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POSTWAR AVIATION AND CRIME

George B. Vold

Developments in aviation have transformed warfare and profoundly affected the ordinary habits of living of people as a whole. Will there be comparable effects in the field of crime? The author, who is a professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, giving much of his time to teaching and research in criminology, examines several aspects of this important problem and points out various probable changes and adaptations likely to follow.—(Editor.)

What will be the effect of the expected new developments in aviation on crime in the postwar world? Obviously there are no "facts" in the sense of objective data or criminal statistics for a simple answer to this question. During the past summer the writer has systematically questioned a number of people about this problem and in nearly every case the first response has been to the effect that there is no connection between the two. With more thought, however, nearly everyone has admitted that there might be a variety of implications.

This reversal of first impressions suggests the desirability of a careful analysis of the ways in which the crime problem *could be* or *might be* affected by the expected new developments in air transportation. The analysis that follows is by no means complete or exhaustive. Only a few of the more pertinent interrelations can be developed. The new developments in aviation may be expected: (a) to be differently related to the several different types and kinds of crime; (b) to have variety of repercussions in the field of law enforcement; (c) to have certain selective effects on patterns of community growth and development that may well bring about new delinquency areas and other social problems. The sections that follow will explore these relationships in a general preliminary way.

I. EXPANSION OF THE AVIATION INDUSTRY IN RELATION TO KINDS AND TYPES OF CRIME

The classification of the different types and kinds of crime that follows seems as useful as any for the purposes of this analysis:

(1) *Common Law Crimes.* These are acts usually involving the direct person against person relationships, such as: murder, assault, rape, robbery, theft, and so on. The old common law reflects the traditional values of Anglo-American culture. Most individuals have been brought up to accept, in a rather uniform way, the definitions of the common law of what is proper and approved behavior in all of these fields of values. When the individual deviates from these values in his behavior, he feels guilty; he probably agrees that he is a criminal and thus merits some kind of coercive restraint. It may be assumed ordinarily

that the individual indulges in behavior deviating from these values either because there has never been any complete conditioning of the child through normal training, or because of some physical or mental variation such that the ordinary values bring about not conformity but rebellion.

It seems clear that this entire field of crime—the ordinary personal, common law crimes of our legal and social heritage—may be dismissed as one which is not likely to be affected in any material degree by new developments and expansions in the use of air transportation. Only in a very long time-perspective would changes in aviation be likely to contribute in any recognizable way to changing values and definitions in these traditional fields of criminal behavior.

(2) *Business crimes: i. e., those involving the "white collar criminal."* The characteristic feature of this type of crime is that in ordinary interpersonal relations the individual criminal usually accepts all the traditional taboos and personal restrictions. That is, as an individual he strives to be "respectable" and "honorable"; he is kind to women and children; he supports the church and the state and in general plays his part in the community as a conforming individual. This form of crime occurs, not in connection with personal relations, but in the manipulation of business in such ways that profit will ensue from "sharp" practices—practices that involve duplicity, deceit, and are frequently only slightly and technically different from fraud and extortion. Fee-splitting on the part of "respectable" professional men, rebates and concealed dividends in corporation practice, some "bonus" practices in business management, the operation of a variety of "protective" associations in which the principal threat against which protection must be purchased is created by the organization doing the protecting, these and many more like them are familiar illustrations of this type of crime. Here, too, are the many variations of fraud and dishonesty in advertising and other business misrepresentation; the selling of products under labels that suggest implicitly, even explicitly, a quantity or quality not actually manifest.

It is in this field of uncertain definitions, where our present industrial and commercial culture is far from certain about what should be approved and what disapproved that one may expect a new development in industry like the expected growth of aviation to bring on its own peculiar types of questionable or criminal behavior. When, even in the older lines of industrial development, there is no certain line of demarcation between the dishonest cheat and the smart business executive, then it is to be expected that in connection with the new industry opportunities will be multiplied for criminal activity.

The theoretical orientation for this has been well-stated many years ago in the famous formulation of Fillipo Poletti with reference to business crimes; namely: "Where increased incentives and increased occasions for illegitimate activities result from an increased amount of legitimate activity, there is apt to be an increase in crime." Or more recently, the same argument by the Dun Agency in a report to the Prison Committee of the Association of Grand Jurors of New York County:

The past hundred years have seen great industries spring into existence and expand . . . railroads . . . telegraph lines . . . daily telephone connections . . . bank clearings . . . imports . . . exports . . . these are things of recent growth and they speak eloquently of the stupendous volume of our national business. "But each step in this swift progress—every acceleration given to industry, commerce, and banking by improved machinery and power, by railroads, telegraphs, and telephones—has been followed, not only by a marked increase in the number of the criminals who prey upon credit, but a serious expansion in their boldness and ingenuity.¹

An expanding aviation industry can hardly expect to escape this common experience of all business development. The very activity which represents expansion and development of a desired and legal business carries with it increased opportunities for "sharp" and "questionable" practices, the outer margin of which may well be genuine criminal fraud and dishonesty.

(3) *Racketeering—business by intimidation.* This represents the unholy alliance of unscrupulous business interests, politicians, labor interests, and professional criminals. This is likewise a field in which modern industrial and commercial life has failed to develop any exact scheme of values that makes clear just what is permitted and what should be prohibited. In extreme cases the association of the above-mentioned interests may actually be welded into a harmonious, smoothly working, social-political unit that constitutes the organized political state. The patent illustration of this on a grand scale is the dominance of modern Germany by a small, unscrupulous political minority reaching out to enslave an entire people. But throughout western culture this alliance of business interests, politicians, labor interests, and professional criminals into a system of profiting through intimidation and at the expense of the larger group is by no means an unknown phenomenon. It is from many stand-points the most sinister aspect of the whole crime problem in modern society.

In this field, too, with its poorly defined lines of demarcation between permitted behavior and forbidden behavior, it is to be expected that the new developments in aviation will add impetus

¹Both quotations from: National Commission on Law Observance and Law Enforcement, *Report on Causes of Crime*, Volume I, No. 13, pp. 114-115. Washington, D. C., 1931. (Government Printing Office).

to the uncertainty; and the new transportation device will become a useful instrument in the hands of the racketeers.

(4) *Crimes against morality and decency.* In this group are those acts that involve "flying in the face" of rather widely held social and moral values of people in general. Familiar illustrations are prostitution, indecent entertainment, and the traffic in illicit liquor and drugs. The individuals involved in these types of crime generally do not share the ordinary community definitions of their behavior. It is this separation of the participants in this type of activity into a world of their own—the perverted values of the prostitute with reference to notions of "honor" and "decency"; the absence of concern for the welfare of the victim represented by the traffickers in drugs and liquor—that has led to the common-sense term, "underworld." The underworld has reality only to the extent that its own members reject the value system of the ordinary or upper world and rationalize their own mode of living as somehow reasonable and acceptable.

New developments in aviation will presumably be important in connection with this type of crime, not because of any effect on the value system of the underworld, but because the airplane represents a development in methods of transportation that will make some of these crimes either more profitable or more convenient to carry on in the face of opposition. In other words, it is not to be expected that the airplane will affect the code of sexual morality of the prostitute or of her patrons but rather that it may be useful to the vice lords in transporting customers to or from resorts.

(5) *Crimes against public safety and public order.* To this group belong the large number of acts that may in direct or indirect ways threaten the organization and functioning of the community as a unit of government. Included would be carelessness of many kinds, negligence in the matter of fire hazards or in the use of vehicles, as well as a variety of actions that may endanger public safety through some interference with the function of government. Also included would be the deliberate spreading of infectious or contagious diseases or other acts that would jeopardize the safety and well-being of an entire people. Political agitation of a subversive type and efforts at over-throwing the existing form of government are also forms of this type of crime.

It seems unlikely that new developments in aviation will affect this type of crime, except as the whole political organization of our present society may be upset by wide-spread revolution in the post-war world. Should political revolution break out in the United States (an eventuality highly improbable despite the dire predictions of some extremists) the pattern of behavior

will be that of general warfare—and presumably, new developments in air transportation will be as significant in a war of revolution as they have been in the present World War.

For present purposes, however, such connections between aviation and illegal activity can be ignored.

II. AVIATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

It will be in new devices for the transportation of goods and services or in the supplying of swift and sure instruments of communication that aviation will intrude itself into the activities of law enforcement in the post-war years. Correspondence or personal conferences with perhaps two dozen law enforcement officials in the course of preparation of this article has produced little that helps throw light in any accurate way on just what the connections will be. All that one gets from law enforcement officials are speculations and wishful thinking. That, plus the writer's own reactions, are the basis for the analysis that follows.

(1) *Jurisdictional problems of law enforcement:* (a) *Territorial Jurisdiction:* In the case of crime committed in flight, it will be very difficult to determine what governmental unit should claim jurisdiction. Under present practice, police jurisdiction extends up to a definite boundary; across the boundary the jurisdiction falls to other officials.

Since air transportation is not closely limited to surface boundaries, the whole legal principle of police jurisdiction will need some degree of revision. Suppose, for example, that an ordinary common law crime has been committed in a passenger-carrying airplane traveling over the boundaries of several states. All that the police are likely to know is that at some point in the course of the flight a crime was committed—that is, a theft, an assault, a murder, or something of the sort. If it should happen that the plane crossed the borders of several counties, and even possibly the borders of several states, between its take-off and its landing present definitions of jurisdiction would be far from satisfactory. Present criminal law functions on the theory that the unit of government takes jurisdiction within which the crime was committed. How can a territorial location of such a crime ever be determined?

A possible way out of the difficulty would be to set up a jurisdiction over crimes committed in the free air analogous to the present practice of crimes committed on the high seas. That is, special courts might be set up with jurisdiction over crimes committed in the air. Present international agreements have accepted the general principle of territorial sovereignty, including sovereignty of the air over or above the territory of

the governmental unit involved.² Any attempt to substitute the concept of a free air with special tribunals to adjudicate disputes and crimes, analagous to the concept of the high seas, will run contrary to existing legislation and present treaty agreements. It seems likely that for the immediate future jurisdictional questions will continue in confusion as the problems are gradually worked out. Enforcement officials will have to worry along no doubt for some time to come with uncertain and contradictory definitions of police jurisdiction.

(b) *Extradition.* Present extradition practices are based on concepts of territorial space with definite boundaries. Within the confines of a large national state with its many subdivisions, such as the United States, the problem created by air transportation can be resolved on a federal basis by simply turning over all extradition problems growing out of the operation of air vehicles to federal courts and federal procedure. It isn't clear how extradition problems between nations can be expedited in any similar manner. The only present suggestions are for the development of international cooperation and special treaties.

(c) *Civil rights.* Closely related to the problem of extradition is that of the civil rights and liberties of individuals. May the police officers of one jurisdiction go to an adjoining city, pick up a suspect, put him in a police airplane and fly back to their own jurisdiction with him without seriously abrogating the civil rights of the apprehended suspect? This is analagous to the increasingly frequent problems along our state borders at the present time, where police officers function in a technically illegal manner by simply hustling the suspect into an automobile and taking him into their own state. They may then arrest him with perfect legality since he is now in their jurisdiction.

It takes only normal imagination to see how this suspension of the rights of the suspect may become involved through the use of air transportation. There is, for example, the case of a few years ago of a criminal wanted for murder in Council Bluffs, Iowa. He escaped across the river into Omaha, Nebraska, and since sentiment in Omaha was as thoroughly inflamed against him as it was in Council Bluffs, he was taken to the State Prison at Lincoln for safekeeping. Presumably with the connivance of Nebraska officials, Council Bluffs policemen were able to secure the prisoner, transport him back across the river to Council Bluffs, and thus legally arrest him on the soil of Iowa. This whole transaction took no more than an hour or two by automobile; and when it was over, there was little basis for legal action on the part of anyone who might have been interested in the civil

²See, Arthur K. Kuhn, "The International Regulation of Air Traffic". *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 38, Jan. 1944, pp. 99-101.

liberties of the suspected murderer. True enough, the police officials could have been prosecuted for several kinds of misconduct, but no such prosecution would change the fact that the final arrest of the suspect took place legally in Iowa, by Iowa officials, within the jurisdiction of the scene of the crime. With the use of the airplane such violation of the civil rights of the suspected criminal might have involved territories as far apart as California from Maine, or the United States from Russia.

(d) "*Hot pursuit.*" This has reference to the legal definition under which the police officials of one jurisdiction may pursue and legally arrest a suspect in an adjoining jurisdiction providing that there has been no interruption of the pursuit. For example, under this provision a police automobile pursuing a fleeing bandit may cross a state line and capture the suspect in another state without losing jurisdiction as soon as the territorial boundaries have been crossed.

American states differ very much, one from another, in the extent to which they have legalized the functioning of the police of other jurisdictions in the case of "hot pursuit." However, under the enabling provisions of the Interstate Compact Act, Congress has permitted interstate compacts recognizing the authority of police officials from other jurisdictions when in the direct pursuit of cases wanted in the original territory. A number of states have entered into such agreements.

Widespread use of air transportation suggests the need of great extension of such interstate compacts. Similarly, there will be need of international compacts so that criminals escaping by air may not elude the police merely by crossing international boundaries.

(2) *The law of arrest.* Present American practice has been to a large extent a reflection of the English common law principle of limiting the right of authority to interfere with the free activity of the citizen. The effect has been to make the question of legal arrest one of extremely local interpretation. The general rule, of course, is that in the case of a misdemeanor, legal arrest can be made only in the case of a proper warrant by a court of jurisdiction; and in the case of a felony, arrest without warrant can be made only if the felony is committed in the presence of the arresting officer or if the arresting officer has "reasonable" grounds for suspecting that a particular individual is guilty of an offense known to have been committed.

This somewhat archaic interpretation of the law of arrest has resulted in a large amount of law violation by the police in the course of everyday discharge of their everyday duties. For example, in many American cities a policeman patrolling his beat and seeing a man removing a tire from a car parked

on a street and running off with it would have no legal authority to interfere. He would first have to go to a justice and get a warrant before he could arrest the thief. By the time that the policeman had looked up the legal description of the address where the car was parked and had otherwise armed himself with the required legal warrant, it is obvious that the thief would be many miles away possibly enjoying the proceeds of the sale of the stolen goods. In actual practice, of course, the policeman challenges any suspicious character or any suspicious action without stopping to first get a warrant from the court.

The widespread use of air transportation will not create a new problem at this point but will merely tremendously increase the range of uncertainty in the application of the law of arrest. It is likely to mean that, since many political boundaries and much territory can be covered in very little time, the kind of "illegal" activity now practiced by the police of nearly every locality of the country in the case of arrest will be extended to a national scale, and in some cases probably to an international one. Changes in the law of arrest may be expected to follow.

(3) *Traffic violations.* With the expected growth of air transportation to that of a national industry in the immediate post-war period it is obvious that there will be a whole new type of traffic violation; that is, violation of the rules and regulations relating to air transportation.

There is little by way of precedent as yet for the guidance of those who must control the flow of air transportation vehicles. What is to be done with a pilot who lands on an airport without obeying the signals of the control tower to wait his turn? What is to be done with the pilot who flies too near to other planes or to dwellings, or any other restrictions that common sense and practice will find it necessary to impose on the new instruments of mass transportation.³

The present line of thinking suggests no better control than to view the act in terms of the seriousness of its consequences; that is, the pilot who ignores the signal of the control tower and lands out of turn but who is lucky enough to avoid collision with a plane already on the ground and agile enough to get his own machine off the runway before some other plane with the right-of-way lands, such a pilot would under present rules escape most of the consequences of his careless and negligent behavior. That is, he might lose his license; if employed by a commercial air line, he might lose his job; but there would be no formal criminal prosecution viewing the act itself as an offense against the state

³A brief but good discussion of some aspects of this problem may be found in: L. T. Parker, "When is a pilot legally liable? A study of pertinent court decisions". *Aviation*, Vol. 42, August 1943, p. 231 ff.

such as is true of the elaborate system of law that has grown up controlling vehicular traffic on the highways.

As regulations develop controlling the flight of planes and other air vehicles, it is to be expected that there will be a new category of air traffic violators with a corresponding set of problems in how to classify, how punish or correct, and how to control.

(4) *Smuggling and customs inspection.* Air transportation can be expected to increase considerably the problem of law enforcement relating to the control of immigration and the control of contraband goods at international borders. The smuggling in of individuals contrary to immigration regulations is a type of crime closely related to the means of transportation at hand.

At present the principal device for smuggling in aliens involves entry at remote points on the frontier, perhaps where the boundaries are not closely guarded, or the use of skillful deception in crowded ports such that the immigration officials are not aware of the true identity of the person involved. Due to the increased range of travel permitted the ordinary person by means of the airplane, it is evident that all national boundaries will be open to the indirect hazard of smuggling by air. Under conditions that would help to confuse guards, such as darkness, fog, low-hanging clouds, and so on, it would not be difficult to arrange for the momentary landing of aircraft for the discharge of aliens without the possibility of direct control by any police official.

This hazard would be particularly great if the helicopter should become as useful an instrument of transportation as its present enthusiasts predict. All that would be involved in transporting an alien into a country then would be the momentary hovering across the border, in an area known to be without immigration patrols, long enough for the human cargo to disembark and hide, then the helicopter would glide back to its legal territory.

The smuggling of merchandise to avoid customs inspection and tariff duties would similarly be greatly facilitated by any air transportation device that would make it possible to cross frontiers at any unguarded point and land without the need of specially prepared landing places.

Protective measures that might be taken by the police are interesting to speculate about. For instance, it might be necessary to provide night illumination for an entire international border, or it might be necessary to employ a vast army of patrols to see that at no point did an ubiquitous helicopter swing across the border, make a temporary dip to discharge its cargo, and return to its home base.

The very expense of such police patrolling suggests, however, that the action likely to be followed is not an elaborate patrol, but

rather the repeal of many of the restrictions that now make smuggling either of aliens or of goods profitable. For example, an international customs union and an international citizenship would eliminate border hazards between nations in much the same way that state boundaries lose significance in a country like the United States. Since it is highly improbable that such international organizations will develop immediately, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the expansion of post-war travel there will be a great increase in the illegal crossing of frontiers and the deliberate violation of customs regulations by a simple resort to an air crossing at an unguarded point.

An illustration of what might develop may be inferred from the experience with prohibition legislation enforcement in the 1920's. The attempt to outlaw alcoholic liquors led immediately to the systematic effort on the part of many individuals to bring in liquor across international frontiers. The most common source of entry was by the water route—small boats landing cargoes of illicit liquor in inconspicuous coves safe from the interference of police officers. It is probable that the enforcement of a national law like prohibition, which broke down completely within seven or eight years of its enactment, could never be attempted at all under the widespread use of air transportation, since every frontier would be an open invitation for someone in an airplane to fly across and drop a bundle, protected by parachute, into the hands of an expectant patron below.

(5) *Commercialized vice.* Widespread use of the airplane may be expected to offer considerable extension to the range of operation of commercialized vice establishments. It would make it possible, for instance, for a vice ring to set up resorts at some distance from cities and run a commuting service of planes for the convenience of patrons. All that the vice lords need do, then, would be to obtain political protection in the district where the resort is located. Rapid air transportation would take care of the customers and business would flourish with little opportunity for interference from the police of the city whose citizens contributed to the support of the resort.

Without passing judgment on the desirability of some of the legislation in the State of Nevada, it seems clear that with an expansion in air transportation Reno would become a suburb of the cities of San Francisco or Los Angeles. The "open town" attitude of the Nevada divorce metropolis would then, in effect, extend to the entire surrounding territory.

The associated evils of gambling establishments and uncontrolled liquor dispensaries would be similarly extended. No municipality would be able to effectively outlaw any of these traditional forms of American misconduct. The result might be,

of course, that in the long run there would be a significant change in the present puritanical mores of American life. Behavior that you cannot suppress ordinarily comes to be disregarded and ignored by officials and actually comes under control only as an aspect of the individual's personal code of morals or good taste.

The widespread development of air transportation on a low cost basis would either tend to include the entire country in the enforcement of the puritannical laws and mores forbidding gambling, use of liquor, or the operation of vice establishments, or it would tend to the abandonment of all efforts at public enforcement of such a code of morality.

(6) *Professional criminals and aviation.* One of the characteristics of professional crime is the magnitude of its field of operation; that is, it tends to function within a large territory, frequently operating in many cities, sometimes even on a national or international scale. A criminal syndicate controlling slot machines, for instance, is frequently a carefully organized business concern with corresponding subdivisions of duties and personnel. Just as any large business has its district managers, office workers, salesmen, and collectors, so the slot machine "rackets" have organized territories with a hierarchy of personnel, each dependent upon the other and all together loyal to the syndicate.

Such an organization uses all means of communication and transportation at hand—telephone, telegraph, automobiles, private trucks, and other instruments of quick transportation. A rapid transport device like the airplane will lend itself well to the extension of such criminal enterprises; and should legislation be adopted to prohibit the shipment of gambling devices, the syndicate would find ready use for air transports operating completely under the syndicate's control.

(7) *Use of aviation by the police.* It follows as a matter of course that police officers will adopt new technical developments as rapidly as they can be integrated into effective practice. The development of "police science" and the appearance of the genuinely trained professional police specialist in some of our better police departments are cases in point for illustration. Similarly, the general abandonment of the horse in favor of the motorcycle and automobile for the "mounted" police patrol suggests the probability of police utilization of the vehicles of air transportation as soon as these can be effectively integrated into the practice of particular departments.

Some use of airplanes in routine duties has already been made by a few police departments, notably those of Nassau County (Long Island) and New York City. To some extent this use has been a novelty device to help keep the public interested and aware

of the alleged excellence of its particular police establishment. Substantial accomplishment, nevertheless, has resulted from this use as well as good publicity for the departments concerned.

Many police departments have hired, on occasion, commercial planes with regular commercial pilots for special patrol work such as the search for dead human bodies in lakes or along shore, and for the rapid transportation of officers or prisoners. A minor difficulty encountered in the use of regular air transport for prisoners has been the regulation prohibiting the police use of handcuffs for their prisoners while in flight. Since few prisoners would attempt escape by jumping from a plane in the air, the only real difficulty has been at the time of take-off and landing.

The following are a few of the ways in which developments in air transportation may be expected to be utilized by the police:

(a) *For the transportation of prisoners*, or other persons wanted, especially where long distances are involved and time is an item.

(b) *For traffic control purposes*, in collaboration with, and in two-way radio contact with, police cars on the highways. This is expected to be especially useful in preventing "traffic jams" by re-routing and controlling flow of traffic at junction points distant from the places where congestion usually develops. The helicopter might become as important as the "squad car" in this work.

(c) *For general safety patrol*, covering an entire city as a unit with possibility of observing at a glance the development of situations that may need police attention. Two-way radio contact with ground cars for actual supervision would be needed to make this type of patrol effective.

(d) *River and harbor patrol* to discover persons in distress or to note suspicious activities. Helicopters would be especially useful in this work since they would permit immediate contact by the police at the scene. Otherwise, two-way radio contact with ground forces would be necessary.

(e) *Air photography* by police technical squad to help in the assembly of evidence at the scene of a particular crime, or as an aid to the police chief or other planning authority in studying the problem of the use and dispersion of the police force.

III. AVIATION AND ECOLOGY: NEW DELINQUENCY AREAS

The familiar pattern of city ecology has been that of an endless succession of areas or "zones in transition", in which residential sections that in former years were considered desirable for family living have deteriorated into tenements, rooming houses, "flop houses", and general "slums". This has all been incidental to the growth and expansion of the city as an economic and cultural unit.

The growth of huge airports just outside, or on the outskirts of cities, may be expected to offer a new illustration of the operation of this familiar process. The constant roar of large planes taking-off and landing, together with the actual danger involved in such operations, tends to make the territory adjoining any large airport highly undesirable as residential property.

Where new airports have been developed on the outskirts of cities, it has already brought about deterioration of adjoining suburban residential property. On the south side of Minneapolis, the enlargement of Wold-Chamberlain Field into a major airport and its use as a base for much military aviation has affected to real disadvantage a residential section formerly thought of as highly desirable.

The sudden filling of existing airports with huge multi-motored planes, brought on by the war, has had similar effects in many other cities. Residential property adjoining the airport used by the principal passenger airlines in Chicago was rapidly deteriorating even before the war. That process may be expected to continue at an accelerated rate with post-war developments. The story is very similar in Detroit, Cleveland, and Washington. La Guardia Field on Long Island has already made undesirable an otherwise convenient residential section adjoining New York City, only recently made accessible by motor and bus through the completion of the Tri-borough Bridge.

The process of deterioration may be expected to be as rapid and perhaps as complete as that more familiarly associated with areas nearer the centers of cities. Due to the noise, the danger, and the general commercial and industrial aspects of large-scale air operations, people will not willingly choose to live near airports. Expensive homes now in such areas will be sold at a loss to occupants who cannot afford to be too critical or discriminating. Inevitably, less and less desirable owners or tenants tend to occupy such an area. Presently it becomes a "run-down" section, owned by absentee landlords interested only in the land for possible future business or commercial use but unwilling to keep in repair the existing residential structures. As this process continues, the area becomes full-fledged "slum" with all the associated influences tending toward crime and delinquency.

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY

This discussion of the relation of aviation and crime has sought to emphasize primarily two things: First, the expected expansion in aviation will not affect criminal behavior directly by either changing the behavior, or the definitions of behavior, of individuals, but its significance will be found in the utilization made of this means of transportation. In the second place, aviation may

be expected to influence crime in much the same way that new developments in transportation have influenced such behavior in the past—that is, not with reference to any specific increase or decrease in amount so much as with reference to changing types and concepts of illegality. Smuggling was one thing carried on with sailing ships; it will be something else under transportation based on airships. But there will be no smuggling unless there are restrictions on the free transportation of goods which make smuggling profitable. The objects that have been smuggled, throughout the various periods of world history, have changed materially as the life values of people have changed. To the extent that the expansion in aviation will promote the free exchange of goods and create a general abundance of goods through better distribution, its use may be expected to help decrease many kinds of crime that now are prevalent.

It should be noted in this connection that police officials of the present do not expect any material change in their practical problems of law enforcement with the growth and development of aviation. They anticipate the probable adaptation of air transportation to police work. Just as the police have gone from horse and buggy to motorcycle and automobile, so they may be expected to adopt the use of air transportation. By the same token, individuals engaged in criminal activity will similarly adapt themselves to and make what use they can of the new and quicker means of transportation even as they have of the motorcycle, the automobile, the telephone, and the telegraph.

Finally, it must be remembered that crime always represents behavior related to the surrounding culture. Everything that affects the pattern of living of a people will, by the same token, affect the pattern of criminal behavior. But the individual elements in the process of change are not to be thought of as themselves the direct agencies of related criminal activity. Automobile theft has become possible with the development of the automobile, but the stealing of an automobile is only a special variety of a type of behavior that has been with us since the dawn of history. One should therefore expect the stealing of airplanes to become a specialized form of criminal activity, but it would be an unwarranted inference to say that the airplane was the responsible agent bringing about the theft.