



University of Brighton

An Independent Evaluation of the Installation of CCTV Cameras for Crime Prevention in the Whitehawk Estate, Brighton

September 2003

By

Peter Squires

Health and Social Policy Research
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FOREWORD

This is another contribution to our series of research papers which brings work at the Health and Social Policy Research Centre (HSPRC) to a wider audience. HSPRC aims to:

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Introduction and Background Context

Ten CCTV cameras were installed in the Whitehawk Estate in East Brighton in the summer of 1998. The decision to seek funding for the CCTV camera crime prevention initiative - which is not itself the subject of this evaluation project has to be seen in several contexts: the developing CCTV strategy of Sussex Police and a widely shared perception of the success of existing CCTV investments in Sussex, the developing community safety strategy of the then Brighton Borough Council, the particular crime and disorder problems of the Whitehawk estate and what might be called the 'local politics of law and order' as the 1997 General Election approached..

For some years the estate had gained a significant reputation for crime and disorder problems. Despite growing recognition of these problems over many years the complaints continued. Additional policing, crime prevention and community resources were allocated, including new initiatives, especially for children and young people, but appeared not to address the underlying problems. A community crime prevention forum was established and a number of design and access issues were addressed in parts of the estate although, to a large extent, the crime and disorder problems continued.

The problems arising typically involved complaints about youth nuisance and anti-social behaviour, burglary, neighbour harassment and/or repeat victimisation, drug dealing and vandalism. These issues were compounded by complaints about poor police responses and continuing dissatisfaction with the council's own 'post-incident' response (for example, housing repairs following break-ins or vandalism). Levels of fear and concern about crime and disorder on the estate were high (as borne out by our own initial survey) and, in turn, these fears (especially regarding repeat victimisation or reprisals against witnesses) tended to disincline people from reporting offences they had experienced or witnessed. In turn, as other research has confirmed, low reporting rates gave a rather misleading picture of the scale of problems on the estate (Maynard, 1994).

Since the period covered by this evaluation the whole East Brighton (including the Whitehawk Estate) area has seen the introduction of a New Deal for Communities social inclusion project bringing significant new resources, a dedicated multi-agency Community Safety Team, Neighbourhood Wardens and Youth Inclusion Project. That said, this evaluation relates to a time prior to the introduction of these additional resources. The first public survey was undertaken in early Summer 1998, prior to the camera system being installed and the follow-up survey took place some 14 months later. The data on crimes and incidents recorded by the police cover the period December 1996 to September 1999.

Whitehawk CCTV First Survey

Research Issues: The first survey 'before the camera installation'

The first phase survey (before the installation of the CCTV cameras) was undertaken during the Spring and early Summer of 1998. A total of 243 respondents were interviewed, a few of whom agreed to a slightly more in depth follow-up interview. The initial target had been 300 interviewees but we had underestimated the difficulty and the time involved in contacting the target group. Although relatively few people refused to participate many people were out despite repeated call backs. In view of the need to complete the survey (i) within an appropriate timescale (ii) within resources and (iii) before the cameras were actually installed, the survey was concluded with 243 interviews. Prior to the interview visit in each particular street location, letters were delivered to all households explaining the project and announcing the fact that researchers would be calling back during the following few days.

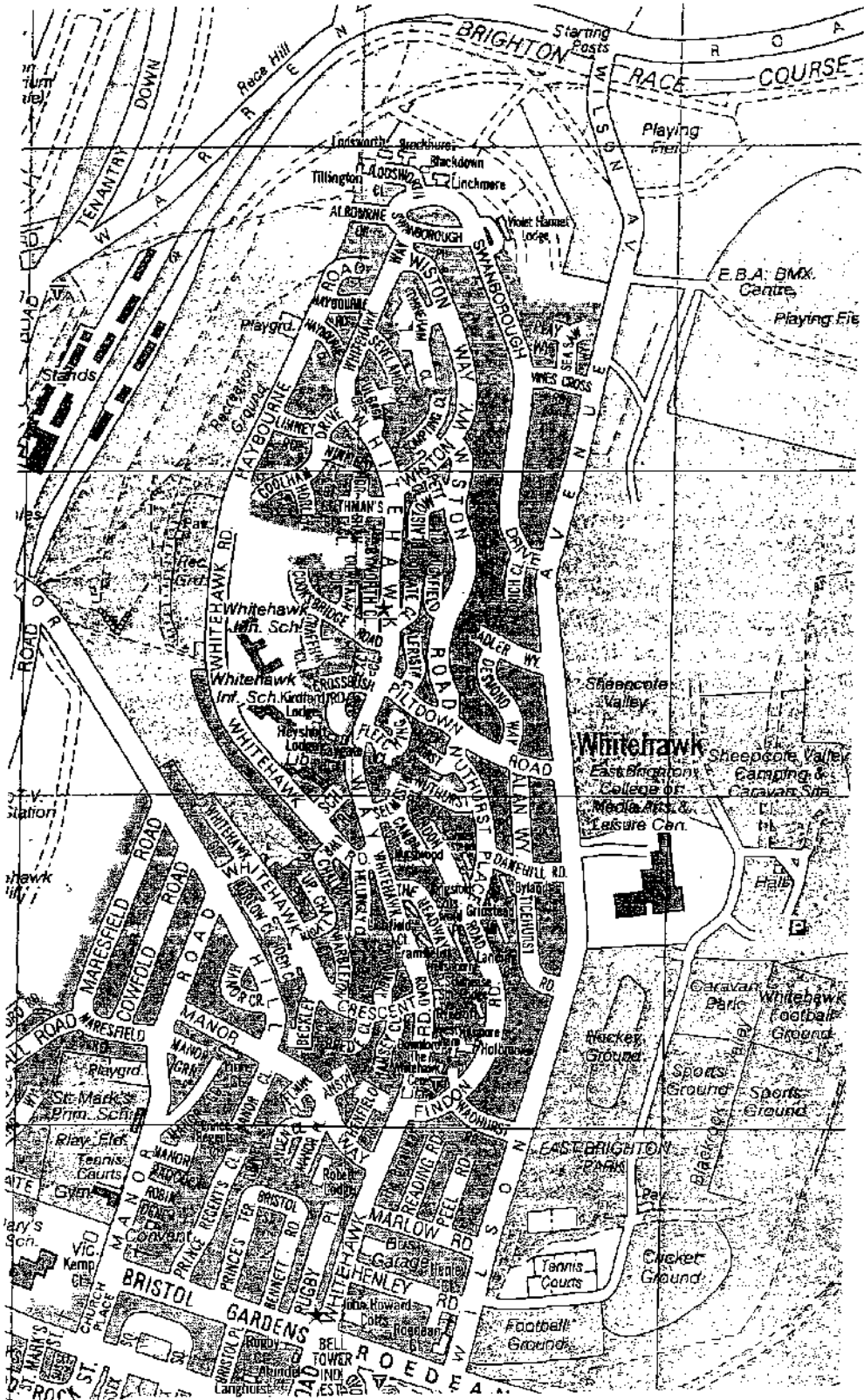
The following map pictures the estate, surveying took place across the entire estate. We adopted a fairly opportunistic sampling method initially calling at all houses/flats to which access could be gained and seeking an interview with residents. Access issues meant that significantly more house or bungalow residents were interviewed, but access was obtained to a number of low rise blocks and one of the tower blocks.

One issue which arose in interviewing people in their own home was the fact that, on occasion, the actual interviewee was not the only person present. Where possible, and obviously with the consent of the persons themselves, we attempted to interview each person separately - without overstaying our welcome in the home. On occasion, however, it was rather difficult to avoid a situation in which the interviewee presented what was, in effect, a corporate view as if on behalf of the entire household. On other occasions other members of the household - or visitors - tended to interject comments to which may have influenced the actual interviewee's responses. We have tried to control for such occurrences - partly just by being aware of such influences and secondly by endeavouring to make sure, during the interview, that the answers are correctly attributed to the actual interviewee. However, without a more elaborate, rigorous and time consuming interviewing schedule it is difficult to fully eliminate such influences. Suffice to say that we do not believe such influences have significantly altered our findings. In the case of young people, most of whom were interviewed away from parental influences which might have inhibited their answers, a different issue arose when a kind of peer group influence may have been driving their responses somewhat. Although, again, we do not believe this will have significantly affected the findings reported in the following pages.

In total 104 men and 139 women were interviewed and, in the later stages of the surveying a more positive effort was made to interview more younger people on the estate. Only one non white person was interviewed.

MAP OF THE WHITEHAWK ESTATE

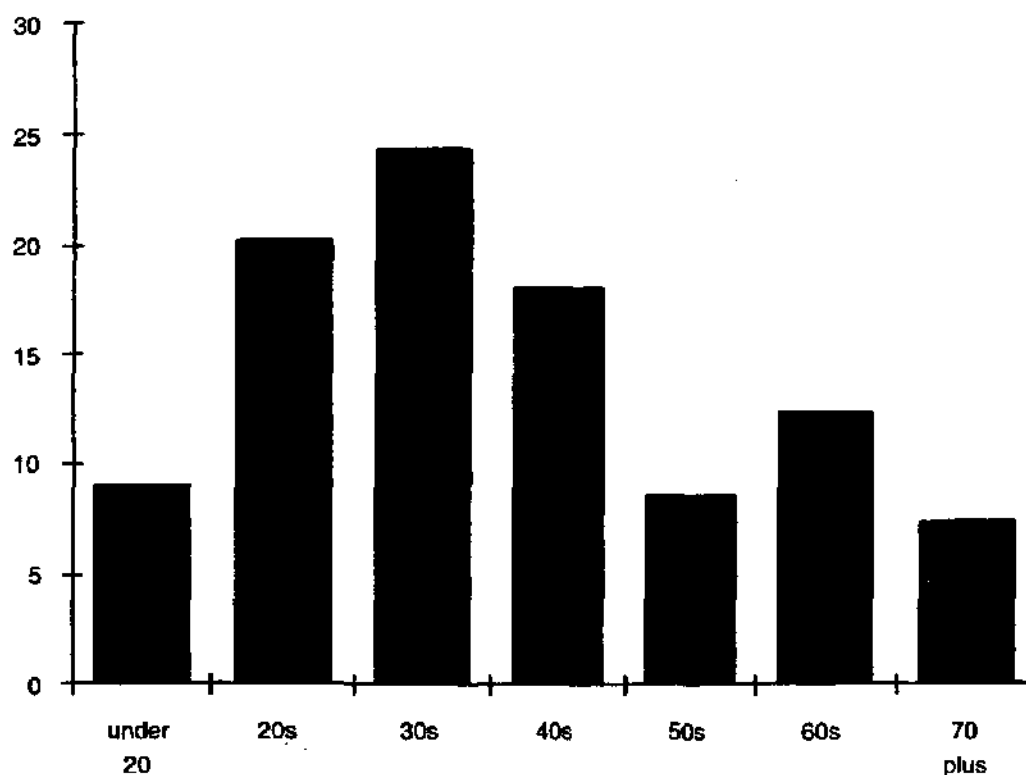
The estate sits in a valley approximately one mile to the east of central Brighton. Kemp Town and the sea lie to the south and the estate is bordered on the east by Wilson Avenue. The Northern end of the Estate is encircled by the Brighton Racecourse (under which there is a pedestrian tunnel). The only vehiculat access to the north is Wilson Avenue and to the west, Manor Hill. This makes the estate something of a geographically isolated bottleneck - public transport into town has often been an issue.



The Ages of Respondents

Under 20, 22 respondents (9% of the sample), aged in their 20s, 49 (20.2%), aged in their 30s, 59 (24.3%), aged in their 40s, 44 (18.1%), aged in their 50s, 21 (8.6%), aged in their 60s, 30 (12.3%) aged 70 plus, 18 (7.4% of the sample).

Composition of the sample: 243 respondents, by age.



Employment Status of Interviewees

Full-time employed	35	14.4%
Part-time/temporarily employed	26	10.7%
Self-employed	5	2%
Unemployed	60	24.7%
Retired	53	21.8
Student or at school	14	5.7%
Full-time parent/carers	46	18.9%

Housing Tenure

Council rented	223	91.7%
Housing association	1	0.4%
Private rented	4	1.6%
Owner occupied	14	5.7%

Housing Type

House	175	72%
Maisonette	3	1.2%
Flat	40	16.5%
Other/Bungalow.	24	9.9%

Length of Residency: Overall Sample

	Time in property		Time on estate	
Less than 1 year	49	20%	32	13.1%
1 - 3 years	45	18.5%	23	9.5%
3-5 years	27	11.1%	23	9.5%
5-10 years	46	18.9%	49	20.2%
10 years plus	75	30.8%	115	47.3%

Over three quarters of the Manor Farm area sample had lived on the estate for over ten years whereas only 39% of the main Whitehawk sample had done so.

Major concerns living on the Estate (in rank order priority)

	very concerned	some	a little	not much
Crime & safety	46%	20%	10%	16%
Young people	30.1%	17%	10%	26%
Council services	21%	17%	9%	28%
Unemployment	18%	14%	10%	31%
Schools	16.8%	10%	8%	39.5%
Money	15%	17%	6%	31%
Bus services	7%	4%	8%	52%

Wanting to move out

We assumed that a large number of people requesting to leave an area or looking to exchange for properties outside the estate might be a very good indicator of levels of satisfaction. As it turned out 26.3 % of the sample (64 people) said they were seeking to move out or had requested transfers or exchanges away from the estate.

Of those 64 people wanting to move, 39% (25) cited problems of crime, fear, victimisation or neighbour intimidation, 45.3% (29) suggested factors relating to the property itself (for example the size of the property or the number of

bedrooms) whereas 6.25% (4) cited health problems and 7.8% (5) gave 'personal' reasons.

"I've wanted to get away from here for a long time. I don't like the area, its just so bad for bringing up children" (W. 30s)

"We wanted to move, just to get a bit closer to my work but we can't sell the house." (M. 40s O-Occ.)

"I really hate this area, I knew it was bad before we came but I had no choice, I had nowhere else to live. First chance I get I'm leaving." (W. 30s)

"This is a really rough area, its not very good for kids - the older ones are always picking on the younger ones." (W. 20s)

"I have children living up here, its a horrible place to live. A high rise is not a good environment for bringing up young children" (M. 30s)

Rates of Victimisation

The numbers of people reporting personal victimisation is another clear and direct indicator of crime and disorder issues. In Whitehawk, only 22.6% of our sample reported no victimisation. While the figures below are based upon a fairly small overall sample and therefore need to be treated fairly cautiously, the overall figures do not appear significantly out of line with earlier studies (Sparks et al., 1977; Hough and Mayhew, 1985; Jones et al, 1986). The general point, reiterated several times below, is that, at the time of the survey, a substantial proportion of the criminal victimisation occurring on the estate was going unreported.

Forty-six (18.9% of the whole sample) respondents commented upon burglaries which they had reported, whereas 11 (4.5% of the whole sample) told of unreported burglaries. In other words, 20% of burglaries appear to have gone unreported. This total of 57 respondents reporting burglaries to us accounted for a total of 68 actual burglary incidents.

Thirty-three (13.6% of the whole sample) respondents commented upon vandalism to their property which they had reported whereas, 36 (14.8% of the whole sample) told of unreported vandalism. In other words, 52% of the acts of vandalism committed against the homes or property of residents appear to have gone unreported. The 69 people reporting vandalism accounted for a total of approximately 89 vandalism incidents

Seven (2.9% of the whole sample) respondents commented upon assaults which they had reported, whereas 12 (4.9% of the whole sample) told of unreported assaults. In other words, 70% of assaults appear to have gone unreported.

Five (2.1% of the whole sample) respondents commented upon thefts which they had reported whereas 13 (5.35% of the whole sample) told of unreported thefts. In other words 86% of thefts appear to have gone unreported.

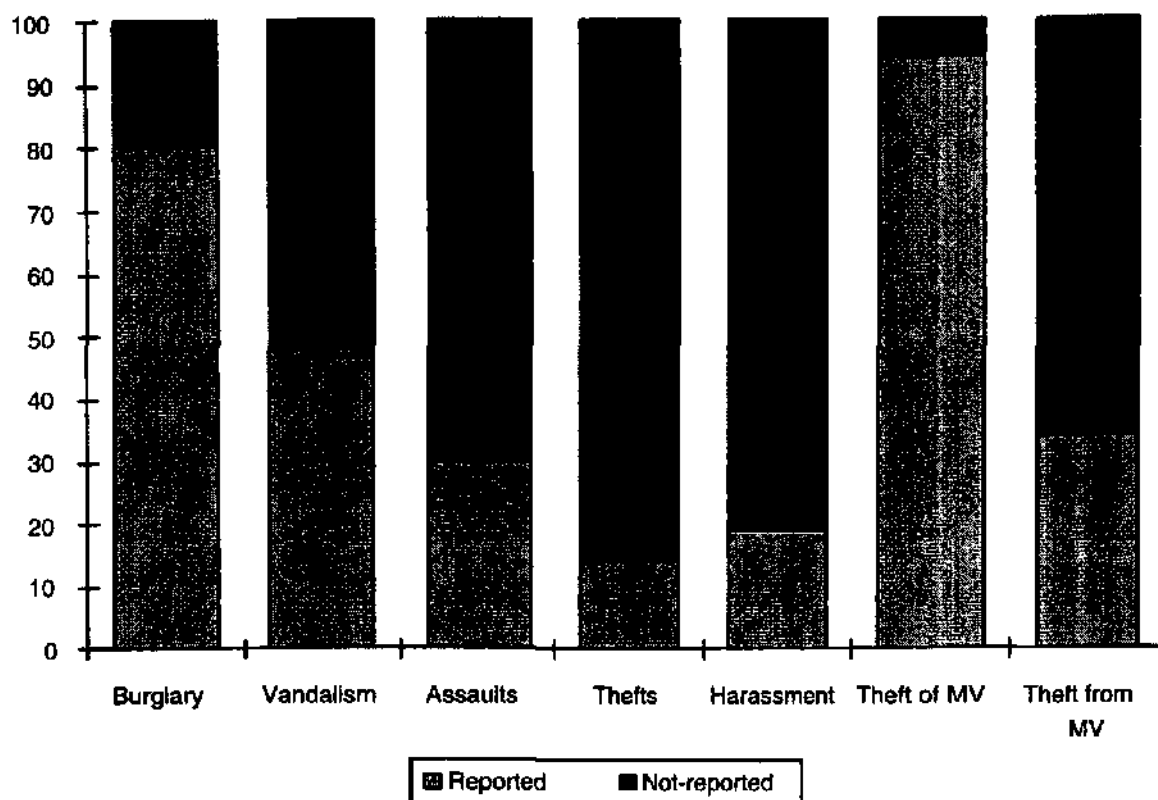
Fourteen (5.7% of the whole sample) respondents commented upon harassment or intimidation incidents which they had reported, whereas 61 (25.1% of the whole sample) told of unreported incidents. In other words 81% of harassment or nuisance incidents appear to have gone unreported. The 75 people reporting harassment or intimidation accounted for a total of approximately 101 'episodes' of harassment. While many people specified a particular number of incidents of harassment, others reported 'several' incidents or said that the problem was constant or 'ongoing'.

Car Ownership and offence reporting

Ninety-six respondents (38.5%) did not own cars but 119 (48.9%) of the sample reported owning cars. Of these, 17 people (14.3%) reported having had their car stolen whilst resident on the estate and all bar one person said they had reported the theft to the police. Likewise, 64 respondents (53.8% of the car owners) reported having had their car damaged or items stolen from it, although here, only a third (34%) of those claiming this had apparently reported the incidents to the police.

The figures detailed above are summarised in the following table.

Proportions of offences reported or not reported by residents



Fifty-five respondents, 22.6% of the whole sample, reported no victimisation at all.

Happy or Satisfied Living on the estate

Just over 50% of the sample (123 people) described themselves as 'happy' living on the estate, while 30.8% described themselves as 'fairly satisfied' while 15.6% (38) said they were either unhappy or dissatisfied. Of these unhappy or dissatisfied residents, 58% (22) simply said this was because they didn't like the people or the area and 13% (5) specifically mentioned crime problems or other victimisation they had endured. By contrast, almost half of those describing themselves as happy living on the estate added positive comments about friendships, a sense of belonging, a 'nice community spirit' and 'peace and quiet' as positive aspects of Whitehawk. These very contrasting impressions are also reflected in the comments many people made when talking about living on the estate.

It's a real shame about the reputation of this place because it makes it embarrassing to say where you live. But actually, there is no problem living here." (M. 20s)

"Some people say this estate is really bad, and you read about it in the paper but we're very happy here. I'm quite happy for my children to go to the park." (W. 30s)

"It's alright up here, there's always lots of people about - people you know, who you could call on, so you feel OK about being here" (W. 20s)

"There's a good community spirit up here and the only reason we want to move is to have a house with a garden, now we've got the little one." (M, 30s)

"I quite like the area, and it has been improving lately." (M. 40s)

"The place is changing for the worse, it used to be alright, once you could leave your doors unlocked up here." (W. 60s)

"I remember what it was like up here when I was a kid, there was a lot more to do, now it's gone right down hill. They've got nothing to do, the kids just hang about. The council ought to be up here asking us what we want." (M 20s)

"I'm not sure about it. I think it can be a bit rough, but [pointing to his partner] she's lived here all her life, she loves it, don't you!" (M. 30s)

"In some ways this can be a really nice estate. A lot of the people are really friendly, but there's some right arseholes." (M.50s)

"The people who live up here are fine - but there's just a few who give it all a bad name" (M.30s)

"I quite like living here - even though it's a right shithole." (W. u-20)

"I think we're quite lucky living here there's always plenty going on. OK there's some odd people, but you get them everywhere. My main concern is the drugs around here." (W. 30s)

"Despite the problems up here, most of the people are all right really and are just worried about the violence" (M. 20s)

"Oh yes, it's fine apart from the odd murder here or there..." (M. 30s)

"It's not a bad place to live, but some of the people are pretty unpleasant." (W. 40s)

"I love the area, but I'm not sure about some of the people." (W. 20s)

"There is a lot going on, plenty of summer activities for children, I hadn't expected that when I moved here, so that's quite good. But I suppose not everybody takes advantage of it" (W. 30s)

"I've lived most of my life and I've got my friends and some nice memories of living up here. I couldn't go anywhere else now." (M. 60s) [However, the

same person described having had to turn his house into 'Fort Knox', and of being afraid at night-time and reluctant to go out after about 5pm.]

It is interesting to consider why people had such contrasting impressions. A number of issues suggest themselves. Having lived on the estate a long time, becoming known and established and acquiring friends and family nearby brought its own sense of security, off-setting, to some extent the sense of insecurity that appears to develop with increasing age. On the other hand, residents of rather shorter duration lacking these support networks might well feel more 'at risk', especially if resident in parts of the estate where crime problems appeared more prevalent (see below, in relation to witnessing offences).

Witnessing Offences

Eighty-five respondents (35%) of the sample said they had witnessed criminal offences occurring, whereas 143 (58.8%) said they had not and the remainder were not sure. The likelihood of witnessing offences was strongly linked to where people lived. Thus while 40% of those living on the main Whitehawk estate claimed to have witnessed offences occurring, only 24% of those in the Manor Farm area had done so. Other studies have tended to suggest that older people, although reporting less 'witness' or 'victim' experience of crime tend to be more fearful of it. (Measor & Squires, 2000) While this is not altogether surprising, in this study - as we have already seen - the geographical distribution of age groups on the estate interacts closely with other factors typically related to experiences of crime and disorder particularly, in this project, the length of time a person had been resident. Geographical separation from the more 'troublesome' areas of the estate also appears to have 'insulated' this group of older people from a certain proportion of criminal activity.

Of those who had witnessed offences occurring, 48% referred to seeing acts of violence, 40% referred to vandalism or, more generally, disorderly behaviour, 6% mentioned cars being stolen and 2% said they had witnessed burglaries or attempted burglaries.

People having witnessed offences were then asked if they had called the police in connection with the incidents witnessed. 43% (37) said they had called the police and a further 43% said they had not done so (14% either failed to answer the question or said they could not remember whether they had contacted the police or not).

Witnesses calling the police were asked about the police's response 47% (21) said that the police were very quick, arriving within only a few minutes, 24% (11) declared themselves generally satisfied with the police response although it is clear from their answers that the police response was not so rapid. This need not be a criticism for the call may not have been regarded as 'urgent'. However, the crucial point here is that the caller was satisfied with the police response. By contrast, 13% of callers described themselves definitely dissatisfied with the police response.

"When my car was done I called the police but they never come at all." (M, 30s)

Witnesses who did not call the police were rather more reluctant to say why though the 42% who did answer the question gave the following explanations: 11 % (6) said that they didn't call because the police were already on their way, 16% (9) gave reasons specifically relating to fear or intimidation and a further 16% gave reasons ranging from suggestions that there was 'no point' to the idea that it was better not to get involved or that you had to 'sort these things out yourself, up here."

"I left it to them [victims reporting an incident to the police] if they couldn't be bothered to report it themselves, then I wasn't going to get involved." (W. 20s)

" You have to keep yourself to yourself up here. I wouldn't want to get into anybody else's business like that, you never know what might happen." (M. 30s)

" You better not get a reputation as a grass up here, it'll just be more trouble." (W. 40s)

"I think you have to keep your nose out of other people's business like that, if you know what's best. When my neighbour tried to tell some lads off for fighting outside her house, she said she would call the police, but they were all out there the next night throwing stones at her windows..." (W. 40s)

"I wouldn't call the police for anything like that They'll know who did it, and then you'll be in for it." (W. 50s)

"I didn't report it, it wasn't much damage, nobody saw anything so what can you do. Living here you just got to put up with things like that." (M. 50s)

"We had some stuff nicked out of the back of our car, is wasn 't much, we never reported it" (M. 30s)

"We saw some lads kicking a door in, nobody tried to stop them, there were quite a lot of them and they all went in the house. We didn't hang about, y'know it was none of our business so we kept out of the way. But when that bloke was threatening your brother [nodding to partner] we called the police and they were up here real quick." (W. 20s)

"Up here you just don't get involved, its not worth it" (W. u20)

"People will always find out who called the police. So its not worth it" (W. 20s)

Perceptions of the Frequency of Offences

Alongside our respondents' feelings of relative safety or, perhaps, their fears about crime and the risks of victimisation on the estate, we also attempted to assess what residents felt about the likely frequency of certain topical offences on the estate. A question asked respondents to estimate the possible frequency of a range of topical offences. Some interviewees were reluctant to make guesses and, if this was the case, the interviewers were asked not to push the question. The responses to such a question only measure people's perceptions and the point of the exercise is not to match the answers given with the police crime figures to see how accurate a view the public holds. Rather, such information, taken alongside other findings about people's reported sense of personal safety or vulnerability, might go some way to see how reassured the public are by given crime prevention initiatives. In this sense, the main objective of the question is to discover whether people's estimates of the frequency of a given range of offences drops following a particular crime reduction initiative. Even so, a number of interesting things can be discovered about the perceptions of the frequency of crime held by different groups of people. Taken together with other information about fear of crime and rates of victimisation the results can throw a little more light upon the concerns and preoccupations of different groups of people with respect to the fear of crime and rates of victimisation.

The following tables indicate the average estimated frequency scores of different categories of respondents. The first table considers the perceptions of differing sub-groups within the sample regarding the frequency of violent offences on the estate. The higher the 'Frequency Score', the more frequent respondents felt the offences to be. Perceptions of violent offending were examined first as the threat of violence is typically the main cause of people's concerns.

Sample group and offence type	Frequency Score
Entire Sample: Violent offences	3.8
Females only: Violent offences	4.1
Aged over 60: Violent offences	2.2
Manor Farm Sample: Violent Offences	2.3
Burglary victims: Violent offences	4.5
Not victims of Burglary: Violent offences	3.6
Less than one years residence: Violent Offs.	3.6
1 -3 years residence: Violent Offences	5.5
4-5 years residence: Violent Offences	4.1
6-10 years residence: Violent Offences	4.1
Over 10 years residence: Violent Offences	3.5

It is important to be clear about what such a table is measuring. While it is only people's perceptions being measured, it is reasonable to suppose that if people think that offences are happening less often they may draw some reassurance from this. That said, the respondents with the highest estimate of the frequency of violent crime are those of between one and three years

residency on the estate. However, this estimate is influenced by the fact that two-thirds of this group (a higher gender imbalance than any other residency category) are female, and women appear to provide higher estimates of the frequency of violent offences. Burglary victims also suggest relatively higher frequencies for violence, which may reflect something of the particular 'psychological' impact that domestic burglary is reported to have upon victims. As Maguire and other writers have argued, burglary experiences (in the context of other factors) seem especially significant in exacerbating the levels of insecurity reported by people. (Maguire, 1980; Mawby, 1988). In turn these insecurities may be translated into more general fears about crime and its frequency.

One issue emerging is the apparent insulation of the Manor Farm area, at the southern end of the Whitehawk estate, from some of the perceived troubles of the main estate. This area, populated by more longstanding residents - an older generation than residents of the main estate - seems to experience less offending and victimisation than other parts of the estate and the residents' estimates of the relative frequency of an entire range of offences are always lower than those of the residents of the main estate.

Sample group and offence type	Frequency Score
Whitehawk: Vandalism	5.1
Manor Farm only: Vandalism	3.7
Whitehawk : Theft from MVs	4.5
Manor Farm only: Theft from MVs	3.1
Whitehawk: Sex offences	1.8
Manor Farm only: Sex offences	1.4
Whitehawk: Car theft	4.1
Manor Farm only: Car theft	3.2
Whitehawk: Theft	4.1
Manor Farm only: Theft	3.1
Whitehawk: Robbery	2.5
Manor Farm only: Robbery	2.4
Whitehawk: Drunk & Disorderly	4.0
Manor Farm only : Drunk & Disorderly	3.1
Whitehawk: Juvenile nuisance	4.4
Manor Farm only: Juvenile nuisance	3.2

As we shall see later, many respondents identified issues relating to children and young people as a particular concern on the estate. Many saw children and young people as a source of much of the trouble on the estate; many others attributed this to a lack of leisure opportunities (amongst other factors) for young people on the estate. Nevertheless, given the recent significance of a range of localised youth problems in urban areas grouped, somewhat ambiguously, under the general heading of 'juvenile nuisance', (Measor & Squires, 1997) it seemed appropriate to assess the extent to which the

activities of young people were regarded as a problem by residents. Earlier work had suggested a strong link between the age of residents and their perceptions of the troubling nature of 'juvenile nuisance.' However, as the following table shows, a rather different picture emerged from the Whitehawk survey.

Age group and offence type	Frequency Score
20s : juvenile nuisance	5.6
30s : juvenile nuisance	5.4
40s : juvenile nuisance	4.3
50s : juvenile nuisance	4.3
60s : juvenile nuisance	2.6
70 plus : juvenile nuisance	2.9

The results are rather hard to square with previous findings. However we should recall that the older age groups are to a large extent concentrated in the Manor Farm area which, as we have already seen, seems rather insulated from the offence profile of the main estate. Moreover, residents of this small area - despite their age - tend to have generally lower perceptions of the frequency of all the offence types considered earlier (including juvenile nuisance). Furthermore, it is interesting that the 'nuisance' perception is most prevalent amongst respondents in their twenties and thirties. These respondents may well be parents who might have children in the 'nuisance' age groups. This might be taken to suggest that the 'nuisance' activity is highly localised in the vicinity of the young people's own homes, and that while younger respondents may have acknowledged it as an issue it is less likely to impinge so fundamentally upon their sense of security than it would if they were older.

The following two graphs compare the extent to which the different age groups and males and females in the sample reported feeling safe during the day or the night. Whilst most feel safe during the day-time there is a marked decline as age rises in the proportions reporting feeling safe at night. Slightly more women specifically report feeling unsafe than safe at night. The oldest group are not, apparently, the group feeling the most vulnerable at night though the apparently heightened fearfulness of the 20s and 30s age groups reflects in part the preponderance of female respondents in those age bands in the sample.

Finally, comparing the estimated (violent) offence frequencies suggested by respondents feeling safe or unsafe produces the apparently paradoxical result that those respondents feeling safe tended to believe violent offences were more common than people feeling unsafe (frequency scores 4.0 and 3.4). A possible explanation for this might relate to the observed tendency of older residents (in this survey, Manor Farm area residents) to feel generally more fearful of crime irrespective of their actual direct experiences of it. Manor Farm area residents tended to provide the lowest estimates of offence frequency but tended to predominate in the 'most unsafe' group. Fifty-seven

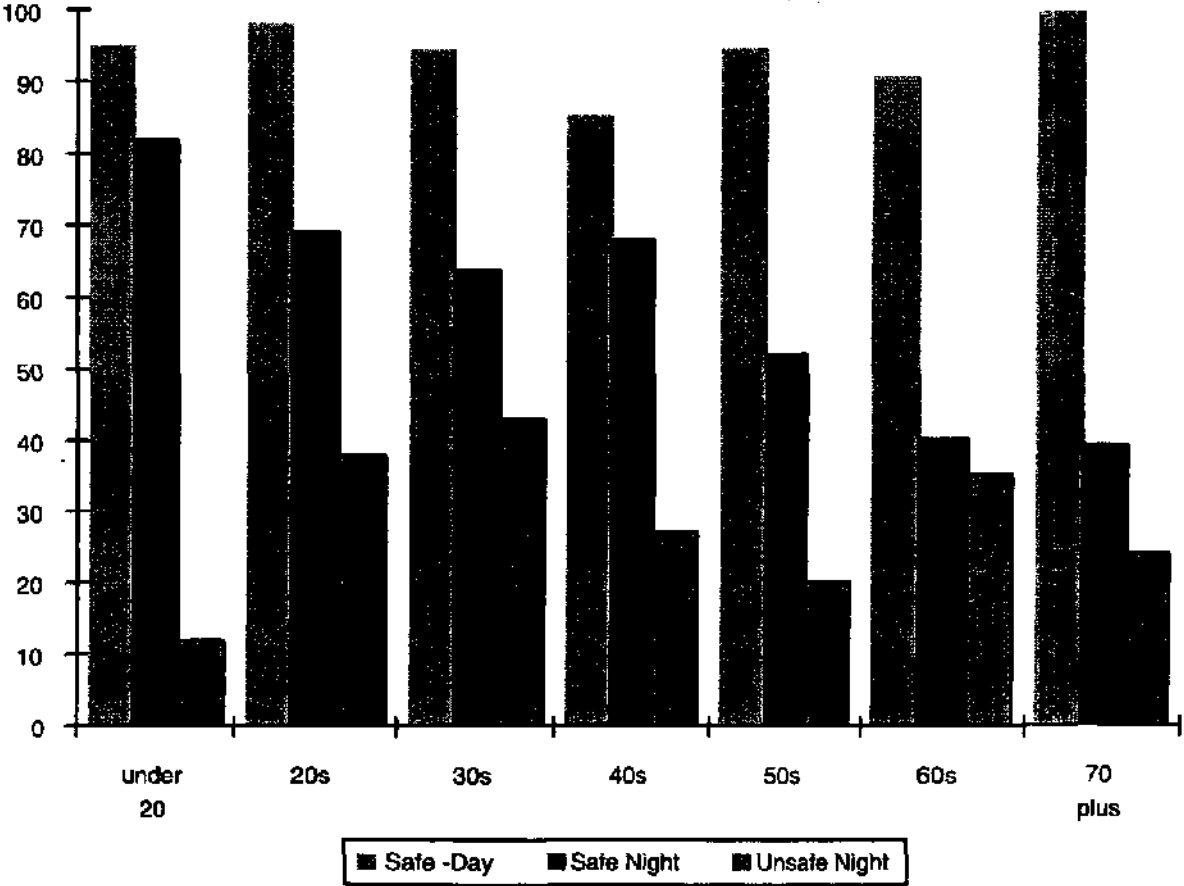
per cent of the Manor farm residents described themselves as feeling 'very unsafe' at night. As a result they tended not to go out at night, thereby encountering less crime and disorder and thereby believing crime and disorder to be rather infrequent. However, while they may consider it to be infrequent they still regarded it to be something to be feared, perhaps because of its consequences for them or, relatedly, because of their own feelings about their ability to deal with it.

Personal Safety

Nearly four fifths of the overall sample (79.4%) said they felt 'very safe' if out and about during the daytime (14% 'fairly safe', 3.7% 'fairly unsafe' and 2% 'very unsafe'). At night-time only 34% of the overall sample described themselves as feeling 'very safe' (28% 'fairly safe', 14% 'fairly unsafe' and 23% 'very unsafe'). Although the section of the sample drawn from the Manor Farm area had witnessed significantly less offending and, generally, seemed to believe that crime was less frequent this seem to offer them rather little reassurance, they appeared to feel less safe and more vulnerable - both day and night - than residents of the main Whitehawk estate. In this respect, the often remarked tendency of 'fear of crime' to increase with age appears to outweigh the somewhat 'insulated' experiences of the older residents in the Manor Farm area.

Age and safety/vulnerability.

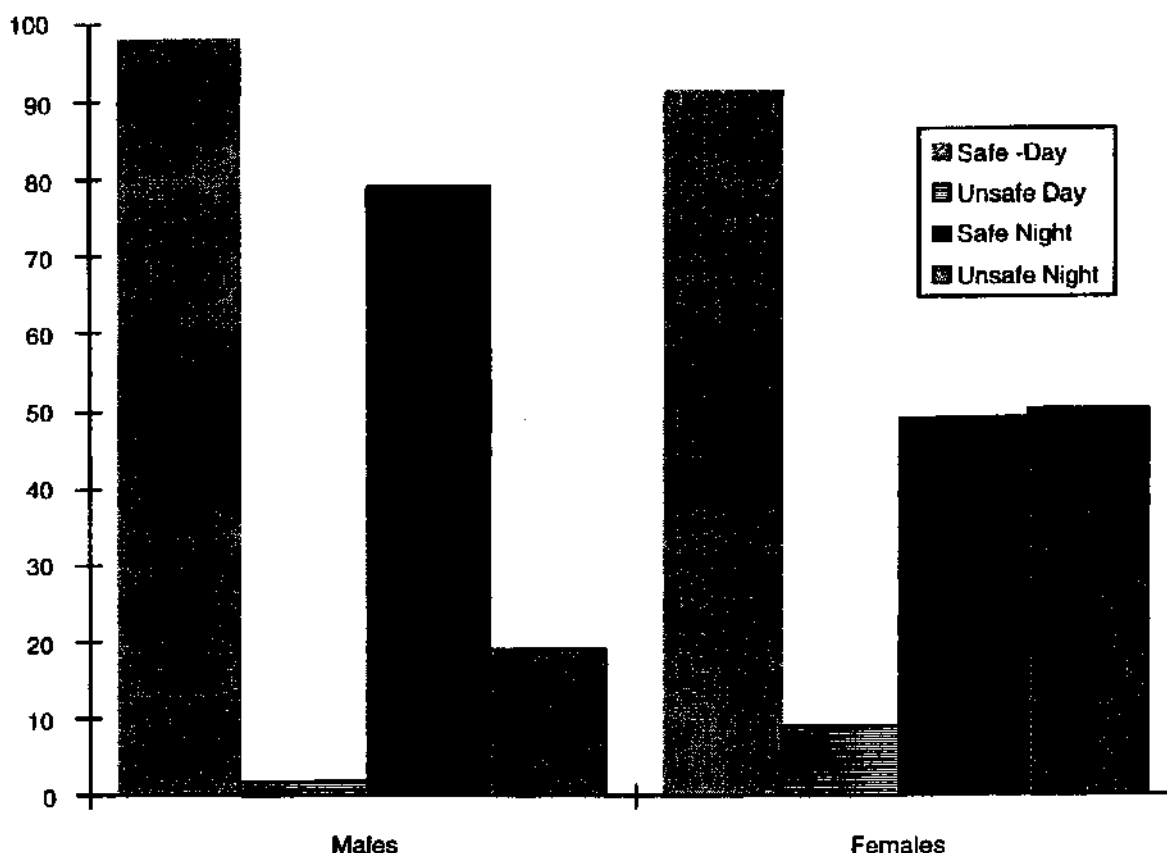
Safety or Vulnerability: day and night.



Most respondents said that they felt safe during the day-time but a marked decline is apparent in the proportions reporting feeling safe at night as age increases. The following graph shows that slightly more women specifically report feeling unsafe as opposed to safe at night. The oldest groups are not, apparently, the groups feeling the most vulnerable at night though the seemingly heightened tearfulness of the 20s and 30s age groups reflects in part the preponderance of female respondents in those age bands in the sample.

Gender & Safety

Males & Females: Safety & Vulnerability day and night.



Bungalow dwellers apparently felt markedly less safe than inhabitants of houses and flats: over half (54%) described themselves as 'very unsafe'¹ at night and only 25% felt very safe at night-time. However, the bungalow dwellers appear to have the most recent residential profile, significantly less appear to have lived on the estate for over 5 years while nearly a third of those sampled had lived there for less than one year. Long residency on the estate appears to increase people's perceptions of relative safety although this effect is diminished, even cancelled out, for the older age groups who generally report the greatest sense of vulnerability to victimisation. Looking at the issue another way, the groups reporting the highest fears of victimisation are the oldest groups of residents and those having lived on the estate for the shortest periods of time.

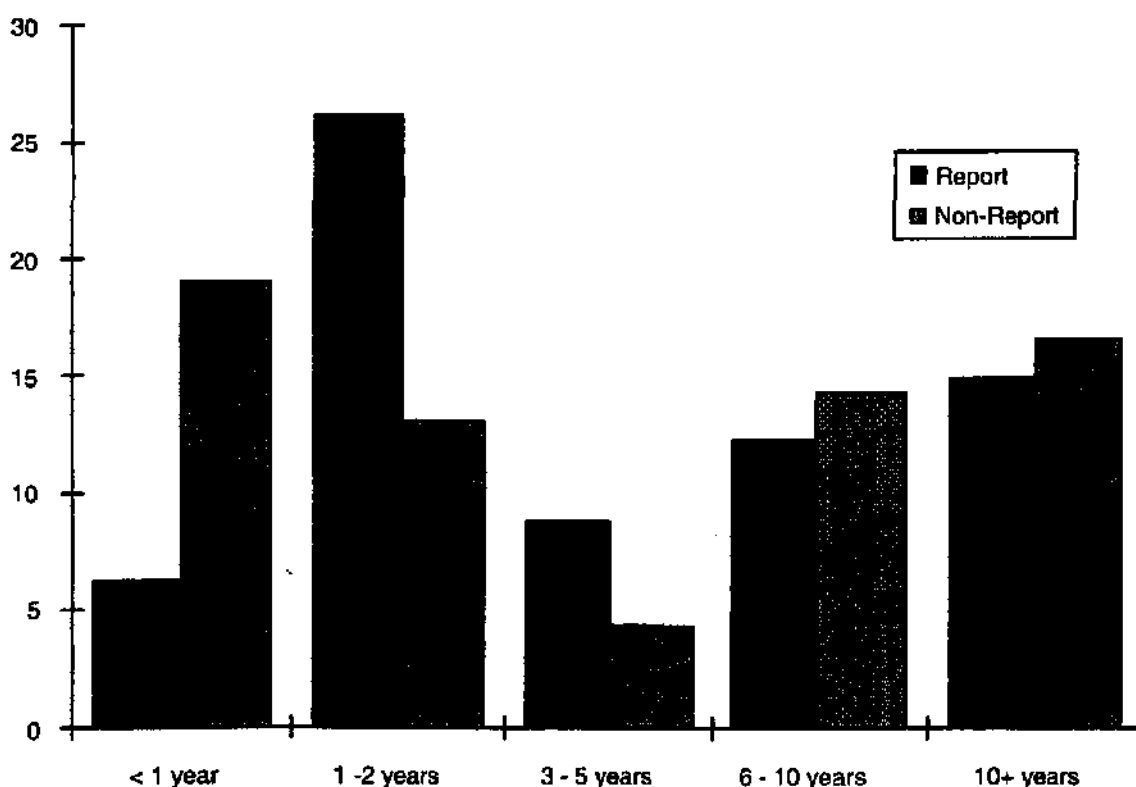
An illustration of this might be found in the fact that people having lived on the estate for less than one year were the least likely group to have reported incidents of criminal damage to their property. Nineteen per cent of these recent residents had not reported such incidents and only six per cent had done so (see the following graph). No other group had such a high rate of non-reporting or such a low rate of offence reporting. Given that, excluding those who had lived on the estate for ten years or more, in our sample recent

residents had the highest rate of victimisation, this would rather tend to reinforce our sense of the difficulties facing newcomers to the estate.

" When we first moved in we were getting a lot of hassle from one group of neighbours. They really let us know they thought we shouldn't be here. After I'd reported it to the Council the worst of it stopped but there's a real bad feeling about the house and I always feel really uncomfortable." (W. 20s)

Although, of course, the respondent quoted here did report the harassment she had to endure.

Length of residence and likelihood of reporting criminal damage incidents.



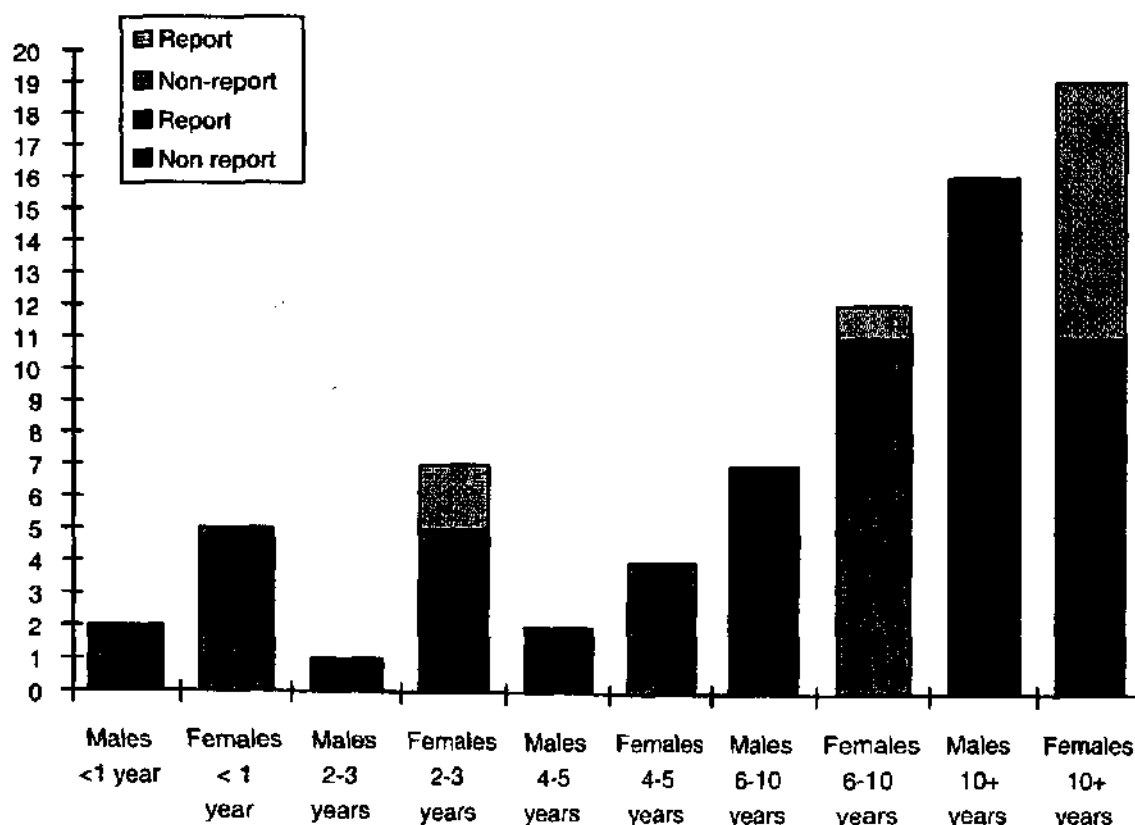
The relatively low number of cases involved made it difficult to repeat this comparison of length of residency and likelihood of reporting offences in the case of incidents of burglary, assault or theft even though the face value figures are interesting. Recent residents reported only one in three burglaries whilst residents of ten years or longer (a much older age group, on the whole) had reported one in four. All other groups of residents had reported all their burglary incidents. Turning to assaults, recent residents and older residents were the least likely to report assaults they experienced, in each case failing to report four out of every five assaults encountered. No other groups appeared to face so much assaultive behaviour yet report it so infrequently. In the case of theft, while older and more settled residents had experienced the lion's share of the theft offences picked up in the survey (although

reporting only one in three incidents) recent residents seemed to experience the most frequent theft victimisation but reported none of it. To reiterate the earlier point, although the figures given here are included to help develop the emerging picture of the relative vulnerability of new residents on the estate, in the case of burglary, theft and assaults the numbers of incidents involved are rather low and may not be very reliable.

Rather more incidents are involved in the case of harassment, intimidation, 'nuisance'¹ or verbal abuse but here the issues are slightly different. As we have seen, the vast majority of such incidents go unreported and unrecorded. In our sample residents of the longest standing, five years or more on the estate, experienced the most such incidents (54) but reported only eleven, or one in five, of these. Recent residents on the other hand (less than one year on the estate) had, in their short time living there, encountered as much nuisance and/or harassment as other groups who had been there for between two and five years. Furthermore, only one in seven of the incidents they experienced was reported.

Unreported 'nuisance/harassment' by gender

Length of residence and the reporting/non reporting of nuisance or harassment incidents - by gender.



A clear point to notice is that most of the nuisance or harassment disclosed to interviewers clearly goes unreported. Only females of more than 10 years residence came close to a 50% reporting rate (other than males of <1 year

residence). However women also encountered more harassment. Both males and females of less than 5 years residence reported no harassment encountered although, with their increasing length of residence, both sexes encountered more harassment but reported only a relatively small amount of it.

Awareness of the CCTV Proposal

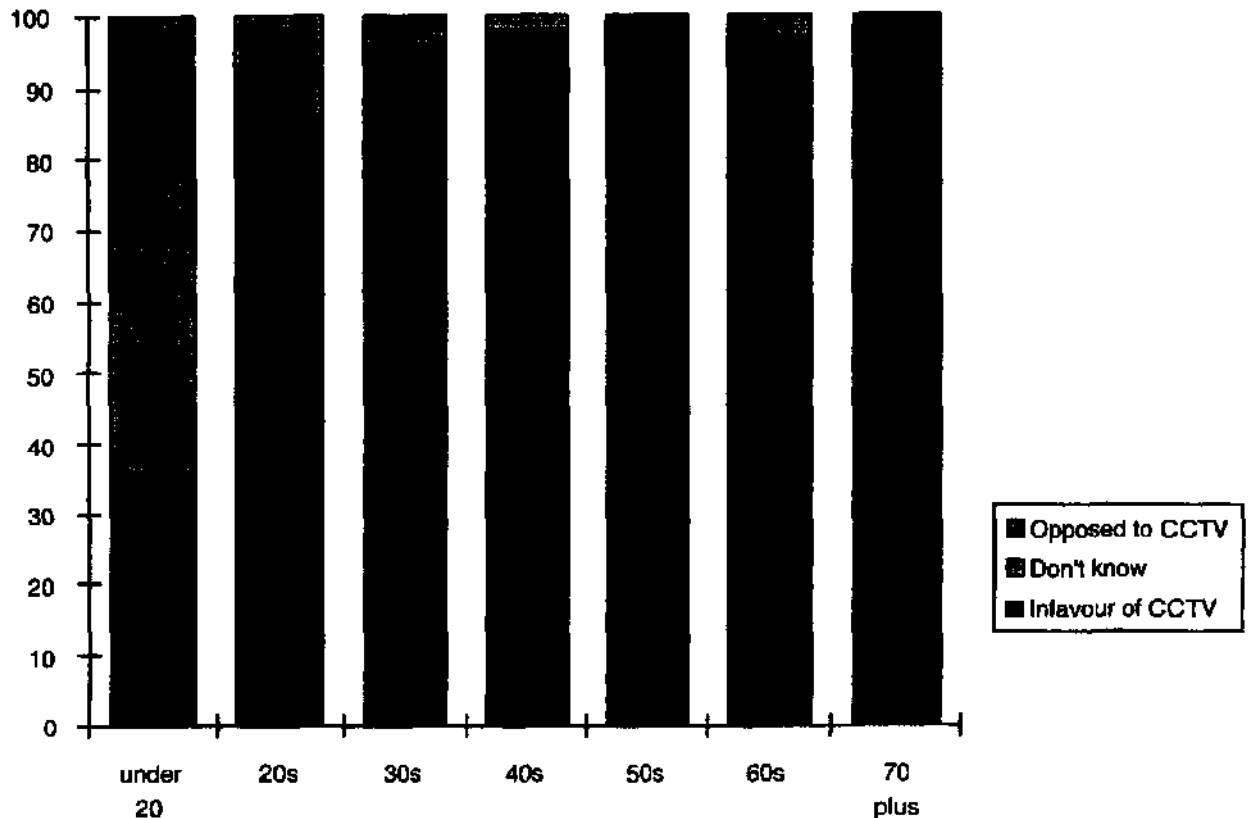
Ninety per cent of the overall sample were aware of the CCTV installation proposal, 9% were unaware. There was little systematic variation in awareness of the proposal according to age. The over 70s were least aware (83%), respondents under 21 most aware (95%), closely followed by persons in their sixties (93%). Plausible explanations could be provided for such figures.

Men were marginally more aware of the plans than women and, perhaps understandably, the most recent residents (with less than 12 months residence) were least aware of the CCTV plans. Even so, 25% of these respondents knew about the CCTV proposal. Crime victims were slightly more aware of the CCTV plans (93%) than non-victims (89%). Residents of houses and flats were significantly more aware of the CCTV plans (90% and 97%) than bungalow dwellers (79%) although such differences also reflect the different lengths of residence of these groups. Finally, witnesses of crime appeared to be more aware of the CCTV plans than non-witnesses (95% compared to 87%).

Support for the CCTV proposal

Two hundred and seventeen people (89%) of the overall sample thought the CCTV proposal a good idea, 6.5% (16 respondents) said they were opposed to it and 4% (9 people) said they were not sure. These figures took on a fairly familiar age profile.

Support for CCTV by age

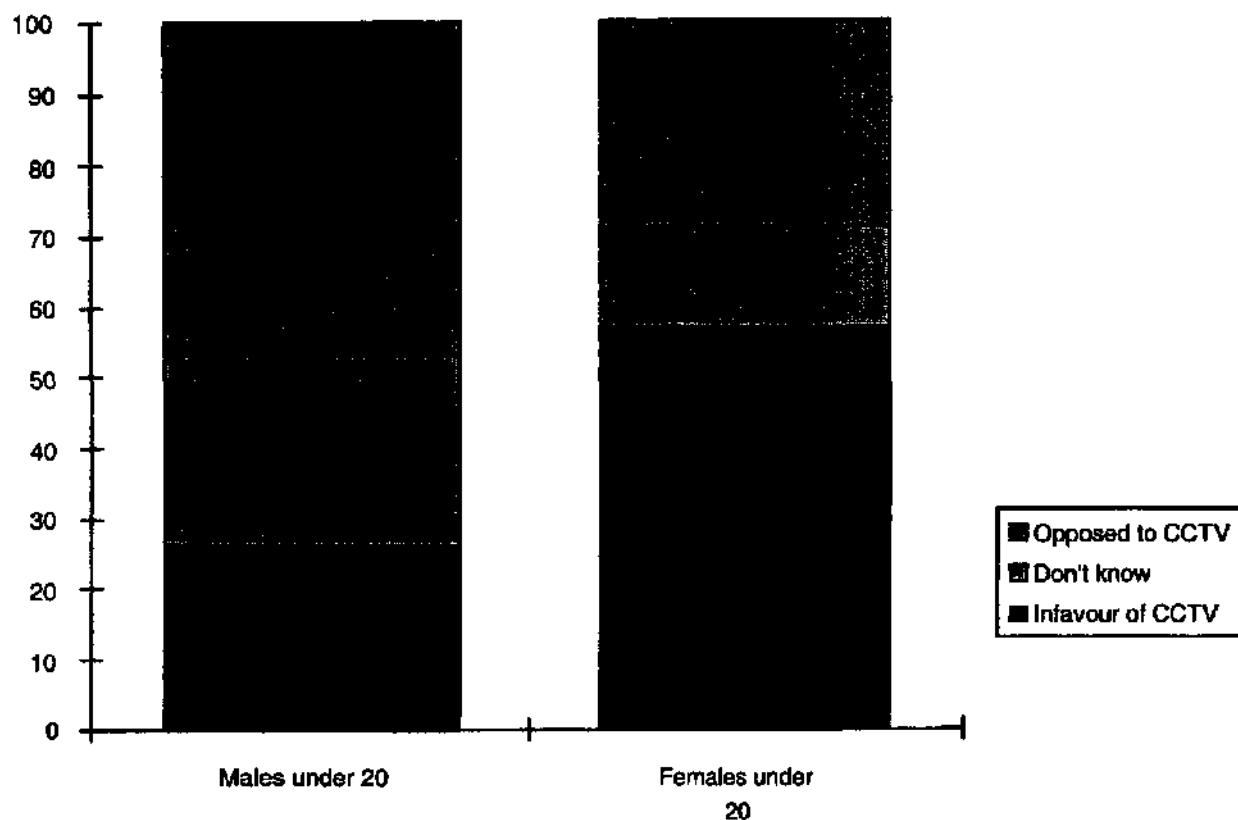


From the age of 40 onwards respondents appeared almost entirely supportive of the CCTV proposal whereas more people aged under 20 described themselves as against it than in favour of it and a larger proportion than in any other age group said they didn't know. There was a relatively small difference in levels of support between men and women, 83% of men but 94% of women described themselves as in favour of the cameras. While the levels of support for CCTV of both men and women maintained the same age profile as shown above, in the age group most ambivalent about CCTV, the under 20s, opposition to the cameras is most concentrated amongst the young men. Even so, females aged under 20 are still much more opposed to CCTV than males or females of any other age group.

"I think its a crap idea, what do they think that will do. I mean if I want to do something I'll do it I dont give a fuck about no cameras. You can always go and do something somewhere else, they won't be able to see everywhere."
(m.u20)

" You get some /police officers; who are OK and some who are right bastards, they just want to mess you about. But if they've got them cameras going they'll be coming up here all night, but they ain't gonna stop anything going on." (M, u20)

Support for CCTV by males and females under 20 years old.



Perhaps in view of their age profile, residents of the Manor Farm area were wholeheartedly supportive of the CCTV cameras although, elsewhere on the estate, longer residence (typically people aged under 20 who had lived there all their lives) was associated with some opposition to the proposals. People who had been victims of crime (burglary or vandalism), especially those who had reported this to the police or the council, were slightly more supportive of the CCTV proposal than those who hadn't been victims or who hadn't reported it. Similarly, being unhappy or dissatisfied living on the estate was also associated with slightly higher levels of support for CCTV, those most contented living there were more likely to question the need for CCTV. Not surprisingly, those feeling most unsafe were much more likely to be in favour of the CCTV cameras although, as we have already seen, people's perceptions of safety are strongly related to age and gender.

Seventy-seven percent of the overall sample thought that the cameras would "help to prevent crime and make the estate safer," whereas 9% doubted this. The fact that a lower proportion thought the cameras would be effective in preventing crime and promoting safety than were in favour of them suggests that a number wanted the cameras even though they thought they wouldn't make much difference - but were willing to try anything. Amongst their misgivings were the following;

"Any villains up here will soon wise up to the cameras, you know, they'll get to know what they can see and all and they'll just go to other places." (M. 60s)

"They should put the cameras where the crime is most concentrated, not spread out all over" (F. 20s)

"They should put the cameras where all the trouble goes off, not up along the main road. What use is that?"¹ (F.20s)

"They should put one of them cameras on every bloody corner." (M. 40s)

"They should put the cameras in the closes, y'know, 'round the backs. That's where any bother goes off. What's the point sticking them down the main road? Everybody can see what's going on out there anyway." (M. 40s)

"Having the cameras in the road will just move the little sods into these closes where they cant be seen." (F. 50s)

"I dont think these cameras are going to last, my son said that some of the lads at school reckon they can unlock the poles already." (Follow-up interview to the first survey, the poles had been installed but did not have cameras on them yet.) (F. 30s)

"What's the point of putting up fucking cameras. The estate is just crap. They should spend their fucking money improving this dump.... there should be more things for the kids, decent places for them to go. youth clubs and the like." (F. 30s)

"Why Are they doing this? It is the housing that needs the money spent on it. ... I don't think them cameras are going to last 5 minutes." (F. 20s)

"They've put all the cameras on the main road. That isn't going to do any good. At best it'll just move the trouble makers around, and then we'll just get more hassle around the backs..." (F. 20s)

"They started blocking off the alleyways up at the top that was a good idea the trouble always starts out of the way up the alleys, out of sight. I dont think cameras on the main road will make much difference if they've still go the alleyways to hide in." (F. 40s)

"I think they've got it wrong putting them cameras down the main road. We want all these tittle alleyways blocked off. That's where the trouble is" (F. 30s)

"They try to trash anything that gets put up around here. I reckon them cameras will be a bit of a challenge to them, y'know, to see what they can do to them. I'm glad I have got one out near me," (M. 30s)

"The kids up here haven't got anything to do... putting cameras up will just encourage them to do stupid things.... Along the road there the other night, they'd put their bikes against the pole and were trying to climb up it" (Follow-up interview to the first survey, the poles had been installed but did not have cameras on them yet.) (F. 20s)

The misgivings in the final comment were to some extent borne out by reports in the Argus newspaper that young lads had been pulling down their trousers and 'mooning' at the cameras. Other reports told of a recurrence of the practice of 'stoning' buses on the estate and of young lads lying down in the road in front of the buses to stop them from driving off from stops. While the buses were stationary other boys would throw stones at the buses. Both sets of activities were regarded as, in part, attempts to provoke the police into responding. Equally, both types of activities were essentially similar to the kinds of disorderly, irritating and sometimes dangerous behaviours that many had hoped that the cameras would help in addressing.

"I think they should use the cameras to clear out some of the youths and trouble makers, they should use the cameras to pick them up. We should have a curfew on them and if any of them are out causing bother they should just whisk them away." (M. 60s)

Equally, some residents made comments which pointed towards a more tolerant view and implied that such activities were an almost inevitable feature of young people's development - 'kids will be kids'.

"I wouldn't really call it crimes just kids messing about, you see them having fights, making a lot of noise, throwing stones. They can be a bother but I wouldn't call it crimes." (M. 60s)

Assisting the police

Eighty-one percent of the overall sample thought the cameras would assist the police (only 6% disagreed) suggesting a difference between people's perceptions of what would assist the police and what would make the estate safer. In part, such a finding reflects a perception from a number of the estates residents that they are not well served by the police:

"You never see a copper up here, we're like in a backwater and they never come round here. I bet if it was like Roedean, they'd call 'em and they'd be there in a shot, but not here." (M. 60s)

"I don't think the police are really bothered with Whitehawk" (M. 40s)

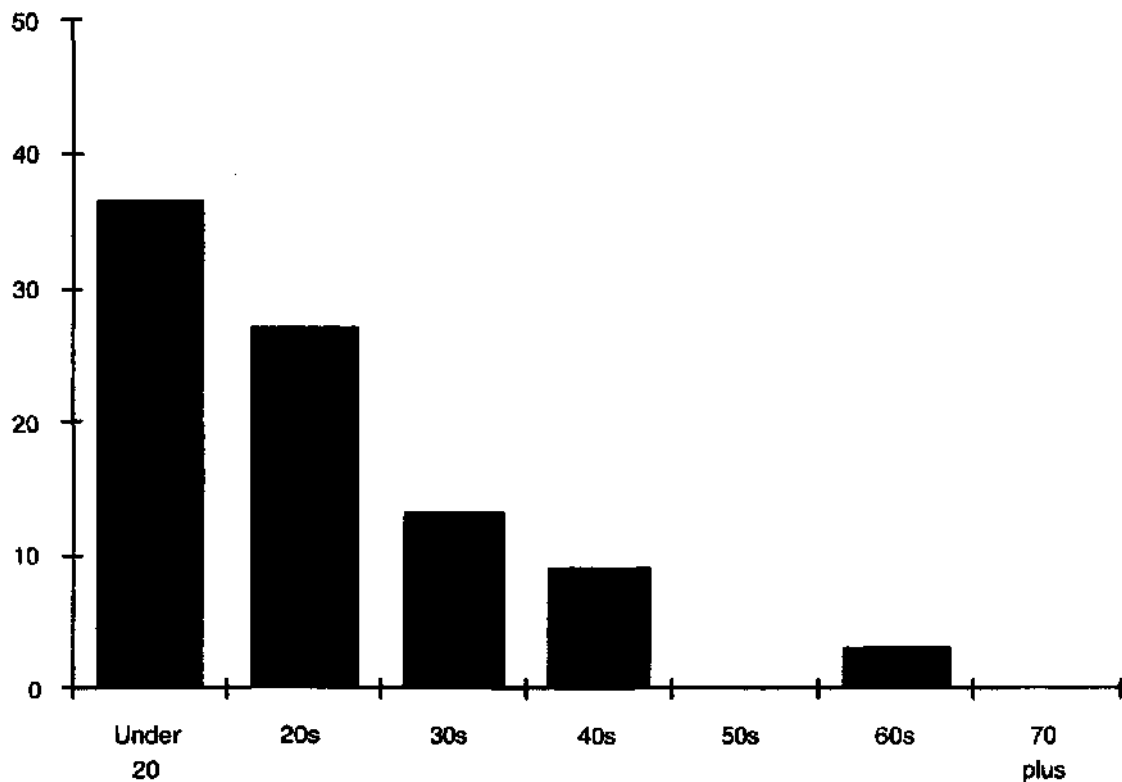
"Most of the time, they [the police] know who they are and exactly what they're up to. Sometimes I think they just can't be bothered. It's 'Oh, it's 'im again,' so unless they can catch them actually at it, they aren't going to bother. It'd be better if they get them on film, but they'll be lucky. I mean, they're not going to get up to that much with the cameras staring right at them." (M. 40s)

"You just get trash up here maybe the cameras will help the police to keep a lid on it a bit better." (M, 40s)

Privacy and civil liberties issues

Sixty-three percent of the overall sample disagreed that the cameras represented a threat to people's civil liberties, 16% thought they were such a threat and 20% said they didn't know. The concern about civil liberties and privacy was markedly age-related.

Percentages of the different age groups raising a concern about civil liberties in relation to CCTV



Similarly, consistent with the earlier patterns of support and opposition for the CCTV cameras males, especially young males, were more likely to raise a concern about privacy and civil liberty. Nevertheless, more prevalent were the following viewpoints:

"Well, I suppose it might be a threat to some people but some of them people need an eye kept on them." (F. 30s)

" Yeah, well, some of the dodgy types up here bloody well need their civil liberties controlled a bit: (F. 40s)

"Civil liberties, that's a laugh, There's some people up here who need their civil liberties jumped on. Some of'em need watching 24 hours a day" (F. 30s)

"There's some right arseholes up here. I reckon most people up here would like more cameras, just to keep a better eye on them all: (M. 50s)

One man, with a camera installed directly in front of his house found the proximity of the camera amusing. He seemed relatively unconcerned by any 'privacy' issues and saw some potential benefit in having a camera close by.

"I'm not really worried about my privacy from it. I know its stuck there right in front of my house. Maybe me and the missus will just have to close the curtains a bit more [laughs] Maybe with that there, our house won't get done." (M. 40s)

Similarly,

"I don't think I'd want one right outside my front door, but I don't suppose they want them to look through people's windows., do they?" (F. 30s)

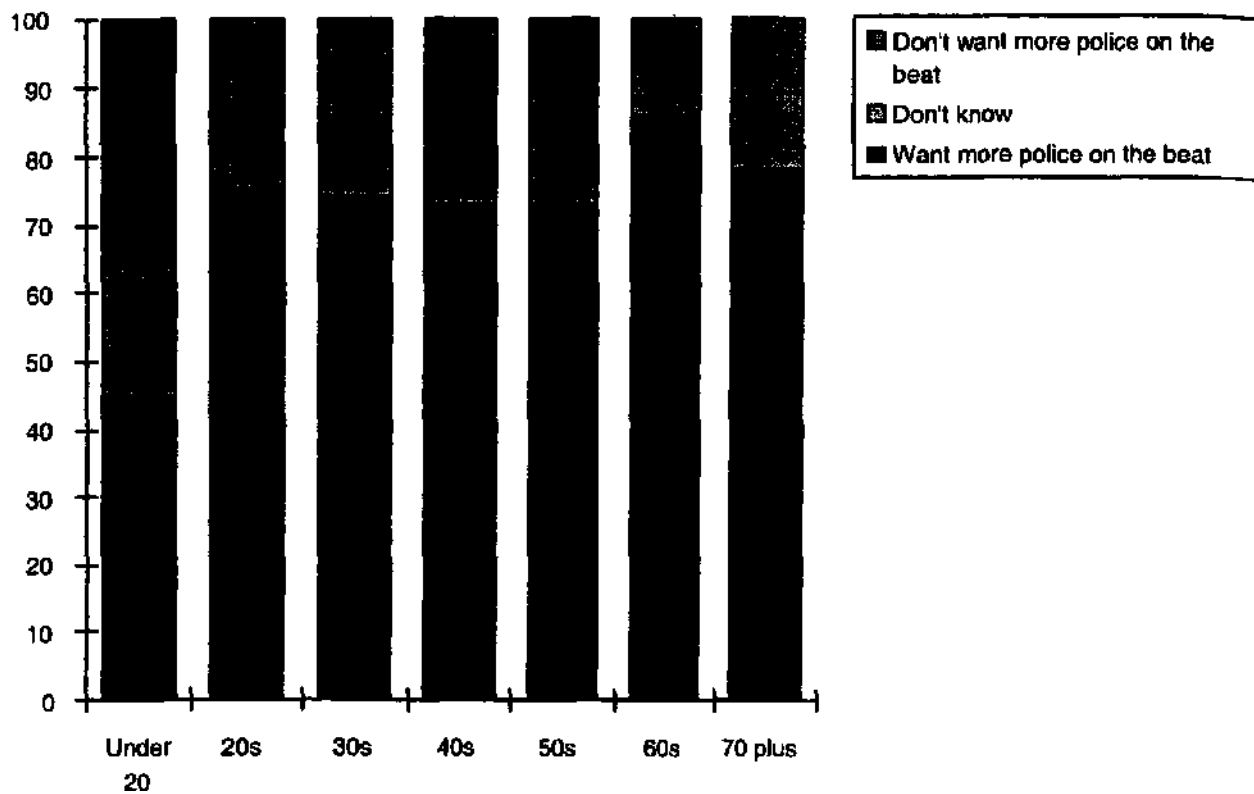
By contrast, one young man who had already declared himself opposed to the cameras and concerned about privacy said he thought he knew exactly what the CCTV cameras were for.

"I expect they'll use it to point at us. Y'know we might not be able to get away with much any more." (M. u20s)

More police on the beat

Seventy-three per cent of respondents said that they would prefer to see more police on the beat, 15% said they disagreed with having more police on the beat and a further 12% said they were not sure. As in the case with support for CCTV and a concern with privacy and civil liberties, an enthusiasm for more police on the beat was strongly influenced by the age of the respondents. As we have found before, young men were the most opposed to the idea of more police officers being deployed on routine patrol on the estate but age was the crucial factor, a higher proportion of young women (under 20) were opposed to more intensive police of the estate than males or females in any other age group.

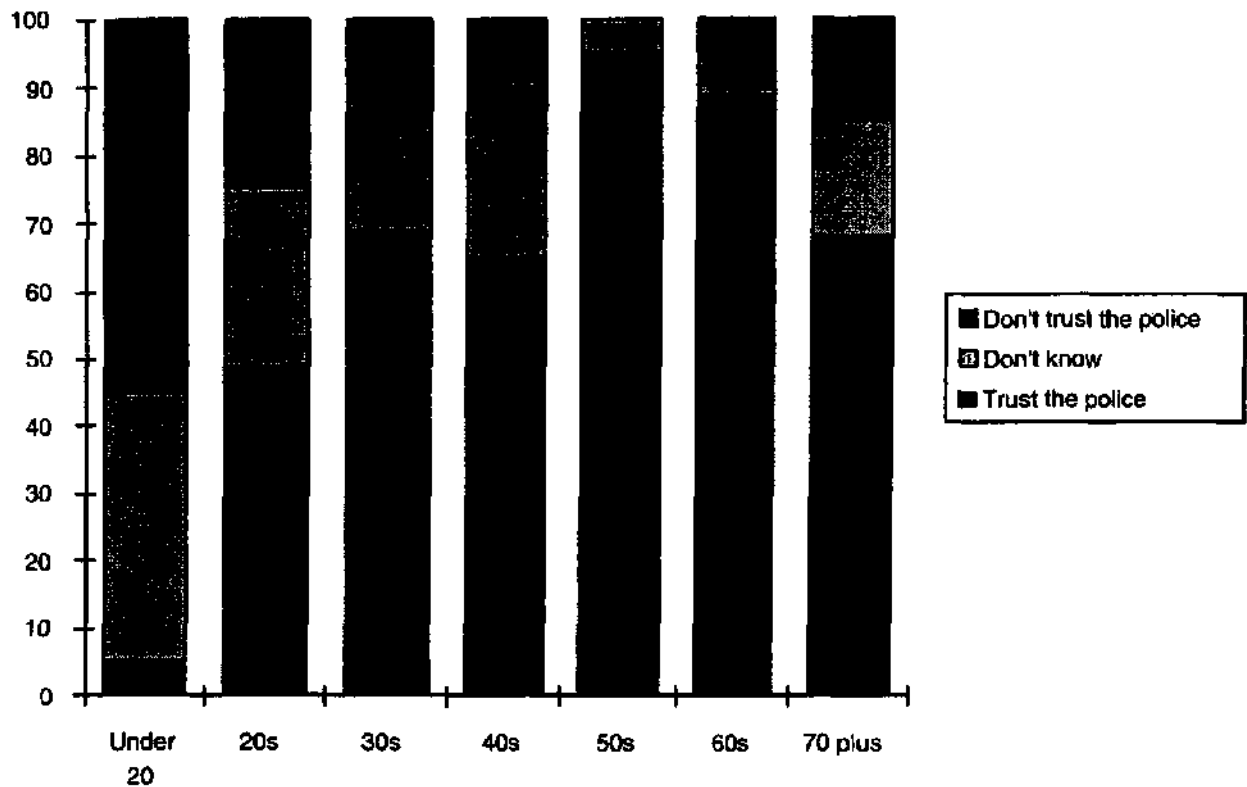
Respondents wanting to see more police officers
on the beat - by age.



Trusting the police

Sixty-three percent of the overall sample said they trusted the police, 16% said they didn't trust the police and the remaining 21% said they were not sure. The significance of age in determining whether people trust the police can be ascertained from the following diagram.

Percentages of the different age groups trusting the police



Immediately apparent in the diagram is they mistrust in which the police are apparently held by young people - in fact (although the proportions within the sample were small and couldn't be called 'representative') no males aged under twenty were willing to say they trusted the police. After the age of twenty, things change dramatically, although females appear generally more trusting.

We examined the extent to which the length of time that people had spent living on the estate influenced their levels of fear, victimisation and vulnerability and their attitudes towards CCTV. Although, as we discovered before, length of residence often relates closely to the age of respondents (age being one of the key factors shaping people's attitudes and experiences) the picture is complicated by the fact that a number of younger people - second generation residents - had lived on the estate all their lives. This age distribution of long term residents is reflected in the fact that although a minority of the longer-term residents (16%) were distrustful of the police, a majority of these were in their 20s or younger.

Divided community?

Such findings concerning attitudes to the police help confirm the existence of a number of quite different groups of residents living on the estate - defined primarily by the length of time they have lived there. The residential group with the lowest confidence in the police had lived on the estate for four to five years (only 48% claimed to trust the police). As we have seen, people having

lived there for a shorter period tended to endure more victimisation and so may have felt more dependent upon policing services. On the whole, people having lived on the estate for longer tended to be older and more pro-police. These social divisions amongst the residents, often very clearly describing an 'us and them'¹ situation are evident in residents' comments about the estates problems.

"I've lived here all my life and I think it's alright. If only they would stop bringing in the riff-raff off Moulsecoomb then it would be fine." (F. 20s)

"The kinds of people living here are the real problem, the scum who've moved up here." (F20s)

"This area has a really bad reputation and there are quite a lot of problem families up here." (F20s)

" They've just got to get the trash off the estate. People like that will cause trouble wherever they are." (F. 20s)

"They shouldn't let 'scoomers' up here, fuckin' trash like that. It just causes trouble." [Nods of agreement from his friends.] (M, u20s)

"Up here you get some right sorts, its the main problem on this estate, 'divvy' parents breed 'diwy' kids." (F. 40s)

" We get a lot of harassment from the local scum -1 think they just like picking on decent people." (F. 20s)

"Its the drug dealing up here that bothers me the most, it brings some really dodgy types into the estate." (F. 20s)

"Some of the people up here,.... addicts, junkies no wonder its not safe. They're rubbish, a lot of them that live here are..." (F. u20)

[In response to the question 'have you ever witnessed any criminal or disorderly behaviour on the estate' one man (40s - disabled) commented] *7 never go up that end."*

The fact that the bulk of such comments - suggesting in many cases a high degree of intolerance of 'others' or particular newcomers on the estate and significant residential divisions - came from a rather younger cross section of residents, all of whom had lived on the estate for over ten years, is doubtless very significant. They appeared to believe this was their estate but that other people, some of whom they regarded for a variety of reasons as highly unsuitable, were moving into their territory. This is an important issue and could be followed up, particularly in relation to the question of fostering a greater sense of community spirit, but it does go rather beyond the frame of the present enquiry.

Racism

We only encountered one non-white resident in all of the 243 interviews (researchers had also interviewed him during the 1995 victimisation study) but his comments and experiences point to serious issues of localised and routine racism as a disturbing aspect of the social divisions and intolerance on the estate.

"I really dont want to live in this area there is so much crime and bad feeling. We get people throwing stones at the house and swearing at us.... When I go out people are saying 'fucking black bastard' it is terrible. It can be worse especially in the summer when the schools are closed or at night time with all the yobs hanging around in the evening when it gets dark..... "

"I cannot stand all the attacks and the racism. There are too many children - 13 and 14 year olds, so many of them of single mothers without husbands. This place is like a prison. I can't go out, I work at night and cant sleep in the day time because of what they might do" (M. 50s Asian)

Likely to feel safer?

Sixty-one per cent of the sample thought that they would personally feel safer when the CCTV cameras were installed, 26% said they didn't think they would and 13% said they didn't know. It is difficult to have much confidence in the figures, at best they point to the triumph of hope. It is worth knowing that nearly two-thirds of respondents were hoping that CCTV would make a difference but the real question can only be addressed in the follow-up survey when people are asked whether they actually feel safer rather than whether they anticipate feeling safer. It is also intriguing to note that while some 89% of respondents were in favour of the cameras only 68% of these thought themselves likely to feel any safer because of them. Significantly more women (71%) as compared to men (48%) expected to feel safer following the installation of the cameras. Nevertheless, as suggested earlier, the real question of people's sense of safety is not a question of anticipation, it can only be meaningfully addressed once the cameras are operating.

Personal investment in crime prevention: DIY

Only 25% of the total number of respondents (23% of council tenants but 50% of the owner-occupiers) said they had sought to install additional crime prevention facilities in their homes. Twenty-nine per cent of male respondents but only 21% of female respondents referred to their own DIY installation of crime prevention facilities. The example given in the questionnaire referred to burglar alarms, but interviewers were asked to record any additional facilities including additional barrier methods, new locks, extra bolts/door chains, window locks or security lighting. Of those who had installed additional crime prevention features, however, around three quarters (78%) said this investment had made them feel safer. Others, however, were rather scornful of the suggestion that they might invest in their own crime prevention

"Of course I haven't put a burglar alarm in. I can't afford it. Anyway if I did something like that they'd only think I'd got something worth nicking." (F. 30s)

We also encountered quite a number of people who specifically referred to their dogs in relation to crime prevention or personal security.

"I haven't put any burglar alarm or anything in. Instead I've got him [pointing to large dog] I feel a lot better with him in the house. He barks if anybody comes to the door and if they've got any sense they'll keep out." (F. 30s)

"I've just got my dogs, they are better than a burglar alarm. They'll have a go at anyone daft enough to come in here." (F. 30s)

"I feel a lot better with them two in the house." [indicating two large dogs barking away in another room.] (F. 40s)

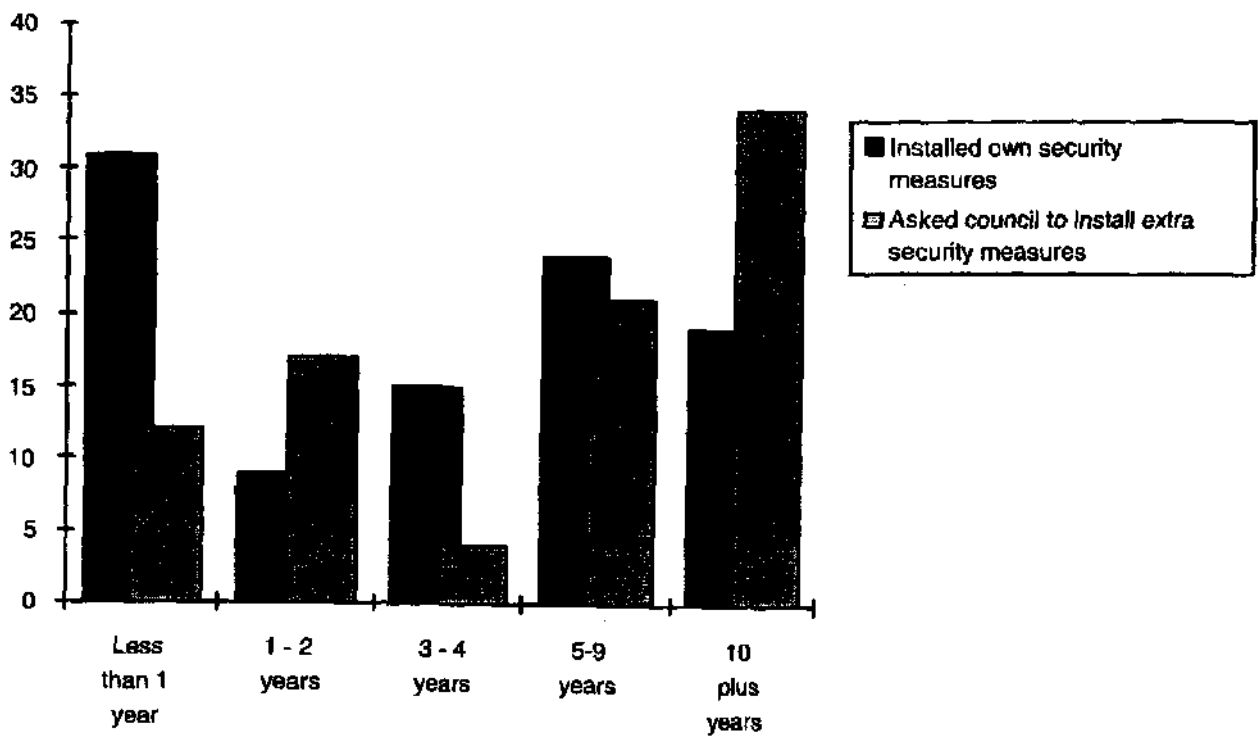
Other respondents - men in particular - gave rather more individual explanations for why they did not feel vulnerable on the estate.

"I don't feel unsafe now, I'm quite a big bloke like, so I don't think it'll make much difference to me [installation of CCTV] No one gives me any bother." (M. 40s)

"I've got a gun cabinet back there, you know. Two shotguns and a .22 rifle. And if anybody breaks in here, they can have some of that." (M. 30s)

The following graph presents the results on both personal investment in additional security measures as well as requests to the council for additional measures in relation to the length of time people had lived on the estate. The fairly predictable finding is that those who had lived in their existing homes for the longest had made more requests to the council for additional security measures (with the exception of the 3 - 4 years residents). Note that these were requests - the residents hadn't always received what they had asked for. However the interesting result concerns the most recent residents, a third of whom had installed additional security features although very few had approached the council. Being recent residents this group may well have the clearest memories of what they had installed on moving into their new homes but, taken alongside the early findings that new residents tend to report the lowest proportion of the victimisation they appear to endure and their possibly greater vulnerability, this may raise an issue about the support provided by the authority to its newest tenants.

Installation of extra security: 'do it yourself' or ask the council, by length of residency in current home.

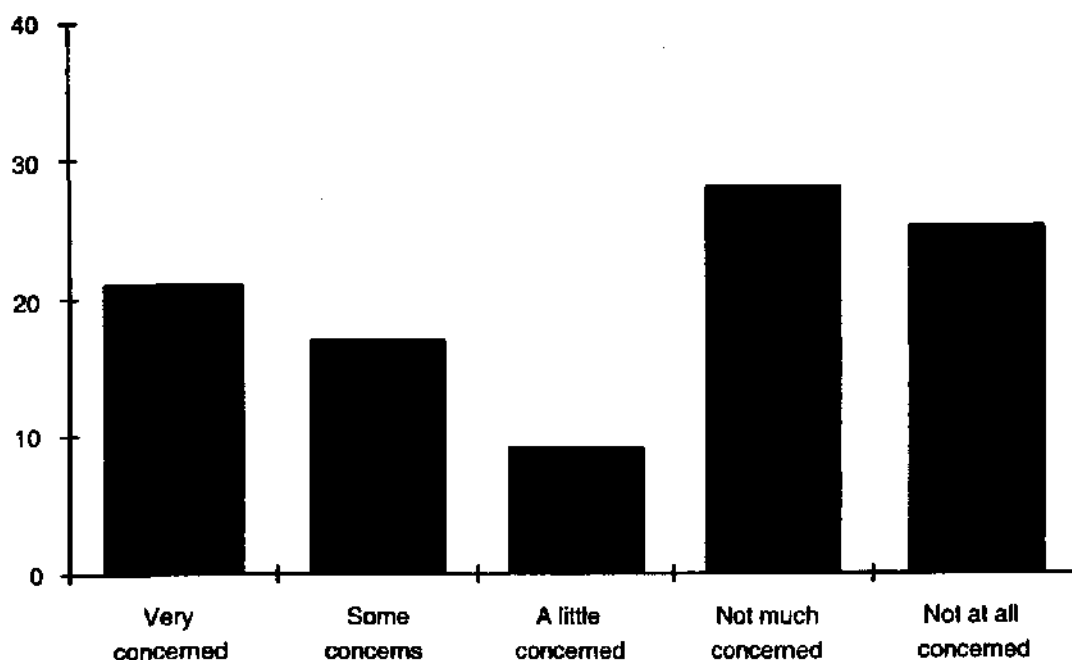


Requests to the council for additional security features

Relatively few respondents appear to have approached the council or housing department - or any other agency - in respect of crime prevention or security matters. Only 15% of respondents (14% of male respondents and 50% of female respondents) said they had asked the council to introduce or install additional crime prevention measures in either their homes or neighbourhood. Of those who had, the most frequently requested items were: new doors or replacement locks for doors, replacement windows or window locks, repairs to gates and fences, better lighting and speed restrictors for vehicles.

While people's comments about the council's response to their requests for repairs or for extra security facilities pointed towards problems, at least in terms of residents' perceptions of the council's servicing of these requests, a concern about council services did not appear especially pressing when people had been asked about this earlier during the interviews.

Percentages concerned about council services



Even so, a number of people voiced a range of quite particular concerns:

"I don't really like leaving the house, I'm always a bit worried what I might come back to. Especially with that front door still not fixed." (F. 20s)

"There's a lot of vandalism in the area, and it doesn't get put right" (F. 20s)

*"After the burglary I had a crime prevention policeman come round and he said the windows were rubbish. He said there was no point putting locks on them because they could still slide them right out. The only thing you could do was to screw them shut. So that's what I did."*¹ (M. 50s)

[Following a burglary attempt and the front door kicked through.] *"You can be on to that council about something but nothing ever gets done. You could grow old waiting for them to pull a finger out. I'd been at them to get my door fixed and they kept saying they'd be along in a day or two. But no-one ever came and in the end my neighbour helped me to mend it. It's not a very professional job but at least the door locks properly."* (F. 30s)

Other issues: community safety and crime prevention

A final section of the questionnaire invited respondents to identify any other priorities that needed addressing in order to control crime and improve safety and security for people on the estate. The first two issues mentioned by respondents were noted. The following factors, in declining order, were mentioned.

Twenty-five percent of the entire sample argued the need for more opportunities for young people on the estate. Twenty-two per cent said there should be a greater police presence on the estate and 21% argued that parents living on the estate should be encouraged to take greater responsibility for disciplining their children. Seventeen per cent cited the need for more security facilities, adaptations and installations (not including CCTV) on the estate. Nine per cent argued the need for more general community facilities and 3% argued the importance of lower unemployment and a similar number proposed the need for tougher, more deterrent penalties against wrong doers.

The numbers placing a central emphasis, either directly on young people themselves, or arguing the need for greater parental responsibility, help emphasise the perceived scale of the problem of juvenile nuisance on the estate. To develop this point it is worth citing the particular things said by a wide variety of people when addressing this issue. Some saw the young people as out of control and in need of discipline, others directly implicated parents, others reflected upon the past and their own experiences to account for the troubles on the estate. For some it was a particular problem on this estate whilst others saw it in a wider context, for still others young people were both aggressors and victims.

Kids out of control

"I hate the kids up here. They dont deserve anything decent, they are out of control and they just trash everything." (F. 30s)

"The kids up here are a bloody nuisance, well they're a bloody nuisance everywhere, but I just think that they ought to have a bit more respect for other people." (M. 60s)

"You see the lot up here, fights, vandalism, smashing up cars, they do anything they want some of this lot." (W. 50s)

"You get a lot of verbal from the kids, the language they use, they're a cheeky lot up here." (W. 50s)

"The kids can be really rude. I like to go and see their parents and tell them what they're up to, but you never know what their reaction might be. They might just give you a mouthful and teilyou not to stick your nose in." (W. 30s)

" You get lots of kids hanging about up here. They're enough to drive you spare.... breaking windows and if you speak to them you get a right mouthful back.'" (W. 30s)

'I've seen kids nicking from the back of the bakery van when it was making deliveries and then once there was a lot of them around the ice cream van and it was because some lads had got inside and were trying to break open the till.'" (W. 20s)

"I've seen them setting fire to cars." (W. 40s)

" There's no point in having anything decent up here the bloody kids will just wreck it" (W. 20s)

"I dont like the groups of boys hanging around the alley ways. If I see them I just go another way." (W. 20s)

"The groups of lads hanging about always bother me. Especially if you've got to walk past them. Some times they are trying it on and you have to, like, walk around them. That may not be doing much but I never know what they might do." (F. 30s)

"I definitely think it's got worse, I mean I don't expect we was perfect when we was kids, but these kids up here. I was never as bad as all this. We used to be cheeky and like with adults but we knew how far we could go, and in the end we'd run off, y'know calling names and all that. But kids up here doni do that, if you say anything to them they're like in your face, daring you to do anything. It's not that they haven't got respect - we didn't have respect - but they're like challenging you... its as if they know no-one can touch 'em." (M. 40s)

"I think that they're just too soft on them these days. They ought to lock more of the little bastards up." (M.30s)

Young people as vulnerable and facilities for them

"I don't feel very safe up here, and in the evenings we keep the kids in. There are some right rough types up here and I think it's best just to keep out of their way." (W. 30s)

"I'm mainly bothered about the drugs, there's so much of it around here. I'm worried about my boy, he's just about coming up to the age when it'll be all around him. I'm worried what he'll do., what I can do to help him keep clear of it" (W.30s)

"I feel sorry for the younger children up here, there's not really much for them to do. And when they do put things up for them, the older kids will ruin it, like smash it up." (W. 30s)

"I think there ought to be more things for the children to do - you know, if you look around here there's nothing for them" (W. 60s)

"There should be more places where the youngsters can go, rather than just abuse everyone and everything around them."¹ (W. 30s)

Blaming the parents

"A lot of the kids up here are right arseholes. But then, their parents are arseholes too, so what can you expect" (M. 30s)

"I've lived up here a long time and I suppose you just get used to it. The kids can be little sods... \ don't think it is as friendly as it was, I wouldn't be so sure about having a word with their parents anymore." (W. 40s)

"/ sometimes think that some of the parents up here don't give a damn about what their kids get up to." (W. 20s)

"Kids up here can be right little arseholes and, really, you've got to say its their parents fault. I mean, how do kids get like that? It's what they see at home mostly" (M.30s)

On the other hand

"A lot of people run down the kids on this estate - they're not angels but I wouldn't say they were any worse than on other estates. Whitehawk isnt a bad place." (W. 40s)

"It's much better now they've blocked a lot of these alleys off, much quieter. We used to have kids running up and down here and hanging out around the back, but we don't see them now." (W. 30s)

Whitehawk CCTV Second Survey

One year after the cameras had been installed

A comment from a Whitehawk resident during the second phase of interviewing.

Perhaps you should get that Dr. Squires to spend 3 months living in one of the empty properties, then he'd get a real first hand impression of what it's really like. (Female, 40s)

The second phase survey (approximately one year following the installation of the CCTV cameras) was undertaken during the Summer of 1999. A total of 237 respondents were interviewed and, as before, a number of these agreed to a slightly more in depth follow up interview. As with the initial survey, a year ago, the original target had been 300 interviewees but, for reasons explained earlier, a total of 243 people were actually interviewed. For the follow up, we simply aimed to contact a similar number to the original survey. Again, although relatively few people refused to participate many people were out despite repeated call backs. Once again, prior to the interview visit in each particular street location, letters were delivered to all households explaining the project and announcing the fact that researchers would be calling back during the following few days.

Interviews were conducted at the same times of day as in the original survey (late afternoon and early evening) and without specifically re-visiting the same addresses as those contacted in the earlier survey, we certainly surveyed the same streets, closes and blocks as those covered a year before. Nevertheless, despite this, there did appear some distinct differences between the first and second samples which may have impacted upon the survey findings. The following section describes the follow-up sample and outlines the differences between the two samples.

Basic characteristics of the follow-up sample

The second sample comprised 91 men and 146 women. Thus there was a 4% decrease in the proportion of men in the second sample, 38.4% were male compared to 42.8% in the first sample.

The age profile of the two samples were as follows:

	first sample	second sample
under 20	9%	7.5%
20s	20.2%	13%
30s	24.3%	17.2%
40s	18.1%	19%
50s	8.6%	14%
60s	12.3%	16.8%
70+	7.4%	12.2%

These figures are reproduced in the following graph, which makes it clear that the second sample has included significantly more people in the 50 plus age categories and less of those in their 20s or aged under 20. Given that age appears to have a significant influence on attitudes to crime perceptions of risk the change in the composition of the sample could impact upon the overall results. We will be examining this later.

The employment status of the second sample is outlined below.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	First sample		Second sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
full-time employed	35	14.4%	34	14.3%
part time/ temp	26	10.7%	33	13.9%
self employed	5	2%	2	0.8%
unemployed	60	24.7%	30	12.6%
retired	53	21.8%	69	29.1%
stud/sch.	14	5.7%	14	5.9%
ft. parent/carer	46	18.9%	55	23.2%

As the table shows there is a reasonable consistency between the two groups with the exception that there are noticeably less unemployed people and more retired people within the second sample.

Housing tenure and housing type.

In the initial sample 91.7% of those interviewed were council tenants whereas only 77% of the second sample were council tenants. There appeared to be twice the number of owner-occupiers in the second sample (13.5% up from 5.7%) and an increase in the proportion of housing association tenants (9%). In the first sample 82% of respondents were living in either houses or bungalows. In the second sample an almost identical proportion (83%) were housed in this way. The same proportion of each sample (16%) lived in flats.

Length of Residency

From the original survey there were indications that the length of time people had lived in their present accommodation, or on the estate itself, could influence both their level of satisfaction with the estate, their perceptions of the incidence of crime and their sense of personal security. The duration of their residence could therefore be an important factor in their attitudes toward the CCTV system and crime prevention. The following table (next page) compares length of residency between the two samples.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCY : OVERALL SAMPLE

Sample	Time in property		Time on estate	
	1st Sample	2nd Sample	1st Sample	2nd
Less than 1 year	20%	13.5%	13.1%	6.3%
1-3 years	18.5%	19%	9.5%	7.5%
3-5 years	11.1%	8.4%	9.5%	7.5%
5-10 years	18.9%	10.5%	20.2%	6.7%
10 plus	30.8%	49.3%	47.3%	69%

Almost 50% of the second sample had been in their present property for over ten years and over two thirds of this sample had actually lived on the estate for at least this length of time. The second sample clearly contacted a greater percentage of older and more 'settled' people within the estate. This could pull the survey data in two different ways. On the whole, older people tend to report higher levels of fear and concern about crime. In this case however age - translated as length of time living on the estate, with all that this can bring in terms of friendships, family and support networks - could act to strengthen people's sense of satisfaction and security and lower their perceived risks from crime.

A number of comments from older people who had lived a good part of their lives on the estate reflected this.

It's nice and friendly around here. We've known our neighbours for years and everyone gets on well. It's quite a close knit little community. (F. 60s)

This is my home and always has been, I don't want to move. I've got my neighbours and friends around me. (F 60s)

I like the area and the people around here. All my family live close around here. (F. 50s)

Neighbours up here are pretty good. You watch out for each other. (M. 70s)

We're quite a close knit community and I'm part of the crime prevention group. (M. 60s)

Nevertheless even within such comments about the quality of life and satisfaction of the people living at the southern end of the estate, there were hints about problems elsewhere and criticisms about the patterns of change over time. Equally there were a number of implicit comments about the changes occurring within the estate as a whole.

I like this part of Whitehawk... South and North Whitehawk are totally different, there's very little crime or trouble at the south end, all the trouble will be up at the top. (M.60s)

Down here we're all elderly people with the youngsters up the top. Its very safe down here and we have N watch. There's a bit of a noise nuisance but on the whole we're alright. I wouldn't fancy living further up though. (F. 60s)

This part is alright. Nothing like the rough end of Whitehawk. (M. 60s)

I dont mind living down here, but I wouldn't want to live up in the real Whitehawk. (F. 50s)

I've lived here all my life. It has got worse over time, but I've been here all my life and I wouldn't want to move out. It is still alright for me. Anyway, I'm too old to move. There's a bus stop not 20 yards around the corner. (F. 70s)

I dont like it here, there's been a lot of problems lately. I've lived here a long time and know a lot of the people, but its definitely changed, I'm worried about all the violence and drugs. (F. 70s)

I've spent most of my life living here but I'd think twice about walking up the top end because of all the trouble from the kids. (M. 50s)

Basically its not really the cameras. In this area we know one another quite well and tend to look out after each other. The people are quite friendly, it's just the children that you have to look out for. (F. 60s)

Living a long time on the estate and having plenty of friends could also strengthen people's sense of security in other ways.

We dont get any trouble, I've a lot of friends and family on this estate and we can look after ourselves,... if you know what I mean. (M. 50s)

Even so, a number of people commented in similar terms about the composition of the population on the estate.

With the original people up here everything was OK. But then the crap the council bring in don't give a shit about anything but theirselves. (M. 60s)

They should be a bit more judgmental about the families they give properties to. The trouble with this estate really starts with the right rubbish the allow to live here. And they shouldn't let people come here with such dangerous dogs. (F.50s)

Over the past few years it has definitely gone downhill, there are more yobbos and the police don't do anything. (F. 60s)

Along with such comments were a number of people reflecting upon the reputation of the estate and what this could mean for them. We have encountered similar comments before, and similar comments were reported in the results of the first survey..

We're not all the same on this estate, its always been the bad few who spoil it for everyone else. (F. 40s)

This particular close is quite nice, for the estate as a whole its just a minority causing trouble, mostly to do with boredom. (M. 60s)

Somedays I can be quite depressed, shitty whitehawk, who'd want to be stuck here?(FAOs)

I'm unhappy about it 'cos its Whitehawk... everybody knows what that means, drugs, crime, trouble.... Shithole. (F. 30s)

I do like it her and I really object to the bad publicity the place gets on TV and the radio. Its hard enough to live here sometimes without all that bad reputation stuff as well. (F. 50s)

Other people simply wanted to get away, citing the crime and disorder problems as a central factor.

We just wanted to get away. After my son was attacked we just wanted a new start away from here. (Female, 40s)

I don't like this area, if we could move out we would. We've been burgled a couple of times and it just makes you feel uncomfortable and you can't trust people. (Male, 50s)

We've been broken into 4 times, would you want to stay in a situation like that? (Female, 50s)

It's really high crime round here and the police don't act even though the criminals are mostly known to them. I feel frustrated and helpless - it's like you're being penalised for working hard and having a nice house and a car. (Female, 30s)

Particular concerns

As in the initial survey, respondents were asked whether they had any particular concerns about a number of aspects of life upon the estate and the provision of council services. Based on the results from the first survey, respondents were offered a more restricted choice in the second survey and their responses, compared to the original survey, are recorded below.

Major concerns (in rank order priority, percentages, rounded)

	v. concerned		some concern		a little		not much	
	S1	S2	S1	S2	S1	S2	S1	S2
Crime & safety	46	36	20	21	10	12	16	31
young people	30	29	17	17	10	10	26	41
Council services	21	21	17	19	9	9	28	49
schools	16	16	10	11	8	9	39	61

In many respects the pattern of concerns reported by residents remains remarkably consistent with the most dramatic changes being revealed at the 'not concerned' end of the spectrum. Residents appear, on the whole, less concerned about all of the factors mentioned. Some of this may reflect changes in the composition of the second sample (older people with no children in their household might well be less concerned about schools, although there would be no reason for them being less concerned about council services. On the positive side, the proportion of people saying they were Very concerned¹ about crime and safety had fallen by 10%.

We asked whether the installation of CCTV cameras had had any impact on the extent to which they were concerned by the above issues and while a substantial majority (72%) said the cameras had made no difference and 6% claimed to have become more concerned about these issues since the cameras installation, 20% said they were now less concerned. A few added a further comment:

/ think there's less kids hanging around by the shops now. (F. 40s)

/ do think there's been a bit less of the nuisance from local kids. (M. 40s)

Since the CCTV cameras were put up I think there's been a bit less of the car racing. That's one thing that is a bit better. (F. 30s)

It's better because the older people feel a bit safer and the younger ones know that someone's got their eye on them. (F. 20s)

It might be my imagination but I dont think there are quite so many gangs of youths hanging around as before. (M. 40s)

Things seem a bit more settled, I'm a lot happier knowing they are there. (F. 30s)

/ think it makes the kids feel safer, its good that they've got the schools covered. (F. 30s)

On the other hand, some saw it differently.

I'm sure they provoke them. I've seen them up there, showing off for the cameras. (F. 40s)

/ think the cameras have made things worse, the youngsters seem to pose in front of them, like daring the police, like when they set that telephone box on fire. One time they said they were 'mooning' at the cameras, you know, pulling their pants down at them. (F. 50s)

/ thought it would make a difference, but I'm not sure now. (F. 20s)

I think there's a certain type, like 14-17year old lads, who'll just play up to the cameras. (Male, 30s)

Staying put or wanting to move

In view of these concerns and the comments cited earlier, and in order to underpin the assessment of resident's satisfaction about living on the estate we asked respondents whether they had ever sought to leave the estate or had requested a housing transfer. 26.3% of the first sample had done so whereas only 14% of the second sample (33 people) wanted to leave. Of these, 39% specified reasons concerning crime, disorder, fear or victimisation, 18% gave reasons to do with health or disability, 21 % mentioned reasons concerning the property itself (size or stairs) while the remainder gave 'family' or 'personal' reasons.

I've asked for an exchange because I'm worried about the violence up here and the safety for my children growing up in this area. (F. 20s)

I don't want to have to bring my kids up here, there's too many wrong kids and bullies... and drugs. (M. 30s)

I'm worried about bringing my kids up here, some of the others can be a real bad influence. (F. 20s)

The type of accommodation I've got is not really suitable for children - mind you, this whole estate's no good for kids. (F. 30s)

I want to get away from here, because I don't want to bring my kids up in a dump. (Female, 20s)

We asked both those who wished to leave the estate and those who wished to stay about the extent to which their preferences were influenced by the installation of the CCTV system. Of those who answered the question, one hundred and sixty-two people (84% of those responding) said that the cameras had no, or very little, bearing on their decisions. Equally, of the 33 people who indicated that they were happy continuing to live on the estate, only six people said that the CCTV cameras had any bearing upon their decisions.

Rates of victimisation

We asked respondents to the second survey the same questions about instances of victimisation whilst resident on the estate. They were also asked whether the incidents had been reported to the authorities (such as council or the police) or left unreported.

Types of victimisation (% of sample)

First Sample

Second Sample

Burglary	23.4%	28.2%
Vandalism	28.3%	24.4%
Assaults/violence	7.8%	5.4%
Theft	7.4%	13.5%
Other Victimisation or Harassment	30.8%	30.3%

An important issue emerging in the first survey concerned the number of instances of victimisation occurring which respondents said that they had not reported to the authorities. Thus in the original survey, 20% of burglaries had apparently gone unreported, and likewise 52% of the instances of vandalism, 70% of the assaults, 86% of thefts and 81% of the incidents of other victimisation (verbal harassment, nuisance or abuse). In the second survey (see table below) only one burglary went unreported, there was almost exactly the same rate of reporting of vandalism but a significant reduction in unreported violence although roughly 10% reductions in the non-reporting of theft and other types of victimisation. It is difficult to account for these patterns, especially the seemingly dramatic reductions in unreported burglary and violence. It could reflect a greater confidence on the part of victims to come forward (especially, perhaps, victims of domestic violence) but such a change is unlikely to be attributable to the CCTV cameras alone. The increase in the proportion of our sample experiencing burglaries could reflect the, on average, increased length of time of residence on the estate of people in the second sample but, aside from a greater confidence in the police and local authority, their apparently greater willingness to report these is, while welcome, difficult to explain.

Reported or unreported victimisation

Types of unreported victimisation (%)

	First Sample	Second Sample
Burglary	20%	1.5%
Vandalism	52%	53%
Assaults/violence	70%	15%
Theft	86%	75%
Other Victimisation or Harassment	81%	71%

Vehicle ownership

A slightly larger proportion of households surveyed in the second sample owned cars (51 % compared to 49%) although less of the second sample's car owners (9.8%) reported having had their car stolen whilst living on the estate. Whereas one of the car theft victims in the first sample claimed not to have reported the theft (to the police), two of the victims in the second sample said they had not done so. Respondents were not asked why not, in relation to this particular question, although a later question did ask respondents reasons for not calling the police. We consider this issue later in the report.

Fifty-five per cent of the car owners in sample two (53.8% in sample one) reported thefts from, or criminal damage to, their cars. Of these victims in sample two, 56% reported the offence to the police (compared to only a third of those in the first survey). If these results, consistent with those reported above, indicate an increased confidence in reporting offences to the police, this can certainly be regarded as a positive outcome.

Living on the estate

We looked earlier at the issue of people wanting to leave the estate, or to seek rehousing, elsewhere. We discovered that only 33 people wished to leave and, of these, slightly over a third cited reasons to do with crime and disorder. Improving the quality of life of residents of the estate had been one of the most central aspirations behind the CCTV installation but, equally, 'quality of life' or 'feelgood factors' do not easily lend themselves to quantitative empirical evaluation. Nevertheless, both the initial and the follow-up surveys contained questions asking whether respondents were 'happy' or 'unhappy' living on the estate. The findings from the second survey, compared with those from the first, are outlined below.

	First survey	Second Survey
Happy	50.6%	67%
Fairly Satisfied	30.8%	21%
Dissatisfied or Unhappy	15.6%	13.7%

Two-thirds of those in the second survey (compared to only a half in the initial survey) described themselves as 'happy' living on the estate, whilst the numbers claiming to be 'dissatisfied' or 'unhappy' had fallen slightly.

Of those describing themselves as happy, a majority (54%) mentioned their close and positive relationships with neighbours, the 'close community spirit' or friends and family living on the estate. For those, albeit a minority, claiming to be dissatisfied or unhappy, the chief factors mentioned were: young people causing trouble or nuisance' (mentioned 8 times), violence (3 times), drugs (2 times) or the fact that they simply thought the estate was a 'horrible place'.

Witnessing offences and calling the police

Whereas 35% of the first sample had witnessed offences occurring on the estate, only 29% of the second sample (68 people) had done so. This reduction in witnessing incidents could, in part, reflect the different composition of the first and second samples. It might also be suggested that people were witnessing less offences because less offences were occurring although, for the first year of the system (the year covering the survey period) there does not appear to have been any significant reduction in recorded incidents on the estate (refer to graph 1). The first survey found a link between precisely where people lived on the estate and the likelihood of them witnessing offences, this precise geographical analysis was not repeated in the second survey and, apart from the fact that younger people were a little more likely to witness offences than older people, there were no major differences in witnessing of offending by age or length of residence. Males were slightly more likely to report witnessing incidents than females.

Of those witnessing offences, 43% referred specifically to young people (including fights, nuisance and anti-social behaviour or vandalism), 39% referred only to violence (without necessarily attributing this to young people), 11% referred to speeding cars or dangerous driving and three respondents referred to 'starting fires'. Only 43.5% of witnesses in the first survey said they had called the police and an almost identical percentage (44%) of those in the second survey did so. There has been some speculation about whether the installation of surveillance systems might lead members of the public to abdicate responsibility for reporting offences on the grounds that CCTV operators will pick them up. Suffice it to say, there is no evidence of that in this survey, nor did anyone make any comment to that effect when given the chance to elaborate. In fact, a far more common reaction was the

expression of doubt about whether there was anyone watching the CCTV camera screens or even whether the cameras were switched on.

They're alright but I'm never sure if the police really act upon what the cameras show them. (Male, 30s)

Are the cameras working properly? Did they put them in the right places? That's what I want to know. (Female, 50s)

I felt glad when they were first put up, but now I'm not so sure. People say they're not even watching 'em most of the time. (Female, 30s)

I think they are just dummies, stuck up to look good. I don't think they have 'em working. (Female, 20s)

I sometimes wonder if the cameras are really turned on. They would easily see things on them if they're working, but they never do anything about it. (Male, u20)

I've got no idea whether the cameras are really operating or not. (Male, 60s)

They are supposed to keep a look out for any trouble on the street, but people say no-one takes any notice of it (Female, 50s)

Comments about the cameras 'not working' or 'not really switched on' were encountered several times. Interestingly, on a separate project in which we were interviewing young offenders involved in vehicle taking and 'joyriding' we came across the same reaction. One young man, resident on the estate, didn't believe the cameras could be working because, he told us, he'd often stolen cars and parked them up outside his house overnight in full view of a camera but the police had never even noticed or done anything about it.

Amongst the other doubtful comments, there were even more cynical comments.

they say they're there to cut down on crime, but if you ask me really it's just an excuse for the police not to come up. (Female, 30s)

And, expressed in different ways, there was a continuing complaint about fellow residents' tendency not to report incidents.

People don't bother to report things up here, they don't see any point 'cos nothing gets done about it. If people had a bit more of a positive attitude and reported things to the police, that would be a start. (Male, 50s)

Equally, however, this non-reporting of incidents was justified by respondents in the following terms,

It's a waste of time calling them, the police never do anything. (Female, 30s)

They never come, there's no point (Female, 60s)

If they were used properly they might make a difference, but the message from the coppers seems to be that 'we'll give you time to get away'... they never seem to catch anyone. (Male, 60s)

Maybe things have got a bit better, but the police never come quickly enough. (Female, 70s)

Sometimes respondents alluded to a rather more 'informal' resolution of differences.

There's been a bit of trouble with kids down here. Nothing worth getting the police for, just 'clip 'round the ear'sort of stuff. (Male, 40s)

And, as in the initial survey a year earlier, a number of commentators expressed the view that it could be unwise to involve the police or involve yourself in others' affairs.

You don't get involved up here. Its best not to. Some people up here don't take kindly to you if they think you've brought the police in. (Male, 30s)

We were very happy but I've become a bit more bothered about the teenagers and the crime around here. If you say anything to them, they're as likely to retaliate. (Female, 50s)

We all know not to give the police any information or we will end up having our houses attacked. (Male, 20s)

In view of the comments about the police response (picked up in the first survey, and repeated in the second - as above), we asked the 30 people who said they had called them how long the police had taken to arrive and whether they were satisfied by this response.

Police response (response times, percentage of times called, according to callers)

Within 10 minutes	43%
Within 30 minutes	24%
Within one hour	11%
More than an hour	7%
Police 'never came'	15%

It has to be borne in mind that these are our respondents estimates of the police response times. The ten minute figure is important as the police response performance indicator, but of course, these are far from being 'official' figures. Respondents may not have known how long police officers may have taken to arrive (likewise the claim that police 'never arrived'). The

only additional comments made about the speed of police response included the following:

I've only called 'em the once, when there was a load of kids smashing a car up out the back. The police were up here in, about 2-3 minutes it must've been. People say they never come, or take forever, but they were up here pretty sharp that day. (Male, 50s)

On the other hand,

If you ask me things have got worse, the kids know that no-one will respond and the police don't seem to come up here after dark. The police are petrified of this estate. (Female, 40s)

Perceptions of offence frequency

In the original survey we asked respondents to estimate, based upon their own experiences, the frequency of certain typical offence types. All we were assessing was residents' perceptions of the frequency of the frequency of offence types. The rationale for including these 'estimates' concerned the corroboration of peoples other more general assessments of the extent of crime or their sense of safety. Thus, if people said they thought that rates of crime and disorder had fallen, and that they also felt safer it would be reasonable to assume that they would also think that certain types of offences (about which they might be particularly concerned) would also be less frequent. It has to be recalled, however, we are only dealing with people's perceptions. In the original survey, having eliminated the 'don't knows' we were able to examine these perceptions of offence frequency in order to show that people's perceptions tended to vary with age and gender, length of residence, precise location of residence, and factors such as previous victimisation. Nevertheless as this is a limited and rather cumbersome exercise which ultimately proves rather little we only repeated a scaled-down version of it in the second survey using five offence/disorder categories, as follows:

Aggregate perceptions of offence frequency (aggregated scores, entire sample)

Survey	First survey	Second
Violent offences	3.8	3.5
Vehicle related offences (theft of/from)	4.5	4.5
Vandalism	5.1	4.3
Drunkenness & disorderly behaviour	4.0	3.4
Juvenile nuisance	4.4	4.3

The key point about this data is that it shows that, a year after the installation of the CCTV cameras, in four out of five offence categories employed, residents of the estate believed that there were less offences occurring. As it happens, as the police data reveals (see recorded crime graph), that in general terms, the residents are wrong about this. The underlying offence trend continued to climb throughout the year. But the point is that in terms of their estimates of offence frequency, residents thought that things had improved - albeit only slightly. Taken with other evidence this could go to suggest that the CCTV cameras were offering some reassurance to some people about the occurrence of offending on the estate. To test this idea more generally we asked respondents about how safe they felt living on the estate.

Feeling safe or unsafe

Respondents were asked to indicate how safe they felt while living on the estate both during the daytime and at night (the hours of darkness). Comparing the results with those from the first survey, the following picture emerges.

	Daytime survey one	Daytime survey two	Nighttime survey one	Nighttime survey two
very safe	79%	74%	34%	31 %
fairly safe	14%	16%	28%	19% ^c
fairly unsafe	3.7%	4%	14%	12% ^c
very unsafe	2%	4.6%	23%	35% ⁼

Unfortunately the results present a rather contrary picture (but may be distorted by the different sample structures, older people reporting more fear of crime). One year after the CCTV cameras, less people described themselves feeling 'very safe' during the day or night and more people likewise said they felt 'very unsafe'. It is difficult to square these results with the findings about perceptions of offence frequency, except to acknowledge that issues of fear or personal risk may well be triggered by influences other than one's own assessment of crime rates in one's neighbourhood.

Compared to the results of the first sample, with the exception of people aged over 60, burglary victims and the most recent inhabitants of the estate appeared the most fearful.

Finally, we asked residents whether they, personally, felt any safer by virtue of the CCTV cameras. Ninety-nine (42%) said yes, 113, (48%) said they felt no safer, and the remainder (10%) were not sure. Although more people considered themselves no safer by virtue of the CCTV cameras - compared to those feeling better off, the fact that 42% of respondents did feel personally safer is not an insignificant result. Nevertheless, fewer respondents actually claimed to feel safer than thought they would in the first survey (68%), suggesting that aspirations about CCTV rather exceeded out-turn. This is not too surprising.

Generally speaking, older people appeared significantly more likely to feel by reassured by the CCTV system, there is a clear age-graded increase in 'feeling safer', women tended to be more reassured than men, and crime victims (in the past) appeared more reassured than the average.

Feelings about the CCTV system

In the light of these different patterns of expectation, experience and reassurance, we attempted to see how far these might be reflected in peoples attitudes to the camera system. To do this we presented respondents with a series of statements about the CCTV system, its potential and claimed advantages and disadvantages. A virtually identical question has been used in four studies. We gave respondents five options - from 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'not sure' through to 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'. For the purposes of the table below these five categories have been aggregated into three.

Attitudes to CCTV: selected issues, percentages, entire sample.

	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree
The CCTV cameras are a good idea	91%	4%	5%
They will help prevent crime	65%	15%	19%
They will help the police	78%	16%	6%
They may threaten civil liberties	16%	11%	73%
They are an intrusion into people's privacy	14%	8%	78%
I'd prefer to see more police on the beat	91%	4%	5%
I don't trust the police to use CCTV fairly	12%	20%	67%
I'm totally opposed to CCTV	2%	3%	95%

The results from this section of the survey reveal a familiar pattern. Very few people described themselves as totally opposed to CCTV and a very large majority considered it a good idea although equally large percentages would have preferred more police officers 'on the beat' rather than cameras. Large majorities believed the cameras would help the police and help prevent crime and a good majority of respondents expressed their confidence in the police's use of the system. *I suppose if people get caught on CCTV it can help the police put 'em away for a bit and then that might stop them causing trouble up here for a while.* (Male, 50s) Finally, as we have discovered in previous surveys, concerns about 'privacy' or civil liberties fell a long way short of concerns about safety and preventing crime. *I'm not bothered about that. If they get people videoed causing trouble on them cameras they should just chuck 'em out, off the estate, if they can't live properly among decent people... and their kids.* (Female, 30s)

The overall results from this set of questions in the follow-up survey are almost identical to those emerging from the initial survey, suggesting that people's attitudes to the system had changed only slightly. In general, as we have seen before, support for CCTV increased with age, and women and

people reporting prior victimisation were a little more enthusiastic than men and 'non-victims'.

Overall, compared with the survey a year earlier, there was a 3% increase in the number of people thinking the cameras 'were a good idea', a 3% drop in those believing the cameras would 'help the police'¹ but a more significant 12% fall in those thinking the cameras would 'help prevent crime on the estate'. The latter figure might reflect either note of disappointment, or of realism. The same proportions in each survey (markedly more younger people, each time) were of the opinion that CCTV could constitute a threat to one's privacy and civil liberties but the numbers regarding the cameras as no threat to civil liberties or privacy (around 75% of the second sample) had increased by virtue of the fact that less people now described themselves as unsure or undecided on this issue. Only one respondent volunteered any additional comments about the privacy question and CCTV.

I am a bit bothered about the civil liberties of this. I mean, they can see all what we're doing. (Male, 30s)

Nine out of ten respondents in the second sample said they would prefer to have more police officers on the beat rather than cameras (an increase of almost 20% on the first sample) suggesting, perhaps, that any benefit of the doubt that CCTV cameras could offer advantages over community beat officers had largely disappeared. One person commented: *They should get rid of those cameras and put some proper police back on the street* (Female, 50s) On the other hand, overall there was an 8% shift in people's attitude to trusting the police (4% more said they did trust the police, 4% less said they did not trust the police).

Other crime prevention and community issues

The final section of the questionnaire asked respondents whether they themselves had any other particular ideas about how crime might be more effectively controlled and the estate made a better and safer place to live. Respondents were given a free hand to say whatever they thought and, only if they failed to respond, a number of prompts were suggested. People's first and second comments were coded-up onto the database producing the table which follows. Some people added no additional comments and the numbers suggesting various ideas are represented as a proportion of the entire sample.

More police on the beat	23%
More disciplining of children (by families & schools)	11 %
lower unemployment	1 %
more security-consciousness in housing and estate design	5%
more and better community facilities	6%
tougher punishments/longer sentences	4%
more activities/facilities for local young people	10%

The preference for more police on the beat, voiced by nearly a quarter of those interviewed is no real surprise. Some respondents noted that they thought the police were responding more effectively:

The police are trying to respond better, they say they have more policemen walking the beat up here. Mind you, that's what most people complain about most of the time. (Female, 50s)

Others were rather more sceptical

They should promise people £5 if they ever spot the beat bobby. Mind you, I'm telling you, they wouldn't have to pay much out (Male, 60s)

We have seen this before, the demand for 'reassurance policing' is a very familiar feature of community safety surveys. It points to a number of issues but, on cost-effectiveness grounds, is often resisted by local police managers. An equally common complaint, voiced in the survey, and reiterated by many people's final comments concerned the allegedly deteriorating standards of behaviour by young people and the disciplinary failings of their parents.

The kids up here are a bloody nuisance. (Male, 60s)

They should change various laws to make people, and their parents a bit more responsible for their actions. (Female, 50s)

I just don't like it, you get a lot of trouble from the local kids, being rude, throwing stones at your house, messing up other people's property. I tried to grow some flowers in my garden but the bloody kids just come and snap them off. (Female, 30s)

They should get kids in off the street at a certain time of night. That's when the trouble is. There's no discipline in some of the homes, or at school. (Female, 30s)

There are a lot of really unruly youngsters up here - they can be real trouble. (Female, 40s)

I worry about my kids getting bullied, there are some right little sods up here. (Female, 20s)

The young people can be quite intimidating, hanging around in groups. I'm sure they do it on purpose. (Female, 50s)

I don't think anything much will make a difference, unless parents start to teach their children a bit of respect. (Male, 40s)

More for young people to do

Opinions about young people were fairly evenly split, whereas 11% ventured the view that the problem was largely one of indiscipline, 10% of our

respondents felt that the main problems were the lack of opportunities and leisure activities or facilities on the estate for young people.

There are few real things for young people to do. Nowhere for them to go. Meet other people, hang out, get advice. That sort of thing. (Female, 30s)

Overall improvement?

As a final issue we asked people whether, all things considered, the CCTV system had improved the crime and disorder problems on the estate. Twenty-three per cent of our sample thought that things had improved, 48% said things were not improved and 22% were not sure. Amongst the comments of those who thought things were improved were the following. As can be seen from the comments themselves, a wide range of views emerged. Even some of the comments of people referring to improvements were somewhat conditional in their enthusiasm.

I do think there's been a bit less of the nuisance from local kids. (Male, 30s)

Since the CCTV cameras were put up I think there's been a bit less of the car racing. That's one thing that is a bit better. (Female, 50s)

it's improved out the back because they've got a camera out there but its got worse down the front with kids setting cars alight. We never had that sort of thing before. They alley ways, though, have always been a problem. (Female, 30s)

Its probably a bit better, you don't seem to get quite so many teenagers hanging around in big groups. (Female, 40s)

Well... maybe it makes the kids think twice before doing something stupid... if they think at all. (Female, 40s)

It's probably quieted down a bit, but I don't think it makes much difference to the druggies. (Female, 20s)

Its a lot quieter. (Female, 50s)

They slowed the cars down on XX road that probably did more good, made it a lot safer. (Male, 40s)

It now seems quieter in the evenings. (Female, 70s)

I don't think there's been so much vandalism over at the school. That's good (Male, 40s)

They seem to have stopped the kids throwing stones at the buses. (Female 50s)

They don't speed around with cars as much as they used to. (Female, 60s)

People are aware that their behaviour is being observed so they might get them to moderate what they do. (Female, 30s)

In addition, a number of the residents in one of the blocks of flats commented to the effect that *"It's been much better since they've been able to keep the kids out of the buildings"* A change which relates less to the CCTV system than to other security measures installed in the blocks.

No improvement

A number of people whilst suggesting that the cameras had appeared to have some influence on crime and disorder were concerned about the so called 'displacement effects'.

In certain areas it has stopped crime a bit, but they are turning them to other areas, and the police are never catching the ones who are taking cars, its still happening all the time. (Female, 50s)

There's been two murders since the cameras - they didn't stop them, did they? It would take a lot to stop the slobes around here, they just don't care. (Male, 60s)

Its got worse, they had to move the bus-stop and even an empty house right under the camera got smashed up. (Female, 50s)

/ think they were meant to deter crime but I don't think they do. I can't say I've noticed any changes. (Male, 30s)

/ think its just a waste of time and money. No-one really gives a toss about what goes on up here. (Male, 40s)

/ think they've just moved the problems to where there are no cameras. (Female, 50s)

Maybe they'll think twice about doing stuff in the view of cameras, but it'll probably just send 'em to where the cameras can't see 'em. (Female, 20s)

You get cars chasing around here at stupid speeds and the cameras have made no difference. (Female, 30s)

What bothers me about the cameras is that, if the cameras up the other end push the kids from up there down here then we might get more trouble because of it. I don't know if its all been thought through fully. We've not had no trouble so far, but the cameras might just push the kids down this way. (Male, 60s)

People don't seem to care any more, they don't seem to have any pride and can't be bothered to help do anything about the drug problems, kids playing truant and causing trouble. That's what's worst. Young people with nothing to do and no-one cares about anything if it doesn't really affect them directly. (Female, 50s)

As we discovered in the initial survey, a number of residents had particular concerns about the location of the cameras. In some cases respondents expressed a sense of vulnerability and some were asking for additional cameras to cover their own houses.

My worry is, because we havent got a camera out here, covering us, my worry is that the trouble-makers will all start congregating down here and causing a nuisance. (Male, 50s)

I'd be happier if we had a camera up right outside us as well. (Female, 40s)

The trouble is the cameras don't really cover the closes and the alley ways and that's where you get more of the problems, not out in the open up the road. (Female, 40s)

The cameras are hopeless because of all the little twittens and closed areas where its easy for troublemakers to hide. (Female, 60s)

And finally, there were those who referred to particular incidents to illustrate their doubts about the CCTV cameras.

There was a woman raped by the entrance to the building. The police sealed off the crime area but they said there was no CCTV evidence because the camera was not viewing that area. Well... that about says it, if the cameras cant see, what use are they? (Male, 40s)

We've had a murder, a bit of a riot, the buses were stopped 'cos the kids were chucking stones at them, all this since the cameras were put up. The money could have been used for something a bit more use. More police presence up here would be a start. (Female, 40s)

Outcomes and Conclusions

As we have noted in the introduction, the Whitehawk estate had gained a reputation, of sorts, for its deprivation, crime and delinquency problems going back many years. However, the decision to seek CCTV funding for this area has to be seen in something of a wider context. This includes not just the crime and disorder problems of the area but, above all local political dynamics and the evolving CCTV strategy of Sussex police. Whether, in the longer term, the decision to install cameras in a residential area (virtually all of the other CCTV installations in Sussex involved town centres, business and retail areas) will be judged appropriate or successful goes beyond the bounds of this more direct evaluation. However, in the short term at least, a deterrent or direct crime prevention impact arising from the installation of the cameras is difficult to ascertain.

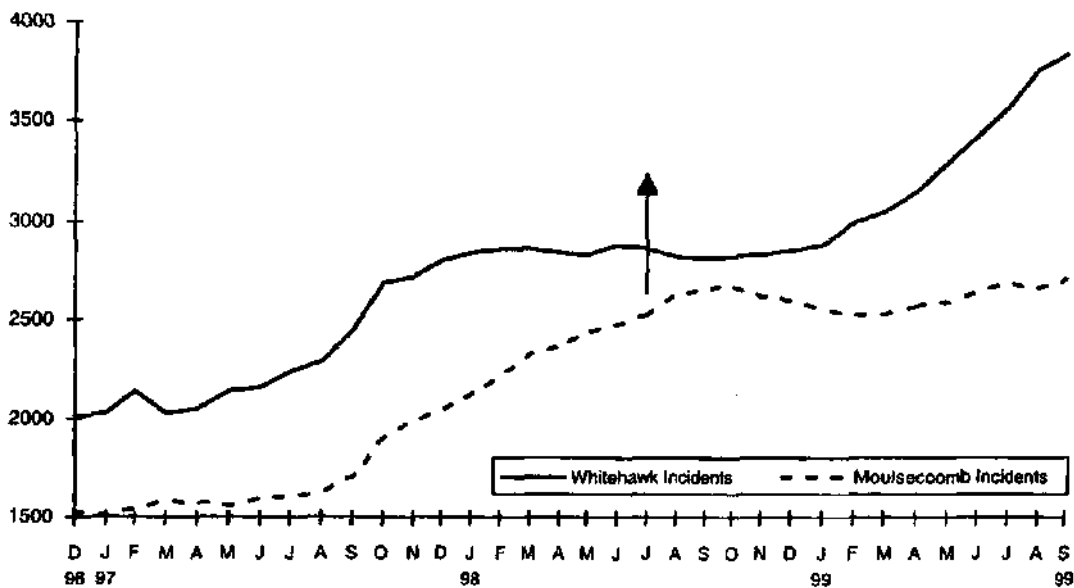
As the 'crimes' and 'incidents' data in the following graphs indicate the broad pattern of "incidents reported to the police"¹ between December 1996 and September 1999 was rising in both the Whitehawk and Moulsecoomb council estates. Both estates reveal similar trends. Incidents can be a better measure of what is going on in a given area, they reveal those things that concern the public and which they refer to the police - or they reveal police activity on the ground, whether or not the incidents ever come to be classed as 'crimes'. In this sense the incidents are a better measure of what is going on, what the police are doing and what concerns the public.

On the Whitehawk estate the incident figures (12 month moving averages) level off from Autumn 1997 until March 1999. This levelling off begins almost a year before the ten cameras were installed, so is difficult to attribute to the CCTV scheme. The stable trend is then sustained for another eight months before rising significantly once again through most of 1999. On the Moulsecoomb estate, by contrast, while the overall increase is significantly less, there is no 'levelling out' of the incident trend during 1998 on the contrary the stabilisation of the trend in Moulsecoomb (an estate without CCTV) occurs just as the trend picks up again in Whitehawk. It is difficult to account for these patterns, the two estates are similar in many ways judging by population, geography, reputation and crime and disorder issues.

At first sight, Moulsecoomb (without CCTV) saw a reduced rate of incidents overall and a stable trend during 1999 whereas (following a six-month 'honeymoon period' - which we have noted in other studies) the CCTV scheme in Whitehawk appears not to have prevented a rising pattern of incidents emerging. It may be, of course, that the installation of the cameras increased the frequency with which the police became aware of incidents (thereby implying that the cameras did not 'prevent' disorder) alternatively, the installation of the cameras may have increased the confidence and willingness of residents to report disorderly incidents.

Graph 1

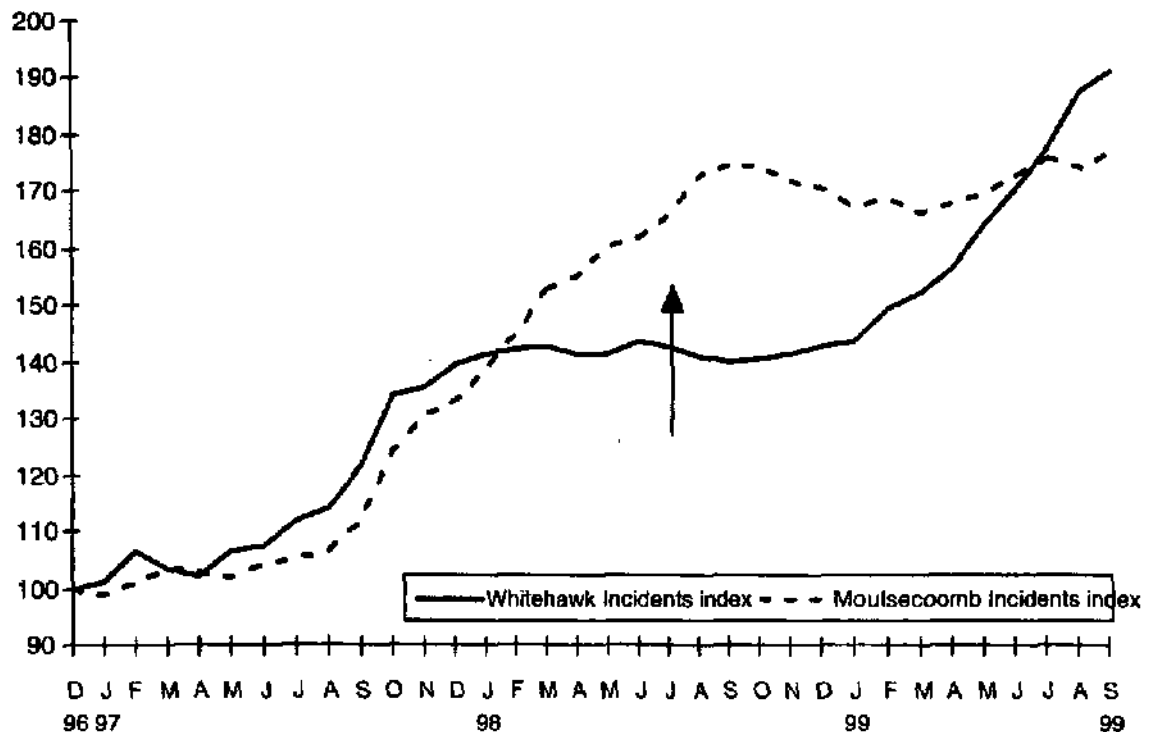
12 month moving averages: recorded incidents in the two estates
December 1996 - September 1999.



Looking at the same incident figures, this time presented as a percentage index (Graph 2) a more interesting picture emerges. Until the beginning of 1998 the incident trends on the two estates appear remarkably similar. From the early months of 1998, however, the Whitehawk trend flattens out for the whole of 1999 whilst the Moulsecoomb trend continues to rise. It may be possible to account for this in a number of ways. Even prior to the installation of the cameras, the planning and development of the CCTV system in Whitehawk may have impacted upon the levels of recorded disorder (either the number of incidents or the reporting and recording of them). Once the cameras are in place, this effect is sustained (the supposed 'honeymoon' period) after which the trend reverts to its 1997 'pre-CCTV' rate of increase. Given the clear 'two-step' pattern revealed by the figures it seems appropriate to note that something impacted upon the Whitehawk incident trend in late 1997 but this effect ceased around the end of 1998. In other CCTV surveys we have undertaken, as well as in other towns and cities around the UK, this is not an unfamiliar pattern (Squires, 2000; Brown, 1995)

Graph 2

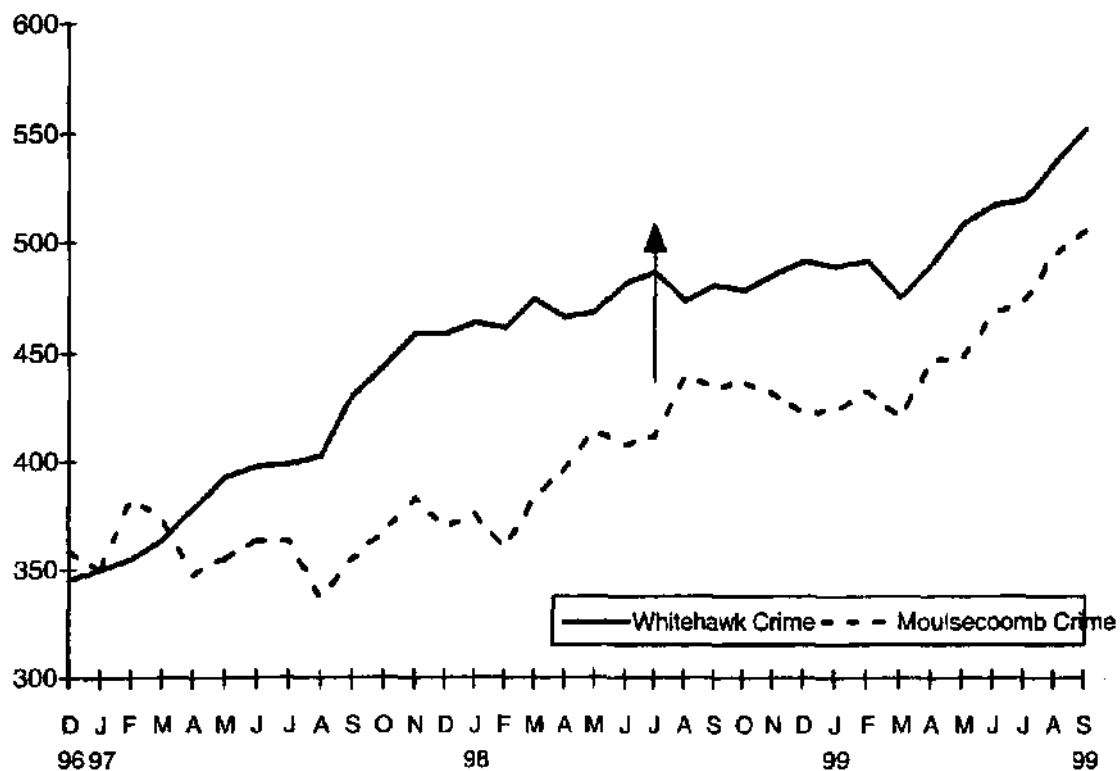
Index for 12 month moving averages: recorded incidents in the two estates
December 1996 - September 1999.



Turning now to the 'recorded crime' figures. Graph three presents the 12 month moving averages for the two estates and reveals a similar pattern for the two areas. In January 1997, each estate experienced the same number of crimes and over the next 32 months both estates saw an overall increase: in Whitehawk by almost 60%, and in Moulsecoomb by around 40%. As can be seen from the graph, the Whitehawk trend pulls away during 1997, the camera installation in mid 1998 makes precious little difference (with the exception of a brief post-installation dip of around 5%) and the two trend lines continue to rise again from early 1999.

Graph 3

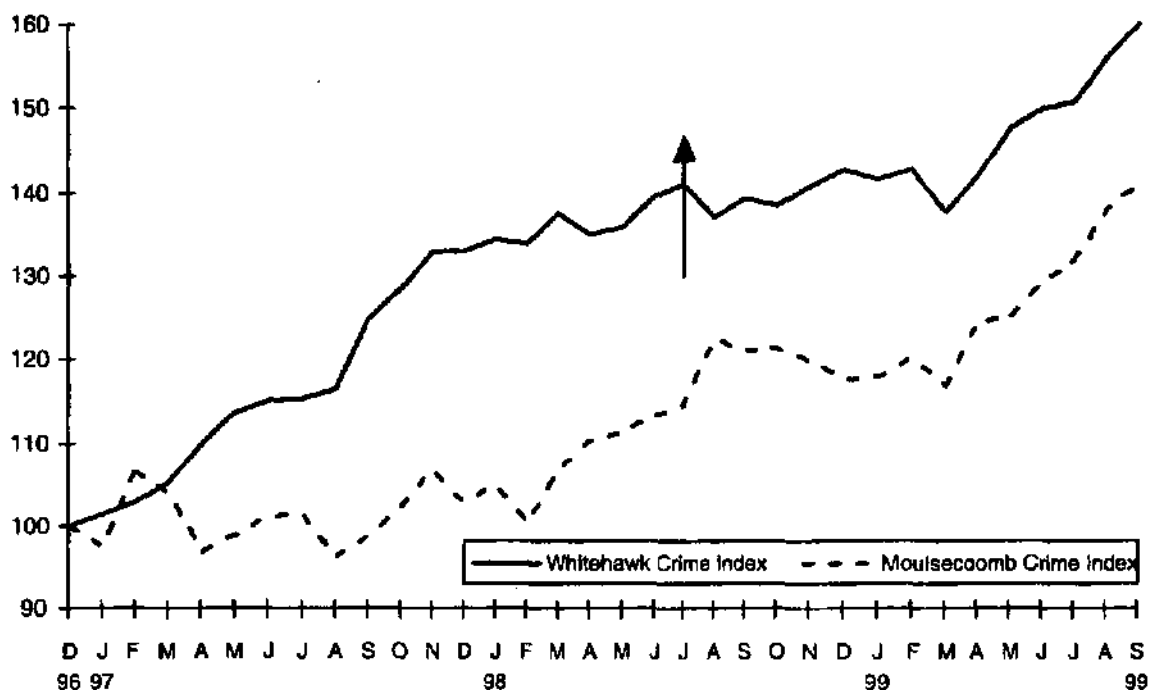
12 month moving averages: recorded crime in the two estates
December 1996 - September 1999.



The fourth graph presents the moving average crime totals as a percentage index, even more clearly accentuating the differences between Whitehawk and Moulsecoomb during 1998, followed by the resumption of parallel increasing trends during 1999.

Graph 4

Index for 12 month moving averages: recorded crime in the two estates.
December 1996 - September 1999.



And finally

Shortly after the evaluation work for this report was completed, and amidst the rising rates of crime and disorder on the Whitehawk estate an incident occurred, described locally as a 'riot' which saw a substantial number of young men in physical confrontation with the police. During and after the incident a significant number of arrests were made and a number of the so-called ringleaders eventually received custodial sentences. Reportedly, a number of the CCTV cameras on the estate proved particularly effective in recording evidence of offences committed. The cameras proved useful in helping the police identify key perpetrators whilst also providing good evidence for the ensuing court cases. Somewhat against the grain of the broader conclusions reached in this evaluation, the CCTV scheme proved its worth as an operational policing tool (for identification and evidence gathering) rather than as a crime prevention tool. Police felt the camera system vindicated by this incident alone although, judging from the tenor of many respondents' comments, reported earlier in this report, many residents were not so sure. In the event, however, the temporary incarceration of a number of 'key offenders' on the estate contributed significantly to a reduction in crime and disorder figures in Whitehawk during 2000 and 2001.

Subsequently, both the Whitehawk and Moulsecoomb estates were incorporated into the East Brighton 'New Deal for Communities' area (EB4U) which saw the introduction of a new multi-agency community safety team, the introduction of neighbourhood wardens and a dedicated team of police neighbourhood support officers. Working in conjunction with the Housing Services department the EB4U community safety team attempts to co-ordinate the enforcement of 'anti-social behaviour' and 'acceptable behaviour contract' initiatives across the 'New Deal' area. This activity has been subject to a separate evaluation (Stephen and Squires, 2002) - the estate continues to be a fertile ground for social research. By all accounts, however, crime and disorder trends and juvenile nuisance and anti-social behaviour rates on the two estates have continued to fall overall. Notwithstanding this, and perhaps despite the rather ambiguous outcome of this CCTV evaluation for Whitehawk, during 2002, plans were submitted for a new residential CCTV scheme within the Moulsecoomb estate.

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