- WHERE INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL IS REDUCED;**
- WHERE STATE AND/OR PUBLIC DEFINITIONS OF CRIME BECOME LESS TOLERANT;**
- WHEN THE NUMBER OF THOSE ACTIVATED TO OFFEND INCREASES;**
- WHEN THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS AND TARGETS INCREASE.**

NONE OF THESE FACTORS IS AT ALL LIKELY TO REMAIN CONVENIENTLY CONSTANT WHILST ONE ALONE VARIES; ALL OF THESE FACTORS ARE PART OF THE CRIME EQUATION. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS NO EVIDENT REASON WHY THESE FACTORS SHOULD MOVE SO AS TO EFFECT THE RATE OF CRIME IN THE SAME DIRECTION - NOT THAT ANY CAUSAL FACTORS BEARING UPON THEM - LIKE INCREASE IN AVERAGE INCOME - SHOULD MOVE THEM SIMILARLY (CF. BOX, 1937).

I THINK I HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WOULD BE MOST UNUSUAL IF THE VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN CRIME INVOLVING ONLY ONE OR TWO FACTORS IN THE CRIMINOLOGICAL EQUATION WERE TO BE SUCCESSFUL. YET WE MUST MOVE ONE STEP FURTHER, FOR A REALIST CRIMINOLOGY CANNOT REMAIN ON A FACTORIAL LEVEL WHERE VARIABLES COULD BE SIMPLY ADDED OR DEDUCTED. FOR THE REALITY OF HUMAN ACTION INVOLVES HUMAN CHOICE, A STATE OF JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE AND INSTITUTIONALISED RELATIONSHIPS. IF WE WERE TO REMAIN MERELY AN THE LEVEL OF QUANTITY WE WOULD, FOR INSTANCE, EXPECT THAT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF AGENTS ON THE SOCIAL CONTROL SIDE OF THE EQUATION

WOULD INEVITABLY RESULT IN CHANGES IN CRIME RATES JUST AS, IF WE INCREASE PRESSURE IN BOYLES'S LAW AT A CONSTANT TEMPERATURE, VOLUME WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DECLINE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE COULD SAY THAT AN INCREASED NUMBER OF POLICE MIGHT LEAD TO INCREASED DETERRENCE AND COST OF CRIME. THUS AS THE MARGINAL COST OF CRIME RISES THE CRIME RATE DECLINES LIKE A SIMPLE EQUATION OF MICRO ECONOMICS.

BUT - TO THE FRUSTRATION OF THOSE DETERRENCE THEORISTS - THIS SIMPLY IS NOT TRUE. WE KNOW THAT THE CLEAR UP OF CRIME IS OFTEN ONLY MINIMALLY RELATED TO EXTRA POLICE. AND THE REASON FOR THIS HAS BECOME ABUNDANTLY CLEAR FROM A SERIES OF PIECES OF RESEARCH STRETCHING OVER THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS. CLEAR UP - AND ULTIMATELY DETERRENCE - RELATES TO THE PUBLIC WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO THE POLICE. ONLY A SMALL PROPORTION OF CRIME IS DIRECTLY DETECTED BY POLICE WORK. NOT ONLY THE STATISTIC CRIMES KNOWN TO THE POLICE BUT THE EFFICIENCY OF POLICE DETERRENCE IS DEPENDENT AN THE PUBLIC-POLICE RELATIONS (SEE KINSEY *ET AL*, 1986). INDEED, THE IMPACT OF PUNISHMENT ITSELF IS DEPENDENT AN THE DEGREE TO WHICH INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL SUPPORTS AND SANCTIFIES THE STIGMA. LET US LOOK NOW AT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE OFFENDER. THE ACT OF POLICING IS A DISCRETIONARY PROCESS BY WHICH THE POLICE SELECTIVELY RELATE TO CERTAIN TARGET POPULATIONS. FREQUENTLY THEY ACT DEFERENTIALLY TOWARDS THE POWERFUL AND ACT STEREOTYPICALLY AND REPRESSIVELY TOWARDS THE POOR. THE WHOLE BUSINESS OF POLICING IS OFTEN DEEPLY UNDERSCORED BY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UPPER AND LOWER WORKING CLASS WITH ALL ITS TRADITIONAL HOSTILITIES AND FREQUENT RACIST AND SEXIST IMAGERY (SEE KINSEY AND YOUNG, 1982). THUS THE DEBATE OVER

THE EFFICACY OF BEAT POLICING IS NOT: WHAT EFFECT EXTRA POLICE OFFICERS WILL HAVE ON CRIME RATES? RATHER, IT IS WHAT EFFECT WILL THESE POLICE OFFICERS HAVE WITHIN A GIVEN RELATIONSHIP? IF THE RELATIONSHIP FREQUENTLY VIOLATES THE RULE OF LAW, THEN THE NET EFFECT WILL BE TO ALIENATE THE POOR. THE STEP FROM ECONOMIC MARGINALISATION TO CRIMINAL ACTION IS NOT AUTOMATIC; IT OCCURS UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS OF INJUSTICE. AND, TO TAKE THE EXAMPLE OF BLACK YOUTH IN BRITISH INNER CITIES - ALL THE EVIDENCE POINTS TO WIDESPREAD POLICE ILLEGALITIES DIRECTED TOWARDS THEM. ECONOMIC INJUSTICE IS EXACERBATED BY POLICE INJUSTICE AND, IN THESE INSTANCES, THE DELICATE LINK BETWEEN POVERTY AND RESPECT FOR THE LAW IS ALL TOO EASILY BROKEN. IT IS POSSIBLE TO IMAGINE, HOWEVER, A POLITICAL SITUATION WHERE THE POLICE, DEMOCRATICALLY CONTROLLED AND ACTING WITHIN THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW, PROTECTED THE POOR. HERE THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE THE OBVERSE AND ONE MIGHT FIND THAT MORE POLICE OFFICERS ON THE BEAT DID INDEED REDUCE CRIME.

LET US LOOK AT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER. CAN IT BE TRUE THAT MORE VICTIMS MUST NECESSARILY MEAN MORE CRIMES? TAKE THE CHANGING LIFESTYLE OF WOMEN - FOR EXAMPLE; DOES THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, WITH ITS CONCOMITANT OPENING UP OF PUBLIC SPACE, MEAN AN INEVITABLE WELTER OF CRIME AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT? THERE IS, OF COURSE, NO INEVITABILITY IN THIS RELATIONSHIP. IN SOME SOCIAL SITUATIONS THE INCREASED USE OF PUBLIC SPACE BY WOMEN HAS NOT MET WITH A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN CRIME AGAINST THEM; IN OTHER SOCIAL SITUATIONS THERE HAS BEEN A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE. ONE HAS ONLY TO COMPARE THE AVERAGE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS TO THE INNER CITY OR TO NOTE THE VERY DIFFERENT

REACTIONS TO WOMEN IN DIFFERENT WESTERN CAPITALS TO SEE THIS. OF COURSE, THE AVAILABILITY OF VICTIMS IS THE NECESSARY CONDITION FOR VICTIMISATION, BUT IT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS (IN THIS CASE MACHISMO AND CHAUVINIST RELATIONSHIPS) WHICH PROVIDES THE SUFFICIENT CONDITION. ONE OF THE MAJOR IMPACTS OF THE RECENT INPUT OF FEMINIST RESEARCH INTO CRIMINOLOGY HAS BEEN TO STRESS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER AND TO BREAK WITH THE PARTIALITY WHICH VIEWS VICTIMS AS AN ISOLATED FACTOR IN THE CRIME EQUATION.

BUT THE NOTION OF CRIME AS A RELATIONSHIP IS APPLICABLE ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF CRIMINALITY. TO TAKE BURGLARY AS AN EXAMPLE, THERE ARE VERY DEFINITE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS (SEE R. MATTHEWS 1987; LEA AND YOUNG, 1984, PP.38 - 49). THE NOTION OF CRIME BEING PREDOMINANTLY *INTRA-CLASS* WAS CONVENIENT IN TERMS OF THE INNER CITY POLITICS OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY. BUT APART FROM OMITTING TO STRESS THE FACT THAT *INTRA-CLASS* VERY OFTEN IMPLIES *INTRA-GENDER*, IT HAS A CONCEPTION OF 'CLASS' WHICH IS SO BROAD AS TO RENDER THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP OF CRIME INVISIBLE.

EVEN WHEN WE TURN TO CRIMES OF PASSION, WE FIND THAT THE TARGETS ARE CAREFULLY CHOSEN: THE MOST TEMPESTUOUS MURDERER RARELY TAKES RISKS AND HOMICIDE ITSELF FOLLOWS VERY SCRIPTED GROUND-RULES (SEE FELSON AND STEADMAN, 1983). THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS AN ARBITRARY CRIME. *CRIME IS A SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP*. IT IS INSTITUTIONALISED, IT IS IMBUED WITH MEANING; BOTH OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS ARE PREDICABLE AND, ABOVE ALL, THEY RELATE TO EACH OTHER.

B. The Context of Crime

WE MUST PLACE THE SQUARE OF CRIME WITHIN ITS CONTEXT, BOTH MICRO - AND THE WIDER SOCIETY.

a. The Micro-Context

THE MICRO-CONTEXT OF CRIME INVOLVES THE STAPLE INGREDIENTS OF THE SITUATION: A HUMAN BEING OR BEINGS ARE PLACED IN A PARTICULAR SITUATION: THIS INVOLVES THEIR BODILY PRESENCE AND SPATIAL POSSIBILITIES, IT INVOLVES GIVEN LEVELS OF CONTROL AND SURVEILLANCE, BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL, IT INVOLVES VICTIMS WITH LEVELS OF PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL VULNERABILITY. ALL OF THESE ATTRIBUTES: BODY, SPACE, SURVEILLANCE, CONTROL, HAVE, OF COURSE, BEEN INVOKED THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF CRIMINOLOGY AS *THE* EXPLANATION OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR. THIS IS NOT THE POINT TO ENTER INTO A CRITIQUE OF REDUCTIONISM, THE TEXTBOOKS ARE REplete WITH AUTHORITATIVE DISMISSALS OF SUCH NAIVE MATERIALISM. BUT REDUCTIONISM HAS BEEN A LONG TIME DYING AND WE HAVE SEEN IN THE LAST TEN YEARS THEORISTS WHO HAVE EVOKED EVERYTHING FROM A SOUPED-UP ENDOCRIMINOLOGICAL LOMBROSIANISM, TO A THEORY WHICH SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT DELINQUENCY SPRINGS FULLY FORMED OUT OF THE DESIGN OF BUILDINGS. REDUCTIONISM, LIKE THE BELIEF IN TOOTH FAIRIES, SPRINGS ETERNAL AND ITS PERMANENCE LIES, OF COURSE, IN ITS RATIONAL KERNEL. THE PROBLEM FOR A CRITICAL POSITION IS NOT TO DISMISS OUT OF HAND A CRIMINOLOGY WHICH TALKS OF BODILY FUNCTIONS, SPATIAL OPPORTUNITIES, SURVEILLANCE, LOCKS AND BOLTS, BUT ONE WHICH PLACES AND ENCOMPASSES THESE INGREDIENTS OF THE CRIME SITUATION. IT IS A CONSTANT FAILING OF BOTH IDEALIST SOCIOLOGY AND MARXISM TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS OF LIFE. INDEED, THE WHOLE

PROBLEM OF A LACK OF A SPATIAL DIMENSION HAS ONLY RECENTLY BEEN ADDRESSED BY SOCIOLOGISTS (SEE GREGORY AND URRY, 1985; GIDDENS, 1985); WHILST SEBASTIANO TIMPANARO (1975) HAS TRECHANTLY DENOUNCED THE IDEALISM OF MUCH CONTEMPORARY MARXISM WITH RESPECT TO THE BODY AND BODILY PROCESSES.

IT PAYS TO REMEMBER, THEREFORE, THAT THE ARGUMENT WITH, FOR EXAMPLE, BIOLOGICAL REDUCTIONISM, DOES NOT INVOLVE THE DISSOLUTION OF ONE POLE OF HUMAN NATURE. YET THIS IS ALL TOO FREQUENTLY THE INTELLECTUAL POLICY: THE REPEATED INABILITY OF SOCIOLOGICALLY MERITED CRIMINOLOGY TO FIRMLY TACKLE LOMBROSIANISM UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECTS THIS. WE COULD LEARN A LOT FROM SOCIALIST FEMINISTS IN THIS AREA.

THUS MICHELE BARRETT IN *WOMEN'S OPPRESSION TODAY* POINTS TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF REACTING AGAINST BIOLOGICISM IN A WAY WHICH REJECTS BIOLOGY ALTOGETHER, FOR IN PARTICULAR THIS ERODES THE FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN SEX AND GENDER:

'WE RUN THE RISK, IF AS FEMINISTS WE IGNORE ARGUMENTS FROM THE LEVEL OF BIOLOGY, OF LEAVING THE FORCES OF ANTI-FEMINISM AND POPULAR ARGUMENTS UNANSWERED

'SEXUAL' DIFFERENCE PRECISELY IS BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE. JUST AS BIOLOGISM REDUCES GENDER TO WHAT IT SEES AS THE 'FACTS' OF SEXUAL DIFFERENCES, SO THIS FORM OF IDEALISM ABSORBS SEXUAL DIFFERENCES INTO AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER. TIMPANARO, AT A MORE GENERAL LEVEL, HAS LAUNCHED A POLEMIC AGAINST SUCH FORMS OF IDEALISM IN MARXIST ARGUMENT. HE INSISTS THAT A MATERIALIST ANALYSIS MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NATURAL AND THE SOCIAL. IN THIS APPROACH SEX DIFFERENCES, ALONG WITH OTHER BIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAN BEINGS, WOULD FORM PART OF THE RAW MATERIAL ON WHICH SOCIAL RELATIONS ARE CONSTRUCTED AND WHICH THEY TRANSFORM IN THE COURSE OF HISTORY. HE SEES BIOLOGY, THE REALM OF THE NATURALLY GIVEN, AS THE INFRASTRUCTURE ON WHICH HUMAN SOCIAL RELATIONS MUST NECESSARILY BE

BUILT, AND HE ATTEMPTS TO IDENTIFY THE CHARACTERISTICS WHICH MARK HUMANS OFF FROM OTHER ANIMALS INHABITING THE NATURAL WORLD." (1980, PP-73 - 74).

b. The Macro-Context

WE MUST PLACE THE CRIMINOLOGICAL SQUARE FIRMLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WIDER SOCIAL STRUCTURE. THAT IS WE MUST RELATE OFFENDER, VICTIM, AGENCIES OF THE STATE AND PUBLIC OPINION AND THEIR DEFINITIONS OF CRIME, TO CHANGES IN THE WIDER WORLD OF INCOME DIFFERENTIALS, EMPLOYMENT, CHANGES IN THE SPATIAL LAYOUT OF THE CITY, FAMILY STRUCTURE, WELFARE SYSTEM, FISCAL PROBLEMS OF THE STATE, ETC. MANY FACTORS MAY BE INVOLVED IN THE WIDER ORIGIN OF CRIME ALTHOUGH, OF COURSE, - TO GREATLY SIMPLIFY OUR DIFFICULT TASK - ONLY A FEW MAY BE CRITICAL AT EXPLAINING CHANGE AT ANY TIME. AND, OF COURSE, WE MUST AVOID THE TEMPTATION OF PARTIALITY - TO SET ONLY ONE ITEM OF THE SQUARE IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT, WHILST LEAVING THE OTHERS EITHER HELD CONSTANT OR ENDOWED WITH A WILFUL PURPOSE COMPLETELY AT ODDS WITH THE OTHER ACTORS IN THE EQUATION. FOR EXAMPLE, A TYPICAL CRIMINOLOGICAL SCENARIO WOULD HAVE THE DELINQUENTS DETERMINED, THE POLICE FREE WILLED, THE VICTIMS PASSIVE ACTOR, WHILST PUBLIC OPINION IS IGNORED.

REALISM WOULD SET ITSELF AGAINST BOTH IDEALIST EXPLANATIONS OF CRIME AND NAIVE MATERIALISM. JUST AS ON THE MICRO-LEVEL THERE CAN BE NO SIMPLE REDUCTIONISM DOWNWARDS, ON THE MACRO-LEVEL THE REDUCTION UPWARDS OF CRIME OR POLICING TO A REFLEX OF, SAY, UNEMPLOYMENT OR INCOME DIFFERENTIALS MUST BE AVOIDED. REALISM IS MATERIALIST IN THE LAST INSTANT; FOR TO ASSERT THE PRIMACY OF MATERIAL FACTORS IS NOT TO DENY THE WAY IN WHICH IDEAS SHAPE

THE WAY IN WHICH HUMAN ACTORS UNDERSTAND THEIR DETERMINACY. IDEAS ENTER THE EQUATION OF CRIME AT EVERY LEVEL - IN TERMS OF THE CHANGING DEFINITIONS OF CRIME, AS THE ROOT OF THE MOTIVATION OF OFFENDERS IN RELATIVE RATHER THAN ABSOLUTE DEPRIVATION (SEE LEA AND YOUNG, 1984, PP.76-94). IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS, IN THE STEREOTYPES OF POLICE AND SOCIAL WORKERS, ETC. TO GROUND THESE IDEAS IN THE MATERIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ACTORS INVOLVED IS NOT TO LOSE SIGHT OF THESE IDEAS. YET THIS IS ALL TOO FREQUENT IN THE DEBATES OVER FOR EXAMPLE, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME, WHERE BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT WING ANTAGONISTS ENGAGE IN AN ADVERSARIAL POSITIVISM WHOSE VALIDITY BEGINS AND ENDS IN THEIR COMPUTING SYSTEMS. SUCH A GROSS POSITIVISM IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING AMONGST RADICALS. COULD IT BE THAT AFTER TWO GENERATIONS WHERE MECHANISTIC MARXISM HAS BEEN SO THOROUGHLY DISCREDITED IN EVERY SPHERE, FROM THE POLITICAL TO THE CULTURAL, THAT IT SHOULD BE RESURRECTED IN, OF ALL PLACES, CRIMINOLOGY? ALL OF THIS IS, SURELY, REMISS WHEN WE KNOW THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO READ POLITICAL UPRISING FROM ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, WHEN WE KNOW THAT POLITICAL DISCONTENT DOES NOT MECHANICALLY REFLECT INCOME INEQUALITIES, WHERE BOTH THE NARROWING OF ECONOMIC DIFFERENTIALS, AS WELL AS THE WIDENING, CAN, IN THE RIGHT POLITICAL CONTEXT, CAUSE RADICALISM AS WELL AS QUIETISM.

SUCH A DISCUSSION IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT IS VITAL TO GROUND GENERALISATIONS IN PARTICULAR CULTURES AND SUBCULTURES. THAT IS, REALISM MUST APPLY WHAT I HAVE TERMED THE PRINCIPLE OF SPECIFICITY. TO GENERALISE FROM, FOR EXAMPLE, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES

TO THAT PERTAINING IN SWEDEN, IS TO VIOLATE THIS PRINCIPLE. THE UNITED STATES IS, AFTER ALL, REMARKABLE NOT ONLY IN THAT IT HAS A VERY RESTRICTED WELFARE STATE (SEE E CURRIE, 1985), BUT IN THAT IT HAS AN ABSENCE OF A STRONG SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND A PRONOUNCED INDIVIDUALISTIC ETHOS. IT IS SURELY NOT AT ALL REMARKABLE THAT UNEMPLOYMENT SHOULD HAVE A DIFFERENT EFFECT IN ONE SOCIETY THAN ANOTHER. IT IS A CENTRAL TASK OF THE CRIMINOLOGIST TO CONSTRUCT GENERALISATIONS BETWEEN CRIME AND WIDER MATERIAL FACTORS, BUT THESE MUST BE GROUNDED IN PARTICULAR CULTURES AND SOCIAL GROUPS. FALSE UNIVERSAL LAWS MUST BE AVOIDED. WITH THIS IN MIND RECENT ATTEMPTS, SUCH AS THAT OF STEVEN BOX (1987), WHICH QUITE RIGHTLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE INFLUENCE OF IDEAS, FALTER IN THEIR ATTEMPTS AT COMPREHENSIVENESS. FOR THE THOROUGHNESS OF HIS WORK SERVES TO INDICATE THE CONTRADICTIONARY EVIDENCE AS TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNEMPLOYMENT, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT. THESE ARE THE RESULTS WHICH ONE WOULD BE LED TO EXPECT IF WE ALLOW FOR CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, BUT WHICH ARE REMARKABLE IF WE ARE SEEKING UNIVERSAL LAWS.

c. Crime, Time and Material Predicaments

LET US LOOK AT THE CRIMINAL PROCESS OVER TIME. REALISM INSISTS THAT HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD IN TERMS OF HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS GROUNDED IN MATERIAL CIRCUMSTANCES. THAT THE COMPONENTS OF VOLUNTARISM AND DETERMINISM, BOTH CENTRAL TO THE REALITY OF PRAXIS IN THE WORLD, ARE TIED TOGETHER IN THE CONCEPT OF PROBLEM-SOLVING. HUMAN BEHAVIOUR AND CULTURE - INCLUDING THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE ITSELF - IS ESSENTIALLY A PROBLEM-SOLVING ACTIVITY; IT IS HERE THAT REALISM

HAS A CLOSE AFFINITY WITH SUBCULTURAL THEORY (SEE LEA AND YOUNG, 1984). THAT IS TO SAY THAT PEOPLE'S BELIEFS ABOUT SOCIETY, CRIME - AND POLICING IN THIS INSTANCE - ARE A PRODUCT OF THE DAY-TO-DAY KNOWLEDGE AND PREDICAMENTS WHICH GROUPS OF PEOPLE FACE. THEY ARE NOT AS IDEALISTS - OF ALL POLITICAL DESCRIPTIONS - BELIEVE A PRODUCT OF FREE FLOATING IDEAS WHICH WE DERIVE FROM THE MASS MEDIA, OR AN ESSENTIAL CULTURE CAUGHT IN ASPIC OR 'DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION' OR FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS, ETC.

THUS WE START FROM THE IMMEDIATE MATERIAL PREDICAMENT WHICH PEOPLE CONFRONT AND EXAMINE HOW THIS DEVELOPS OVER TIME. AND THIS IS TRUE FOR ALL OF THE FOUR PARTS OF THE SQUARE OF CRIME: POLICE, PUBLIC, VICTIM AND OFFENDER. TO UNDERSTAND POLICE PRACTICE WE DO NOT START FROM THE RULE OF LAW, OR THE NEEDS OF THE CAPITALIST STATE, OR POLICE CULTURE OR THE PERSONALITY OF POLICE OFFICERS. WE START FROM THE PROBLEMS WHICH SPECIFIC GROUPS OF COPS FACE IN THEIR DAY-TO-DAY PRACTICE (SEE J LEA, 1986). WHERE THE POLICE, FOR EXAMPLE, FACE THE PROBLEM OF MAKING ARRESTS, DESPITE LOW INFORMATION FLOW FROM THE PUBLIC, GENERALISATIONS BASED ON THE PROBABILITIES OF CERTAIN TYPES OF PEOPLE BEING LIKELY OFFENDERS BECOME OPERATIVE. AS ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF ANY SUB-SECTION OF THE POPULATION HAS RECENTLY, OR INDEED EVER, COMMITTED CRIMES, 'UNWARRANTED' STOP AND SEARCH BECOMES LIKELY AND ALIENATION AND LACK OF COOPERATION WITH THE POLICE RESULTS. BUT IT IS NOT POLICE PREJUDICE WHICH HAS CREATED THIS RESULT BUT THE MATERIAL PREDICAMENT WHICH ANY POLICE FORCE FACES WHEN TRYING TO CONTROL CRIME WHERE BETTER INFORMATION FROM THE PUBLIC IS NOT FREELY AVAILABLE.

IF WE TURN TO FEAR OF CRIME AMONG SECTIONS OF THE PUBLIC, WE DO NOT SEE IT AS PRIMARILY AN IRRATIONALITY BASED ON OVER-AVID CONSUMPTION OF THE POPULAR MEDIA; A PRODUCT OF MORAL PANICS ENGENDERED BY THE VARIOUS VESTED INTERESTS FROM JOURNALISTS TO POLICE OFFICES. RATHER WE ATTEMPT TO LOCATE FEAR IN THE DAY-TO-DAY LIVES OF THE FEARFUL. LET US TAKE WOMEN, AS AN EXAMPLE. CONVENTIONAL ACCOUNTS FREQUENTLY REMARK ON THE PARADOX OF THE HIGH FEAR OF CRIME AMONGST WOMEN DESPITE THEIR LOWER RISK RATES THAN MEN. LET US LEAVE ASIDE FOR THE MOMENT THAT THIS IS ACTUALLY INCORRECT; THAT WOMEN AND MEN, IN GENERAL, HAVE NOT ALL THAT DIFFERENT CRIME RATES AGAINST THEM. IF WE USE SYMPATHETIC INTERVIEWERS, PARTICULARLY FEMALE, WE GET MARKEDLY DIFFERENT RESULTS (SEE JONES, *ET AL*, 1986). HOWEVER, REALIST METHOD WOULD INSTRUCT US NOT TO DEAL WITH THE ABSTRACTION 'WOMEN', BUT WITH THE MORE PRECISE GROUPINGS OF PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THE MAJOR SOCIAL AXES: GENDER, AGE, CLASS AND RACE, WHICH FORM THE BASIS OF ACTUAL LIVED SUBCULTURES. IMMEDIATELY WE DO THIS WE FIND THAT YOUNG, LOWER WORKING CLASS WOMEN HAVE, IN FACT, THE HIGHEST CRIME RATE AGAINST THEM OF ANY SOCIAL GROUPING. THEY ARE NOT BEING IRRATIONAL IN FEARING CRIME. ADD TO THIS BEING BLACK OR FOCUS IN ON ANY INNER CITY AREA AND THESE FIGURES BECOME EVEN STRANGER. BUT LET'S NOT STOP HERE. LET US NOTE WHAT SORT OF CRIMES WOMEN SUFFER FROM AND HOW CRIME FORMS A PROBLEM SITUATION FOR WOMEN. FIRSTLY, THE OFFENDERS CONSIST VERY LARGELY OF SALES, BOTH MEN WOMEN KNOW AND UNKNOWN MEN ON THE STREET. SECONDLY, ASIDE FROM CRIME PROPER THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF UBIQUITOUS SEXUAL HARASSMENT, BOTH IN PUBLIC PLACES AND AT WORK, THAT WOMEN HAVE TO PUT UP WITH. THIRDLY, THIS MATERIAL PREDICAMENT FORCES WOMEN TO TAKE

ELABORATE SAFETY PRECAUTIONS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE. AND, DESPITE ALL THESE PRECAUTIONS, WOMEN HAVE A HIGH RATE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THEM. IS IT THEREFORE ODD THAT WOMEN FEAR CRIME? DOES NOT A SEEMING IRRATIONALITY BECOME TRANSFORMED WHEN WE PLACE IT IN TERMS OF THE REAL PREDICAMENTS OF THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED?

TO GROUND STEREOTYPES AND PUBLIC GENERALISATIONS IN THE PROBLEMATICS OF EVERY DAY LIFE IS NOT TO SAY THAT THEY ARE CORRECT. OFTEN THEY ARE NOT; RATHER IT IS TO SUGGEST THAT THEY HAVE A RATIONAL KERNEL AND HAVE BEEN TESTED IN THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF EXISTENCE. TO ARGUE THAT A COURSE OF ACTION IS TENABLE, AS MATZA POINTED OUT, IS NOT TO IDENTIFY IT AS THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION, MERELY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT IT WORKS; JUST AS THE MODUS VIVENDI OF THE 'NAIVE CHEQUE FORGER', OR THE 'RIGHTEOUS DOPE FIEND' WORKS *UP TO A POINT*. PAUL WILLIS (1977), THE MOST 'REALIST' OF SUBCULTURAL THEORISTS, IS EVEN MORE EXPLICIT: HIS 'LADS' SEE THROUGH THE SITUATION ONLY TO COME UP WITH SUBCULTURAL SOLUTIONS WHICH FURTHER INCORPORATE THEM IN THE STATUS QUO. THEREFORE, TO DISCARD THE NOTION OF MISCONCEPTIONS AS EITHER FREE-FLOATING IDEAS PICKED UP IN THE FLUX OF EVERYDAY LIFE, OR AS THE PATHOLOGICAL EMANATIONS OF CERTAIN PERSONALITY TYPES (IE EITHER IDEALISM OR NAIVE MATERIALIST REDUCTIONISM), IS NOT TO EMBRACE THESE STEREOTYPES. RATHER IT IS TO UNDERSTAND THEIR ORIGINS AND TO COMPREHEND THE TRUE BASIS OF THEIR FREQUENT INFLEXIBILITY. THEY ARE THE PRACTICAL RECIPES OF HUMAN ACTION DEVISED BY INNUMERABLE SUBCULTURES.

W I THOMAS, IN HIS FAMOUS DICTUM, WROTE: "IF MEN DEFINE SITUATIONS AS REAL, THEY ARE REAL IN THEIR

CONSEQUENCES." THERE IS MUCH FOR A REALIST TO LEARN FROM THIS IF WE MAKE SOME ADJUSTMENTS TO ALLOW FOR ITS UNDERLYING IDEALISM. IT IS, OF COURSE, NOT ONLY FALSE IDEAS WHICH ARE REAL IN THEIR CONSEQUENCES, BUT HALF UNDERSTOOD IDEAS; IDEAS WHICH ARE CORRECT AT THE MOMENT BUT TO ASSESS THE LIKELY LONG-TERM OUTCOMES, IDEAS WITH A RATIONAL KERNEL YET WITH AN UNDEVELOPED OR MISUNDERSTOOD CONTEXT; ALL ARE REAL AND CONTRADICTORY IN THEIR OUTCOME. AND THE EFFECTS OF SUCH BELIEFS CANNOT BE TRANSFORMED SIMPLY BY THE JUDICIOUS CHANGE OF DEFINITIONS, AS MERTON BELIEVED WHEN HE WROTE:

"THE APPLICATION OF THE THOMAS THEOREM ALSO SUGGESTS HOW THE TRAGIC, OFTEN VICIOUS, CIRCLE OF SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECIES CAN BE BROKEN. THE INITIAL DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION WHICH HAS SET THE CIRCLE IN MOTION MUST BE ABANDONED. ONLY WHEN THE ORIGINAL ASSUMPTION IS QUESTIONED AND A NEW DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION INTRODUCED, DOES THE CONSEQUENT FLOW OF EVENTS GIVE THE LIE TO THE ASSUMPTION. ONLY THEN DOES THE BELIEF NO LONGER FATHER THE REALITY." (1964, P.479).

THE PROBLEM WITH SUCH INTERPRETATIONS IS THAT THEY REGARD PREJUDICE, STEREOTYPES, ROLES AS ILLUSIONS - AS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS SUSTAINED MERELY BY THE MUTUAL DECEPTION OF SOCIETY. YET IF THAT WERE TRUE ALL THAT WOULD BE NEEDED WOULD BE A REMINDER TO PULL US OUT OF OUR DECEPTIONS BACK INTO A MORE LIBERAL CONSCIOUSNESS (SEE N GERAS, 1972). THE TROUBLE LIES MUCH DEEPER THAN THIS FOR, AS MAURICE GODELIER PUT IT, IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY: "IT IS NOT THE SUBJECT WHO DECEIVES HIMSELF, BUT REALITY WHICH DECEIVES HIM." (1972, P.296). I HAVE EXPLORED THE REASONS FOR THIS ELSEWHERE (1975, 1981); DETERMINING CIRCUMSTANCES CREATE PEOPLE WHO ARE AT LEAST ON THE LEVEL OF APPEARANCES LIKE THE STEREOTYPES. EVERY DAY ON THE STREETS, AT WORK, IN OUR OWN BOWS, WE

ENCOUNTER OUR OWN STEREOTYPES. THE LIBERAL CONCEPTION THAT CONTACT WITH OUT-GROUPS WILL SHATTER PRECONCEIVED STEREOTYPES IS ALL TOO OFTEN PATENTLY FALSE. INDEED, THE REVERSE IS TRUE: LITTLE GIRLS ACT LIKE LITTLE GIRLS, BOYS WILL BE BOYS, YOUNG BLACKS IN THE INNER CITY DO NOT ALWAYS SURPRISE OUR PRECONCEPTIONS, TRAVELLING PEOPLE DO NOT ALWAYS ADHERE TO A REMARKABLE LEVEL OF HONESTY. IT IS AGAINST SUCH ROMANTICISM OF THE DEVIANT THAT DAVID MATZA WARNED US (SEE 1969, P.16). FOR A SOCIETY WHICH SYSTEMATICALLY BRUTALISES ITS CRIMINALS PRODUCES LOOK-ALIKE PSYCHOPATHS, A SOCIAL ORDER WHICH HEAVILY STIGMATISES FEMALE DEVIATIONS FROM THE SET ROLE PRODUCES FEMALE STEREOTYPES, AN ECONOMY WHICH IMPOVERISHES, MARGINALISES AND HARASSES PRODUCES PEOPLE WITH THE MENTALITY OF THIEVES. THESE ARE NOT ILLUSIONS; THEY ONLY TOO READILY EXIST, BUT THEY ARE NOT IN ESSENCE GENERALISEABLE FROM ONE FROZEN MOMENT OF TIME. THEY HAVE A PAST UNKNOWN TO THE STEREOTYPE AND A FUTURE WHICH THERE IS LITTLE AWARENESS IN THE STEREOTYPE. IN FACT, THE SEEMING SOLIDITY OF THE STEREOTYPE IS IN REALITY A CONTRADICTIONARY FORM, IT ACHES AT THE SEAMS, IT TEENS WITH POSSIBILITIES; AND AT REVOLUTIONARY MOMENTS IT SURPRISES; IT RISES UP AND TRANSCENDS THE FORMS WITHIN WHICH PEOPLE ARE PRESUMED TRAPPED.

REALISM, THEN, REINTERPRETS THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY, BOTH AN THE LEVEL OF DEFINITIONS AND EFFECTS. AND, WHILST CRITICAL OF THE FASHION IN WHICH POSITIVISM REMAINS AT THE LEVEL OF APPEARANCES, IT DOES NOT SUCCUMB TO THE IDEALISM WHICH WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT POLICE OFFICER, LOCAL BUSYBODY, VICTIM AND OFFENDER ARE RARELY AFFLICTED BY A BAD DOSE OF MISCONCEPTION WHICH A COURSE IN CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING WOULD SOON CURE. FOR, AS

RUSSELL JACOBY PUT IT IN HIS ACERBIC CRITIQUE OF HUMANISM:

"CRITICAL THEORY GOES FURTHER ... IT ADMITS WHAT THE HUMANISTS EVERYWHERE DENY: THAT ROLES ARE NOT ONLY FRAUDULENT, THEY ARE ALSO REAL. ROLES ARE NOT RARELY ADAPTED BY THE SUBJECT AS A FACADE THAT CAN BE DROPPED WITH A LITTLE WILLPOWER ... THE NEAT DIVISION BETWEEN ROLES AND REAL SELVES REDUCES SOCIETY TO A MASQUERADE PARTY. YET NOT EVEN PLASTIC SURGERY CAN HEAL THE PSYCHIC DISFIGUREMENT. THE SOCIAL EVIL REACHES INTO THE LIVING FIBRES; PEOPLE NOT ONLY ASSUME ROLES, THEY ARE ROLES. THIS ADMISSION IS NO CONCESSION TO INHUMANITY. RATHER, IN ARTICULATING THE FULL STRENGTH OF THE PREVAILING INHUMANITY IT HOLDS FORTH THE HOPE AT ITS MATERIAL TRANSCENDENCE. THE INSISTENCE, AN THE OTHER ILAND, AN FINDING HUMANITY EVERYWHERE BY UNDERESTIMATING THE OBJECTIVE AND SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF INHUMANITY PERPETUATES THE LATTER - IT HUMANISES INHUMANITY." (1975, P.68).

The Problems of Practical Criminology

IF CRIMINOLOGY IS UNABLE TO EXPLAIN CRIME OUT THERE; CRIME CAUSED BY THE CHANGES IN THE WIDER SOCIETY; IT IS EVEN MORE UNABLE TO TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF THE PRACTICAL. FOR NOT ONLY DOES THIS IMPLY A THEORY OF WHY CRIME OCCURS AND CHANGES OVER TIME, BUT ALSO A THEORY OF IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING. IF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY NEEDS TO FOCUS AN THE EXPLANATION OF CRIME, CRIMINOLOGICAL PRACTICE; THE GENERATION OF INTERVENTIONS PARTICULARLY DESIGNED TO REDUCE CRIME, REQUIRES ALL THREE PARTS OF THE NOTION, IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING. AND A WEAKNESS IN THEORY IS EXACERBATED BY A WEAKNESS IN PRACTICE. LET ME BRIEFLY OUTLINE THE PROBLEMS AT EACH STAGE OF THE PROCESS OF INTERVENTION; FROM THEORY FORMULATION, THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING AND FINALLY BACK TO THEORY, WITHIN THE PROCESS OF TESTING AND GENERALISATION.

FIRST LET US LIST THE PROBLEMS:

1. THE SELECTIVE NATURE OF THEORY;
 2. THE WEAKLY DEVELOPED CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE LINK BETWEEN THEORY AND CRIME REDUCTION;
 3. THE UNDERESTIMATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION;
 4. THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT;
 5. THE INADEQUACIES OF MONITORING AND CONTROL;
 6. THE GLIB NATURE OF THEORY TESTING;
 7. THE PERSISTENT GENERALISATION OUT OF CONTEXT.
- THERE IS A SECTARIANISM IN CRIMINOLOGY UNPARALLELED OUTSIDE THE SHORES OF ULSTER. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS CAPABLE OF ENCOMPASSING THE TOTAL NATURE OF CRIME AND ITS CONTROL COMES A VERY LATE SECOND TO THE SIMPLE MINDED ADVOCACY OF ONE PERSPECTIVE COUPLED WITH THE FIERY DISMISSAL OF ANY OTHER. AND A RESULT OF SUCH A PARTIALITY IS, OF COURSE, THAT INTERVENTIONS WHICH MIGHT WELL BE COUPLED TOGETHER WITH GREATER COST-EFFECTIVENESS ARE INSTEAD RUN AS EITHER-OR'S. AS IF ANY SINGLE POLICY INTERVENTION DOES NOT HAVE DECLINING MARGINAL RETURNS WITH REGARDS TO ANOTHER AND IRRESPECTIVE OF THE FACT THAT INTERVENTIONS RELATE TO EACH OTHER, SUPPORTING OR UNDERMINING EACH OTHER IN AN ORGANIC RATHER THAN AN ADDITIVE WAY.

WITHIN CRIMINOLOGY THERE IS A PERVADING CONCEPTUAL POSITIVISM. IN PART THIS IS MERELY THE USUAL SOCIAL AMNESIA ABOUT THE PAST - THE CONSTANT REDISCOVERY OF OLD IDEAS AND CONCEPTS WHICH HAVE ALREADY HAD MANY HOURS OF HUMAN LABOUR DEVOTED TO THEIR REFINEMENT AND CRITIQUE, YET WHICH ARE PRESENTED AS NEW DISCOVERIES (SEE JACOBY, 1975). A CENTURY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DOES NOT REALLY DESERVE THE SIMPLE VOLUNTARISM OF RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY OR THE UNEXERCISED TAUTOLOGY OR HIRSCHI'S CONTROL THEORY.

BUT IT IS IN PRACTICAL CRIMINOLOGY THAT THIS FAILING IS MOST BLATANT. TAKE THE REDISCOVERY OF THE CONCEPT OF DISPLACEMENT WHICH AFTER ALL HAS BEEN IN USE SINCE THE MIDDLE OF THE LAST CENTURY BY THEORISTS SUCH AS ENGELS AMONGST OTHERS (SEE ENGELS, 1969; YOUNG, 1989). THERE IS VERY LITTLE EFFORT PUT INTO CONCEPTUALISING THEIR METHOD OF OPERATION. THUS SUCH A CENTRAL CONCEPT IN THE DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION BECOMES REDUCED TO A LARGELY UNSTATED NOTION OF THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF IMMEDIATE, ADJACENT, CRIME SPECIFIC SLURPING OF THE PROBLEM FROM ONE AREA TO ANOTHER. IT IS CAST IN A HYDRAULIC ANALOGY WHICH EVEN EXPERTS IN FLOODING WOULD FIND INGENIOUS. (EG REPETTO, 1974).

IN CRIMINOLOGY THERE IS A GREAT RELUCTANCE TO ACTUALLY SPELL OUT WHAT EXACTLY IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AN INTERVENTION AND THE REDUCTION OF CRIME. NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH, FOR EXAMPLE, BECOMES SOME SORT OF MAGIC WAND WHICH WILL TACKLE BURGLARY WITHOUT ANYONE EXACTLY EXPLAINING HOW, WHILST OTHER INTERVENTIONS SUCH AS YOUTH CLUBS OR ????? DESPITE THEIR OBVIOUS CHARM HAVE AS MUCH LOGICAL REASON TO INCREASE CRIME AS TO DECREASE IT. TO TAKE THE NOTION OF BETTER LIGHTING AS A PREVENTATIVE TO CRIME ON WHICH, MILLIONS OF POUNDS, DOLLARS AND DEUTCHMARKS ARE SPENT EVERY YEAR, THE THEORY RARELY RISES ABOVE THAT OF THE DIMMER SWITCH. THAT IS, IF WE TURN THE SWITCH UP CRIME GOES DOWN. AGAINST THIS ITS OPPONENTS BELIEVE THAT IT DOESN'T. THE DEBATE RARELY RISES ABOVE THIS LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION ALTHOUGH THERE ARE THOSE WHO TALK ABOUT THE TYPE OF BULBS. (FOR A SOPHISTICATED APPROACH SEE K. PAINTER, 1988).

NOTHING BEDEVILS PRACTICAL CRIMINOLOGY MORE THAN

THE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTING A PARTICULAR POLICY. LARGELY, IT IS ASSUMED THAT AN INTERVENTION OCCURS MERELY BY THE CRIMINOLOGIST GIVING THE PROJECT A LABEL. BUT IT IS ONE THING FOR EXAMPLE TO SAY THAT MOBILISATION FOR YOUTH WAS AN INTERVENTION DESIGNED TO INCREASE OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH ANOTHER TO ACTUALLY PRACTICALLY ACHIEVE THIS AIM. AS WE KNOW THERE WAS A SLIPPERY SLOPE DOWN WHICH MOBILISATION FOR YOUTH BECAME MOBILISATION FOR YOUTH WORKERS. IT IS EASY TO DESIGNATE AN AREA A NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH SCHEME, IT IS QUITE ANOTHER TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING BEYOND THE LABEL - USUALLY STUCK IN THE HOUSEHOLDERS WINDOWS. ALL OF THE THEORY IN THE WORLD IS USELESS IF WE DO NOT HAVE THE POWER TO SHIFT BUREAUCRACIES INTO ACTION AND TO MOBILISE PUBLIC SUPPORT.

THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT: WHAT EXACTLY IS THE RATE OF CRIME IN ANY ONE PLACE AND AT ANY TIME, SIMPLY WILL NOT GO AWAY. EVERY ATTEMPT AT RESOLVING THE PROBLEM WHETHER THROUGH SELF-REPORT STUDIES OR THROUGH STUDIES OF CRIMINAL VICTIMISATION SIMPLY REPRODUCES THE OLD PROBLEMS OF THE CRIMINAL STATISTICS AS CRIME KNOWN TO THE POLICE. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT ADVANCES IN MEASUREMENT CANNOT BE MADE. BUT AS I WILL ATTEMPT TO SHOW IN CHAPTER EIGHT THE NOTION THAT WE HAVE HARD FACTS TO FEED INTO THE COMPUTER IS A FALLACY WHICH MUST BE GOT RID OF.

AS IT IS EVERYTHING IS UP FOR GRABS. THE ANNUAL PUBLICATION OF CRIME STATISTICS - WHETHER THEY BE CRIMES KNOWN TO THE POLICE OR VICTIMISATION DATA - ARE GREETED BY A FREE FOR ALL OF DENUNCIATION AND CELEBRATION. IF THE RAPE RATE GOES UP ONE SIDE CONCLUDES PATRIARCHY. THE OTHER (THE POLICE) WELCOME THE INCREASE IN REPORTING AS A SIGN OF GREATER

CONFIDENCE IN THE POLICE. MORAL PANICS BEGIN; HEAVE UP AND DIE BUT WE AS CRIMINOLOGISTS ARE UNABLE TO PROVIDE EVEN THE MOST ELEMENTARY STATISTICS AS TO THE TRUE EXTENT OF SUCH PHENOMENA AS HEROIN USE, CHILD ABUSE, SEXUAL OR RACIAL ATTACKS. DURING THE PANIC OVER HEROIN IN BRITAIN IN 1982 FIGURES WERE BANDIED ABOUT WITH A PERSISTENT FREQUENCY AND SOLEMN CERTAINTY. IN FOLLOWING UP EACH OF THESE FIGURES I FOUND THAT NONE WAS BASED ON SUBSTANTIAL RESEARCH (SEE YOUNG, 1987B, AND, FOR THE UNITED STATES, WIDG AND WALKER, 1980). IN WESTERN COUNTRIES AT THE MOMENT A HUGE AND JUSTIFIED CONCERN HAS ARISEN OVER THE PROBLEM OF CHILD ABUSE, BUT WE LITERALLY HAVE NO INKLING OF THE ACTUAL NUMBERS OF CHILDREN INVOLVED OR MOST IMPORTANTLY WHAT EXACTLY WE ARE MEASURING.

GIVEN THE VAST AMOUNT OF MONEY SPENT AN CRIMINAL JUSTICE INTERVENTIONS IT IS OFTEN A SURPRISE TO THE NON-CRIMINOLOGIST THAT VERY LITTLE OF THESE RESOURCES ARE ADEQUATELY MONITORED. MONEY IS THROWN AT CRIME BOTH BY THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT AND ANY RATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT IS THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE.

LET ME TAKE THE EXAMPLE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH WHICH EXHIBITS ALL THE PROBLEMS OF SECTIONAL ADVOCACY, LACK OF INVESTIGATION, PROBLEMS OF MEASUREMENT AND INADEQUATE MONITORING. WATCH SCHEMES HAVE HAD A SPECTACULAR GROWTH BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE. BUT IT IS, IN FACT, AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT RATHER THAN AS A CRIME PREVENTION INITIATIVE THAT IS ITS TRUE SUCCESS. DENNIS ROSENBAUM HAS GIVEN US A TRENCHANT CRITIQUE OF THE WATCH SCHEMES. TO LET US START WITH THE LEVEL OF THEORISATION. HE WRITES:

"THE ATTRACTION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH RESTS AN A NUMBER OF KEY ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NEIGHBOURHOOD PROCESSES AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR. WHILE SEVERAL OF THESE ASSUMPTIONS ARE THEORY-BASED, OTHERS ARE SIMPLY POPULAR BELIEFS ACCEPTED BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC AS STATEMENTS OF FACT. IN ANY EVENT, THESE ASSUMPTIONS (WHICH ARE RARELY CHALLENGED) NEED TO BE STATED EXPLICITLY AND EXAMINED CRITICALLY. FIVE OF THE MORE PROBLEMATIC ASSERTIONS ARE DISCUSSED BELOW, BUT THE READER SHOULD NOTE THAT THE LIST OF ASSUMPTIONS IS MUCH LONGER.' (1988, P.131).

IT IS TO ROSENBAUM'S CREDIT THAT HE REALISES THE NEED TO LAY OUT THOSE ASSUMPTIONS BUT NOTE HE IS THE FIRST WRITER, TO MY KNOWLEDGE TO DO SO, AND SO THE STATING OF THE LOGIC WAS CARRIED OUT RETROSPECTIVELY AFTER THE SETTING UP OF SCHEMES ALL OVER THE WESTERN WORLD. IF I MAY INTERSECT AT THIS POINT: IT IS IN FACT TERRIBLY DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW EXACTLY NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH IS LIKELY TO AFFECT CRIME, PARTICULARLY CRISES SUCH AS BURGLARY FOR WHICH IT IS POPULARLY PROSELYTISED. FOR EXAMPLE, IN A RECENT SURVEY CARRIED OUT IN INNER LONDON (K. PAINTER *ET AL*, 1989) WHICH HAS A PARTICULARLY HIGH BURGLARY RATE WE FOUND THAT THE AVERAGE CITIZEN WITNESSES A BURGLARY ONCE IN EVERY TWENTY YEARS. ONES EYE BALLS WOULD ACHE MORE OFTEN THAN NOT BEFORE A SUCCESSFUL NEIGHBOURHOOD SIGHTING WOULD BE MADE' IT IS IN THE AREA OF MONITORING THAT ROSENBAUM'S CRITIQUE IS MOST FORMIDABLE:

"AT OUR REQUEST, LEONARD SIPES (USING DOCUMENTS AT THE NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFERENCE SERVICE) IDENTIFIED 111 PROGRAMMES THAT CLAIM 'SUCCESS' WITH NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH BY REPORTING REDUCTIONS IN CRIME. WHILE MANY WRITERS IN THE MASS MEDIA AND ELSEWHERE HAVE BEEN QUICK TO CONCLUDE THAT THESE SUCCESS STORIES ARE TRULY INDICATIVE OF THE POWER OF WATCH-TYPE PROGRAMMES, THESE CONCLUSIONS ARE NOT BASED ON HARD EVIDENCE. FOR EXAMPLE, 92 PER CENT OF THE PROJECT COLLECTED DATA USING THE ONE GROUP PRE-TEST-POST-TEST DESIGN - A VERY WEAK RESEARCH DESIGN

THAT IS SUBJECT TO MANY THREATS TO VALIDITY. MOST OF THESE PROGRAMMES WERE IMPLEMENTED IN THE LATE 19370S AND EARLY 1980S WHEN CRIME RATES WERE PEAKING AND BEGINNING TO DECLINE ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, THUS INTRODUCING THE POSSIBILITY THAT STATISTICAL REGRESSION ARTEFACTS CAN EXPLAIN THE OBSERVED DECLINES. OFTEN, ONLY POLICE CRIME STATISTICS WERE EXAMINED IN THE TARGET AREA. THE LOW QUALITY OF EVALUATION RESEARCH IN THIS FIELD HAS BEEN RECOGNISED BY SEVERAL RESEARCHERS. TO SUMMARISE THESE CONCERNS, THE PROGRAMME EVALUATIONS ARE CHARACTERISED BY WEAK DESIGNS, AN UNDER-USE OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE TESTS, A POOR CONCEPTUALISATION AND DEFINITION OF TREATMENTS, THE ABSENCE OF A VALID AND RELIABLE MEASUREMENT OF PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION AND OUTCOMES, AND A CONSISTENT FAILURE TO ADDRESS COMPETING EXPLANATIONS FOR OBSERVED EFFECTS." (1988, PP.127-128).

HE CONCLUDES THAT IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES WHERE EVALUATIONS OCCURRED THE "LARGE MAJORITY ... ARE SERIOUSLY FLAWED." ONLY TWO EVALUATIONS TO DATE COULD BE VIEWED AS REASONABLY STRONG TESTS. ONE OF THESE, IN SEATTLE, YIELDED POSITIVE RESULTS WHILST THE OTHER IN CHICAGO YIELDED NEGATIVE. HE CONCLUDES THAT LOGICALLY THE IMPACT OF WATCH SCHEMES ARE LIKELY TO BE CONTRADICTORY:

"IN TERMS OF CURRENT POLICY AND PRACTICE, THIS ANALYSIS SUGGESTS THAT WATCH-TYPE PROGRAMMES HAVE BEEN OVERSOLD. THERE IS A NEED TO RECOGNISE THAT NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH CANNOT BE EASILY IMPLEMENTED AND SUSTAINED IN ALL TYPES OF NEIGHBOURHOODS. ONE POLICY QUESTION IS WHETHER TO *TRY HARDER* TO IMPLEMENT NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH IN HIGH-CRIME AREAS WHERE OBTAINING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IS THE MOST DIFFICULT OR TAKE A MORE SCEPTICAL VIEW THAT THIS TYPE OF PROGRAMME MAY BE *INAPPROPRIATE* FOR SUCH NEIGHBOURHOODS. IN ANY EVENT, ORGANISERS SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT A SINGLE STRATEGY SUCH AS 'WATCHING' IS UNLIKELY, BY ITSELF, TO CURTAIL A DEEPLY ROOTED CRIME PROBLEM AND THAT MULTIPLE APPROACHES WILL BE NECESSARY. THIS ANALYSIS ALSO SUGGESTS THAT PLANNERS SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT WATCH PROGRAMMES ARE 'WIRED' TO PRODUCE ONLY PRO-SOCIAL EFFECTS AND THAT UNTOWARD EFFECTS ARE IMPOSSIBLE. CONTRARY TO PRIOR THEORETICAL STATEMENTS ABOUT *FEAR REDUCTION*, THERE ARE BOTH THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL REASONS

TO BE CONCERNED THAT RESIDENTIAL MEETINGS, LEFT TO THEMSELVES, MAY HEIGHTEN RESIDENTS' FEARS. THUS IF THE STRATEGY IS PURSUED, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ORGANISERS REACHES BEYOND SIMPLY ORGANISING AN INITIAL MEETING, TO ENCOURAGING DISCUSSION OF THE 'RIGHT' SUBJECT MATTER IN THE 'RIGHT' WAY. THE GOAL OF *FEAR REDUCTION* THAT HAS MOVED TO THE FOREFRONT OF UNITED STATES NATIONAL POLICY AND COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION MAY NEED TO BE RE-EXAMINED. FEAR REDUCTION MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE OR EVEN DESIRABLE GIVEN THE OBJECTIVE OF INCREASING CITIZEN CRIME PREVENTION BEHAVIOURS." (1988, P.142).

THE IMPORTANCE OF A MULTIPLE APPROACH TO CRIME REDUCTION TOGETHER WITH THE RECOGNITION THAT CRIME PREVENTION INTERVENTIONS MAY DECREASE AWARENESS AND TOLERANCE TO CRIME IS A THEME WHICH FITS WELL WITH REALISM AND TO WHICH WE WILL RETURN.

AND OF COURSE, ROSENBAUM IS REFERRING TO US RESEARCH. IN BRITAIN AND WESTERN EUROPE THE SITUATION IS EVEN BLEAKER - MOST COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMMES ARE SIMPLY NOT MONITORED, OR IF THEY ARE, ARE MONITORED USING PATENTLY INADEQUATE DATA AND MEASURES OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE. IN BRITAIN THERE HAVE BEEN, IN FACT, ONLY FOUR ADEQUATELY MONITORED PIECES OF RESEARCH: TREVOR BENNETT'S STUDY OF NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH IN LONDON (1987); PAT ALLAT'S STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF CRIME PREVENTION MEASURES ON BURGLARY (1984) AND HEDGES ET AL (1980) STUDY OF VANDALISM AND CRIME AND KATE PAINTER'S (1988) STUDY OF LIGHTING AND CRIME (SEE HOPE AND DOWDS, 1987). THERE ARE OTHERS IN THE PIPELINE (SEE J LEA *ET AL*, 1988 AND J SEAGROVE 1988) BUT THEY ARE FEW AND FAR BETWEEN.

THE MONITORED STUDY OF NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH IN BRITAIN IS THAT OF DR TREVOR BENNETT OF THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY AT CAMBRIDGE (1987). THIS STUDY OF TWO WATCH SCHEMES IN LONDON CAME TO SIMILAR DISMAL

CONCLUSIONS. CRIME WAS NOT REDUCED; INDEED IN ONE AREA IT INCREASED; REPORTING RATES AND CLEAR UP RATES WERE UNAFFECTED; BUT THERE WAS SOME BENEFICIAL AFFECT ON FEAR OF CRIME YET "THE MOST TROUBLING RESULT WAS THE SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN THE ???????? [NUMBER] OF POLICE IN THE AREA." (P.44) IT HAS TO BE SAID THAT THIS REPORT PRODUCED JUST BEFORE THE 1987 GENERAL ELECTION WAS GREETED WITH DISMAY IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES. AFTER ALL NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH WAS A MAIN PLANK OF TORY POLICY. IN A SHORT WHILE, OF COURSE, DISMAY BECAME TRANSLATED INTO DOUBTS OVER THE SCHOLARSHIP OF THE RESEARCH AND INDEED THE REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE AREAS CHOSEN. YET THE HOME SECRETARY AT THE 1988 CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE HERALDED THEN AS ONE OF THE GREAT SUCCESS STORIES OF THE TORIES LAW AND ORDER POLICY AND A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THEIR CONCEPT OF "ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP".

Does Nothing Work? The Problems of Theory Testing

IN CASE I AM ACCUSED OF EXAGGERATING THE FAILURE OF CRIMINOLOGY LET ME STRESS THAT I AM NOT ECHOING THE FAMOUS SLOGAN 'NOTHING WORKS' WHICH WAS SOMEWHAT INCORRECTLY ATTRIBUTED TO ROBERT MARTINSON FIFTEEN YEARS AGO. SOME THINGS DO WORK; INDEED IT WOULD BE A MIRACLE, GIVEN THE VAST EXPENDITURE AN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ALL OVER THE WORLD THAT A FEW SHOTS DID NOT HIT THE TARGET WHETHER INADVERTENTLY OR NOT. IF LITERALLY 'NOTHING WORKED' WE WOULD HAVE REMARKABLE CLUES AS TO WHAT DID. OF COURSE, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT BY SHEER PHYSICAL MEASURES YOU CAN REDUCE CRIME IN ANY PARTICULAR SPOT. BUT PROTECTING ONE PERSON'S HOUSE MAY MAKE MORE AVAILABLE THOSE NEXT DOER. IT IS ONE THING TO AFFECT CRIME RATES AGAINST PARTICULAR INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR PROPERTIES; IT IS ANOTHER THING TO EFFECT THE OVERALL

CRIME RATE. AND AS I HAVE MENTIONED THE VERY CONCEPT OF DISPLACEMENT IS VERY FRUGALLY DEVELOPED. AT THE VERY LEAST FOR EXAMPLE EACH DIFFERENT THEORY OF CRIME MIGHT PREDICATE DISPLACEMENT AT A DIFFERING PLACE AND TIME.

THE PROBLEM IS MORE THAN WE DO NOT REALLY UNDERSTAND WHY MEASURES WHICH DO WORK ARE SUCCESSFUL AND WE DO NOT LEARN FROM THE MEASURES WHICH DO NOT WORK. A SUCCESSFUL SCIENCE LEARNS FROM BOTH SUCCESSES AND FAILURE, EACH HAS EQUAL STANDING IN THE BUILDING OF A DISCIPLINE. SOME THINGS ARE WORKING BUT UNLESS WE SERIOUSLY LEARN FROM BOTH OUR SUCCESSES AND FAILURES WE ARE DOOMED TO ONE OFF INITIATIVES WHICH DESPITE FREQUENT APPLAUSE FROM THE POLITICIANS IN THE GALLERY GIVE COLD COMFORT TO THE PLAYWRIGHTS IN THE WINGS. AND THE CAUSE IS, AS DOWNES AND ROCK RECENTLY PANTED OUT:

"THERE HAS BEEN AN INDEFENSIBLE AND IRRATIONAL TENDENCY TO DISMISS A WHOLE LINE OF THEORETICAL REASONING AFTER THE PURPORTED FAILURE OF A SINGLE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT OR EXPERIMENT. IN MOST OTHER AREAS OF ENQUIRY, THE CONSEQUENCE OF NEGATIVE OR INCONCLUSIVE FINDINGS WOULD BE TO MODIFY THE ORIGINAL PROGRAMME IN ORDER TO CHANGE THE OUTCOME. UNUSUALLY HARD CRITERIA ARE APPLIED QUITE PRECIPITATELY IN SOCIAL REFORM EXPERIMENTS." (1988, P.320).

THE SOCIAL REFORM EXPERIMENTS WHICH DOWNES AND RACK REFER TO CENTRE PARTICULARLY AN THE MOBILISATION OF YOUTH AND WAR AGAINST POVERTY PROGRAMMES OF THE KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. HERE, A POWERFUL COALITION AN THE RIGHT AND THE NEW LEFT UNITED IN THEIR DISMISSAL OF REFORMISM. THE FIRST BECAUSE THEY DID NOT WANT CHANGE THE SECOND

BECAUSE THEY SAW STATE INTERVENTION AS NECESSARILY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, THE THIRD BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THAT ANY CHANGE OUTSIDE OF THE 'FUNDAMENTAL' WAS INCONSEQUENTIAL. IT WAS THESE THREE UNLIKELY POLITICAL STRANDS WHICH CREATED THE BASE FOR AMERICAN IMPOSSIBILISM WHICH COSSETED THE SLOGAN 'NOTHING WORKS' THROUGH THE NINETEEN SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES. BUT THE ERA OF IMPOSSIBILISM IN THE LATE SEVENTIES HAS BEEN REPLACED BY A MOD OF CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM TODAY. THIS IS PARTLY A PRODUCT OF THE MOVE TO THE RIGHT IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE REAPPRAISAL OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IDEAS WHICH I DISCUSS IN CHAPTER TWO, AND PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE DOWNTURN IN THE U.S. CRIME STATISTICS. THE CYNIC MIGHT REMARK THAT THIS IS NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE THE CRIMINOLOGIST HAS SOLVED THE CRIME PROBLEM AS THE CRIMES HAVE SOLVED THEMSELVES FOR THE CRIMINOLOGIST. WHATEVER, THE CHANGE IN THE CRIME RATE PARTICULARLY IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS THE MAJOR CONCEPTUAL MOTOR OF WORLD CRIMINOLOGY, HAS A DRAMATIC EFFECT ON THOSE PARADIGMS WHICH MOVE TO THE FOREFRONT.

THUS WHERE THERE WAS ONCE DISMISSAL, THERE IS NOW UNDUE CELEBRATION. THUS DENNIS ROSENBAUM WRITES OF ONE BRANCH OF CRIME CONTROL:

"DESPITE ALL THE IMPRESSIVE STATISTICS AND LAUDATORY ACCOMPLISHMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS, THE STANDARD EVALUATIONS IN THIS FIELD, WHICH STRUCTURE THE FOUNDATION OF PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF THESE PROGRAMS, ARE SERIOUSLY WANTING ...

THE ENDORSEMENT OF COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS EXTENDS FROM MANY QUARTERS INCLUDING FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, AS WELL AS COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS. THE ENTHUSIASTIC EMBRACING OF COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION IS PERHAPS MOST APPARENT AT THE GRASS-ROOT LEVEL, WHERE PRACTITIONERS ACCLAIM THE UTILITY OF THEIR EFFORTS

THROUGH POPULAR PRESS ARTICLES AND NUMEROUS HOMESPUN PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS, NEWSLETTERS, AND GUIDEBOOKS THAT ALSO SERVE TO ASSIST INTERESTED COMMUNITIES IN THE PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMS.

NOT EVERYONE HAS THE SAME LEVEL OF INTEREST IN PRESENTING THE 'HARD FACTS,' TO OBTAIN PROGRAM FUNDING FROM PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SOURCES; GRANT APPLICATIONS OFTEN HAVE A STRONG MOTIVATION TO CONVINCE THE FUNDING AGENCY THAT IT WILL BE INVESTING IN A PROVEN, HIGHLY EFFECTIVE PROGRAM FOR PREVENTING CRIME IN THEIR COMITY. LIKEWISE, THE GRANTING AGENCIES, ALTHOUGH WANTING TO REMAIN NEUTRAL IN THE ABSENCE OF HARD DATA, ALSO WANT TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE SUPPORTING A GOOD 'PRODUCT'. MOREOVER, THE MEDIA ARE VERY INTERESTED IN SUCCESS STORIES INASMUCH AS OUR LOSSES IN THE SEVENTEEN-YEAR 'WAR AGAINST CRIME' HAVE GREATLY OUTNUMBERED OUR VICTORIES. CONSEQUENTLY, WE HAVE WITNESSED LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF MEDIA STORIES ABOUT THE PROVEN SUCCESSES OF COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION OVER THE PAST DECADE. GIVEN THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS, THE PRIMARY CHECKS AND BALANCES MUST COME FROM THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY, ARMED WITH EVALUATION RESEARCH SKILLS AND DISINTERESTED IN THE DIRECTION OF THE OUTCOME." (1986, PP.19, 22, 23).

WHO IS TO BLOW THE WHISTLE ON FAILURE? MUCH OF THE SUCCESS' OF SUCH PROGRAMMES RELIES ON THE HOMESPUN BELIEF THAT 'OBVIOUS' MEASURES MUST 'OBVIOUSLY' WORK. NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH, BETTER LIGHTING, MORE YOUTH CLUBS ARE CLEAR EXAMPLES OF THIS, ALTHOUGH EVEN THE MOST PERFUNCTORY EXAMINATION OF THEIR LOGICAL RELATION TO CRIME - OR FEAR OF CRIME - REDUCTION MIGHT SUGGEST THAT IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES THEIR INPUT RIGHT WELL INCREASE RATHER THAN DECREASE THE PROBLEM. AND DESPITE ROSENBAUN'S FAITH IN THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY FEW INSTITUTIONS HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF INDEPENDENT ENQUIRY. AS ANYONE RUNNING A RESEARCH INSTITUTE KNOWS PARTICULARLY IN THE PRESENT FINANCIAL CLIMATE, CLIENTS EXPECT THE RESULTS THAT THEY PAY FOR; THEY DO NOT EXPECT TO BE TOLD THAT THEIR CRIME CONTROL EXPENDITURE HAS BEEN ILL SPENT AND WASTED.

FINALLY, LET ME BRIEFLY MENTION THE PROBLEM OF GENERALISATION OUT OF CONTEXT - I WILL ANALYSE THIS IN DETAIL WHEN I DEAL WITH SPECIFICITY IN CHAPTER FIVE. THIS IS SIMPLY THE WAY IN WHICH THE CONTEXT OF A PHENOMENON AND ITS ACTUAL CONSTITUTION ARE OFTEN IGNORED IN THE PROCESS OF GENERALISATION. FOR EXAMPLE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH IN THE CONTEXT OF A DEMOCRATIC POLICE FORCE IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM ONE IN WHICH THE POLICE ARE LARGELY UNACCOUNTABLE. THE VITAL LINK BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE POLICE IS IGNORED IF WE SIMPLY GENERALISE ABOUT WATCH SCHEMES OUT OF CONTEXT. AND TO REGARD EVERYTHING CALLED 'NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH' AS IDENTICAL JUST BECAUSE OF THE SAME NAME IS TO BELIEVE IN THE MAGIC OF LABELS AND IGNORE THE ACTUAL CONSTITUTION OF INSTITUTIONS. ALL OF THIS IS OBVIOUSLY COMPOUNDED WHEN WE MOVE BETWEEN COUNTRIES OR EVEN BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD.

THE PROBLEMS OF CRIMINOLOGY ARE THUS MANY-FOLD. THESE ARE THE INSISTENT SECTARIANISM OF THEORY, THE WEAK LEVEL OF CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE INTERNAL LOGIC OF EACH THEORY, A BLINDNESS TOWARDS THE PROBLEMS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION, THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT - WHICH SIMPLY WILL NOT GO AWAY, INADEQUATE MONITORING AND CONTROL, A VERY PERFUNCTORY NOTION OF THEORY TESTING AND A HAPHAZARD TENDENCY TO GENERALISE WAY BEYOND THE CONTEXT OF THE SPECIFIC PHENOMENON BEING EXAMINED. ALL OF THESE WEAKNESSES RELATE, TO THE GULF BETWEEN CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY AND THE REALITY OF CRIME AND ITS CONTROL.