Building Safer Urban Environments
- the way forward -

St. George's House, Windsor Castle

Consultation
8 - 10 June 1999

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Introduction

Safety is one of the key indicators of the quality of life in urban areas. Unsafe neighbourhoods wreck lives and have a high economic cost. The degree of neighbourhood safety (real or perceived) is a major determinant of how people live. It affects how they use public spaces and transportation, as well as how safe they feel inside their own home. It determines the degree of fear and trepidation they feel on stepping outside their home. For those who have no home, there is little safety at all.

The issue of safety cannot be reduced simply to issues of crime and security. Safety policies that are merely aimed at enforcing law and order are limited and have comparatively little value.

Making our urban areas safer places in which to live and work means tackling a wide range of social disorders and incivilities. It means trying to strengthen the bonds that link people to their families, to their schools or workplaces and to their communities. It means trying to give all people, especially the marginalised and dispossessed, a place and value in society. This will only be achieved with political will at all levels of government. It also needs people to be placed at the centre of the process, where they are part of the solution and not simply the problem.

Safety is increasingly becoming a private rather than a public good, where wealthier people are able to purchase private security measures to protect themselves. The major victims of insecure urban environments however are poor people who live in urban areas and it is these people who are least able to pay to protect themselves. The main measure of success therefore has to be whether or not the real living conditions of the urban poor have changed for the better.

This Consultation at St. George’s House was organised by the Building and Social Housing Foundation to consider how to build safer urban environments. Persons of experience and expertise were brought together from around the world, in order to share and develop ideas as to how to meet this urgent challenge. A clear and simple Agenda for Action has been drawn up as a result of the deliberations of those at the Consultation, and sets out clearly the action to be taken at local, national and international level, in order that we all might live in greater safety. The Consultation sought to identify ways forward - to consider how best to deal with the causes rather than just the symptoms of crime, to highlight where, how and why success has been achieved and to identify those systems of urban governance and management best able to deliver the goal of safer cities for all.

Contact point information for the organisations referred to in the text, plus others, can be found here.
An Agenda for Action

The deliberations and discussions of the three day consultation were distilled into an Agenda for Action. This identifies key areas of action to be taken at various levels, from the individual to the global, if our urban environments are to become safer places to live and work. The framework for action sets out those factors that will facilitate the implementation of the Agenda.

Setting a framework for action

- Take a more strategic and holistic approach and avoid departmentalism when tackling unsafe urban environments. Use integrated systems of financing, auditing and measuring of success to back up integrated working methods.

- Avoid short termism. Take those actions that are sustainable in the long term rather than those that provide short-term fixes within an electoral term. Recognise the need for short-term reward within these longer-term approaches.

- Recognise that making urban environments safer is not simply the responsibility of the police. It is a complex process requiring inputs from a wide range of agencies.

- Give formal recognition to the pivotal role of women and young people within neighbourhoods and actively seek to promote their involvement and co-operation.

- In all policies and actions encourage individuals and local communities to take greater responsibility for their actions, in order to avoid the further deepening of the dependency culture. Remove barriers to self-help and be more flexible with taxation and benefit traps.

- Raise awareness of the importance of encouraging citizenship and giving powers and responsibilities to local communities.

- Reduce the degree of centralisation and control by central government, in order to allow decisions to be taken at the local level where local needs are best understood and customised solutions can be identified.

- Recognise that those labelled as the main perpetrators of crime are also the main victims of crime.

Action at the local and individual level

(Individuals, households, community-based organisations, statutory local authorities)

- Establish integrated working methods between the various local agencies and experts involved with all aspects of building safer living environments. Ensure that the methods of funding, auditing and measuring success serve to foster integration.

- Recognise the important role of women and young people in communities and seek to establish them as key players in what is happening locally.

- Encourage the positive exchange of information between agencies to enable best use to be made of scarce resources.

- Establish genuine dialogue with young people. Ask the right questions and listen to the answers. Commit resources to youth councils and establish contracts between young people and service deliverers in order to bring local government services closer to young people.
Use the opportunities generated by the current surplus of owner occupied and social housing in some areas to develop innovative approaches to meet local needs.

Don't seek to design the total solution but target activity. Make an early start and do small things first. Do not seek to institutionalise.

**Action at the national level**

*(Regional, state and federal organisations)*

- Seriously question the extent to which the continual worsening of crime over the last twenty years has been the result of inappropriate policy, inappropriate administration and inappropriate decisions taken by those who have the job of fixing the problems.

- Carry out more thorough analysis of what works and why before recommending good practice.

- Recognise that local communities will need to customise examples of good practice to meet their own needs. There are no universal solutions.

- Continue to require integrated working by all those organisations involved in promoting safer urban environments. Ensure flexibility in funding and monitoring systems are more flexible in order to foster joint action.

- Encourage a problem-solving approach to policing, building upon the practice and experience of those police services which have pioneered this approach.

- Ring-fence local budgets to help ensure that resources stay within a community.

- Foster the development of community capacity with citizenship education and be prepared to devolve responsibility and resources to the local authorities and local agencies.

- Give particular attention to young people, seeking to engage those particularly at risk, to ensure that they have a meaningful role to play within the regeneration of their neighbourhoods.

- Recognise that crime is linked to poor education and act to increase the current educational levels of achievement.

- Avoid systemic discrimination and stigmatisation by providing greater support for people in care and custody, ensuring that league tables reflect added value and avoid naming and shaming individuals and institutions.

**Action at the global level**

*(Continental to global)*

- Root action in social equality and justice, focusing on the needs of the poor rather than the political sensitivities of nation states.

- Encourage integrated approaches to dealing with the problems of crime and security and promote successful experience.

- Identify and promote these catalysts that successfully trigger change for the better.
Take action to ensure that national governance systems are conducive to the establishment of safe living environments.

Share information and experience between countries, making the information easily understandable and widely accessible.
The challenge of building safer urban environments

Increasing levels of crime and insecurity in urban neighbourhoods are a world-wide phenomenon. This is reflected in the physical development of city neighbourhoods and in the lifestyles of those who live there. Fear of violence and crime has discouraged people from using public transport, streets and public spaces. It discourages children from using playgrounds and women and older people from sitting in public places. Residential and commercial buildings are increasingly fortified and closed-circuit television cameras are beginning to watch our every move.

It is no longer possible for police services to take sole responsibility for preventing and controlling incivilities, urban crime and violence.

Urban violence is not a spontaneous phenomenon but rather the product of a society characterised by inequality and social exclusion. Measures that protect urban communities from deprivation, unemployment, injustice, homelessness and social disintegration will ultimately also protect them from crime and violence. Communities are primarily concerned about micro-criminality or ‘visible’ crime (burglary, robbery, car crime etc.) committed by offenders who are perceived as coming from the lower social order. However macro-criminality (crime committed by rich ‘white collar’ offenders - such as fraud, tax evasion and business crime, which is not motivated by poverty or social exclusion) cannot be ignored. Not only because it actually costs society much more, but also because it has a significant impact on individual and collective trust in public institutions. Also, if it is unchecked it implies double standards.

A global perspective on safer cities

Large scale urbanisation is inevitable, with millions of people moving into cities annually. It is concentrated in the developing world, since the developed world has already substantially urbanised. It primarily involves the poor and very poor and is overloading city systems that are already stretched to capacity. While urbanisation can present opportunities, it is as well to recognise that it is also a very dangerous process. With the important exception of some affluent Asian cities, the problems of crime and violence are generally more extreme in developing countries and are exacerbated by the lack of resources, the disproportionate numbers of young people and the rapid growth in population. In addition, urbanisation is taking place against a background of very weak systems of governance.

Weak governance at local and national levels can result in the extreme weakness or total failure of the public sector safety programmes as well as the criminal justice system. In many countries the police force actually contributes to the problem. Where adequate control is lacking, parallel sources of competing authority move into the vacuum to dispense their own form of justice and gangs and war lords begin to emerge. The wealthier classes respond to this by purchasing private security.

The urban poor are most likely to be victimised but are least able to afford to protect themselves. The rich can afford to make choices and buy whatever levels of safety they feel necessary. Safe urban environments are thus becoming private goods rather than public goods.

The main victims of insecure urban environments are the urban poor. In addition to the problems of crime and insecurity, the urban poor in many countries have to contend with the threat of forced evictions. These are a
feature of daily life for 14 million people and are arbitrary and often violent dispensations of subjective notions of justice. These destroy not only the shacks that are the only shelter the urban poor have but also demolish the community networks upon which they depend. Lack of security of tenure has direct consequences on the behaviour of those living in the city but effectively excluded from it.

In order to deal with issues such as safer urban environments it is necessary to have the urban poor as the target audience and not necessarily the nation state. The main measure of success is whether the real living conditions of the urban poor have changed. The solutions to the problems of insecure urban environments are fairly simple and not difficult to find. What is most often missing is the political will to implement them.

The rights of women are not adequately recognised or protected and this has immediate consequences for the children. In order to achieve real change you need to focus on women. This is not a statement of political correctness but rather one of good housing policy. The most successful delivery systems in the world for the poorest of the poor are those that are savings based and that are done by the poor themselves. Almost inevitably they will be led by women since women and credit are invariably more sound than men and credit. The Grameen Bank of Bangladesh has pioneered the highly successful system of micro-credit, which has now being adapted and replicated in fifty-four countries around the world.

It is also necessary to work at the appropriate level, which in this instance is the individual town or city. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements is increasingly seeking to work as a city agency and will be launching a global campaign on the need for secure tenure. Establishing the right to secure tenure is thus one of the triggers of fundamental change in people's shelter conditions and their rights to the city and will have a direct effect on levels of violence and crime in the city.

Making neighbourhoods safer

The issue of safety cannot be reduced simply to issues of crime and security. Dealing with insecurity means tackling a massive range of social disorders and incivilities, only the most extreme of which are criminal offences. The rapid increase in neighbourhood crime over the last twenty years has been fostered by a wide range of factors, including:

- lack of people's ability to control their own lives and neighbourhoods;
- lack of stability and high rates of turnover in urban neighbourhoods;
- expectation that it is the job of the police to prevent and deal with crime and anti-social behaviour;
- poor design and lack of choice in housing options;
- creation of a culture of dependency upon the state, with the associated loss of a sense of personal responsibility to care for or maintain a home or neighbourhood;
- corruption in city governance systems;
- presence of disruptive Mafia-type families.

Neighbourhood crime is highly concentrated both in terms of victims and offenders. In the United Kingdom forty per cent of crime occurs in ten per cent of neighbourhoods. Forty-five per cent of the crime is perpetrated on only four per cent of the population and sixty-six per cent of all convictions are on seven per cent of males who offend. It is young people who suffer most from crime, as well as being its main perpetrators. Action to tackle neighbourhood crime should therefore be concentrated in these areas where greatest need is to be found. In those areas where there are high levels of crime, it rarely occurs as an isolated problem and needs to be tackled as part of a broader approach that looks to the educational, housing and employment
There are three broad approaches to tackling neighbourhood crime. These are firstly, using the law enforcement systems including the police, courts, prison and the probation service that are involved in deterring, catching and rehabilitating offenders. A second approach involves making crime more difficult. This consists of hardening potential targets with locks, bolts, CCTV, etc. (known as situational crime prevention). The urban planning and design aspects of crime prevention also come within this category. This approach basically deals with alleviating the symptoms of crime rather than treating its causes and is of little use in crimes against the person. It comprises three main approaches - increasing the effort involved to commit a crime, increasing the risks associated with crime and reducing the rewards from committing crime.

The third approach seeks to deal with the causes of crime and involves working with families and educational systems to try and reduce the strong risk factors that predispose young people to a life of crime.

Unlike the rest of Europe, the United Kingdom has placed much more emphasis on changing the physical environment than on changing the prospects of the people that live there. It is now increasingly recognised that, although common-sense planning and design of residential areas and city centres have a role to play in reducing crime and people’s perception of crime, they are relatively ineffective on their own. They can only create the pre-conditions for a safer environment and are not a substitute for changing behaviour or attitudes of people. The interface between the design and management of the urban environment is however crucial and needs to be carefully considered.

Despite the political rhetoric about the need to deal with the causes of crime, the vast majority of time and money spent in making urban areas safer has been concentrated on making crime more difficult, rather than trying to deal with its causes. Making crime more difficult is easier to do and has more immediate results and is thus more suited to short-term political horizons. Most people still associate crime prevention with physical security systems - home security, improved lighting, better surveillance etc. The links between social and educational development and crime are less apparent. The key to longer lasting success is investment in the people as well as in the place. Results are likely to be longer term and invariably beyond the life of the project.

**What works .....**

A wide variety of crime prevention projects have been implemented over the last twenty years. Many projects work at some level, for some people and for some of the time. What is apparent is that there is no single successful solution. Using a package of measures, including physical security provisions, design, management and social development measures, appears to have a more sustained impact than single measures. Although situational crime prevention activity succeeds in reducing property crime in an area, in reality it often displaces it to less secure homes and neighbourhoods or changes the nature of the crime (for example, to stealing from the person on the street rather than from the house).

Those approaches that engage with local people and generate a sense of local ownership, involvement and commitment are far more likely to succeed and to have a longer-term impact than those that are imposed on a neighbourhood. Anything can be changed by imposition in the short-term, but if the change is to endure there has to be genuine local commitment to what is being done.

There is increasing recognition of the need to apply what works. In the past much unfocussed effort took place with an unknown impact on crime. Problem solving has not been the usual approach adopted by police services to tackling crime problems. It is only in the most recent years that the concept of applying known solutions to specific crime problems has become more widely used.

The most effective crime prevention results normally come from dealing with the causes of crime. In order to do this work needs to be done in co-operation with schools, families and communities. One third of the current prison population grew up in care and the importance of keeping children within the home environment is increasingly being recognised as a valuable crime prevention tool.
Family preservation and support schemes help to prevent children going into care. Evaluation carried out on implemented schemes of this type shows them to be highly successful in keeping families together, in reducing costs to the state, with children getting into less trouble with the police and succeeding better at school.

The value of high quality education, in particular pre-school education, has also been shown to bring multiple benefits to young people in terms of success at school and in finding work, with lower dependency on state benefits and much lower arrest rates. A range of community-based initiatives have been introduced to work with high risk young people (i.e. those who have been in trouble with the police, are excluded from school or are experiencing other difficulties) and are showing excellent results. The Mentoring Plus approach developed by Crime Concern is one such example. Under this scheme adult volunteers give their time to help mentor local youngsters aged 14 - 18 years old, who are deemed to be particularly at risk, during a year's training and education. It was highly successful in Hackney where it was first introduced and is now being used in many other areas of the country.

In recent years there has been a convergence of thinking in many countries as to the best ways forward to create safer urban neighbourhoods. It is now widely accepted that: --

- crime prevention is not solely about physical security and design and that a range of environmental, social and economic interventions is also needed if crime problems are to be successfully tackled;
- successful crime prevention requires partnership between public, private and voluntary sectors;
- local government has the potential to affect crime and public safety through its community safety policies and practices;
- it is important to consult the community and involve community representatives in developing responses to crime problems;
- it is vital to focus particular attention upon young people and the social, physical and educational environment in which they grow up.

Ultimately it is values such as respect, tolerance and love in relationships between and across generations and cultures that will provide the basis for a true and lasting security.

..... and what doesn't work

Even in the best programmes crime levels often rise again after a time. Reasons for failure include the following: --

- if the national social and economic policy framework is wrong, there is a limit to what can be achieved locally;
- a key element of the initiative is abandoned, typically removing the funding from one part, which throws the remainder into jeopardy;
- most crime prevention work actually carried out has been concerned with physical security measures, i.e. protecting people from crime, and has not tackled the underlying problems and the motivation of offenders;
- the use of the project based approach that is inevitably time-limited and geared towards short-term outcomes;
There has been a bias towards dealing with incivilities and property crime, but this does not impact on violent crime. It is violent crime that gives rise to the widespread fear of crime (often out of all proportion to its actual incidence).

There are still crucial gaps in the approach to making our urban environments safer places that have not been really successfully addressed. These include reducing drug misuse by young people. The main focus to date has been on moving dealers out of an area and on providing support for addicts. Little work has been done to reduce the actual levels of drug misuse, which are often symptoms of other problems. It is also important to realise the impact that family based crime prevention policies can have on reducing the number of young people who take to criminal or sub-criminal activity. The most effective crime prevention work is that done within families and the education system but this is rarely acknowledged or included in crime prevention initiatives. Multiple strategies are needed which involve kids, parents and schools.

Reversing the reduction in youth service provision by local government over recent years would be invaluable, as would developing more inclusive strategies for crime prevention work. At present it is primarily defensive and is directed towards excluding certain categories of people from particular locations.

The need for accurate and thorough evaluation of the impact of work being carried out is crucial to identifying approaches which will be successful in making urban environments safer places to in which to live and work.
Directions for change

The problems of crime and insecurity are experienced most intensely in areas of social deprivation, where households cannot afford to buy private security systems and where young people are most disaffected and alienated and at risk of turning to a life of crime. It is here that attention needs to be focussed if there is to be any sustainable reduction in the level of incivilities, crime and violence.

Getting the youngsters on-side

There is a huge onus on any producer of social housing to provide a physical environment which is as safe as it can possibly be. Some of the most troublesome issues that social landlords have to tackle are the conflicts and distrust that arise between residents and groups of young people on housing estates. However much money and time is spent on an estate the distrust goes on, even to the extent that the number of young people on an estate is often used as an indicator of how much criminal and sub-criminal activity can be expected there.

Living on rundown estates, without much hope of employment, independent living or of supporting their own family unit, it becomes increasingly difficult for young males to make the transition from youthful delinquency to adult conformity. Girls are not interested in boys who have no prospects or future and so the boys tend to wolf-pack because nobody wants them. Getting a decent job requires an ever increasing level of qualification and without this enticement of a better life many youngsters just stop trying.

Tolerant communities produce tolerable living conditions. Whilst gangs of youths on corners do not necessarily imply trouble or criminal activity, they can terrify women, older persons and the infirm, as can groups of youngsters on roller blades, skateboards or even just riding round on bikes. Residents are afraid of what young people will get up to if they have nothing to do and call for youngsters to have more facilities. What youngsters actually want is to be listened to, to be respected and included. Places where youngsters can meet informally and where they do not cause a nuisance are important, for they like to play in groups and prefer play spaces to back gardens. All too often designing out crime has meant designing out youngsters. Well designed estates need to allow some space for benevolent gang activities and ball games.

The following directions may be of assistance to social housing landlords in meeting the needs of young people on their estates.

- Encourage residents to see young people as a source of energy and imagination rather than simply as a cause of trouble.
- Landlords rarely have the necessary skills for dealing successfully with large numbers of young people. Obtain specialist knowledge of the issues involved.
- Know how many kids there are on the housing estate (often it is more than 50 per cent of the population). Seek to consult them as actively as the adults who hold the formal tenancies.
- If youngsters are to be diverted from anti-social actions the alternative has to be just as exciting. Simply providing things for youngsters to do without developing their skills, responsibility or self-esteem is not a successful strategy in the long term.
- Seek to identify young people's real interests and priorities rather than just an unreal wish list.
Publicise your own successes and mistakes and learn from those of others. Seek to understand reasons for success or failure and do not implement solutions without due consideration.

Realise that it is the process that matters and it will only be successful if it enables young people to take responsibility and power in their neighbourhoods (it is not what you do, it is how you do it).

Include young people as an integral part of estate planning and management and do not set up a specific strategy to deal with them.

The joint Groundwork/Crime Concern Youth Works Initiative in the United Kingdom is an example of what can be achieved through adopting this focus.

Working to support and encourage young people will inevitably cost money, but will still be cheaper than doing nothing, which will be the most expensive option of all in the long-run. It has been shown that for every £1 spent on pre-school and youth intervention work, £6 is saved in criminal justice costs at the end of the day. It is however often different organisations who spend the money and reap the benefits. For example money spent from an education budget on pre-schooling can lead to reduced crime on a housing estate. The savings however will accrue to the landlords and the police and not the education authority. The use of combined neighbourhood budgets is one way in which these problems may be reduced.

Mainstreaming - getting good projects into sustainable process

Although much good practice has been identified in the fields of crime prevention and community safety, much of it remains in the form of one-off initiatives and projects and does not transfer to become a more sustainable and widespread accepted process. The elements of good practice are well known.

They include using a holistic approach, having accurate and up-to-date information, targeting of resources, using problem solving approaches, sharing of resources, developing community capacity and using new ways of working. The challenge is to transfer these successful approaches into a process that is central to the policy and practice of local agencies. The success of some projects as opposed to others seems to be highly dependent on the personal enthusiasms and energies of individuals. It is crucial therefore to try and identify those aspects of programmes that are replicable and capable of customisation to meet local needs.

The barriers to mainstreaming of good practice in neighbourhood safety are similar to those experienced in all attempts by the state to work with communities and are set out below:

- lack of resources (time as well as money);
- initiative overload and partnership fatigue currently experienced by local government;
- departmental traditions are still deeply entrenched making cross-cutting activities difficult;
- disagreements as to what is relevant to community safety;
- inexperience of the technical aspects of community safety;
- poor infrastructure for liaison;

For every £1 spent on pre-school and youth intervention work, £6 is saved in criminal justice costs at the end of the day.
residual hostilities between agencies e.g. youth service and the police;
fragmentation of local provision that makes integrated action more complex. For example, the division of social housing provision between local authorities and housing associations;
lack of consensus as to the most appropriate course of action.

Given the current political climate, legislation and government structures, some things are easier to bring into the mainstream of activity than others. Enforcement action is always more easily absorbed into the system. For example, the Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) introduced in the recent Crime and Disorder legislation in the United Kingdom will be more easily mainstreamed than the community safety partnerships introduced in the same legislation, which are designed to promote preventative action. This is due to the greater complexity of the latter that require inter-agency co-operation, with the associated increased number of barriers to be overcome. Many aspects of situational crime prevention require only bi-lateral co-operation and the criminal justice system requires very little co-operation at all. These approaches are therefore more easily put into place.

The current procedures for allocating funding through a variety of agencies are not a recipe for synergy and present one of the main obstacles to effective crime prevention which, by its very nature, requires inter-agency co-operation. Sharing of information between agencies is equally important if there is to be effective action. This is made easier if it is formalised in an data sharing protocol which has been agreed by all the agencies involved. Problem solving policing is a consequence of genuine co-operation between agencies.

Overcoming these problems means a tortuous struggle with administrative and bureaucratic procedures. It is however the only way of working within the current system to achieve a real balance between enforcement and prevention. It is not unreasonable to ask whether there are better ways of organising the system of public service delivery.

**Changing the delivery system**

Building safer urban environments is about improving quality of life for all. If this is to happen the existing inflexible approach to dealing with problems from the top down needs to change. Centralised control has operated in the United Kingdom for many years and has patently failed to meet the needs of the urban poor. The many drawbacks of this 'outside' approach include a concentration of power, a remoteness from the reality of what is needed, fragmented action, a discontinuous process, sectoral budgets, conflicting departmental priorities and agency dependency. The end result is that little effective and sustained action is taken.

This 'outside' approach involves little or token consultation with local people and even less transfer of power and responsibility. Expertise, time and money are applied with little regard for what is needed or in consultation with others. Wasted resources result since needs have not been correctly identified and the individual isolated approaches fail to meet the needs of the whole. Meeting targets of government departments and agencies rarely provides a successful means of meeting a community's needs. The opposite or 'inside' approach is one that is driven internally by the needs of local communities. The features of the "inside" and 'outside' approaches can be compared below.
The Outside Approach
(Unsustainable approach used today)

C = Client
(i.e. country, community, region, city, or family person)

\[ \sum \text{a} = \text{Budget} + \text{Brains} + \text{Time} = \text{< Total} \]
A complete reversal of the above top-down outside or external approach is needed. This will ensure that the externally imposed and fragmented approach to urban management becomes one that is driven internally by the needs of local communities and which belongs to those communities themselves. The features of this inside delivery system are shared power, with joint actions and a continuous process, joint budgets, consensus priorities and empowered independency rather than depending on external agencies. As a result of this approach local people and communities are able to develop and grow in self-esteem as they take increasing responsibility for some of the factors that control their quality of life. This approach also has a greater potential for employing local people and keeping money within a community.

The transfer from the outside to inside forms of delivery can be facilitated through the following mechanisms:

- developing programmes across sectors;
- identifying ways of measuring joint success;
- involving both politicians and officers in the process;
- transferring knowledge and skills from ‘experts’;
- promoting citizenship education at all levels;
- developing short-term rewards within a long-term process in order to retain interest and enthusiasm;
- ring-fencing local budgets in order to retain the resources in the community;
- relaxing agency rules and encouraging community free ports.
Sources of further information

Crime Concern
Beaver House
147-150 Victoria Road
Swindon
Wiltshire
SN1 3BU
Tel: 01793-863500
Fax: 01793-514654

Grameen Bank
Mirpur 2
Dhaka 1216
BANGLADESH
Tel: 00-880-2-801-097
Fax: 00-880-2-803-559

Groundwork
85-87, Cornwall Street
Birmingham
B3 3BY
Tel: 0121-2368565
Fax: 0121-2367356
E.mail: info@groundwork.org.uk

Community Safety and Crime Prevention Open Learning Programme
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Frenchay Campus
Bristol
BS16 1QY
Tel: 0117-965-6261
Fax: 0117-976-3895
E.mail: Henry.Shaftoe@uwe.ac.uk

National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders
169 Clapham Road
London
SW9 0PU
Tel: 0171-840-6448
Fax: 0171-840-6420

Safe Neighbourhoods Unit
16 Winchester Walk
London
SE1 9AG
Tel: 0171-403-6050
Fax: 0171-403-8060
E.mail: SNU@SNU-1.DEMON.CO.UK

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)
PO Box 30030
Nairobi
KENYA
Tel: 00-254-2-621234
Fax: 00-254-2-64266/7
Participants at the Consultation

Ms Lesley Andrews  
Research Fellow, Bristol University

Mr Phil Barton  
Regional Director, Groundwork

Ms Margaret Bergen  
Editor-in-Chief, Urban Age

Mr William Cobbett  
Acting Head, Shelter Division

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Nairobi

Professor Adriana Dal Cin  
Vice President, International Society of City and Regional Planners

Mrs Diane Diacon  
Deputy Director, Building and Social Housing Foundation

Mr Eric Edwards  
Trustee, Building and Social Housing Foundation

Mr Peter Elderfield  
Director, Building and Social Housing Foundation

Mrs Pat Elderfield  
Hon. Treasurer, Building and Social Housing Foundation

Ms Jill Gibbs  
Trustee, Building and Social Housing Foundation

Sister Maureen  
Programme Co-ordinator, Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University

Dr Rod Hackney  
Architect, Past President, Royal Institute of British Architects, International Union of Architects

Mrs Eirwen Harbottle  
Director, Centre for International Peacebuilding

Mr Dominick Harrod  
Former Director of Studies, St. George’s House

Dr Judith Hermanson  
Vice-President, Co-operative Housing Foundation, USA

Dr Sohail Husain  
Regional Director, Crime Concern

Mr Gerard Murden  
Assistant Head of Housing Services, Liverpool Housing Services

Dr Taner Oc  
Director, Institute of Urban Planning, University of Nottingham

Mr Steve Osborn  
Director, Safe Neighbourhoods Unit

Mrs Marlene Pearson  
Chair, Protection and Reassurance Initiative to Defend the Elderly

Mr Henry Shaftoe  
Director, Community Safety and Crime Prevention Open Learning Programme

Sir Alfred Sherman  
Journalist, Researcher

Ms Sheila Stokes-White  
Head of Strategy, Northumbria Community Safety

P.C. David Stubbs  
Architectural Liaison Officer, Thames Valley Police

Mr Chris Wadhams  
Director, Chris Wadhams Associates

Mr Frank Warburton  
Head of Crime and Social Policy, National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders
Building and Social Housing Foundation

The Building and Social Housing Foundation is a research institute based in Coalville, Leicestershire. It is an independent research body which gained its financial endowment from a building organisation formed by a group of homeless and penniless ex-servicemen just after World War Two. The Foundation carries out research into all aspects of housing, concerning itself with the immediate and practical problems of housing today, as well as attempting to look to the future in a progressive and imaginative way. Of particular interest is the need to identify solutions rather than problems. In all its work it aims to avoid bureaucracy, eliminate the waste of resources and encourage self-help and self-reliance.