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BusTag- Stopping Criminal Damage to London Buses

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METROPOLITAN POLICE AND TRANSPORT FOR LONDON: BUSTAG – STOPPING CRIMINAL DAMAGE TO LONDON BUSES

An Interactive Qualifying Project Report

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by

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ABSTRACT

Vandalism, particularly graffiti, has become a large problem on the public transportation system of London. In order to combat this problem, the Metropolitan Police and Transport for London together created a unit called BusTag. BusTag has been quite successful in apprehending offenders with the use of surveillance cameras on all the buses. The next step in stopping vandalism on buses is in preventing the act before it occurs. To do that, one must understand the motivation behind such crimes. Only with this information can effective prevention methods be established

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1. INTRODUCTION

Crime is like a triangle. On the top of the triangle are the worst sorts of crimes like murder, while the bottom is where small crimes such as graffiti and vandalism exist. If nothing is done to stop the smaller crimes, then it will become more difficult to stop the larger crimes. If someone starts vandalizing as a youth and gets away with it, as they get older they could become bolder until they are near the top of the triangle committing more serious crimes. If this person is stopped at the vandalism stage, then they are more likely to become a law abiding citizen. If the bottom of triangle is cut off and small crimes are eliminated, then there is nothing to build on and the worse crimes will decline. Applying this theory, one finds that vandalism and small crimes must be stopped.

In 1971, vandalism was described as "intentionally or recklessly destroying or damaging any property belonging to another without lawful excuse" (Department for Transport, 2006). Transport for London reported that 24% of recorded crimes in 2006 involved vandalism and that 29% of all cases of vandalism occurred on buses and other transportation vehicles (Department for Transport, 2006). Vandalism on London buses involves primarily broken windows, etching, damaged seats, and graffiti (Department for Transport, 2006). The annual losses associated with vandalism on London buses has been estimated to be approximately £10 million (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2007), including the costs of cleaning, repairs, surveillance, reduced revenues because of people's fear of crime, and revenues due to cancellation and removal of services (Department for Transport, 2006).

Recognizing the need to deal with vandalism and other criminal activities on public transportation, the Transport for London began working with the Metropolitan Police Service and created the Transport Operational Command Unit in 2002. The main goal of the TOCU is to maintain the safety of the public on buses, taxis, and minicabs and to enforce the laws protecting the property of the city (Metropolitan Police Service, n.d.). The TOCU has created a special program called Operation BusTag, to deal specifically with the growing problem of vandalism on buses.

Currently Operation BusTag has a system in place wherein buses are monitored by closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras. These cameras aid in identifying offenders, making arrests, and successfully prosecuting offenders for vandalism in general. In addition to the use of cameras to catch perpetrators in the act, Operation BusTag also incorporates preventive measures

such as public education and outreach through local schools. Operation BusTag has developed a short DVD and PowerPoint presentation for use in local schools to educate students about the seriousness of graffiti. Despite the early indications of success, however, the Metropolitan Police Services is continually looking for ways in which to improve the program.

Consequently, the goal of this project is to help the Metropolitan Police Service explore ways to enhance the effectiveness of Operation BusTag. To achieve this goal, the proposed project will:

- Examine the current structure and procedure of Operation BusTag;

- Explore the possible factors that may encourage or discourage youths to commit acts of vandalism through a series of interviews with BusTag staff, school students, Safer Neighbourhood Teams, Safer Transport Teams, and other experts;

- Evaluate how outreach efforts to schools, including the use of the DVD and PowerPoint presentations, have been received by students, teachers, and administrators in London schools; and,

- Review other anti-vandalism programs that have been developed elsewhere in London and the United Kingdom to identify innovative features that might be adapted for use in Operation BusTag.

Based on the results of these tasks, the project team will develop recommendations about how the Metropolitan Police Service might enhance the effectiveness of the BusTag program.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is much debate as to why young offenders participate in activities that violate the law, such as vandalism and graffiti. Vandalism and graffiti are two distinct but closely related activities. In the United Kingdom, a legal definition of vandalism is "behaviour which causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more people who are not in the same household as the perpetrator" (Anti-Social Behaviour, 2007). On the other hand "graffiti is a form of visual communication, usually illegal, involving the unauthorized marking of public space by an individual or group" (Purbeck District Council, 2005). Graffiti is, therefore, a particular form of vandalism since it involves marking the property of another without consent. Vandalism can be seen in almost every city throughout the world.

Before exploring ways of preventing vandalism and punishing people who commit acts of vandalism, it is important to define how graffiti constitutes vandalism. Usually, a 'tagger' (one who sprays graffiti) will put a series of letters together which represents the 'tagger's' surname (Da'Amico & Block, 2007). For these types of 'taggers,' graffiti is normally used as a way to "mark their territory" (Da'Amico & Block, 2007). Also, these 'taggers' typically mark government owned properties such as public buses rather than privately owned property. Da'Amico and Block argue that this type of 'tagging' should not be legally considered to be vandalism. They view it as free speech against an unjust government instead of social disorder. If the 'tagger' is young enough to not have to pay taxes, the 'tagger' does not care how much it costs to repair the damage they have caused. However, the 'tagger's' parents have to pay taxes and it is their tax pounds that are paying for the repairs. When the 'tagger' becomes an adult, he will then become the person to pay to repair the buses and may think twice about damaging a bus again.

As with most problems, in this case graffiti, there are always two sides to the story. There is still a debate as to whether a graffiti 'artist' should be punished for their actions. Da'Amico & Block would argue that the perpetrator should not be punished since they claim that graffiti is not vandalism. Graffiti, however, also causes harm to the community by stimulating fear and crime regardless of whether the 'tagger' has malicious intentions. Furthermore, vandalism and graffiti are a large financial burden on any local economy or organization. Nexus, a bus company in London, estimates that it costs £400,000 a year just to remove the graffiti from its buses (Department for Transport, 2006). In Preston, England, local authorities estimate that it

costs £450 per day to clean up graffiti and repair damages from vandalism in the local parks, playgrounds and leisure facilities (Preston City Council, 2006).

2.0.1. Costs of Vandalism

The true cost of vandalism is more than just the expenses related to clean up and repairs. Vandalism constitutes approximately 29% of all the crimes reported to the Police in Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland (Dumfries and Galloway Community, 2005). The costs of vandalism between the years 2002-2003 were £129,557.96 (Dumfries and Galloway Community, 2005). It was reported that the costs rose to £144,245.57 between the years of 2003 and 2004 (Dumfries and Galloway Community, 2005). This increasing cost and impact of vandalism has hindered the development of the town. For example, due to the willful destruction of a sports facility in Annan, proposals for new developments of the facility and surrounding area by the Sports and Leisure Trust have been postponed (Dumfries and Galloway Community, 2005). Vandalism has also adversely affected the local economy and people's perception of community safety (Dumfries and Galloway Community, 2005). The amount of visible vandalism within the community creates an image that can negatively affect the tourism of the area and thus decrease the yearly income the town collects from tourism which, in turn, raises local taxes (Dumfries and Galloway Community, 2005).

2.0.2. Types of Vandalism

Vandalism is not only the physical destruction of property but it also has social consequences. Physical destruction refers to any damage that is willfully done to the urban landscape such as broken windows or ruined seats (Sampson, 1999). According to criminologist Wesley G. Skogan, crimes such as graffiti fall into the category of social disorder (Skogan, 1992). Crimes of social disorder are signaled by groups of teenagers congregating in the streets or public harassment of other citizens, especially women. While graffiti also has a physical element, the more important issue is its social aspect since it could lead to an increased crime rate.

Within the United Kingdom, vandalism falls under the legal category of anti-social behavior. This is because in 2003, the government saw fit to create a measure to address the concerns of communities called the Anti-Social Behaviour Act. This act made illegal any activity that might cause distress to another person outside your household and in doing so covered issues from vandalism to excessive noise and obscene remarks or gestures. Some measures include shutting down crack houses, scattering of groups causing harassment, and extending penalty notices for disorder to sixteen and seventeen year olds (Anti-Social Behaviour , 2004). This act is used in England and Wales and a similar act was established in Scotland in 2004.

There are many different types of vandalism, falling under the headings of social and physical, which can lead to different results in crime. These categories can be described as vindictive, playful, tactical/ideological, and malicious (Cohen, 1973). Playful vandalism includes graffiti and breaking windows. As suggested by the name, this type of vandalism is not meant to directly harm anyone in particular. It is usually caused by teens simply spraying a social icon or their name. While it is extremely important to prevent all types of vandalism, playful vandalism appears to be the type BusTag and Transport for London most often encounter.

2.0.3. Legal Preventative Methods

So far, as a method of further preventing vandalism, vandals have experienced a few different types of punishment. The most common punishment for vandals is community service where they must spend a specified amount of time removing graffiti and cleaning up the city. The purpose of this punishment is to show vandals the damage they are causing while, at the same time, helping to clean up after themselves.

While most punishments consist of community service and a fine, in some extreme cases jail time is used as a deterrent. In order to combat high levels of vandalism in different Australian states, punishments can extend to the maximum sentence of five years in prison for obscene graffiti (Callinan, 2002). Other punishments around the globe include revoking an offender's driver's license and requiring offender to keep specific property graffiti-free and clean for up to a year (Callinan, 2002). In some locations, people can be punished for owning spray paint and in Southern Australia it is illegal to sell spray paint to a minor (Callinan, 2002). Most of these

harsh graffiti laws were made to combat graffiti on private property as oppose to government owned property.

Under U.K. law, there is a system put in place to allow a second and even third chance for youths who are only making foolish mistakes. The legal terms reprimand and final warning can be used on a youth's first and second offense respectively. So long as a youth admits to what they have done and shows remorse, the magistrate will not prosecute. By extending the reprimand or final warning, the youth's record will be kept clean. While this system protects good children from ruining their lives, it also shields the children who maliciously vandalize and gives them two instances where they are not punished for committing the crime.

2.1. Psycho-Sociological Theories

Because vandalism and graffiti are often committed by young people, many theories have been developed in attempts to explain their behavior. In order to better understand the problem and form a theory, the "On Track" program, which deals with high crime areas in England and Wales, created a recent survey on crime. The survey included questions on acts of vandalism, and was distributed to 30,000 youths between the ages of seven and sixteen (Armstrong, et al., 2005). The study revealed that from age seven to eleven, the percentage of students committing acts of vandalism doubled from 20% to 40% (Armstrong, et al., 2005). Surprisingly, the study showed that females committed acts of vandalism nearly as often as males (Armstrong, et al., 2005). Finally, survey results demonstrated that Caucasians and children of African descent were twice as likely to vandalize as those of Asian descent (Armstrong, et al., 2005). Another study found that children commit acts of vandalism, such as defacing bathroom walls, because of boredom, a desire to take risk, or the thrill of breaking the law (Headley 2003). Headley found that peer pressure encouraged youths to engage in acts of vandalism, including writing graffiti (Headley, 2003).

Another important survey was conducted by William Bates in 1962 in St. Louis, Missouri to explore the relationship between social status, race, and vandalism. Bates interviewed seventeen years olds who had criminal records and used the Shevky-Bell index to gauge social status. The Shevky-Bell index is a classification device to measure degrees of social differences between census tract populations. The study found that social rank was a predictor of the rate of

vandalism but the association was weaker than previously reported. More significantly, the study found that race was a better predictor of the prevalence of vandalism than was social status (Bates, 1962).

Richard Johnson, a child-psychology author, summarizes three broad schools of thought as to what psychological reasons would cause a young offender to turn to behavior that deviates from societal norms. These theories are the Strain Theory, the Subculture Theory and the Control Theory (Johnson, 1979).

2.1.1. Strain Theory

The Strain Theory can most easily be summarized as delinquency as a result of society's pressure on an individual. The Strain Theory is supported by Robert K. Merton in his 1938 work as well as Albert K. Cohen in 1955, who believe that illegal activity is the result of a person's own feelings of inadequacy. The offender acts out as a response to the frustration of experiencing or expecting failure (Johnson, 1979). According to this theory, the individual's goals mirror those goals which society has deemed important, but this individual is so 'strained' or burdened that his only means of obtaining those goals are through illegal or illegitimate means (Johnson, 1979).

The Strain Theory has gained most of its support from those psychologists looking at links between social status and deviant behavior. It has been noted by sociologists and psychologists that those individuals who are more burdened economically, both youths and adults, are more likely to commit crimes (Newman, 1980). Under the Strain Theory, it is believed that people in both the lower and middle class have the same aspirations, but the lower class does not expect as much of themselves (Johnson, 1979). This discrepancy between expectation and aspiration is what creates the feeling of failure that is associated with the Strain Theory and causes people from families of lower income to turn toward illegal activity.

While this would explain such crimes as minor theft or even instances of violence, the theory does little to explain tendencies toward vandalism. The Strain Theory promotes the idea that an individual turns to illegal activities as a means to gain that which society says they should possess. If the youth were to commit vandalism, they would gain nothing personally, but would

merely take away from others. For this reason, the strain theory can be used to describe youth behavior, but cannot determine motivations for youths.

2.1.2. Subculture Theory

The second theory of importance for classifying criminal youths is the subculture theory. This theory is supported by those who believe that there exists a small culture in which the individual lives. The societal norms of this subculture are different from those of society as a whole and the deviant behavior of the individual is adherence to the norms of the friends or acquaintances that make up this subculture (Johnson, 1979). This theory offers a direct motivation for vandalism among young offenders and gains support among such individuals as Ronald L. Akers in his 1973 book, *Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Approach*, and Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald Cressey in their 1974 book, *Criminology*.

One of the important factors of the Subculture Theory is that it is very closely related to the Strain Theory in that both deal with external pressure from society. The key difference between them is that the Strain Theory looks at the individual as being under pressure from society to meet various expectations while the Subculture Theory perceives some individuals under economical strain as being part of smaller subcultures within the whole of society. Rather than turning to crime as a way to achieve society's goals, those individuals who are part of these subcultures simply believe criminal activity is socially acceptable (Johnson, 1979). Under the subculture theory, children raised within these subcultures grow up believing that it is acceptable to commit crimes and thus do not understand that it is against the law and in opposition to what the majority of society feels is acceptable.

Furthermore, the Subculture Theory is supported by those psychologists who believe in the idea of "peer pressure" as a cause of delinquency. Within the Subculture Theory, a group of friends can be considered a subculture where the prevailing societal norms are those that the group seems to follow. In this instance, a young person can commit a crime because the group leads him or her to believe that it is acceptable (Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998).

2.1.3. Control Theory

The final theory is the Control Theory, which could prove to be the most useful. The control theorist believes that youths act against the law because they do not have a system in place that would draw them into positive activities or provide them with a desire to succeed. The illegal tendencies are a result of too much freedom and no control (Johnson, 1979). Supporters of the Control Theory also include the idea of an inner sense of societal norms or conscience. The conscience is determined through experiences, both positive and negative, by family, school teachers and other students. Supporters believe that through family, teachers and other students, the behavior of a student can be controlled (Johnson, 1979).

This theory is further supported by the research of psychologists Patricia Harrison and Gopalakrishnan Narayan in their study of adolescent behavior. They found that students who were participating in school or sports and, therefore, were focused on conventional norms for success also were less prone to deviant behavior (Harrison & Narayan, 2003). They found that while some sports teams increased the rate of drinking and sexual activity, they were almost always marked by a decrease in violent behavior and vandalism. Harrison and Narayan determined that the programs that the students were involved in gave them a reason to stay out of trouble.

Those psychologists and sociologist who support the control theory, such as Travis Hirschi in his 1969 work or Scott Briar and Irving Pilliavin in their 1965 work, believe that vandalism, drug use, alcohol use and sexual activity at an early age are due to a lack of motivation and feelings of inadequacy (Briar & Piliavin, 1965). Family, school, sports and other extra-curricular activities give young people a feeling of belonging and a feeling of self-worth (Hirschi, 1969). Each of these aspects of a youth's life is necessary to prevent criminal behavior.

2.1.4. Differences between Theories

These theories are broad theories and in certain situations, all theories apply; there are, however, several differences which can cause one theory to be more consistent with a particular situation than the others. One of the most important differences between these theories is the issue of deliberate violation. Under both the Subculture Theory and the Strain Theory, the young person's behavior can be explained through external forces instead of an internal decision. Under

the Strain Theory, the young person turns to crime as the only means he has left to achieve society's unrealistic goals. In the young person's mind, committing the crime is acceptable because he perceives it as being his only option (Newman, 1980). In this sense, Control Theory is different because the violation is deliberate. Without any system in place to control the child, he purposely and knowingly violates the law as a means of gaining attention and seeking discipline (Goldstein, 1996).

Furthermore, the Strain and Control Theories differ based on the support they receive from knowledgeable persons. The Strain Theory is supported by those who seek economical reform. Within the Strain Theory, the economic separation between classes is viewed as a constraint daunting enough to cause a person to turn toward illegal activities (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). The Control Theory is supported by those such as Ivan F. Nye, James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil J. Olson, who seek reform in school and families. By increasing family involvement in a child's life and school monitoring, one can deter children from committing crimes (Nye, Short, & Olson, 1958).

2.1.5. Important Implications of Control Theory

Children learn their sense of morality during their early years when they are most dependent and most easily influenced by those around them (Newman, 1980). If the family bond is strong and the child is taught the difference between right and wrong, then the child will be less likely to commit crimes (Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998). Furthermore, when an adolescent feels that there are people who have expectations of them, they are less likely to commit crime (Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998).

Schools are another place where children look for acceptance and motivation. As part of their study, Patricia Harrison and Gopalakrishnan Narayan showed that those students who do well in school and are motivated to study and focus academically are also significantly less likely to participate in illegal activities (Harrison & Narayan, 2003). Furthermore, within the school systems, there is an intrinsic reward system and a strict punishment system which create a desire for students to conform and actively seek out participation in productive activities (Goldstein, 1996). This system can then be translated into the outside world to create productive citizens.

2.1.6. Concluding Thoughts on Adolescent Anti-Social Behavior

Based on the review of existing psychological literature, it is clear that family, school and extra-curricular activities can play pivotal roles in explaining why young people sometimes choose to vandalize property or engage in other anti-social behavior. Within the Control Theory, these central focuses all provide a driving force needed to prevent anti-social behavior and vandalism. For the Subculture Theory, family and friends form subcultures where youths can seek membership, and the societal norms of those subcultures dictate the behavior of the youth. Under the Strain Theory, these school and family subcultures determine the expectations for the individual and determine the significance of the various failures of the individual. Regardless of which theory is preferred, these elements of a youth's life play an important role in determining the likelihood of criminal behavior. Families who have a stake in the child's future are more likely to keep them away from illegal activities. Schools with an engaging curriculum that inspires and motivates students contribute to keeping young people from participating in illegal activities. Finally, extra-curricular activities can create a feeling of self-worth, a sense of belonging and provide a child with something that could be lost were they to act illegally.

2.2. Prevention Methods

While each of these theories presents both a psychological background combined with a focus on society's role, society as a whole will largely determine how individuals will choose to act as well. By shaping the environment in which young people grow up, one can influence their behavior. This has been tried in several different anti-vandalism programs around the world. The programs relied on the socio-environmental theories to effectively influence the way that people behave.

2.2.1. Broken Window Theory

Criminologists James Q. Wilson and George Kelling proposed a concept that is widely used in the prevention of graffiti and vandalism called the "Broken Window Theory" (Gladwell, 2002, p. 141). This theory states that crime is the result of disorder. For example, if one window is broken and goes unfixed, more windows will be broken because perpetrators get the sense that

no one cares about the windows (Gladwell, 2002, p. 141). The "Broken Window Theory" maintains that a criminal is not in his 'own world' committing crimes, but rather commits them in response to the environment around him (Gladwell, 2002, p. 150). This means that the criminal will be more likely to commit a crime, or engage in vandalism, if it is already seen as acceptable. If there is already graffiti on a wall, then the likelihood of more being added is much higher than for a blank wall. Following this line of thought, it can be seen that if an area is already prone to vandalism, that the area will give the impression that no one cares about crime, and more crimes are bound to occur. In other words, minor problems such as graffiti can lead to much more serious crimes occurring, it is, therefore, essential to remove graffiti immediately (Gladwell, 2002, p. 151).

2.2.2. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

In addition to "Broken Window Theory", the overall environment is essential in reducing crime and vandalism. The concept of "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design" (CPTED) was first introduced in 1971 by criminologist C. Ray Jeffrey (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, pp. 23-4). Jeffrey believes that crime can be reduced by implementing various environmental factors. He makes the claim that the employment of light posts in 17th Century Paris and moats around Medieval European castles were examples of environmental design. The light posts made it easier to see a criminal so he was less likely to commit a crime. The moats impeded access to the townspeople from the potential criminals (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, pp. 23-4). Jeffrey declares that a criminal will look to see how obvious his crime will be in order to ascertain if he should commit the crime or not (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 25). The main four aspects of CPTED are surveillance, egress/moment restriction, activity support, and territorial (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 30). Surveillance is when a criminal can be easily seen so the likelihood of him committing the crime is lessened (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 30). The idea of egress/movement restriction is that if the criminal sees that there are very limited escape routes, he is less likely to commit a crime there. Activity support suggests the idea that if a would-be criminal is involved in community activities, he is less likely to perpetrate a crime, because he is already a part of the community (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 30). CPTED also states that if an area looks nice, a potential offender is less likely to commit a crime in that area

(Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 30). This last aspect of CPTED is essentially "The Broken Window Theory". The concepts presented in CPTED are also applicable to crimes of vandalism.

2.2.3. Broken Window Theory Implementation

While these ideals about vandalism and crime prevention seem to be valid, some examples of successful implementation are needed. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the crime rate in the New York City Subway system was very high. In 1990, there were 20,000 felonies committed on the New York Subway system (Gladwell, 2002, pp. 136-7) as compared to the 2,228 in 2007 (Bialik, 2007). In the middle of the 1980s, David Gunn was appointed Director of the New York City Subways, and immediately focused on the problem of graffiti on the subway system (Gladwell, 2002, p. 142). The public was perplexed as to why he was focusing on non-violent property crime when more serious violent crimes were being perpetrated on the subway system. David Gunn responded that "the graffiti was symbolic of the collapse of the system" (Gladwell, 2002, p. 142). Gunn was a firm believer in the "Broken Window Theory", and wanted to implement it in the New York Subways. He decided to start with one train line and work to fix the problem from there (Gladwell, 2002).

He began by making sure that the number seven train that ran from Queens to midtown Manhattan had no graffiti on it, even if he had to take a train out of service in order to clean it (Gladwell, 2002, p. 143). Gunn describes an instance where trains would be out of service in a resting yard in Harlem and youths would spend three nights creating large graffiti murals on the sides of the trains. When this happened he would paint them over, which sent the message that there would be no tolerance for graffiti (Gladwell, 2002, p. 143). After David Gunn's crackdown on graffiti, coupled with police focusing on petty crimes such as turnstile-jumping (i.e., going onto the train without paying the fare) the 1996 crime rate in the New York City Subway system dropped to 25% of its 1990 peak (Gladwell, 2002, pp. 136-7).

Besides the New York City Subway case study, the "Broken Window Theory" has also been proven to work in other major metropolitan cities. The Washington, D.C. Transportation Department removes graffiti on all its trains immediately when it is noticed and has a very low crime rate in its subway system (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 32).

2.2.4. Opposition to the Broken Window Theory

Although these examples provide strong evidence that the "Broken Window Theory" is essential in the prevention of graffiti and crime, some people feel that it is not effective as an overall mode of operation. In their study of the crime in Frankfurt's train stations, Aaron J. Schräger and David A. Schmeer noted that crime was apparent because of the overall negative atmosphere in the train stations due to the amounts of graffiti and trash present in them. They felt that crime could be drastically reduced if the "Broken Window Theory" was implemented and thus the overall appearance of the train stations improved (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 83). When they presented the findings to the city of Frankfurt, the mayor of Frankfurt dismissed the idea because he felt that the train stations should be used to 'contain' the crime and shelter criminals to keep them out of the rest of the city (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 79). The same skepticism is felt by other people in the United States who think that the "Broken Window Theory" just displaces crime to other places and infringes on people's rights by focusing on such petty crimes (Schmeer & Schräger, 1999, p. 22). The skeptics feel that a criminal will commit a crime no matter what and that if one place is not suitable for his actions then he will find another. This misses the point of the "Broken Window Theory" that potential criminals faced with an adverse environment in which to commit a crime will simply surrender the idea of perpetrating a crime, not take the time to find another location for their wrong-doings. Although the dissent to the "Broken Window Theory" seems to miss its basic argument, the theory could be flawed.

2.2.5. Case Study of Graffiti Prevention

In Modesto, California, managers of a large shopping center responded in an enlightened fashion to an increase in the incidence of graffiti. In previous encounters with graffiti, the property managers had simply documented each incident and then painted over the offending markings. In 1995, however, the center experienced an increase in reports of graffiti despite their policy of swift removal. In response to the increase of graffiti on the property, the managers of the shopping center turned to the police and the community. The managers talked to the schools in the surrounding area and held conferences for the parents to discuss the issue of vandalism. The police also established a very visible presence in the shopping center and arrested offenders. Once the offenders were convicted, they were ordered to pay for the removal

of the graffiti that they had applied. Because of the community outreach and increased police patrols, the number of occurrences of graffiti decreased dramatically (Tweedy, 1995). This case appears to demonstrate that application of the "Broken Window Theory" is not always enough to prevent instances of graffiti. The shopping center had been faithfully following the ideas laid forth in the "Broken Window Theory," but the level of graffiti *increased*. The managers of the shopping center had to take further action than simple removal to stop the perpetration of graffiti on their property.

2.2.6. Other Ideas about Graffiti Prevention and Removal

While the "Broken Window Theory" and CPTED are interesting as overlying concepts in the prevention of graffiti and vandalism, there are other ideas about stopping graffiti and vandalism that focus more on the small scale. One such idea is that of designating areas as 'graffiti galleries' (Carpenter, 2007). The idea of these galleries is to attract graffiti 'artists' to one area where it is permissible to spray. The gallery could hold competitions for mural paintings to give potential vandals incentive to practice their 'art' in a legal setting and thus keep them from 'tagging' other parts of a city (Carpenter, 2007). While this idea seems good in theory, it does not necessarily work in practice. In the city of Winnipeg, Canada there is a 'graffiti gallery' that was put in place by the Graffiti Art Programming Inc. to attract graffiti 'artists' to show off their work and learn from each other (Graffiti Art Programming Inc., n.d.). The gallery tries to channel the creative energy of young artists through its programs that include free art lessons (Graffiti Art Programming Inc., n.d.), and its Winnipeg International Mural Festival (Conick, 2007). The Gallery also supports "neighborhood beautification and community development thru [*sic*] public art" (Graffiti Art Programming Inc., n.d.). While this center seems to be exactly what was discussed by Carpenter in terms of creating a 'graffiti gallery', the city of Winnipeg is not so confident about the effect the Gallery is having on stopping graffiti. In their "Community Profile Report" the city of Winnipeg mentions numerous times the problem of the level of graffiti present in the city (Building Communities, n.d.). On the City of Winnipeg's website, an entire section is dedicated to removal and prevention of graffiti and vandalism (City of Winnipeg, 2007). One reason that the community of Winnipeg feels that graffiti is still a major problem in their city even with the presence of the graffiti gallery is that

the gallery may be instigating the problem. In their mission to provide a forum for young people to express themselves through graffiti, they teach young people how to excel at graffiti, and even with a legal location in which to practice their new skills they may eventually get bored with the provided setting and venture off to engage in illegal 'tagging'. One of Graffiti Art Programming Inc.'s goals is "to de-stigmatize the spray-can art form," and they may be succeeding by opening up the whole city as a venue to be defaced with paint (Bialik, 2007).

2.2.7. Practical Implementation of Theories

In attempting to practically apply the "Broken Window Theory," one can use a few commercially available technological solutions to aid his undertaking. 3M, for example, makes a clear "Anti-Graffiti Film" that adheres to windows and can be replaced if vandalized (McCrea, 2002). For prevention of graffiti on walls, there is a clear coating that can be put on buildings that stops aerosol paint from sticking. The coating is 97% transparent and does not alter the texture of the original surface of the building (Pierce, 2003). These two methods of stopping graffiti and vandalism are investments that in the long run make it easier to remove graffiti immediately. These products are very simple ways in which a property owner can prevent vandalism without having to spend inordinate amounts of time and money on its removal. If a perpetrator were to vandalize a window that had the clear film over it, it would be relatively easy for the owner of the window to remove the film and replace it with another layer of film. If the window always appears free of vandalism, the "Broken Window Theory" suggests that the likelihood of another incident of vandalism occurring on the pane of glass is less than if the window were to remain defaced. The same can be said with the 'anti-graffiti' coating for buildings. If the perpetrator's spray-paint will not stick to the side of the building, then they are less likely to bother attempting to 'tag' the rest of the property.

2.2.8. Operation BusTag's Current Tactics

BusTag currently relies primarily on Closed Circuit Televisions (CCTV) in their attempt to apprehend vandals (BusTag, 2005). BusTag has 60,000 cameras installed in the buses of London with no bus in the system having less than six cameras (Transport for London, 2007).

The cameras exist to catch criminals after they have committed their acts of vandalism. After a crime has been reported on a bus, the operators go through the video footage and verify if a crime actually occurred (BusTag, 2005). If a crime has occurred, the relevant footage is sent in a packet to Operation BusTag. The police then go through the footage and find the best image of the perpetrator's face and distribute it in local newspapers and schools. In addition to having cameras on the buses, each borough of London has its own sub-section of the police, called Safer Transport Teams who focus on transportation crime. These teams often follow along bus routes on bicycles and ride the buses to ensure that nothing illegal is happening.

Operation BusTag has been successful in apprehending criminals. Seven hundred fifty arrests were made between April 1 and July 11, 2006 alone. Transport for London, who operates the buses of London and funds the BusTag program, makes sure that graffiti and vandalism are removed from the London buses in as little as forty eight hours for generic markings and twenty four hours for hateful ones (BBC, 2007), which is implementation of the "Broken Window Theory."

3.   METHODS

The objective of this project is to help the Metropolitan Police improve Operation BusTag. This objective will be accomplished by using two primary methods. The first method is interviewing BusTag Officers, Safer Transport Teams, Youth Offending Teams, and Safer Neighborhood Teams. The second method will be surveying and talking to youths at local secondary schools and colleges. Hopefully through these methods a better understanding of why youths vandalize will present itself.

3.1. Interviews

The first interviews that will be conducted by the team will be with the officers who comprise the BusTag group within the Metropolitan Police Services. These interviews will yield an understanding of their procedures and purpose as well as any gaps within the system that may not have been evident from a review of the literature and written descriptions of Bus Tag procedures. These interviews will be very open-ended and will occur on multiple occasions as a way for the group to find consistent information and determine where to go next.

The next set of interviews that the team will conduct will be with the Safer Transport Teams, which shall be organized through Sergeant Mick Welding. The Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) who comprise the Safer Transport Teams work within smaller neighborhoods within the thirty-two boroughs and thus work directly with the youths and determine which crimes directly impact their community. There will be two team members conducting each interview; one person to ask questions and the other to take notes. Questions asked should again be unstructured and open ended so that the most information from the PCSOs can be gathered. These topics should include why youths vandalize buses, general trends or common attributes of youths who commit crimes, and hypothetical cases of teens who would vandalize buses. Other questions which will be covered should pertain to the PCSOs opinions on the BusTag program, any other programs as or more effective than BusTag, or any opinions of prevention methods that they think should be implemented (see Appendix A for more details).

A third source with specific knowledge on criminal youths is Youth Offending Teams (YOTs). Through the Metropolitan Police, the group will meet with the YOT at Bromley, one of the boroughs most affected by vandalism. Since these individuals have actually dealt with many

youths who received either reprimands or final warning for having committed crimes such as 'tagging' or vandalizing buses, the YOTs will have plenty of experience and could discuss motivations of youths who vandalize or commit other crimes of similar nature. Other themes to talk about include their opinions of the BusTag program, how effective they think it is, or whether they have seen any other programs that are more effective (see Appendix A for more details). These individuals will have helpful opinions on which preventative methods are the most effective since it is part of their job to make suggestions to the courts on ways to rehabilitate offenders. These interviews should be in depth-qualitative since the purpose of these interviews is to understand their personal beliefs and experiences.

Once all their opinions on youths' motivations for vandalizing are discussed, it will be important to find out whether anything has been done at the schools to discourage acts of vandalism. Have they shown the BusTag DVD to students? If so, what kind of effect did it have on students? If not, have they used any other outreach programs instead? How effective have they been? What else have the schools done? Is vandalism a serious problem at the schools? It is also important to get their views on the BusTag program in general (see Appendix A for more details). It will be useful to get any criticisms of the program from people who are unaffiliated with the Metropolitan Police.

As previously mentioned, the team will conduct in-depth qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Such interviews are necessary since it is important to understand the experience of the participants and the conclusions drawn from them as opposed to simply collecting factual information about their cases. However, this style of interview has two main flaws. First, since these interviews take up a large amount of time, the number of interviews must be limited. Since this number will be relatively small, it is difficult to claim that the various opinions heard can be generalized to other groups of similar nature. The second issue is that since the team will play a very active role in what topics are going to be discussed, there is a good chance that the team will inadvertently bias the results of the study. To solve this issue, questions used must be carefully selected. Only then will these interviews be helpful in obtaining the team's goals.

3.2. Polling of School Pupils and Discussion

After ascertaining an understanding of what members of BusTag, the Safer Transport Teams, and the Youth Offending Teams feel the main issues surrounding youth committing vandalism are, the next level of information that can be gathered should come from youths themselves. In order to grasp how young people feel about vandalism and the effectiveness of BusTag's current prevention program, an open forum assembly will be conducted in one to three London area schools. This assembly will begin with a presentation by BusTag including their DVD and then include questions from the team to the students and from the students. The assembly will consist of students that are roughly eleven to sixteen years in age, which is the perfect target group.

The assembly will be loosely structured with room for free response, although a show of hands will be the simplest response method for students. The pupils participating in the assembly will primarily be called upon to raise their hands indicating agreement with a statement, while a group member counts those students with hands raised. The questions asked of the students would focus on whether they "know of" someone who has committed vandalism or other similar crimes, if they have participated in said illegal activities, and their views on the acceptability of committing different crimes. To gain a broader view of what factors may lead to vandalizing, the students will be asked questions that pertain to the current structure of their family (i.e. number of parents, and siblings), their family's attitude towards vandalism and other crimes such as petty theft and minor drug use and if high expectations are required of them. The students will also be asked how they feel about school, crime in their neighborhood, if they are involved in any extra-curricular activities, if they have any friends who carried out criminal behavior (Armstrong, et al., 2005, pp. 91-8). Some of these questions can be phrased as "how many of you feel that…" to fit the format of raised hands for responses, but some of these questions can only be answered in one-on-one interviews (for a list of questions, see Appendix B).

The main goal for giving the survey is to gain insight into why youths are perpetrating the acts of vandalism, and to ascertain whether the current program employed by Operation BusTag is effective in getting across their stance on vandalism. One possible mode of performing the assembly would be to have the pupils answer questions after a presentation is given to them on vandalism by the officers of Operation BusTag and then use the collected data in an attempt to

determine if the presentation had any effect on their view of vandalism. The questions after the presentation would focus on the students' views on vandalism and criminal behavior, and thus attempt to see if there was a discernable change in the students' attitudes towards graffiti and vandalism because of the BusTag presentation.

While this method should provide a breadth of information regarding young people, who they are and what they do, there are some problems that will most likely appear in the process. The biggest obstacle that could occur is if permission is not granted to ask questions in any school.

If the students do not care about the assembly, the information gathered may be completely erroneous or the surveys may be incomplete. It is possible that the answers given may not be completely truthful given that some of the content of the assembly pertains to potentially intimate issues, such as family situations and criminal activities. The problem of purposefully incorrect answers is a problem in all questionings, and it is hoped that if the assembly is conducted in a professional but relaxing and non-threatening manner, that the errors in answers would be limited to the amount normally incurred in a typical survey (Doyle, n.d.). In the "On Track" program survey given to 30,000 students in high crime areas of England and Wales, the response rate of students averaged 83% (Armstrong, et al., 2005, p. 20). The "On Track" survey's high response rate indicates that the youths of England and Wales are willing to discuss criminal behavior if approached in the right manner. This means that as long as the group asks questions in the right way, a high response rate can be achieved.

Given these potentials for faulty answers, and the nature of the survey it is also possible that on the whole, the data may be inconclusive. This possible outcome makes it essential to word the questions of the survey in a manner that is non-threatening but will still produce the desired information. Because of the degree to which the survey is structured, the depth of results may be diminished, but because of the previously stated problems with indifference and inarticulateness, this possible loss of detailed response data is acceptable in order to gain more complete, correctly answered surveys. The other positive aspects of using the structured survey model is that the data collected will be easier to collate and put into spread sheets and graphs.

3.3. Timeline

Within the first week, most of the preliminary interviews must be conducted. By meeting with the BusTag employees, the group can understand the problem better and plan the rest of the meetings. The next two and a half weeks will then be spent meeting with knowledgeable persons to discuss the issue of youth vandalism and their part in it. During the end of the third week into the fourth week, the interviews conducted will be summarized and analyzed. The end of the fourth week into the fifth week will bring any more interviews that are deemed necessary. The sixth week will be spent writing and editing the final draft of the IQP and the seventh week will be spend preparing the final presentation to be given to the Metropolitan Police Services. This timeline is best represented by Table 3.3 below.

	Week 1		Week 2		Week 3		Week 4		Week 5		Week 6		Week 7	
Preliminary Interviews	█													
Interview Knowledgeable Persons			█	█	█	█								
Analyze Data						█	█							
Summarize Interviews						█	█							
Conduct More Interviews (as needed)								█	█					
Write Final IQP										█	█			
Present suggestions to MET													█	█

(Table 3.1)   Timeline for London Project

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The overall goal of this project is to analyze the BusTag system and generate suggestions on how to improve BusTag. To achieve this, it was essential to interview both knowledgeable persons and youths on the subject of vandalism. Through these interviews, several common themes became present. From these themes, the group found two large ways of preventing vandalism on buses. The first way is to advertise youth clubs on buses and the second is a legal 'tagging' competition called "Tag My Bus." Other ideas include limiting Oyster card usage, larger advertising of cameras on buses, minor arresting powers for PCSOs, and the defaulting of arrests to Safer Neighbourhood Teams. The boroughs where crime is the worst could be a good testing place for these changes.

4.1. Recorded Instances of Criminal Damages

Through analysis of the criminal damage report database that BusTag has kept, one can determine important details for tracking and studying criminal damage. For instance, looking at the number of recorded instances, against the 32 boroughs of London, it can be clearly seen that Bromley is the borough with the most instances recorded by bus companies, 1214 instances since 2005. Bromley is followed closely by Croydon with 992 instances and then Bexley with 782. Since these three boroughs all lie next to each other along the southeast edge of London, this suggests that this territory is the most likely area where buses experience vandalism. To illustrate the areas that incur the most damage, a map of the boroughs can be found on page 25. The damage across all boroughs is best illustrated by Table 4.1.

	Total	Percent
Barking and Dagenham	420	4.5
Barnet	210	2.3
Bexley	782	8.5
Brent	32	0.3
Bromley	1214	13.1
Camden	46	0.5
City of Westminster	74	0.8
Croydon	992	10.7
Earling	544	5.9
Enfield	323	3.5
Greenwich	389	4.2
Hackney	83	0.9
Hammersmith and Fulham	38	0.4
Haringey	208	2.3
Harrow	203	2.2
Havering	503	5.4
Hillingdon	599	6.5
Hounslow	407	4.4
Islington	30	0.3
Kensington & Chelsea	5	0.1
Kingston-upon-Thames	145	1.6
Lambeth	208	2.3
Lewisham	215	2.3
Merton	130	1.4
Newham	416	4.5
Redbridge	211	2.3
Richmond-upon-Thames	155	1.7
Southwark	69	0.7
Sutton	315	3.4
Tower Hamlets	51	0.6
Waltham Forests	90	1.0
Wondsworth	132	1.4
London Wide	9240	100.0

(Table 4.1)   Vandalism across the Boroughs of London

More patterns can be discerned by looking at the age of offenders against the instances of any crime reported on buses. Unfortunately, this data set is not complete since not all birthdates are known. For the reported instances where no perpetrator has been identified, the date of birth is obviously unknown. Of those birthdates recorded, the majority of offenders who cause

criminal damage are between the ages of twelve and seventeen as illustrated by Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 on the following pages. Furthermore, most of the criminal offenses are etching and graffiti.
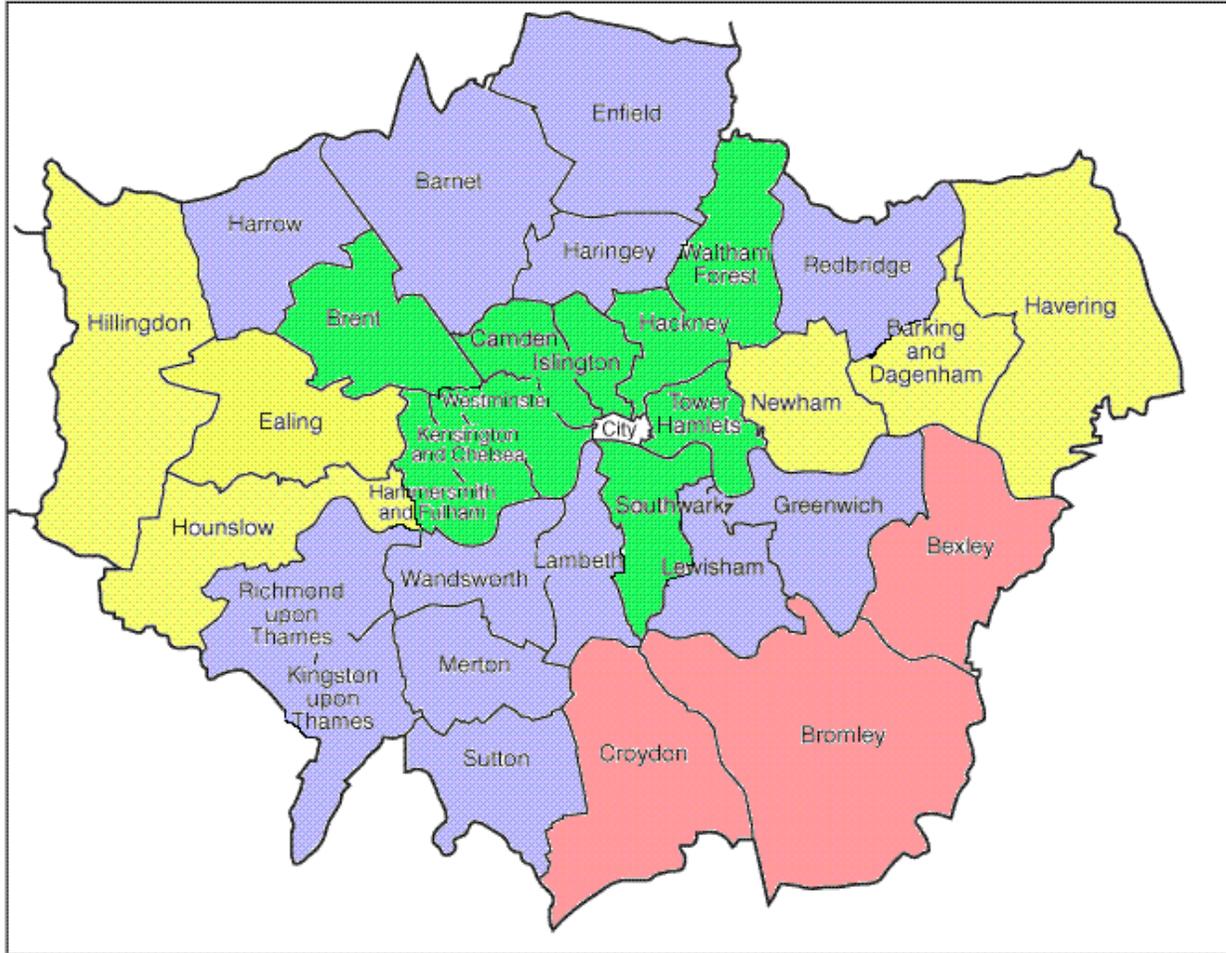
Legend
Green = 0-100 instances
Purple = 100-400 instances
Yellow = 400-700 instances
Red = more than 700 instances

Figure 4.2   Map of Instances by Borough
(adapted from (The International Development
 Research Centre, n.d.))

Finally, this database can be used to reflect on the bus companies themselves. Using the date that a crime occurred and the date that it was reported to the BusTag group, the bus companies that are slowest at reporting crimes can be determined. The three bus companies with the slowest reporting rates are Armchair, a bus company located in Earling, with an average of sixty days to report, East Thames, with an average of fifty six days to report, and Arriva Southern Counties, with an average of forty-two days to report. Furthermore, all three of these companies have only twenty reported crimes between them in a database of over 9000. This would suggest that either these companies are not reporting all the crimes that occur and that when they do, they take a rather long time to do it, or that vandalism does not occur as often and thus is not treated as seriously as it should be.

If BusTag had a full-time analyst employed, they could better study their own database and predict crime patterns within the city, and while this project could fill that void, given the time restraints, a thorough analysis cannot be completed. What can be determined though are the areas where damage is occurring most. While this could indicate a high level of gang activity in the area, the most important information that it yields is that within London; there is a test area for new ideas. The three boroughs of Bromley, Bexley and Croydon, have the most recorded instances of vandalism and make up one third of all the instances of criminal damage and thus would make the perfect test bed. Any program that experiences success within these three boroughs will probably be met with some success in the whole of London. It would, therefore, be advantageous for the suggestions made by this project to be implemented within this test bed before being used within the rest of London.
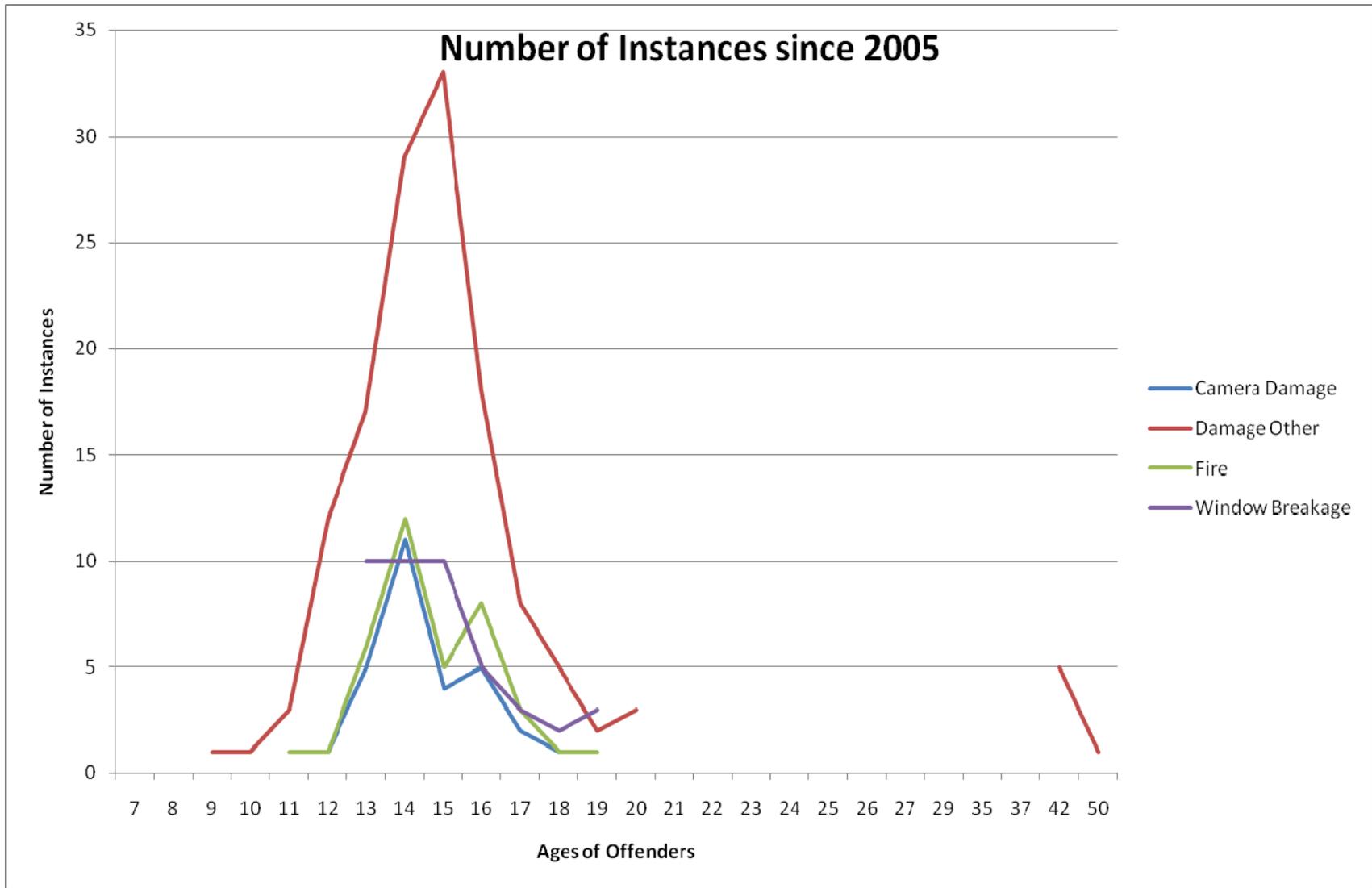
Figure 4.3   Ages of Those Who Commit Criminal Damage

Number of Instances of Graffiti & Etching since 2005
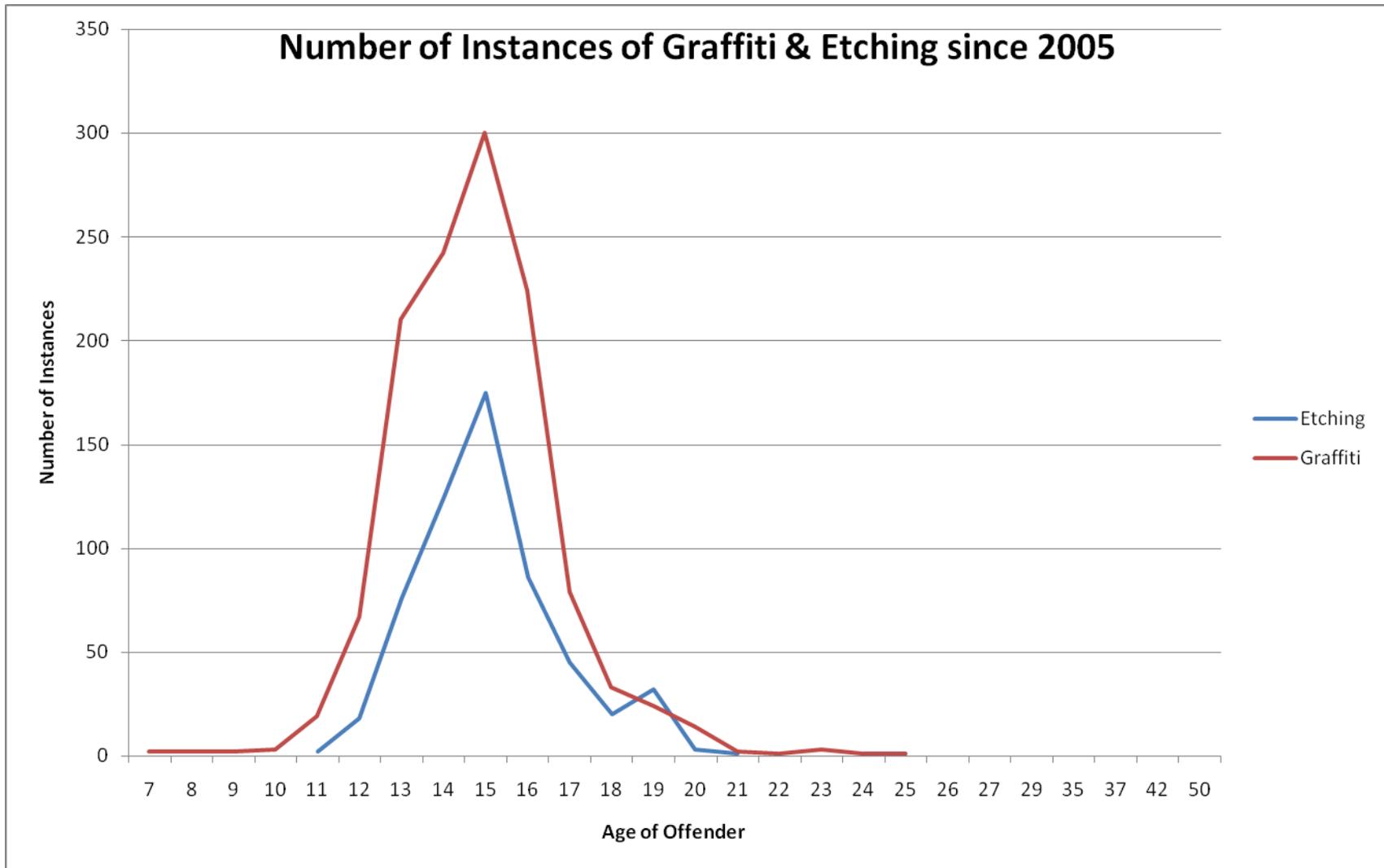
Figure 4.4   Ages of Those Who Etch or Spray Graffiti

4.2. Interviews with Knowledgeable Persons

4.2.1. Operation BusTag

The first interviews conducted were with BusTag officers. They were all in agreement as to why youths vandalize buses. One major reason which was mentioned was that the youths were "bored," so they vandalize buses to pass the time. Many of the BusTag Officers also feel that the "if you cannot beat them, join them" mentality is instilled into young offenders' minds. That is, since the youths are afraid of people who 'tag' buses, they themselves will 'tag' buses to stay safe. Another similar reason children turn to graffiti and vandalism is for a sense of belonging and being a part of something. Many 'taggers' are part of 'crews' and have their own 'tag' names. For example, a youth named Mike Phillips may have a 'tag' name of "P-Money" and belong to a 'crew' called "Bromley Boys." The BusTag Officers describe these 'crews' as groups of youth who are from the same area, and band together to obtain a sense of belonging. The 'crews' have a sense of their 'territory', but do not engage in the extreme violence and drug trafficking that was apparent in the American gangs of the 1980s and 1990s. The main objective of these groups of youth is to get their name out, and have a sense of camaraderie that is often lacking in their homes.

One BusTag Police Constable (PC) stated that he thought that the breakdown of the family structure has had a direct influence on the current widespread of youth crime in London. He thinks that if the youths had strong families, they would already have the sense of belonging, and would not have to turn to their peers for acceptance. In the days when the family structure was stronger, any deviant behavior on the part of the youth would be looked down on by his family and he would feel that he disgraced them. According to some PCSOs, the notion of the family has broken down so far that parents often do not care that their children are committing crimes and at times, even appear to be proud of their illegal behavior.

This idea that if the youths had good family structure or were part of a sports team they would be less likely to vandalize conforms to the Control Theory because it promotes the role of a leader as a positive influence in the lives of the youths. The leader, in the form of either a coach or a parent, can be a positive influence on the child and provide the youth to a place where they can belong. If a youth is involved in a group or has a strong family, they have people to let down if they commit a criminal act. According to the Control Theory, the boredom that the

BusTag Officers observe in the youths implies that they lack control, and this gives way to deviant behavior. The idea that belonging to a sports team or having a strong family is also supported by CPTED which claims that the more an individual is involved in community activities, and family could be included in this category, then they are less likely to perpetrate crimes.

4.2.2. Youth Offending Teams

Youth Offending Teams deal directly with youths who have anti-social behavior problems. When a young offender is apprehended, if he shows remorse he is not put in prison but instead referred to YOTs. YOTs look at the crime committed by the youth and suggest punishments to the courts. When determining punishments, YOTs looks at offenders' family backgrounds and prior offences. Sometimes, YOTs make offenders speak with bus workers to show them how vandalism negatively affects people's lives. Occasionally the YOTs suggest that the offenders clean the buses as punishment, however due to cleaning chemicals being dangerous, this punishment is often not enforced. An offender is often required to meet with YOTs for a set period of time. If the youth does not meet with YOTs, then if he commits another crime the police will have less mercy on him and the penalty for his actions may be stronger. Even though the police work closely with YOTs, they are a separate entity outside of Law Enforcement and are set up as a safe-haven for troubled youth. For example, the YOT in Bromley does not allow police to make arrests inside of the youth center.

The YOTs also offer extra-curricular activities in which youths can participate. One of the activities which YOTs provide for youths in Bromley is a football program called "Bromley Kickz". Here youths aged from eleven to eighteen get together twice a week for three hours and play football together. That way, youths can keep themselves occupied while gaining a sense of belonging. Since the program is run by the Metropolitan Police, it is also useful for breaking down barriers between youths and the police. A major issue with these activities is that they are not well advertised. The only way to hear about them is from another youth who is involved in the activity. There is a good chance, therefore, that most youths do not even know about these workshops.

4.2.3. Lancashire Vandalism Task Force

Since BusTag is a model program for catching criminals on buses, many other organizations come to BusTag headquarters to learn from BusTag. One of these groups was the Lancashire Safer Transport Group. While they were lacking CCTV to catch criminals, the Lancashire team had one excellent procedure which greatly reduced vandalism. For the past two years, the police in Lancashire visited and spoke to many schools there. They found that the number of offenders from those particular schools was far less than the schools which were not visited. Unfortunately, since BusTag is so small and London is so big, visiting all the schools in London may be impossible for BusTag. Still, it may prove useful to visit the schools in Bromley, Bexley, and Croydon since it is those communities where most crimes occur (or at least are reported).

4.2.4. Safer Neighbourhood Teams

The Metropolitan Police use smaller teams throughout the London Burroughs to police on a local level. One method of this is through the Safer Neighbourhood Teams that are located in each of the 620 wards (i.e., a ward is a subsection of a borough). These teams consist of one Police Sergeant (PS), two PCs and four to seven PCSOs whose task is to police anti-social behavior. The Safer Neighbourhood Team located in the Hays and Coney Hall ward of the Borough of Bromley is one of the most proactive teams in all of London. They attempt to work closely with the community in order to create a more approachable perception of the police force. The Safer Neighbourhood team works primarily with youth who commit acts that breach the Anti-Social Behaviour Act. In reprimanding the young offenders the team attempts to convey their desire to help, instead of simply instilling fear. After a youth has been stopped three times for violating the Anti-Social Behaviour Act, the Safer Neighbourhood Team writes a letter to the parents to notify them that their child has come to the attention to the police three times and that further offences could result in a more serious reprimand. After the youth has been stopped six times the police make a request for an Acceptable Behaviour Contract. The Acceptable Behaviour Contract (ABC) is a voluntary contract that sets forth goals and restrictions on the behavior of the offender that lasts for six months. The ABC is made with suggestions from the police, parents of the youth, and the authorities of their school. The

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agreement usually includes goals for the delinquent including being polite to teachers, not using offensive or racist language in public and not consuming alcohol in public. The contract gives the offender a list of regulations and goals to conform to in order to give the youth a chance to reform their actions before they get a criminal reprimand. Currently, the Safer Neighbourhood Team in the Hays and Coney Hall ward has nineteen youths with ABCs and, of those nineteen with contracts, eighteen are complying with the terms of the contract. The police team feels that the ABC helps immensely in changing the attitude of the youths towards the crimes that they are committing. Offenders often go from a stance of "I can do what I want" to one of "I can see what I did was wrong." The reason that this change in attitude occurs is that the ABC sends a clear message to the young offender that what they are doing is wrong and if they do not comply with the ABC then further restrictions will be made with the eventual possibility of prison. After six months the contract is over, but some youths still come to talk to the police because they have grown to respect law enforcement officers as people who want to help, not hurt them. The PS goes to schools and makes sure that the youths know what behavior is acceptable and what is not. He lets them know that the Safer Neighbourhood Team exists as a force to protect them, not work against them, and that as long as they behave responsibly, they have the same rights as adults in voicing their opinions to the police, but those rights will evaporate if they do not act accordingly.

If the ABCs are broken, or if something more drastic is needed, the Hays and Coney Hall Ward Safer Neighbourhood Team can apply for an ABC Plus. The ABC Plus includes all aspects of the ABC, but it is mandatory and involves the YOT in order to get the offender any necessary counseling and to get him involved in extra-curricular activities. The third step in the line of punishment is to officially enforce a breach of the Anti-Social Behaviour Order, which can involve a five year prison sentence for the offender. This third level of penalization is only used in the most extreme situations.

Since the implementation of this three-tiered system in the last four years, the public's reception of the police's work has greatly improved. Many people who previously reported feeling unsafe when walking on the same side of the street as droves of youth now feel welcome by the youths who will move out of the people's way and even give them a friendly greeting.

4.2.5. Safer Transport Team

Each Borough in London has its own Safer Transport Team that is in charge of policing the bus routes that run through their borough. Each Safer Transport Team consists of two PSs, two PCs, and eighteen PCSOs. Some of the boroughs split the team into two elements to best cover their area. The most common crime that occurs on bus routes is breaching of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act. These teams use three methods in attempting to stop this branch of crime. The main method is to ride the buses, because this allows them to catch criminals first hand, and their presence in uniform can also deter the crime. When students are let out of school, they congregate at the bus stops to go home, and a lot of the reports of Anti-Social Behaviour are made at this time. To counter this, the PCSOs are often detached to stand watch over these bus stops. The third method that the Safer Transport Teams use is to ride the bus routes on bicycles, and check each bus stop along the way for criminal damage. While they are on bicycle patrol, they can also assist on any bus along the route where Anti-Social Behaviour is happening. Because of the limited power of the PCSOs, these otherwise seemingly good methods lose their effectiveness. The PCSOs do not have any arresting power, and can only detain willing criminals for thirty minutes. They can also issue citations for Anti-Social Behaviour, and collect information on the suspect, but their powers are limited to those activities. To make any arrest or to forcefully detain a suspect, the PCSO must call their PC, or a Police Response Team to do it for them. The PCSOs can use necessary force, but do not carry any offensive protection (i.e., batons, pepper spray). The offending youths often know that the PCSOs have no real power over them and often disregard what they say and ridicule them.

4.2.6. Merton Anti-Graffiti Team

The Borough of Merton deals with a considerable amount of graffiti and vandalism, not only on the buses but on public and private property as well. The Merton Anti-Graffiti Team is headed up by Pat DeJesus and Graffiti Officer John Ball who are very proactive in trying to stop property damage in their borough. There are many pathways in the borough center that are secluded and thus are prone to graffiti and vandalism. In order to tackle this problem, the Merton Anti-Graffiti Team implemented hidden cameras to catch the offenders in the act. The Merton team feels that the 'tags' are made by 'crews' who are trying to 'mark' their territory.

Other than spraying graffiti in the borough, these youths also attempt to bolster their image by using online social networks (i.e. MySpace, Bebo and Facebook). On their online profiles, the youths put images and videos of themselves engaging in illegal activities such as graffing, bullying, and possession of drugs and firearms. John Ball has his own mock profiles of the various websites and investigates the youths making claims of illegality on them. For some reason, the youths on the websites do not think, or know and do not care that a police officer can easily access all of the information that they have posted. When Graffiti Officer Ball discovers a new 'tag' he types it into the search quarry of the online social networks and often comes up with a hit for the offender with the specified 'tag name.' While simply finding a youth associated with a certain 'tag name' is not enough to get a conviction, it is a starting point to determine who is a part of a certain 'crew'. If the same youth commits a crime on a bus, then their image will be in the police records, and then it can be cross referenced with the online 'database' derived from the social networking websites. The online profiles of the youth can give great insight into where the youths are congregating and who is a part of that 'crew.'

4.2.7. Under-16 Oyster Card Free Travel Plan

A unanimous feeling among all of the people interviewed was that the time for free travel for under-16s should be limited. Currently, the Mayor of London has instituted a program that gives free travel on all London Buses to youths under the age of 16. The plan calls for the youths to get Oyster Cards (i.e., the fare card for public transport) with their pictures and names on them and for them to tap them when they get onto the bus. The idea behind giving them free travel is that it will better enable them to go to school and other activities but currently it is just compounding the problem of criminal damage on the buses. Because the youth can get on and off as they please for free, they often congregate on the buses or use the buses as places to pass the time. While all of the people interviewed agree that it is a good plan to give children free transport to school, the people interviewed cannot see a point in allowing youths to ride the bus for free all night long. They feel that if the free travel were granted only during school hours (e.g., 7:30 AM to 6:00 PM) or only during school commute times (e.g. 7:30 – 9:00 AM, and 3:00 – 6:00 PM) then it would deter youths from causing disturbances on transport when they should be in school and later in the evening.

One objection to limiting the travel times to commuting hours is that sometimes school groups use the public buses to travel on fieldtrips but that problem can be solved by allowing for schools to have special Oyster Cards for those occasions.

Also, the system of under-16s having special Oyster Cards is often bypassed because young people often get onto the bus without tapping their cards on the reader. If this requirement were more strictly enforced, then the youths could be tracked and it is possible that their behavior would improve because their location was known.

The interviews also gave insight into why youths commit criminal offences. The consensus was that there were two main elements that contributed to making youths vandalize. The first one was general boredom among the youths. Many of the youths do not know about youth clubs in their area or the ones that they do know are out of their 'territory' and so they do not want to go there. Because of this fact, and because other activities cost money that the youths do not have, they often use buses as "mobile youth clubs." This use of the public buses often involves youths frequently getting off one and on to another. This mentality can lead to criminal behavior because the youths feel no attachment to the public space of the bus and thus leave their mark on it without second thought to the consequences, which are the same ideas proposed in the Control Theory and CPTED.

4.2.8. General Observations

Through the interviews with knowledgeable persons, it was apparent that it is crucial to have communication between the police and the potential youth offenders. The team from Lancashire stated they found that the schools that they visited had lower instances of criminal damage to buses than the schools that they did not visit. This would appear to indicate that the more knowledge that the youths have on the issue and the more they know of the consequences of their action, the less likely they are to commit crimes on the buses. The YOTs are very effective in working with the youth through extracurricular activities to help them find a sense of belonging apart from their 'crews,' and thus are less likely to be pressured into engaging in criminal behavior. The place where communication between the youth and the police is most apparent is in the Safer Neighbourhood Team of Bromley, where their line of communication is so good that youths whose ABCs have expired are voluntarily coming to the police to voice their

opinions. Some of the officers in the Safer Neighbourhood Team of Bromley stated that they get along very well with their young offenders and that they are "good children" even though they have broken the law. This is a very different stance than the one taken by many BusTag Officers who get the impression that "all children are bad," because all day they deal with images of youths breaking the Anti-Social Behaviour Act. The close connection between police and youth is a vital two-way street in helping to stop criminal behaviour. It allows the youth to see that the police exist to protect them and are not out to get them and it shows the police that sometimes the iron fist of the law is not the best option for reforming youths.

This close interaction with the youth and police is directly related to the Control Theory. The involvement of the police in communicating with the youth gives the youth a role model who they can look up to and can add an element of control in their lives that may have been lacking. The YOTs encouragement of youths to become involved in extracurricular activities also complies with the Control Theory, because the activities give the youths something to be a part of. Both of these actions taken to prevent youth from crime are also related to the CPTED, because if the youths respect the police or the YOTs, then they will be less likely to disappointment by committing crimes.

4.3. Youth Interviews and Assemblies
4.3.1. Junior Citizens Week

Junior Citizens Week consists of different organizations going around to all the secondary schools of a borough and teaching them important lessons on how to become better citizens. For example, they teach the children about fire safety and what to do when someone tries to steal your cell phone at a bus stop. Junior Citizens Week is focused on Year 6 students because it is their last year in primary school and at the point in time when they will gain more freedom. From the Junior Citizens week, it was apparent that the youth in Year 6 were not prone to criminal damage on buses. The Junior Citizen Week targets youths at an important age, because the rate of criminal damage on buses increases sharply after Year 6. There are two sessions, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, each of which has six groups and a total of around fifty children. Junior Citizens Week attempts to utilize inter-active scenarios in order to better engage the children in the learning process. When the children participating in the program

were asked about criminal damage, they appeared to look at it with distain. This may have merely been due to the fact that a PCSO was present, but given the data from the arrests these age groups have very low instances of reported damage. At Junior Citizens Week in the Borough of Bromley, it is apparent that the Metropolitan Police Service is trying to teach children at a young age about the consequences of vandalizing buses. The PCSOs use scare tactics to fully get the point across that vandalizing buses will negatively impact their lives. A PCSO from the Safer Transport Team show the BusTag DVD to the children and afterwards ask if at some point they would like to go to America or another foreign country. Most of the children answer yes. The PCSO then tells the children that if they commit a crime on a bus and get caught, they will then have a criminal record and that they might not be able to travel as a result. The PCSO also ask the children what occupation they would like to hold when they are older and then tells them that if they have a criminal record, they might not be able to obtain the job of their dreams. The emphasis from the presentation given at Junior Citizens Week is to force the children to think about their actions, and what the consequences of those actions could be.

4.3.2. Bromley College

Bromley College is a school within the borough of Bromley dedicated to preparing some students for university and training others to apprentice a trade. Bromley College was an ideal place to interact with students on a personal but comfortable level because they have a lot of free time and can wander off campus whenever they please. The student center was the place where the one-on-one interviews with the students took place. The students ranged from the ages of sixteen to twenty. After talking to and interacting with fifteen to twenty students for over an hour and a half, two common themes became apparent. When the students were asked why they believe that people vandalize buses, they answered that the causes were boredom and a desire for recognition among other youths. Many of the students said that when they were younger they had vandalized, but that they were foolish and had since grown out of it. One of the students, age nineteen, had said that he was fifteen when he 'tagged' a bus. He also said that he was young and dumb and just wanted to get his name known by other students. This confirmed that they did it because they wanted to be recognized by other people. When they rode the buses they

would see one name written everywhere, and think "that person must be well know," and subsequently add their own name in an attempt to achieve that same status. He then said that his friend did it also and was caught by the police. After his friend was caught, he did not do it again. A couple of students who were sixteen said that they were bored both during and after school. They were asked if they were involved in any extracurricular activities after school and a majority did not. One of them played football when he was younger but grew out of it because Bromley College did not have a good football program. Another student said that he played rugby but that it did not take up a lot of his time. The students also made a good point: because they do not have front or back yards they cannot just go to a friend's house and play a pickup game of rugby or football. The students also stated that another reason for graffing was because they did not have enough money to do more constructive activities. One of the group members talked to a member of the YOT member from Bromley who expressed his liking of graffiti because it gives the youths something to do. After talking to the students from Bromley College it is very clear that these children are bored and have nothing to do and that a lot of them wanted to get their name recognized and be known, this data confirms the BusTag Officers suspicions on why youth vandalize.

4.3.3. St. George's School

St. George's school located in the City of Westminster is a strict Catholic school, where four years ago the headmaster was stabbed to death by his pupils. When the students were in the auditorium for assembly, the principal told them about the presentation, and that they need to pay attention to learn about the consequences of criminal damage on buses. The students answered questions that were asked by two of the group members while the other two recorded the number of students who raised their hand to answer the question. The students, who are Year 8 (fourteen and fifteen years old), were shown the BusTag PowerPoint presentation and then they were asked questions. The total number of students attending the assembly was ninety-nine and when asked if they enjoyed going to school and learning, eighteen of them raised their hands. Fifty-six of the ninety-nine students are involved in some sort of extracurricular activity after school including a sport, dance or theatre. Twenty students truthfully said that they have their own 'tag' name. Only eight students answered that they stay out of their house later than midnight in

general. The question "do you think criminal damage on buses is a serious crime" was asked and all the students raised their hands. They were then asked if they observed their friends doing criminal damage on a bus would they say something to them, and only twenty-six raised their hands. The data collected at St. George's School indicated that while the youths know that criminal damage is a serious event, they are not likely to actually do anything about it if they see it occurring. This lack of initiative could indicate indifference towards the possibility of being arrested. The change in answers when the question was changed to a more personal level might also be due to a fear of being rejected by friends. It is possible that the groups to which the youths belong engage in criminal damage and if a member of the group tried to stop that behavior they would be ostracized. This fear could account for the discrepancy of responses when a question based on principle is changed to address the individual in a more personal manner. This is an example of how the subculture theory relates to youths. The subculture theory states how these subgroups have their own ideas of what is acceptable and what is not. The students at St. George's school proved this theory to be true because they know that committing criminal damage is wrong, but to the group it might be acceptable, and the thought of not being part of the group is not worth stopping your friend from doing criminal damage.

Question	"Do you enjoy school?"	"Are you involved in extracurricular activities?"	"Do you have a 'tag' name?"	"Do you stay out later than midnight?"	"Do you think criminal damage on buses is a serious crime?"	"Would you stop your friend if he were damaging a bus?"
Number Answered	18	56	20	8	99	26
Percent of Total	18.2	56.7	20.2	8.08	100	26.26

(Figure 4.5)   Youth Responses to Questions

5. ANALYSIS AND PROPOSAL

In the words of several students, youths vandalize because "they are bored," "they want to get their names out there" and "they want to belong to something." What has also been proven to be true is that the three boroughs of Bromley, Croydon, and Bexley have the largest number of recorded instances of vandalism, making them the perfect candidates for new prevention programs. The best way to address these problems within the new test area is to try advertising youth groups on buses and using legal graffiti contests. Along with several other small changes to the procedure already in place, these two new ideas can be used to create a vandalism prevention program.

5.1. Transport for London

5.1.1. Advertising Youth Groups

In their interviews, ten different adolescents expressed that they felt that there was nothing for them to do in London. Several even said that one reason they tagged buses was because they lacked any other activity. This idea of acting out as a result of nothing to do, or no program to be involved in is directly linked to the Control Theory which has thus far proved to be accurate. While other activities in London do exist, they are just not well advertised. In fact, there are many youth groups around London with activities such as football, table tennis, street dancing, tape ball cricket, basketball, and many other sports. Alternatively there are also art and theater workshops for children to participate in. If youths knew about all these programs around London, perhaps they would not have the need or the time to vandalize buses. Furthermore, if youths feel they have something to lose, or if they feel they will no longer be able to participate in something, they will be less inclined to participate in anti-social behavior.

For this reason Transport for London would do well to advertise all these youth groups on every public bus in London. Since youths spend so much time on the London buses, it is likely that they will see this type of advertisement. Furthermore, by placing ads on buses with youth clubs on their route, youths will be even more inclined to visit, since they are already on their way there. TfL should post signs on Bromley, Bexley, and Croydon bus routes since those are the worst areas in London and will serve as the test group. A list of youth groups to be

advertised can be found in Appendix C along with addresses, the bus route on which they are located and other useful information.

5.1.2. "Tag My Bus" Competition

Another reason for vandalizing buses stated by all fifteen youths who were interviewed was to "get their name out there." They figured that if they saw a particular 'tag' over and over again on all the buses the 'tagger' was cool and well known. These children would then create their own 'tags' and try to be as well known as the previously mentioned 'tagger.' To address this desire for popularity, Transport for London should launch a legal 'tagging' competition.

In this competition the best 'tagger' would get their name posted on every bus on a route local to the 'tagger.' The first step in this program would be advertising it in local newspapers as a showcasing for young street artists. After that, youths would have to make their tag on a piece of paper, or canvas at home and then mail it to Transport for London where the 'tag' could be chosen based on artistic merit, message, or cleverness of the 'tag' name. This contest could be conducted on a monthly basis to allow new artists to get recognition and an example of the rules for this contest can be found in Appendix E. If Transport for London finds this competition to be successful, a cash prize could even be added. Along with the cash prize, the main prize of the competition would be a designated advertising space that would be converted into an artistic showcase. An enlarged copy of the winning entry 'tag' would be posted in this space on a bus route. The winner could indicate which bus route they use most often so that their friends could see their 'artwork'.

This program would address the desire for respect that youths feel and would also allow for some refreshing new art on the buses. The idea is not without flaws, however, as other youths may simply vandalize the winning picture, since it was not their own. Furthermore, Transport for London must explicitly state that young 'artists' should not submit photos of their tag on anything other than paper, so that they do not indirectly influence vandalism.

This program could also serve a secondary purpose to aid Operation BusTag. If large numbers of youths mail their 'tag' to Transport for London, what is essentially created is a database of youth 'tags' complete with name and address of the youth who owns the 'tag.' This

database could then be utilized to catch anyone who is using their 'tag' outside of the competition and in an illegal manner.

As a test, this competition should be held within the test bed of Bromley, Bexley and Croydon to see whether it can be effective in halting the illegal vandalism. If so, the competition should eventually be held at every borough in London. While this prevention method may initially cost Transport for London revenue in advertising space, if effective, it could save larger amounts of money by reducing vandalism. Furthermore, by selecting a winning 'tag', Transport for London gets to select which types of 'graffiti' are most visually appealing and acceptable.

5.1.3. Other Suggestions

During the BusTag prevention presentation made at St. George's School, it was expressed that some youths vandalize because they are unaware of the fact that cameras are on the buses and that all these cameras work. The best way for Transport for London to address this is to advertise their cameras better. Within most buses, a small sign is displayed saying that a camera is watching and in some buses, a single screen on the second floor showcases some of the current camera footage. To increase the awareness of the running cameras, a larger sign should be placed at the entrance of the bus on the window next to where Oyster Cards are tapped in. Since everyone passes this point, a sign would be best placed here, rather than on the staircase.

While showing the current footage showcases the fact that the cameras do work, some youths are foolish enough to believe that the camera shown on screen is the only camera running. If the screens on buses were split screen, showing the cameras all at once, rather than one larger picture at a time, the youths would know that they are constantly being watched. If youths ride the bus with a feeling that "big brother is always watching," they will be less likely to vandalize the buses.

The final change Transport for London can make to decrease the amount of vandalism on buses is to limit the free access youths have to buses. When the Mayor of London declared that youths should be able to ride the buses of London free of charge so long as they are students, he did so with the assumed intent of allowing them free access to and from school. The problem with having done this is that youths now have free access at all hours of the day. This free access allows for the mentality of buses as a mobile youth club instead of using them as they are

intended. To rectify this situation, students should have free access of buses from 7:30 am until 6:00pm. This time period would allow those students who need to travel great distances to get to school, and those who participate in after school activities to stay late. Furthermore, if youths are forced to pay at night, they will be less inclined to ride the bus and therefore less likely to vandalize.

Most of these changes should first be implemented within the test bed of Bromley, Bexley and Croydon to see how successful they can be. For Transport for London to implement these changes may cost some initial funds, but if successful, the changes can be used to save Transport for London money in the long run.

5.2. Safer Transport and Safer Neighbourhood Teams

Because BusTag consists of a small group of officers, they rely heavily on the Safer Neighbourhood Teams and Safer Transport Teams to catch young offenders. For this reason, there are improvements that can be made to the Safer Neighbourhood Teams and Safer Transport Teams that will aid BusTag. To increase parental involvement in controlling their children, letters should be sent out to parents if any child comes to the attention of the police three times. These instances could be as simple as children loitering, drinking alcohol, or being loud and disruptive. Furthermore, if any child should come to the attention of the police six times, the PCSOs should schedule a meeting with the parents to discuss the behavior of the youth. If the amount of parental involvement is increased, then the youths will know that anti-social behavior is unacceptable. Furthermore, increasing the awareness and involvement of adults will create a system of increased control over the child, which is what the control theory calls for. While instituting a program like this across all the boroughs of London might be difficult, this program could first be instituted within the test area of Bromley, Bexley and Croydon. If this program decreases the amount of offenses, then it can be used throughout all of London.

One of the most effective changes that could be made would impact the Metropolitan Police Services procedure. As it stands, PCSOs cannot detain an unwilling suspect. Although the PCSOs spend time on bus routes, looking for damage and suspects, they cannot arrest anyone. To improve the effectiveness of the PCSOs, minor arresting power should be granted. If PCSOs were given the power to arrest suspects, cases could be closed much faster and a message would be sent to youths. Currently, youths know the extent of PCSOs powers and thus, show them little

respect. If the youths know that there are more people out there who can and will arrest them for offenses, they will be less likely to commit acts of vandalism. While this change would require a change in the procedure of the Metropolitan Police Services as well as a change in training and selection, it would increase the strength of the Metropolitan Police Services and decrease the amount of petty crime.

5.3. Operation BusTag

Operation BusTag primarily consists of twelve individuals within the Metropolitan Police Services who rely heavily on Safer Neighbourhood Teams and Safer Transport Teams. Because they are so few, working on a large problem across all of London, they are often responding to crimes rather than preventing them. The team does, however, make a proactive move in trying to get out to schools to show a presentation and DVD to students about vandalism and the serious consequences of committing vandalism on the buses. While this is a good first step, something must be done to insure that the presentation does not fall on deaf ears. To ensure that the youths take something away from what is said, a letter should be drawn up and sent to the homes of the students. This letter should address the fact that a presentation was made and that the Met is treating bus crime seriously. An example of this letter can be found in Appendix D. If the Met were to send a letter to parents, then more parents will, hopefully, spend time talking with their children about the problem. This will create a system of control for the children where police officers, teachers and parents are all saying that bus crime is unacceptable. Sending out letters to parents will help to create the environment that the Control Theory suggests children need. This will help to reinforce the message and prevent more youths from vandalizing.

Another positive change that would further BusTag's efforts to catch young offenders would be to have full use of the Internet. Most of the youths today are a part of online social networks. Youths join these networks and then add personal information which might be otherwise difficult to obtain. Youths also take it a step further and post pictures and videos of themselves committing acts of vandalism along with their 'tag' name. Ideally, Operation BusTag could give all officers access to allow them to find youths easier, however, with only fourteen officers in the team, they cannot all spend time in cyberspace. For this reason, if Operation BusTag had one or two officers with access to such social networks as MySpace or Facebook,

they could find an offender with nothing more than a picture and a 'tag' name. According to one BusTag Officer, a majority of pictures and videos found on the web could not be used as evidence against the youth in court. According to this officer, a picture of a youth next to graffiti is not suitable proof that they painted it. However, the personal information that could be found would speed up the investigation of each crime. Because most modern companies do not allow or approve of their employees using the internet for inappropriate uses (i.e. games or pornography), the Metropolitan Police Services would want to continue monitor the internet access and how it is being used. To ensure that the internet is being properly used, the Metropolitan Police Services could block certain websites. Another inherent problem with the internet is the amount of useless information that has to be sifted through; however, this method would not replace normal police work, but serve to enhance investigations.

A final way that Operation BusTag could improve its system would be to change the arrest procedure. While the typical scare tactic of bringing in an unfamiliar officer dressed in full uniform telling you how much trouble you are in might scare some kids straight, a friendly and trustworthy officer might offer better life advice. For this reason, Operation BusTag should default arrests to the Safer Neighbourhood Teams. The Safer Neighbourhood Teams know the youths within their wards on a personal level and would know which arrest type would best suit the youth. While this may affect the arrest record for Operation BusTag, it could also keep the number of repeat offenders down.

6. CONCLUSION

Even among the most knowledgeable people, no consensus has been reached as to why youths participate in anti-social behavior. From the students interviewed during the course of this project, major reasons include a feeling of boredom, the necessity of belonging to something and a desire to be known and respected. These reasons directly correspond with the findings of the police unit investigating this problem, Operation BusTag, and many other organizations looking to tackle the issue. As a means to reduce the amount of youth vandalism, this group suggests that the BusTag group use the internet to locate information on social networks. Furthermore, a letter should be sent home to parents to accompany an already existing presentation, as a means of involving families to control youths. Transport for London should advertise local youth groups on bus routes. With this in place, youths would be likely to discover things they can do within their community, thereby addressing the boredom youths feel and giving them something to belong to. Furthermore, Transport for London can introduce the "Tag My Bus" competition as a legal form of graffiti, allowing youths to vandalize in an appropriate and un-harmful manner. Making these changes around London would address the issues that youths expressed and impact the issue of criminal damage on public buses.

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8. APPENDIX A: Knowledgeable Persons Interview Questions

Officers Interview Questions

1. What are some hypothetical cases of teens who vandalize?
   a. What social problems did the teens have?
   b. Any problems with school?
   c. How were they punished?
   d. What effect did the punishment have on the teens?
   e. Did they vandalize again?
2. Why, in your professional opinion, do youths vandalize buses?
   a. What are they trying to accomplish?
   b. What are some common trends among adolescents who vandalize?
   c. What motivates them?
3. What would you recommend to help reduce vandalism?
   a. What do you think of the BusTag program?
   b. What other policies can BusTag implement to prevent more vandalism?
4. What are some of your personal goals (as a social worker or probation officer)?

Principal and Teacher Interview Questions

1. How big of an issue is vandalism at your school?
   a. How often is there vandalism at your school?
   b. How do you deal with vandalism?
      i. Do you talk to your students about vandalism?
      ii. How do you punish students who vandalize the school?
      iii. How do you, when notified by the police, punish students that vandalize public buses?
2. Why, in your opinion, do students vandalize?
   a. What are they trying to accomplish?
   b. What influences their actions?
   c. Are student's grades a factor? What about their extra-curricular activities?
3. What do you think of the BusTag program?
   a. Do you show students BusTag's DVD or PowerPoint presentation?
   b. Can you make any suggestions for improving the BusTag program?
   c. How effective do you think the program is?
4. Have you, personally, ever dealt with any student who vandalized?
   a. How did you handle the situation?
   b. What were the outcomes?
   c. What did you learn from the situation?
   d. What would you do differently if the same situation arises?

Outreach Program Interview Questions

1. How effective do you believe your program to be?
    a. What are some of your policies with regards to vandalism?
    b. How are policies made?
2. What do you think of the BusTag program?
    a. How effective do you believe BusTag is?
    b. What can they do differently to improve the program?
3. Why, in your professional opinion, do people vandalize?
    a. What motivates them?
    b. What are they trying to accomplish?
    c. What are some trends you have noticed with people who vandalize?
4. What are some hypothetical cases of people who vandalize?
    a. What are some different situations which arise?
    b. What would you do to help people stop vandalizing?

9. APPENDIX B: Possible Polling Questions

Questions are not in any particular order. When the polling is done there will be a set order for all questions.

1. How many of you know of someone who has vandalized?
2. How many of you think vandalism is not a serious issue?
3. How many of you play sports or are involved in other group activities?
4. How many of you know someone involved in a gang or crew?
5. Who is your role model?
    a. This question will receive several answers from individuals and then poll the rest of the audience as to whether they agree.
6. How many of you have your own tag?
7. How many of you know someone who owns a weapon?
8. How many of you drink alcohol regularly?
9. How many of you think your parents would be angry if you vandalized? What if you were arrested?
10. How many of you think that no one ever gets in trouble for vandalism?
11. How many of you think your neighborhood is safe?
12. How many of you think school is interesting?
13. On a school night, how many of you stay out past 9:00pm? 10pm? 11:00pm? Midnight? Past midnight?
14. On the weekend, how many of you stay out past 9:00pm? 10pm? 11:00pm? Midnight? Past midnight?
15. How many of you ride the bus daily?
16. How would you feel if you had to pay to ride the bus?

10. APPENDIX C: Youth Groups
Youth Groups in Bromley

Project Name	Contact	Address	Phone no	Opening hours & age group	Bus Route
Bromley Looked After Young People's Health Project	Teena Marshall	1-3 Anerley Station Road, Penge, SE20 8YP	07834 337 126	By appointment Drop ins at One Stop Shop Tuesdays (18:00-20:00) Special Needs	354;358
Bromley Youth Service		Phoenix Youth Centre, Hawes Lane, West Wickham, BR4 9AE	020 8777 7350	5-13; 14-18	194;352
Children's Rights	Eileen King	Phoenix Youth Centre, Hawes Lane, West Wickham, BR4 9AE	020 8776 3058	5-13; 14-18; 19-25	194;352
Cray Valley HUB	Laura McLeod	71 High Street, St Mary Cray, Kent, BR5 3NJ	01689 827601	Monday (12:00-14:30) Teenage mothers; Tuesday (14:00-17:00) Drop In; Wednesday (14:00-17:00) Drop In; Friday (14:00-17:00) Drop In; Saturday (13:00-16:00) Drop In	R6, 51
Crystal Palace Community Development Trust	Barbara Cracknell	Anerley Town Hall, Anerley Rd, Penge, SE20 8BD	020 8676 5666	5-13; 14-18; 19-25;	354;358
Darrick Wood Youth Centre	Julie McCormack	Broadwater Gardens, Farnborough, BR6 7UA	020 8857 9966	Wednesday (19:00-22:00) Ages 13-19; Thursday (18:00-21:00) Ages 8-13	358
Detached Youth Projects	Joe Pizzuto	Penge Centre for Community Education, 101a Parish Lane, Penge, SE20 7NR	020 8778 3566	Monday (18:15-21:45) Tuesday (18:15-21:45) Wednesday (18:00-21:30) Thursday (18:15-21:45) Friday (18:00-21:00) Ages 11-19	194; 75; 356
The Duke of Edinburgh's Awards	Kathy Wickes	The Open Award Centre, The Phoenix, Hawes Lane, West Wickham, BR4 9AE	020 8777 7350	Contact Kathy Wickes for further details	194;352
The Duke of Edinburgh's Awards	Rod Potter	The Duke Youth Centre, Park Rd, St Mary Cray, Orpington, BR5 4AS	01689 896906	Contact Rod Potter for further details	R6;51

The Duke of Edinburgh's Awards	Rick Clarkson	M2, Parkfield Recreation Ground, Off Whitebeam Av, Bromley BR2 8Dl	020 8857 9977	Wednesday 19:00-21:00	358; 336; 402; 320; 61; 261; 208
Duke Youth Centre	Desa Wood	Park Rd, St Mary Cray, Orpington, BR5 4AS	01689 898009	Monday (19:00-21:30) Special Needs - Ages 14+; Tuesday (19:00-21:00) Age 14+; Wednesday (15:30-18:30) Ages 10-13; Thursday (19:00-21:00) Girls Ages 13+	R6; 51
Fusion Cray Youth Radio Project	T.B.A	The Link Youth Centre, St Paul's Cray, Kent, BR5 2QL	020 8302 4144	Monday (19:00-21:00) Ages 11-19; Tuesday (19:00-21:00) Ages 11-19; Wednesday (18:30-21:30) Ages 11-19	B14; R1; R11
JusB	Rachel Archer	51 College Road, Bromley, BR1 3PU	020 8464 2722	Tuesday (17:30-19:00) Ages 11-14 (20:00-21:30) Ages 14-18; Wednesday (15:15-17:15) Drop in; Friday (18:15-20:45) Drop in	126; 314; 336; 261
Link Youth Centre	Desa Wood	Midfield Way, St Paul's Cray, Orpington, Kent, BR5 2QL	020 8300 6749	Tuesday (19:00-21:00) Boys; Thursday (19:00-21:00) Ages 11-13	B14; R1; R11
M2	Rachel Glanville	Parkfield Recreation Ground, Off Whitebeam Av, Bromley BR2 8Dl	020 8777 7350	Wednesday 18:30-21:00 Ages 11-19	358; 336; 402; 320; 61; 261; 208
The One Stop Shop	David Frazier	Bromley Youth Team, Advice & Information Drop In Centre, 27 London Road, Bromley, BR1 1DG	020 8315 4479	Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday (13:00-16:00) Ages 13-19	208
Phoenix Youth Centre	Sheila Thorne	Hawes Lane, West Wickham, Kent, BR4 9AE	020 8777 7350	Monday, Wednesday (19:00-21:30) Ages 13-19; Thursday (19:00-21:00) Ages 11-13	194;352
The Princes Trust	Ian Ward	Bromley Town Church, Saxon House, 2 Ethelbert Rd, Bromley, BR1 1JA	020 8460 0160		126; 162; 208; 358; 261; 314; 336
Somali Projects	Faisa Mohammed	Penge Centre for Community Education, 101a Parish Lane, Penge, SE20 7NR	020 8778 3566	Monday (19:00-22:00) Boys Ages 13-19; Saturday (12:00-14:00) Mixed Ages 11-19; Saturday (14:00-16:00) Girls Ages 13-19	194; 75; 356

Spitfire Youth Centre	Peter Moorcock	Church Road, Biggin Hill, Kent, TN16 3LB	01959 574835	Monday (19:15-22:00) Ages 13-19; Tuesday (18:30-20:30) Ages 11-13; Thursday (19:00-21:30) Ages 13-19; Friday (19:15-22:00) Ages 11-19	246; 320; 464; R2; R8
Star Lane	Charlotte McLeod	The Crays, Orpington, Kent	020 8777 7350	Wednesday (14:45-18:15) Ages 8-19; Friday (15:00-18:00) Ages 8-19	R4; R6; B14; R1; R11; 51; 477; R4
Streetwise	Teena Marshall	1-3 Anerley Station Rd, Penge, SE20 8YP	020 8768 7230	Monday (19:00-22:00) Girls Ages 11-19; Tuesday (14:00-18:00) Ages 13+ (19:00-22:00) Ages 13-19; Wednesday (18:00-20:30) Boys Ages 11-19; Thursday (14:00-18:00) Ages 13-19; Friday (18:00-21:00) Ages 11-14	354; 358
The Youth Council	Ruth Wood	Phoenix Youth Centre, Hawes Lane, West Wickham, BR4 9AE	020 8777 7350		194;352

Youth Groups in Bexley

Project Name	Contact	Address	Phone No	Age Group	Bus Route
Bexley Moorings Project	Anne Bennett	20 Crook Log, Bexleyheath, Kent, DA6 8BP	020 8300 9742	8-17	89; 96; 422; 486; B11; B12; B14; B15; B16
Crayford & Barnehurst Youth Centre	Janet Wilson	Woodside Road, Bexleyheath, Kent, DA7 4EQ	077 3448 8325	11-19	492
Danson Youth & Community Centre	Joy Toghill	Brampton Road, Bexleyheath, Kent, DA7 4EZ	020 8303 6052	9-19	816
South Reach Youth Centre		Howbury Grange Centre Slade Green Rd, Erith, Kent, DA8 2HX	013 2233 7299		428;469
Welling Youth Centre	Tony Ball	Lovel Avenue, Welling, Kent, DA16 3JQ	020 8854 1639	13-19	96

Youth Groups in Croydon

Project Name	Contact	Address	Phone No	Age Group	Bus Route
Archbishop Lanfranc School Youth Club	Nick Weatherley	Mitcham Road, Croydon, CR9 3AS	020 8686 2304		264
Coulsdon Youth Club		Chipstead Valley Rd, Coulsdon, CR5 3BE	017 3755 4220		166; 434
Goldcrest Youth Club	Nick Fokias	Goldcrest Way, New Addington, CR0 0LP	020 8686 2304	13+	130; 314; T31; T32; N159
Purley Youth Centre		906a Brighton Rd, Purley, CR8 2LN	020 8668 7259	13-19	60; 166; N68; 405; 466; 434
Shirley Youth Club	Albert Bailey	Shrublands Ave, Shirley, CR0 8JA	020 8777 4298		198
Timebridge Junior Club	Sally Rivers	Fieldway, New Addington, CR0 9AZ	016 8984 1688	8-13	130; T31; N159
Timebridge Youth Club	Wayne Stevens	Fieldway, New Addington, CR0 9AZ	016 8984 1688	11-18	130; T31; N159
Waddon Youth Centre	Suzy Isted	85 Waddon Way, Waddon, CR0 2LG	020 8686 2304	11-19	157; 407; 410; 455
Whitehorse Youth Centre	Terry Sommers	Whitehorse Rd, West Croydon, CR0 4HY	020 8684 1076	11-19	50;468

11. APPENDIX D: Proposed Draft of Letter to Parents

Dear Parents and/or Guardian,

     Today in school, the officers of the Metropolitan Police Services made a presentation to your child about acceptable behaviour on the public buses on London. We at the MET treat bus crimes with the seriousness they deserve. With the advancement of CCTV, any person committing a crime, such as graffiti on the seats and windows, etching on the windows, destruction, arson, theft or acts of violence will be caught and charged. Although children may think that their actions bear no consequence, these violations can follow them and make their lives more difficult later on. Please take the time to talk with your child about acceptable behaviour on the buses so that they do not become one of the many youths already caught by Operation BusTag.

     Sincerely,

          Officer …………………………………………..

12. APPENDIX E: Suggested Rules for TfL "Tag My Bus" Competition

1. All participants must submit either a sheet of paper or a canvas with their 'tag'
   a. Any images sent of graffiti on any other medium will not be considered valid (i.e. pictures of a 'tag' painted onto a wall)
2. Entries can either be pencil, pen, paint, marker, or computer generated
3. No entry can contain profanity or any remarks about race, religion, creed, sex or sexual orientation
4. Winning entry will be chosen based on artistic merit, uniqueness of 'tag' or any criteria that Transport for London chooses to employ
5. Previous participation in illegal activities on London Buses significantly diminishes chance of winning
6. No limit to the amount of entries that can be submitted
7. All entries must be submitted by the Last day of the month to be eligible for the next months contest
   a. Winning entry will be posted on the 7th (seventh) day of each month and will remain posted until the 7th (seventh) day of the following month
   b. All entries should be mailed to: "Tag My Bus" Contest, Transport for London.

13. APPENDIX F: Notes from Interviews

<u>Junior Citizens Week</u>
- Will not be able to get a job because of record
- Travel restriction due to criminal record (i.e. America, other countries)
- Big emphasis on wanting to go to America and denied because of record
- Fines, jail time… loss of free travel
- What to do…
    - Large emphasis on being non-confrontational
    - First thing is to wait until the person is gone
    - Ring police
    - Tell bus driver
    - Do not try to stop him in the act
- PCSO first used scare tactics to get the children's attention
- Then gives the impression that the students can help stop crime

<u>Bromley Safer Transport Team</u>
- Make sure the CCTV is known to be working
- PCSO:
    - Can use necessary force
    - Can give citations
    - Require address and info of person showing anti-social behavior
- Can clean bus within forty-eight hours; if racial or hate within twenty-four hours
- On highly congested stops, they have officers at the route and can decrease the problem
- Ages eleven to sixteen travel for free on the buses
- Recommend: limiting free travel time (school hours)
- Late 1990s and early 2000s the youth clubs broke down and were not being used anymore
- PCSO need their powers increased:
    - Light armament
    - Handcuffs
- They know the children really well and said that some of the parents do the same thing, so they do not care if their child is doing it.
- Some are even proud of their child for doing it
- Recommend: stricter penalties, fines for kids and maybe even their parents
- PCSO are not respected enough because they do not have many powers
- Can hold a criminal for Thirty minutes until a PC shows up to make the arrest

<u>Safer Transport Teams from Brent and Hillingdon</u>
- Brent: Two teams of nine PCSOs (two PCs and two PSs total)
- Hillingdon: One team of eight PCSOs, one team of ten PCSOs…(two PCs and two PSs)
- Bus companies are not sending out videos of damage to the buses
- Communication problem between BusTag and bus companies
- Need to include Brent Safer Transport Team PS in the emails

- Started to decrease the number of slides sent to Safer Transport Team
- Using uniform officers to go into schools and close most of the still open cases.
- Trevor Holden will be dealing with the allocation of arrest packets London wide
- The feeling is that BusTag has become like "beat crime"
- Old system they used involved giving easy packets to Safer Transport Team, but then the bad repeating offenders were left behind… new system is first come, first serve
- BusTag is trying to use the money they were awarded to buy digital cameras to give to the Safer Transport Team to help take pictures of etching and graffiti
- Crimon: Intelligence report for anyone stopped and questioned by police… includes name, description and personal info
- The system flaws force you to search for the exact info (any extra capital letters stop search results)
- If reports are considered invaluable, they are removed from the system; however, if the STT officers do not put reports on Crimon, they are rebuked
- BusTag only has access to Crimon (instead of Crimon +) so the Safer Transport Teams use the old version of the system
- Limited internet access for Safer Transport Team
- Custody imagining (database of criminal photos) is done by Graham Hayes
- Disunity between Safer Transport Teams and bus companies is big problem
- Good cooperation between Safer Transport Team and Safer Neighbourhood Team
- Tactical Support Group (TSG); carrier patrols, stop and search operations within crime area. Drug detection: TSG canine unit will sit in the Underground station and sniff patrons
- Bendy buses allow for turnstile-jumping or fair hoping and Route 18 is a "criminal transport system"
- Brent Safer Transport Team is split and lack of communication between two groups
- Safer Transport Teams are encouraged to wear florescent colors so public can see police, but plain clothes officers can catch vandals easier
- BusTag hopes to get the Safer Transport Teams involved with their presentations at schools… not happening yet
- Lack of communication between PC, Safer Transport Team and PCSOs is a big problem
- TfL presentation is being shown in schools, but not the BusTag presentation

Bromley (Hays and Coney Hall Ward) Safer Neighborhood Team
- The youths like to show off because they are bored and it is addictive
- Nineteen to twenty-four year olds hate graffiti
- Three stops and then they call the parents
- Six stops: they are given the Acceptable Behavior Contract… agreement between council, parents and school to control what the offender can do (i.e. restrictions)
- This makes them accountable for their every action
- Eighteen out of Nineteen are currently working with this program
- Their attitudes change from " I can do what I want" to " I can see why that was wrong"
- Makes the community feel safer
- They try to get the youths involved in after school activities
- PPO: Priority Profile Offender

- Highest level of offender
- They believe these youths need a sense of belonging
- After six months of being on the program, some kids still come in just to talk to the cops to feel better and ease their tensions (program works)
- ABC is voluntary
- ABC +, the YOT gets involved with interventions… they have a contract
- ABSO… five years imprisonment
- Children only get adult responsibility (give input to police) if they act respectably
- Hays and Coney Hall Ward of Bromley says that images take so long to process that sometimes offenders grow out of graffing by the time they are convicted
- Hays and Coney Hall Ward arrest on site if someone is doing graffiti without questions asked
- Graffiti prevention turning to look at walls, and in neighborhoods, not just on buses anymore
- Hays and Coney Hall Ward believe in trying to help the youths…they believe it is better to explain why it's wrong rather than just slapping them on the wrist and telling them not to do it again
- One of the youths on the ABC program likes the PC so much that he regularly comes in to have a chat about his day….another one just got a new job because the police ward helped him
- Hays and Coney Hall Ward use the ABC program to give the kids responsibility and make them feel like an adult and part of the community
- This ward is trying to rent out a recreationally center so they can setup an after school program for the youths to use… so far they have had no luck in getting help to rent out the center

Merton Anti-Graffiti Team
- Graffiti is a major problem on walls, but not so much on the buses
- Graffiti in Merton is very much "crew" (i.e. associated with territory but not violent or drug related)
- They show a DVD about one 'tagger's' life… powerful story
- The 'tagger' in the DVD bullies people and 'tags' a lot of the property around where he lives…in the end his mother ends up dying because no one would help him because of his early actions (i.e. bullying other kids, and 'tagging' his neighbors door to her house)
- They said they use MySpace, Facebook, Bebo and other social websites as a means to catching the "crew" that 'tag' the walls and buildings
- One member of their team has a My Space page and is friends with a lot of crew members... they post videos of themselves vandalizing walls and bullying
- If they get caught, they used to make the vandal clean the wall that has graffiti on it
- A lot of 'crews' from other boroughs come into Merton just to graffiti, and then leave

Bromley College
- Of the students interviewed, the only ones that said they have never etched or done graffiti were the ones playing ping pong or pool
- One person who was nineteen said that he had etched a bus when he was fifteen, but grew out of it and thought it was childish
- He also said that he had only done this so that he could get his out there (i.e. to be known by other students and youths)
- The same student also said his friend had etched a bus as well, but he was caught... this frightened him so he stopped after that
- Two seventeen year olds said that they had never done it, but knew other kids who did... they were bored
- A group of sixteen year olds were saying that they were really bored during an after school, so doing graffiti or etching made sense to them because everyone is bored
- The same group also said there is nothing for them to do on weekends...no one has a front yard so they cannot just go to a friend's house and play a pick-up game of football or rugby
- One person said he thought that graffiti was not a big problem and gave kids something to do... he worked for the YOT in Bromley
- Every student interviewed either said they believed that etching or graffiti was done because of boredom and the peer pressure to have your 'tag' name recognized

BusTag Officer A
- The kids are really bored
- They etch because they want to known by other students
- The youth clubs are on the decline and not very effective
- When Officer A was a youth the youth organizations were really popular and had big showings each time they met...they are not even close to as popular or used as often as they used to be
- Bromley has a high rate of graffiti and etching because the parents are really busy during the day and do not get home until late at night, so their children are out committing crimes and they do not know that they are
- The summer time has a lot less crime because all the families go away for summer vacations
- They want to fit in (i.e. sense of belonging)

BusTag Officer B
- The kids want their friends to see their 'tag' on a bus so that they will become popular
- Boredom
- Some parents are clueless to the fact that their kid is committing crimes
- In America, the family structure is much tighter than in London, the kids here have a lack of belonging
- Football tickets and rugby matches are expensive, so there are no family discounted tickets... less family togetherness...another example of the youths having nothing do to because they cannot afford to