

INNOVATIVE AND EFFECTIVE PREVENTION MEASURES FOR ORDINARY YET SERIOUS CRIME : A CASE STUDY OF SEVEN MAJOR CITIES

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Ordinary crime is at the same time simple and complex. It touches the lives of everyone in major cities. Nonetheless, criminologists generally accept the thesis that an acceptable amount of ordinary crime in a given society is both desirable and normal. This is because a utopian society is virtually impossible. Ordinary crime is correlated with a variety of human needs and the way in which people seek to satisfy them. Taft and England (1964) state that :

Both criminal law and crime.... express social values, even though not all specific laws are implementations of the mores of the people generally.

Adams (1975 : 34) further notes that :

A citizen's "pursuit of happiness" is manifested in as many ways as there are people pursuing it in a free country. Competition and conflict are intrinsic to a society that is characterized by dynamism, materialism, individualism, fierce loyalty to special interest groups, strong social pressures for prestige and affluence, and differences of opinions and moral standards.

This means that absolute conformity to legal norms is neither realistic nor possible. Yet when massive growth of ordinary crime becomes apparent, the phenomenon is viewed as neither desirable nor acceptable. In other words, the control of ordinary crime is one of the most important goals of the criminal justice system. Nonetheless, definitions of ordinary crime as well as levels of acceptability of ordinary crime rates do vary from one country to another. This makes a comparative study of

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ordinary crime problems even more complicated. Similarly, Radzinowicz and King (1977 : 4) point out that

International comparison of trends in crime takes us on to dangerous ground. Different nations take different views of what is criminal, of how serious it is, and of how to deal with those who offend. What is or is not reported, the activities of police or prosecuting agencies, the definition of offences, the way they are recorded, the rules of evidence and of trial, and many other powerful factors, make their influence felt in different measure across the world.

This underscores the thesis that international comparisons of rates of ordinary crime in accordance with crime statistics must be conducted with circumspection because the definition of ordinary crime and methods of collecting and coding crime data differ considerably from country to country. In addition, Archer and Gartner (1984 : 4) state that :

Although comparative research on crime has been impeded by several analytic problems, ...the principal obstacle has not been methodological. The field has suffered from a spectacular lack of international information. Social scientists simply have not had access to adequate historical (or "time series") data on rates of homicide and other offenses in a large sample of societies. What has been missing, in short, is information from many nations over many years.

Thus, it is an aim of the present study to explore the current state of ordinary crime problems of seven major cities as well as to identify and evaluate innovative prevention measures for such problems in these cities. The seven cities are Bangkok, Bogota, Nairobi, San Jose, Singapore, Tokyo, and Warsaw. Methodologically speaking, the study is based on the utilization of the documentary research technique. The prime document included in this analysis is the study, sponsored by the United Nations University, titled "A Cross-Cities Study on Ordinary Crime Prevention and Control."

In short, the present study is organized into five sections as follows : (a) definitions and trends of ordinary crime in seven major cities, (b) contextual variables relating to ordinary crime, (c) criminal-justice-oriented measures for ordinary crime control, (d) community-oriented measures for ordinary crime control, and (e) summary.

Definitions and Trends of Ordinary Crime in Seven Major Cities

Because the term "ordinary crime" is neither a legal construct nor a widely utilized concept, it means many things to many people. Therefore, the definition of ordinary crime employed by each research team of the seven major cities should first be explored in order to gain a basic understanding of this construct.

According to the Bangkok research team, ordinary crime refers to murder, manslaughter, attempted murder, assault, larceny, pick-pocketing, robbery, gang robbery, fraud, forcible rape, and forcible rape and murder.

According to the Nairobi research team, the construct refers to murder, manslaughter, infanticide, assault, theft, simple robbery, armed robbery, burglary and housebreaking, obtaining property by false pretences, handling stolen property, forgery, rape, prostitution, abortion, and kidnapping.

According to the San Jose research team, the construct refers to homicide, injuries, assault, brawling, rape, statutory rape, robbery, theft, larceny, fraud, causing damages, and marihuana trafficking.

According to the Singapore research team, the construct refers to murder, culpable homicide, voluntarily causing hurt, assault, abduction, rape, robbery, extortion, kidnapping, housebreaking, theft, fraud, forgery, engaging in an affray, vandalism, and related crimes.

According to the Tokyo research team, the construct refers to murder, bodily injury, violence, larceny, robbery, fraud and extortion.

According to the Warsaw team, the construct refers to intentional homicide, non-intentional homicide, assault, rape, robbery, theft, fraud, and embezzlement.

Generally speaking, the scope of the definition of "ordinary crime," as proposed by the seven research teams, may be divided into three major categories: (a) Crimes against the person, (b) Crimes against property, and (c) Crime relating to sex. All of these offenses are predatory crimes. Moreover, the trends of ordinary crime in each of the seven cities must be examined before any further analysis of such phenomena. In Bangkok, the eight-year trend indicates that there were slight increases in crimes against the person (from 2,756 cases in 1976 to 2,897 cases in 1983). In contrast, property crimes and sex crimes dropped slightly during the

same period. However, according to the victimization survey conducted in 1984, one of every ten residents of Bangkok/Thonburi had been victimized by property criminals at least once. The clearance rate of ordinary crime was 571 in 1983. In Bogota, the yearly average of homicides was 1,679 during the 1970's and increased to 2,173 at the beginning of the 1980's. Corresponding averages for assaults were 2,275 and 2,838, so that the current incidence of this offense is close to 72 per 10,000 inhabitants. Theft and robberies averaged 21,693 and 25,722. Fraud cases increased from 2,587 to 4,563 between the average year of the two decades. Crimes against property constituted over 70 per cent of registered criminality. Moreover, 32 per cent in 1979 and 37 per cent in 1970 of the households in Bogota reported having had at least one member victimized by property criminals at least once during the year.

In Nairobi, more than 68 per cent of the ordinary crime reported to the police over the years 1972-1980 were crimes against property. It can be said that out of all the cases reported to the police, only about one-quarter are taken to court. Specifically, the proportion of cases taken to court is: crimes against the person, 10%; crimes against property, 25%; and other penal code offense, 24%. In San Jose, crimes against property increased from 61 per cent of the total in 1979, and 71 per cent in 1980, to 80 per cent in 1982. Nevertheless, from the total of reported crimes against property in 1982, only 28 per cent resulted in investigation, while for other types of crime with a lesser incidence investigations were more common; for instance, 80 per cent of homicides resulted in investigation.

In Singapore, the amount of crimes against the person dropped from 44 per 100,000 population in 1974 to 34 per 100,000 population in 1978. However, the amount of such crimes increased from 45 per 100,000 population in 1979 to 69 per 100,000 population in 1983. Between 1974 and 1978, there was a decrease in violent property crimes from 93 to 44 cases per 100,000 population. However, from 1979 to 1983, there was a gradual increase in violent property crimes (from 52 to 66 cases). Similarly, the number of thefts and related crimes decreased initially from 476 cases in 1974 to 432 cases in 1976. From 1977 onwards, such crimes increased from 519 to 856 in 1983. In Tokyo, the number of crimes against the person, specifically homicide and assault, rapidly decreased from 11,144 cases in 1976 to 7,579 in 1983. However, crimes against property, especially larceny, slightly increased in number. This was from 175,514 cases in 1976 to 199,607 cases in 1983. Bicycle and motorcycle theft has recently been on the rise. On the average, the Japanese police annually solve approximately 47 per cent of reported crimes. In Warsaw, crimes against the person increased from 475 cases in 1976 to 594 cases in 1983. Similarly, sex crimes increased from 55 cases in 1976 to 74 cases in 1983. Robbery and theft rapidly rose from 9,917 cases in 1976 to 27,485

cases in 1983. Nonetheless, the cleared-up crimes, measured by the number of validly sentenced persons, declined from 1976 to 1983.

In brief, crimes against property, rather than crimes against the person and sex crimes, constituted the principal part of registered ordinary crime. Further, Table 1 shows a summary of ordinary crime trends in the seven cities from 1976 to 1983.

According to Table 1, it can be said that the rates of ordinary crime in Warsaw tend to fluctuate to some extent, whereas the official statistics in Bangkok, Nairobi, and San Jose showed an upward trend for all types of crimes. In Bogota, criminality is generally perceived as a major social problem by the public. Furthermore, about 77 per cent of all registered crimes in Bogota fell in the category of ordinary crime. Unlike the other five cities, Tokyo and Singapore are basically regarded as two of the safest cities in the world. Based on the Tokyo research report, the rate of ordinary crime in Japan not only remains quite low but is also seen to be declining. In addition, Reischauer, a Harvard professor who was born and grew up in Japan, made the following observation :

As compared to other industrialized societies, Japan seems relatively stable. There is much talk of crime and the rebelliousness and lack of moral fiber of youth, but, at least in comparison with the United States, crime rates are low and have been tending to drop. Despite the wild violence of a few, young people on the whole seem remarkably cheerful, well mannered, and conformist. (1977 : 230)

Contextual Variables Relating to Ordinary Crime

The seven cities, however, vary not only in their ordinary crime but in contextual variables as well. Although it is quite difficult to comprehensively specify all contextual variables relating to ordinary crime, a number of them can be readily considered. These variables are geographical factors, economic factors, and social-control factors.

First, geographical factors. The seven cities are located in three Asian countries, two Latin American countries, one African country, and one European country. Table 2 shows the area and population of these cities. Moreover, Singapore and Tokyo are cities in two island countries, i.e. Singapore and Japan. These two island countries have effectively implemented their policies of very strict gun control. According to the Tokyo research report, it is extremely difficult for the Japanese public to possess guns and to obtain poisonous substances. Similarly, the topography and smallness of the island of Singapore have helped the Singapore Police Force to perform its task of maintaining law and order inasmuch as the absence of forests and hilly terrain on the island diminishes considerably the number of hiding places for criminals.

Table 1 Trends of Ordinary Crimes in the Seven Cities, 1976-1983

Cities	Crimes Against the Person	Crimes Against Property	Sex Crimes
Bangkok	increase (1976-1983)	slight increase (1976-1983)	slight increase (1976-1983)
Bogota	increase (1972-1983)	increase (1972-1983)	decrease (1972-1983)
Nairobi	increase (1971-1980)	slight increase (1971-1980)	slight increase (1971-1980)
San Jose	slight increase (1978-1982)	increase (1978-1982)	increase (1978-1982)
Singapore	decrease (1974-1976) and slight increase (1979-1983)	slight increase (1974-1983) but decrease in violent property crime	increase (1974-1983)
Tokyo	decrease (1976-1983)	decrease (except bicycle and motorcycle theft) (1976-1983)	decrease (1976-1983)
Warsaw	slight fluctuation (1976-1983)	increase (1976-1983)	slight fluctuation (1976-1983)

Second, economic factors. The present study includes four cities in four developing countries and three cities in three developed countries. While Poland is a developed country in Europe, Japan and Singapore have the highest standard of living in Asia. The economies of developing countries, including Colombia, Costa Rica, Kenya and Thailand, are mainly based on agriculture. Industries were introduced into Kenya and Thailand after World War II. By the 1970's and early 1980's a number of such enterprises had been established, mainly in Nairobi and the Bangkok/Thonburi Metropolis. Singapore's economy is mostly based on trade, finance, and industry. Currently, Japan is the third largest economic power in the world. In 1970, agricultural products accounted for only eight per cent of the net national income in Japan. Industry and manufacturing have been

one of the major sources of Japan's economic growth. Likewise, agriculture in Poland produces less than ten per cent of the national income, whereas industry

Table 2 Area and Population of the Seven Major Cities

Cities	Area (square kilometers)	Population
Bangkok (Thailand)	1,556	5,534,048 (1983 estimate)
Bogota (Colombia)	1,587	
Nairobi (Kenya)	684	828,000 (1979 census)
San Jose (Costa Rica)	4,910	695,000 (1983 estimate)
Singapore (Singapore)	586	2,075,000 (1983 estimate)
Tokyo (Japan)	2,154	11,408,000 (1970 census)
Warsaw (Poland)	470	1,641,300 (1983 estimate)

and manufacturing employ about 30 per cent of the economically active population. Economic growth has enabled the governments of the three developed countries to allocate more resources for development programs which have not only improved the quality of life but also changed the patterns of ordinary crime. Per capita GDP of the six countries are shown in Table 3.

Third, social-control factors. These factors include culture, religion, education, internal migration, unemployment, urbanization, family, and others. According to the Bangkok research report, traditional Thai culture in Bangkok/Thonburi is now less significant among the newer generation, having been modified by the adoption of certain elements of Western culture. Although the Thai variety of Buddhism, professed by about 95 per cent of the population, is considered the

Table 3 Per Capita GDP of the Six Countries

Countries	Per Capita GDP (in U.S. Dollars)	Year
Japan	10,080	1981
Singapore	5,240	1981
Costa Rica	1,430	1981
Colombia	1,400	1984
Thailand	769	1982
Kenya	420	1981

national religion, Buddhist monks in Bangkok/Thonburi have lost their function of intellectual leadership. Likewise, traditional mechanisms of social control in Bogota and Nairobi are currently becoming less effective. As pointed out by the Bogota research report, the Colombian people have tended to withdraw their commitment to Catholicism on account of the Church's unpopular doctrinal stand against birth control. Today, the basic mechanism of social control in Nairobi is mainly organized by the state through legislation and formal law enforcement. In San Jose, although family, school, and Catholicism traditionally play important roles in social control, the rapid urbanization of the city the introduced a number of other successive problems including unemployment and inadequate housing; these tend to weaken the traditional modes of social control. In contrast, the traditional mechanisms of social control and the modern ones in Tokyo generally co-exist in harmony. In other words, Tokyo depends upon both traditional and modern modes of societal control. Nonetheless, Shinto, the traditional Japanese religion, no longer plays a crucial role in modern urbanized Tokyo. Singapore has employed five strategies to ensure social control. These are education, national service, public housing, periodic national campaigns, and grassroots organization. According to the Singapore research report, moral education has been introduced in secondary schools. However, the influx of foreign workers and tourists has recently contributed to the increasing rate of ordinary crime in Singapore. Unlike Singapore, Warsaw currently confronts the problem of excessive alcohol consumption, a main factor contributing to the rising crime rate in this European city. Stated differently, ordinary crimes in Warsaw are mainly

committed by drunken Polish people. Nonetheless, Catholicism still serves as a more or less effective mode of social control in Warsaw.

With these contextual variables in mind, the writer will further present the preventive measures of ordinary crime control which, as mentioned earlier, are organized into two separate but inter-related topics. These include (a) criminal-justice-oriented measures, and (b) community-oriented measures.

Criminal-Justice-Oriented Measures for Ordinary Crime Control

Today crime is a major public concern in many developed as well as developing countries. In principle, the system of criminal justice is thus supposed to accomplish as one of its most significant tasks the control of crime, especially ordinary crime. In other words, the primary and overall goal of a whole criminal justice system is to control crime at an acceptable and tolerable level in a given society. In practice, the ultimate goal of the criminal justice system as a whole is basically overlooked by its components; rather, the subgoals of the police, the public prosecutors, the defense counsels, the courts and corrections are emphasized and advocated. This phenomenon, called "goal displacement," was first explored by Robert Michels (1959). Etzioni (1964) notes that :

The mildest and most common form of displacement is the process by which an organization reverses the priority between its goals and means in a way that makes the means a goal and the goals a means.

Moreover, Waldron (1984 : 66) adds that :

The systems approach holds that since all parts of a true (criminal justice) system are interdependent, it is not only inefficient but often counterproductive to study or advocate changes in any one part of the system without examining the effect these changes will have on the whole system.

The displacement of criminal justice goals is still flourishing in both developed and developing countries, including the aforementioned seven countries.

Once criminal justice goals are established in clear, measurable, and feasible terms, it is possible to further examine various means to achieve the goals. Unfortunately, the present systems of criminal justice in several countries, for instance Colombia, Kenya, and Thailand, have to operate within the confines of their budgets and resources. This means that none of these criminal justice agencies has been funded at a level which would allow it to provide optimal services. Criminal justice innovation, which means change in the way of operating processes and systems of justice by the introduction of something relatively new, inevitably plays an increasing role in the area of criminal justice administration. The traditional measures of criminal justice, such as police preventive patrol, imprisonment, and rehabilitation, should be comprehensively evaluated in order to determine their

effectiveness, efficiency and adequacy in terms of ordinary crime control. In addition, criminal justice innovations should be systematically introduced on an experimental basis in order to diminish their risks and uncertainty as well as to assure their success. In reality, Norval Morris (1982 : 13) points out that :

In the broad survey of values within the criminal justice system that I have been pursuing, this third value, that of the acquisition of knowledge about crime and juvenile delinquency and the best method of its prevention and control, is at once obvious and largely neglected.

Currently, Waldron advocates the development of a mathematical model of how the proposed innovative system actually operates. To Waldron (1984 : 69), "if enough data are available, if enough is known about how the criminal justice system actually operates, it is possible to determine in advance the results of major changes in operations and to compare the results of one suggested change with those of another." At this point, it is worth noting that without measurable goals and manageable means, the evaluation of criminal justice innovations is doomed to failure.

With the above-mentioned prerequisite in mind, the writer proceeds to present a summary of the criminal justice innovations as depicted by the seven-city research studies. In short, the innovative measures of the criminal justice system are as follows :

- (a) Formulation and implementation of the Social, Economic, and Educational Policies at the national level (Tokyo), formulation and implementation of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (Bangkok);
- (b) Amendment of the Penal Code (Tokyo), enactment of the 1971 Criminal Code (San Jose), enactment of the 1975 Criminal Procedure Code (San Jose);
- (c) Establishment of the Bureau for Human Rights (San Jose), establishment of the National Institute of Criminology (San Jose);
- (d) Initiation of the Social Anti-alcoholism Committee (Warsaw), establishment of the National Institute for Alcoholism (San Jose);
- (e) Initiation of the Koban system of policing (Tokyo), adoption of the Neighborhood Police Posts (Singapore), establishment of the Offense Prevention Unit (San Jose), innovation of the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Station Experiment (Bangkok), implementation of police campaigns for crime prevention awareness (Bogota);
- (f) Initiation of the Model Areas for Crime Prevention (Tokyo), initiation of crime risk surveys (Singapore);
- (g) Use of volunteer probation officers and volunteer parole officers (Bangkok); use of volunteer probation officers (Tokyo); use of full-time probation officers (Nairobi);

- (h) Innovation of the crime-victim compensation system (Tokyo);
- (i) Establishment of the Committee for Coordination of the Criminal Justice System (Bangkok), formulation of the National Commission for the Prevention of Crime (Bogota), establishment of the Teams for Prevention and Resocialization (Warsaw).

A brief presentation of the listed preventive measures would be appropriate in order to clarify some basic characteristics of each. In Japan, social, economic and educational development tends to discourage ordinary crime and have a positive impact upon the control of ordinary criminality. According to the 1970 public opinion polls conducted by the Office of the Prime Minister, approximately 90 per cent of the Japanese believe that their standard of living is at or above the middle-class level. Further, the Japanese standards of education are also relatively high. A well-developed education system, stabilized employment, and a high standard of living deter ordinary crime in Japan, especially in Tokyo. In Thailand, the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) has taken the problem of ordinary crime into consideration from 1982 to 1986, due to the fact that the rate of ordinary crime has grown three times faster than the population. Further, the Ministry of the Interior formulated the Third Master Plan to implement the Fifth NESDP in 1982. According to the Bangkok research team, although most of the established objectives in ordinary crime control have been effectively achieved, only slightly more than half of the citizens of Bangkok feel reasonably safe from becoming crime victims.

In the past decade, Japan has adopted relatively few innovative measures for ordinary crime control. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Justice established the Preliminary Committee for the Amendment of the Penal Code in order to cope with new types of crimes (e.g. hijacking, seajacking, and environmental pollution) and to inflict more severe punishment for crimes against the liberty and health of the citizens (e.g. kidnapping, assault, and extortion). In Costa Rica, the new Criminal Code was introduced in 1971 and the new Criminal Procedure Code was enacted in 1975. According to the San Jose research team, these new Codes have had a relatively strong impact upon the implementation of the criminal justice system. Moreover, the 1975 Criminal Procedure Code guarantees both due process and human rights.

In 1982, the Bureau for Human Rights was established in San Jose with the goal of defending the human rights of the citizens of Costa Rica. Further, the National Institute of Criminology was founded in San Jose as a part of the Bureau of Social Adaptation of the Justice Ministry. It is responsible for conducting criminological studies on the causes and effects of crime, rehabilitating offenders, and providing advisory services to the judicial authorities.

In Poland, excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages is a serious social problem which leads to criminality. Consequently, the drinking problem has

been controlled through legislation since 1959. More recently, it has been supplemented by the 1982 Act on Promotion of Sobriety and Control of Alcohol Consumption. Practically speaking, the control of excessive consumption of alcohol is the main function of the Social Anti-alcoholism Committee. Generally, alcoholism treatment in Warsaw is voluntary and free of charge. In Costa Rica, the National Institute for Alcoholism was created by the twenty-first Article of the Organic Legislation of the Ministry of Public Health. The Institute is charged with the research and prevention of alcoholism. It also provides treatment to alcoholics.

In Tokyo, police officers at 1,020 *Kobans* (police boxes) and 222 *Chuzai-shos* (residential police posts) have close contacts with citizens through a wide range of activities, such as patrolling, door-to-door visits, and consultation. Throughout Japan, they have annually published about 14,000 newsletters to inform the public about crime incidence, traffic accidents, and crime-prevention measures. In Tokyo, the Japanese public, by dialing 110, made 550,313 calls for police services in 1983; the police response time was roughly four minutes. Further, the Japanese cannot easily possess guns, swords, and hazardous substances due to strict and successful control. In Singapore, all Neighborhood Police Posts (NPPs) are non-residential. Singapore has implemented the NPPs since 1983. The main purposes of the NPPs are twofold: first, to improve police-community relations; and second, to control ordinary crime through community cooperation. Briefly, the Singaporean NPP system is an adoption of the Japanese Koban system. The NPP system was evaluated on the pretest-posttest basis. It was found that the outcome and impact of the NPPs upon ordinary crime reduction were very encouraging. It is worth noting that Japan and Singapore are successful in coping with ordinary criminality partly due to the fact that both the Japanese and the Singaporeans have confidence and trust in their law enforcement systems. In Costa Rica, the Offense Prevention Unit was founded under the Ministry of Public Security in 1980. The main function of the Unit is the control of property crime at various locations, such as bus stops, business areas, bars and nightclubs. The offense prevention officers are basically plainclothesmen. In Thailand, the Police Committee granted permission to the Thai National Police Department to conduct a one-year experiment at metropolitan police stations. The major goals of the experiment were to search for a better organizational structure for the metropolitan police stations, for a better strategy of controlling ordinary crime, and for a better way of delivering police services. A quasi-experimental design, titled the Non-equivalent Control Group Design, was employed for comprehensively evaluating the outcomes and impacts of the project. It was found that the experimental police stations decreased the unofficial crime rate to a greater extent than the control ones. Further, the citizens affected were far more highly satisfied with the police services delivered by the experimental stations than with the services delivered by the control police stations. In Bogota, the metropolitan police have initiated a number of campaigns to promote public awareness of ordinary crime prevention.

From May 1979 to October 1980, the Rehabilitation Bureau of the Justice Ministry in Japan implemented the Project on Model Areas for Crime Prevention for two main purposes: first, to search for practical types of crime prevention activities, and second, to measure the effectiveness of crime prevention activities. This project is basically viewed as an important innovation in the criminal justice area. In Singapore, police officers from the Crime Prevention Department have conducted crime risk surveys in more than 9,000 premises. The major aim of the surveys is to help improve the preventive security of premises free of charge to the people.

In 1980, the Corrections Department of Thailand had 4,049 volunteer parole officers working throughout the country. According to the Bangkok research team, the Department has been successful in gaining community participation in helping ex-offenders. Currently, the Justice Ministry has also initiated a project of volunteer probation officers in order to assist probationers in the same manner. In Japan, inadequacy of probation officers has led to the initiation of the volunteer probation officer project. VPO's are selected from citizens who fit requirements stated in the Law of Volunteer Probation Officers. In Nairobi (Kenya), the Probation Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs inadequately consists of only 15 probation officers who are responsible for both administrative tasks and probation services. From 1971 to 1980, the Probation Department provided services to a total of 3,876 probationers. Although the employment of probation, parole, and work release is less expensive than the use of imprisonment, such measures are not often used in Nairobi.

In Japan, crime-victim compensation has been initiated due to the fact that a number of criminals are not able to pay financial compensation to crime victims. Currently, three major statutes concerning victim compensation include the Law for Providing Compensation to Victims of Crime, the Automobile Liability Security Law, and the Law Concerning Compensation for Witness Damages.

In Thailand, the Committee for Coordination of the Criminal Justice System, attached to the Justice Ministry, is responsible for solving problems concerning criminal justice operations and overcoming obstacles routinely confronted by the criminal justice components. Technically speaking, it is not a central agency for the planning activities of ordinary crime control. Colombia does not have a comprehensive plan of ordinary crime prevention and suppression despite the seriousness of the ordinary crime problem. Although the National Commission for the Prevention of Crime has been legally established, it has no administrative power to coordinate various criminal justice components, including the police, the judiciary, the public prosecution, and the corrections. In Poland, coordination of several organizations dealing with crime prevention activities is conducted by the Teams for Prevention and Resocialization attached to the Vaivodship National Council.

Table 4 summarizes the evaluation results of the aforementioned innovative measures for ordinary crime prevention. It is worth noting that the success or failure of each innovation is evaluated on the basis of information presented by the research team of each city.

**Table 4 Evaluation Results of Criminal-Justice-Oriented Innovations
for Ordinary Crime Prevention**

Criminal-Justice-Oriented Innovations for Ordinary Crime Prevention	Cities	Evaluation Results
Formulation and implementation of the Social, Economic, and Educational Policies at the national level	Tokyo	Very successful
Formulation and implementation of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan	Bangkok	Partially successful
Amendment of the Penal Code	Tokyo	No available data for evaluation
Enactment of the 1971 Criminal Code	San Jose	Successful
Enactment of the 1975 Criminal Procedure Code	San Jose	Successful
Establishment of the Bureau for Human Rights	San Jose	No available data for evaluation
Establishment of the National Institute of Criminology	San Jose	No available data for evaluation
Initiation of the Social Anti-alcoholism Committee	Warsaw	No available data for evaluation
Establishment of the National Institute for Alcoholism	San Jose	No available data for evaluation
Initiation of the Koban system of policing	Tokyo	Successful
Adoption of the Neighborhood Police Posts	Singapore	Successful

Table 4 (Cont.)

Criminal-Justice-Oriented Innovations for Ordinary Crime Prevention	Cities	Evaluation Results
Establishment of the Offense Prevention Unit	San Jose	No available data for evaluation
Innovation of the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Station Experiment	Bangkok	Successful
Implementation of Police campaigns for public awareness of ordinary crime prevention	Bogota	Successful
Initiation of the Model Areas for Crime Prevention	Tokyo	Successful
Initiation of crime risk surveys	Singapore	Successful
Use of volunteer probation officers and volunteer parole officers	Bangkok	Successful
Use of volunteer probation officers	Tokyo	No available data for evaluation
Use of full-time probation officers	Nairobi	Unsuccessful
Innovation of the crime-victim compensation system	Tokyo	No available data for evaluation
Establishment of the Committee for Coordination of the Criminal Justice System	Bangkok	Unsuccessful
Formulation of the National Commission for the Prevention of Crime	Bogota	Unsuccessful
Establishment of the Teams for Prevention and Resocialization	Warsaw	No available data for evaluation

Community-Oriented Measures for Ordinary Crime Control

In 1967, the United States President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated that :

...The police are only one part of the criminal justice system; the criminal justice system is only one part of society. Insofar as crime is a social phenomenon, crime prevention is the responsibility of every part of society.
(p. 1)

This means that without the intimate and cooperative efforts of a community, a system of criminal justice is simply unable to effectively, efficiently, and adequately control ordinary crime. In other words, the community is expected to take an active -- not a passive -- role in the prevention of ordinary crime. Additionally, it is worth noting that the term "community" is utilized here to describe a broad array of human groupings. Otherwise stated, community is an aggregate of people within a common geographic boundary.

Generally speaking, community projects specifically directed toward the prevention of ordinary crime in the seven cities include those which reduce criminal opportunities through such projects as :

- (a) Adoption of the Neighborhood Watch Project (Singapore, Bangkok), initiation of the Soi SOS Project (Bangkok);
- (b) Innovation of the Community Crime Prevention Associations (Tokyo), formulation of the Crime Prevention Committees (Singapore);
- (c) Use of Operation Identification (Singapore), Use of the Car and Motorcycle Engraving Scheme (Singapore);
- (d) Adoption of the Taxi-driver Volunteers Program (Bangkok), initiation of the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Informant Program (Bangkok);
- (e) Employment of private security businesses (Bangkok, Bogota, Nairobi, Tokyo);
- (f) Initiation of the Brighter Society Movement (Tokyo), establishment of the Rape Crisis Center (Bangkok).

In Singapore, the Neighborhood Watch Scheme was launched in 1981 for the purpose of preventing ordinary crime through mutual assistance among neighbors. Currently, there are at least 28,535 neighborhood watch groups formed in 2,616 HDB blocks. In Bangkok/Thonburi, the success or failure of ordinary crime control is now perceived as being dependent upon community participation. Since 1983, a number of projects for community crime prevention, such as the Neighborhood Watch and the Soi SOS, have been introduced in order to reduce the increasing rate of ordinary crime. The Neighborhood Watch Project, for example,

has the major goal of preventing the occurrence of ordinary crime in participating neighborhoods. Nonetheless, there has yet been no systematic evaluation of these community crime prevention projects in the Bangkok and Thonburi Metropolis.

For voluntary crime prevention in Japan, the Crime Prevention Associations are the organizations mainly accountable for establishing crime prevention liaison posts as working units of Associations. In Tokyo, there was one post for every 30 households in 1981. In Singapore, the Crime Prevention Committees were established in commercial complexes in 1982 to motivate awareness of crime prevention among businessmen, tenants, residents and others. Currently, there are 67 Committees in a number of Singaporean commercial buildings.

In Singapore, Operation Identification was introduced in 1982 in order to encourage citizens to mark each valuable item of their property. Currently, police officers from the Crime Prevention Department have engraved a total of 102,233 items. Similarly, the Car Engraving Scheme was adopted in Singapore in the same year. This means that the registration number of each automobile is permanently and visibly engraved on front and rear windscreens. So far, about 80,000 automobiles have been engraved under this project. Moreover, the registration number of a motorcycle is now marked on important parts of the machine to deter criminals.

In Bangkok/Thonburi, the Program for Taxi-driver Volunteers was initiated by the Committee for Promotion and Coordination Among Volunteers. By 1984, the program had offered 21 training courses on prevention of ordinary crime by taxi drivers in Bangkok/Thonburi. Moreover, the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Informant Program was created in 1974 by the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Bureau in order to strengthen public awareness of ordinary crime prevention. The program offers training courses on crime prevention to volunteers at no cost.

In Bangkok/Thonburi, there are at least 37 private security firms today. The size of the organizations varies from 30 to 1,000 security personnel. The rate of turnover among security guards is relatively high due to the fact that promotion is rare but risks are high. Nonetheless, it is quite obvious that private security firms now play an increasing role in controlling ordinary crime for shopping centers, financial institutes, gold shops, and amusement parks. In 1984, Bogota had 129 major security companies, 6 subsidiaries, and 5 cooperatives supplying security personnel. According to the Bogota research team, one out of five households in Bogota is guarded by private security personnel. Additionally, security locks, street lamps, alarms, dogs, and other target-hardening devices are also utilized to protect premises against burglary and larceny. In Nairobi, approximately 80 private security firms are now operating in order to provide services to private citizens, embassies, banks, business premises, and commercial complexes. Securicor is the largest security organization in Nairobi. Security businesses which vary in terms

of manpower from 5 to 400 personnel are a major private sector investment in controlling ordinary crime in Nairobi. In Tokyo, the Law on Private Crime Prevention Businesses was enacted in 1972 and was partially amended in 1982 for the purpose of ensuring suitable development of private security organizations. In terms of business organizations, there are many types of crime prevention instruments (e.g. emergency communication facilities, mutual communication facilities, crime prevention television, and others) installed at hotels, commercial complexes, financial institutes, etc.

As early as 1951, the Brighter Society Movement was founded by the Justice Ministry of Japan in order to encourage public concern for ordinary crime prevention, criminal rehabilitation, and criminal reintegration. The organization emphasizes the development of social conditions to deter ordinary crime. In 1984, there were 510,278 citizens participating in 1,825 movement activities. In Bangkok/Thonburi, the Rape Crisis Center was founded under the Population and Community Development Association in 1982 in order to assist rape victims. After providing physical and psychological treatment, the center proceeds to legal matters. However, the scope of services is still limited because of financial constraints and lack of human resources. Basically, the center relies mainly upon volunteer workers.

Table 5 presents a summary of the evaluation results of all above-mentioned innovations concerning community-oriented measures for ordinary crime prevention. As mentioned earlier, the evaluation of these innovations is principally based upon the available information and data reported by the research teams of the seven cities.

Table 5 Evaluation Results of Community-Oriented Innovations for Ordinary Crime Prevention

Community-Oriented Innovations for Ordinary Crime Prevention	Cities	Evaluation Results
Adoption of the Neighborhood Watch Scheme	Singapore	Successful
Adoption of the Neighborhood Watch Project and the Soi SOS Project	Bangkok	No available data for evaluation
Innovation of the Community Crime Prevention Associations	Tokyo	Successful
Formulation of the Crime Prevention Committees	Singapore	No available data for evaluation

Table 5 (Cont.)

Community-Oriented Innovations for Ordinary Crime Prevention	Cities	Evaluation Results
Use of Operation Identification	Singapore	Successful
Use of the Car and Motorcycle Engraving Scheme	Singapore	Successful
Adoption of the Taxi-driver Volunteers Program	Bangkok	Successful
Initiation of the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Information Program	Bangkok	Successful
Employment of private security Businesses	Bangkok	No available data for evaluation
	Bogota	No available data for evaluation
	Nairobi	No available data for evaluation
	Tokyo	No available data for evaluation
Initiation of the Brighter Society Movement	Tokyo	Successful
Establishment of the Rape Crisis Center	Bangkok	No available data for evaluation

Summary

In summary, there is a growing consensus that in order to effectively, efficiently, and adequately cope with ordinary crime, the criminal justice system as well as the community and the private control system must function in concert. This means that they must work together in moving toward the common goal of ordinary crime control. In a number of dimensions, the public sector and the private sector overlap and are dependent upon each other. Further, there is adequate evidence to conclude that families, schools, religious institutes, and political entities are vital parts of society that must be aware of their accountability and must initiate more practical and innovative measures for instilling constructive values in their members. In addition, due to the fact that criminal justice systems in many countries have been comparatively underfinanced, innovative and effective measures for ordinary crime prevention are increasingly crucial and indispensable. Unfortunately, many innovative programs and projects as reviewed in this paper were implemented without paying any attention to evaluation. Without evaluation of the programs and projects, we may learn nothing from our previous mistakes. There is no doubt that innovations assume some risks and uncertainty but they also allow each criminal justice system and each community to catch up with the rest of a rapidly changing world. Further, by carefully implementing either criminal-justice-oriented innovations or community-oriented innovations through social experimentation, risks and uncertainty can be decreased and controlled at an acceptable level. Finally, the greatest hope, for both the criminal justice system and the community, of controlling ordinary yet serious crime resides in a combination of the courage to invent new ideas and the willingness to experiment with innovative programs and projects.

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