

Fear of crime in public places



Overview

“... fear of crime is an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime.”

Kenneth F Ferraro

Fear of crime: Interpreting Victimization Risk (1995)

- Why Transport for London?
- Transport examples
- Transport = public place
- Interactive session

Fear of crime?

- Generic label
- Apprehension
- Often not crime
- Not always bad
- Affects behaviour



What do we know about fear of crime?

- Often a rational response
- Differential impact of crime
- Behavioural change
- Complex relationship with actual crime
- Linked to broken windows
- Affects people differently

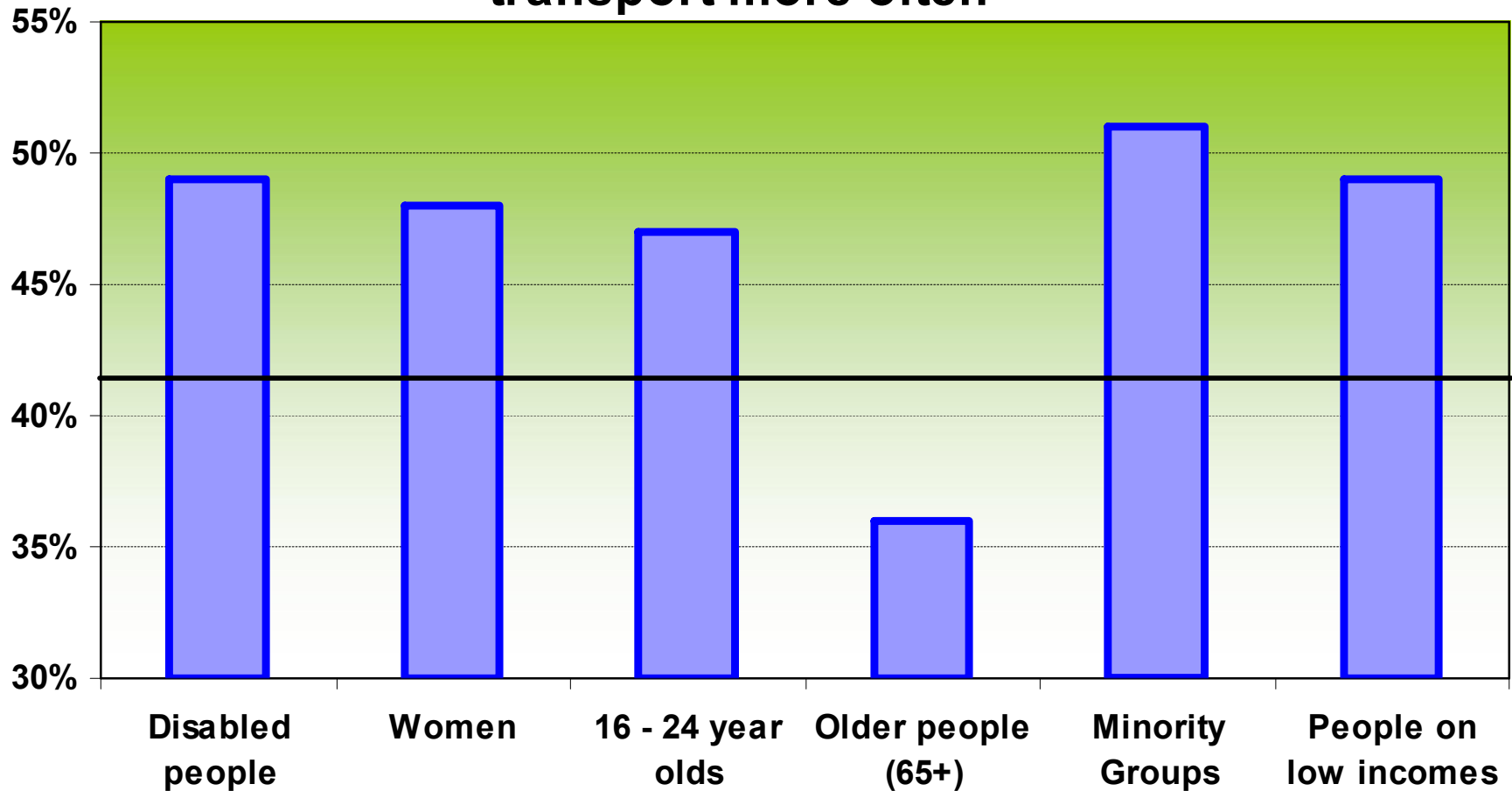


“Fear of crime is a paradox...we operate in one of the most tightly controlled , heavily policed areas of public space anywhere in the Western world...yet a significant proportion of our passengers have a sense of unease, an experience of fear travelling on parts of the network.”

Jeroen Weimar
Director, Transport Policing and Enforcement, TfL

Differential fear of crime

Fear of crime as a deterrent to using public transport more often



Why does it concern us?

- Affects quality of life
- Can be socially exclusive
- Almost as important as reducing crime itself
- Can sustain crime levels
- Fear/risk paradox
- Political discussion and debate
- Urban regeneration
- Economic impact

Influences of fear

- Many and varied reasons (social, environmental and personal)
- Impacts on people in different ways
- Theoretical models
- From events, places to people
- Behavioral influences
- Signal crimes perspective



What drives the fear of crime?

“.....individuals’ worries about victimisation are greatly influenced by perceived (economic and social) vulnerability and perceived (lack of) social cohesion or trust.....”

A Tseloni

*Fear of crime, perceived disorders and property crime
Crime Prevention Studies 21 -2007*

Individuals, behavior and fear

Reasons?

- Social control
- Vulnerability
- Victimization

Responses?

- Avoidance
- Protective
- Insurance



Key drivers of fear

- Signs of crime and disorder
- Have been a victim of crime or anti-social behavior
- Feel vulnerable
- Are poorly informed
- Feel powerless and isolated
- Witnessed crime
- Media
- Level of assistance or protection

Signal Crimes Perspective

- Citizen focused approach to understanding drivers of fear
- Approach based on three concepts:
 - **Signal Crimes** – Criminal offences that signal the wider presence of risk to people
 - **Signal Disorders** – forms and signs of incivility and anti-social behaviour
 - **Control Signals** – acts of social control that can impact positively or negatively on perceptions
- Provides opportunity to target resources at things (influences) that really matter

Signal Crimes Perspective

	Signal
1	Youths hanging around
2	Closed ticket offices
3	Ticket barrier problems
4	Graffiti
5	Ticket scalpers
5	Verbal abuse
6	Terrorist incidents
6	Litter/Rubbish/Dirty
7	Drunk and disorderly



Highest ranking concern across all groups



Of medium concern to all groups



Lowest ranking concern to all groups

Influences in a transport environment

- Enclosed environment
- Close proximity to strangers
- Diverse travelling public
- Cleanliness of vehicle
- Group disorder during pre and after school hours
- Concern about the whole journey (from door to door)
- Isolation when travelling at night
- Sensationalized media stories



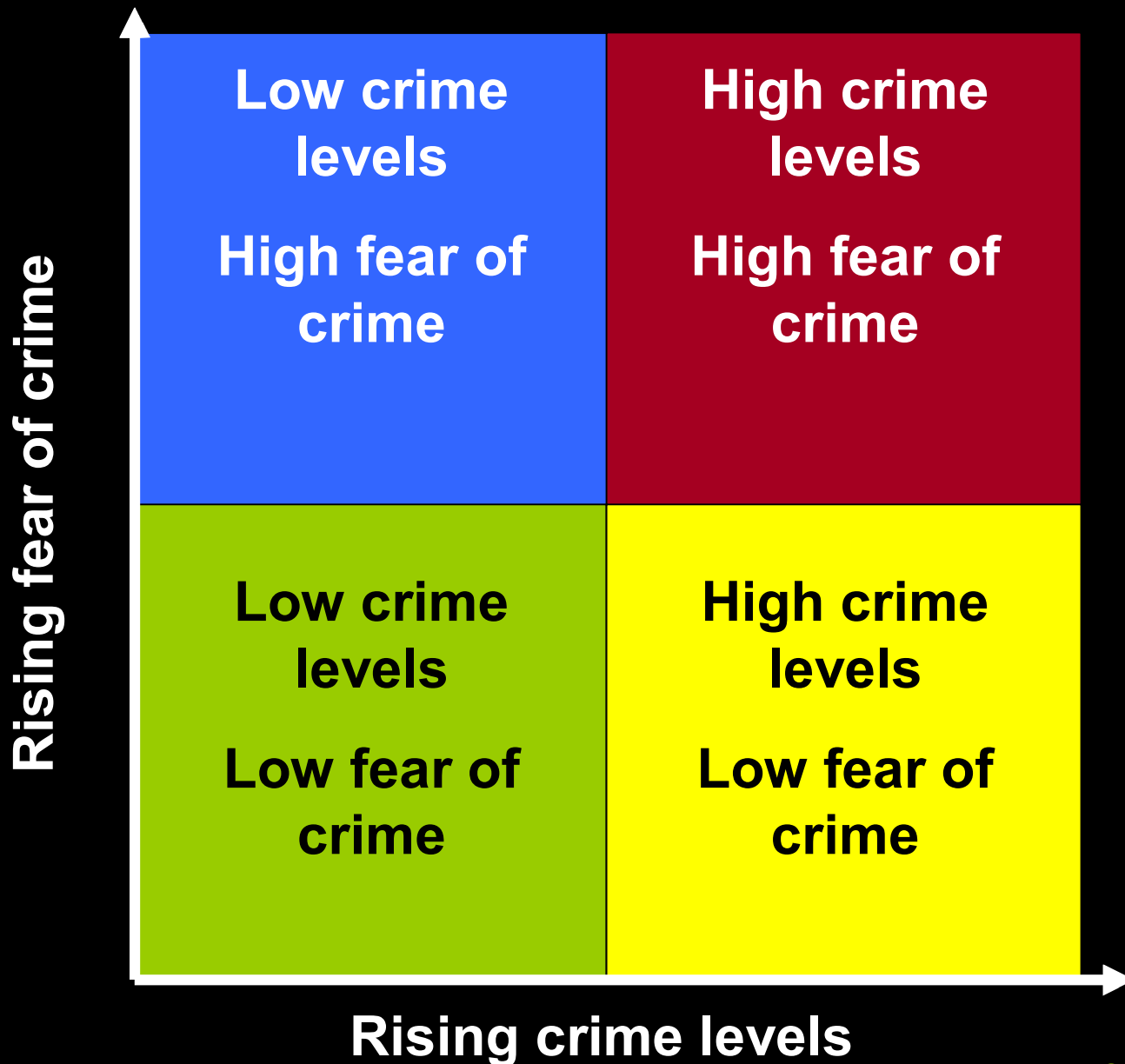
- a. What might be some of the challenges to measuring fear of crime?*

- b. Are there places in your own towns or cities where it might be valuable to measure fear of crime?*

Identifying and measuring fear of crime

- Difficult to establish drivers of fear
- Need to understand fear more specifically
- Where, when and who does it most affect?
- Use of community intelligence
- Proxy measures
- Proactive public engagement

Fear of Crime Matrix



Identifying and measuring fear through research

- How, who and what?
- Need high level of detail
- Consistent questions
- Specific questions
- Need to distinguish experience & expression
- Getting it right is difficult



A London perspective

- How safe do you feel walking outside in this neighborhood in the evening by yourself?

40% felt unsafe

Why do you feel unsafe?	%
Fear of being mugged or physically attacked?	42
Fear of burglary	39
Knife crime	34
Teenagers hanging around on the street	33
Lack of police presence	31
People using and dealing drugs	25
Gun crime	22
Vandalism and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles	21
People being drunk or rowdy in the streets	21



Local concerns in London wards

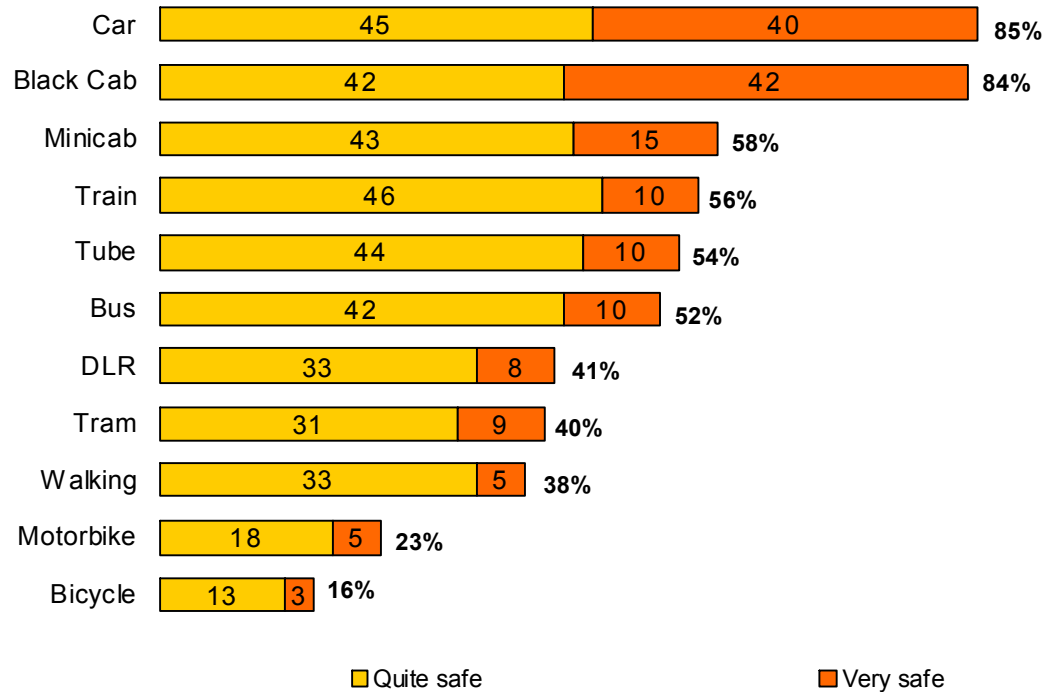
St Helier	Colville	Upper Edmonton	Falconwood & Welling	St Marys
Youths	Drugs	Drugs	Youths	Drugs
Graffiti	Youths	Burglary	Damage	Youths
Litter	Mugging	Mugging	Violence	Damage
Damage	Robbery	Theft	Burglary	Litter
Mugging	Theft	Assault	Verbal	Mugging
Violence	Murder	Youths	Assault	Assault

Identifying and measuring fear of crime

Transport for London
Experience

How safe do you feel travelling around London after dark?

Perceived safety travelling around London – after dark

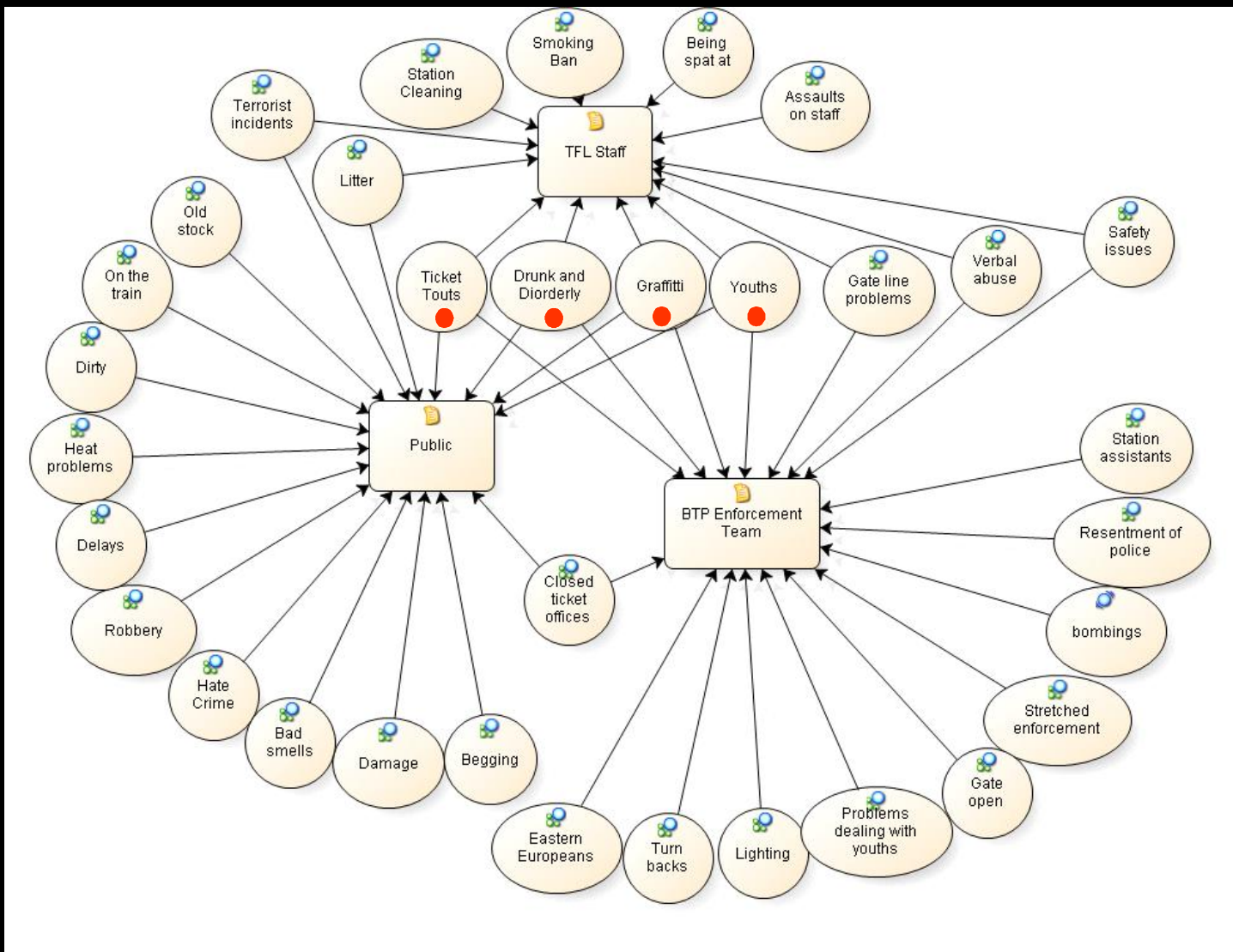


Base: All respondents 2006 (n=1006), 2005 (n=1012) Source: SS5b How safe from crime or antisocial behaviour would you feel travelling on xxx after dark? Do you feel....

Concerns on London's Tube

Enforcement Team	London Underground Staff	Travelling Public
Dealing with youths	Terrorist incidents	Closed ticket offices
Station assistants	Being spat at	Begging
Resentment of police	Assaults on staff	Bad smells
Bombings	Station Cleaning	Damage
Overstretched enforcement	Ticket scalpers	Hate crime
Open ticket barriers	Drunk and disorderly	Robbery
Closed ticket offices	Graffiti	Delays
Lighting	Youths	Heat problems
Turn backs	Verbal abuse	Dirty
Ticket scalpers	Safety issues	Old stock
Youths	Fare evasion	Terrorist incidents
Drunk and disorderly	Litter	Ticket scalpers
Graffiti	<p style="text-align: center;">Key</p> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 15px; background-color: yellow; margin-right: 5px;"></div> Social Disorder </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 15px; background-color: pink; margin-right: 5px;"></div> Crime </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 15px; background-color: green; margin-right: 5px;"></div> Environmental disorder </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 15px; background-color: cyan; margin-right: 5px;"></div> Service provider issues </div> </div>	Drunk and disorderly
Ticket barrier problems		Graffiti
Safety issues		Youths
Verbal abuse		Litter
Fare evasion		

Identifying concerns on London's Tube



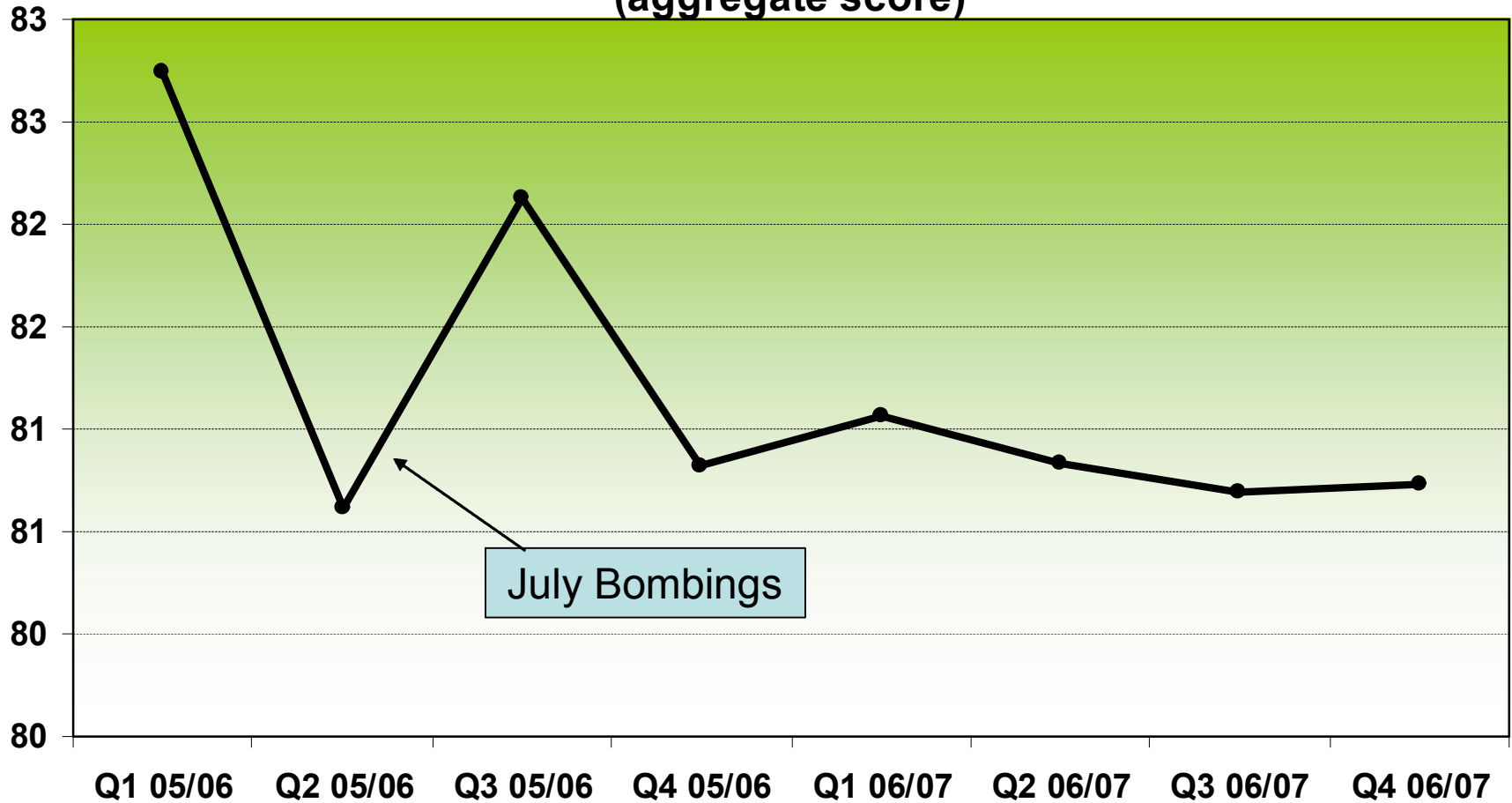
Events to people

- Terrorist attack on Madrid's subway in 2004 had a noticeable affect on perception
- Perception scores clearly affected by attack on London's subway in 2005



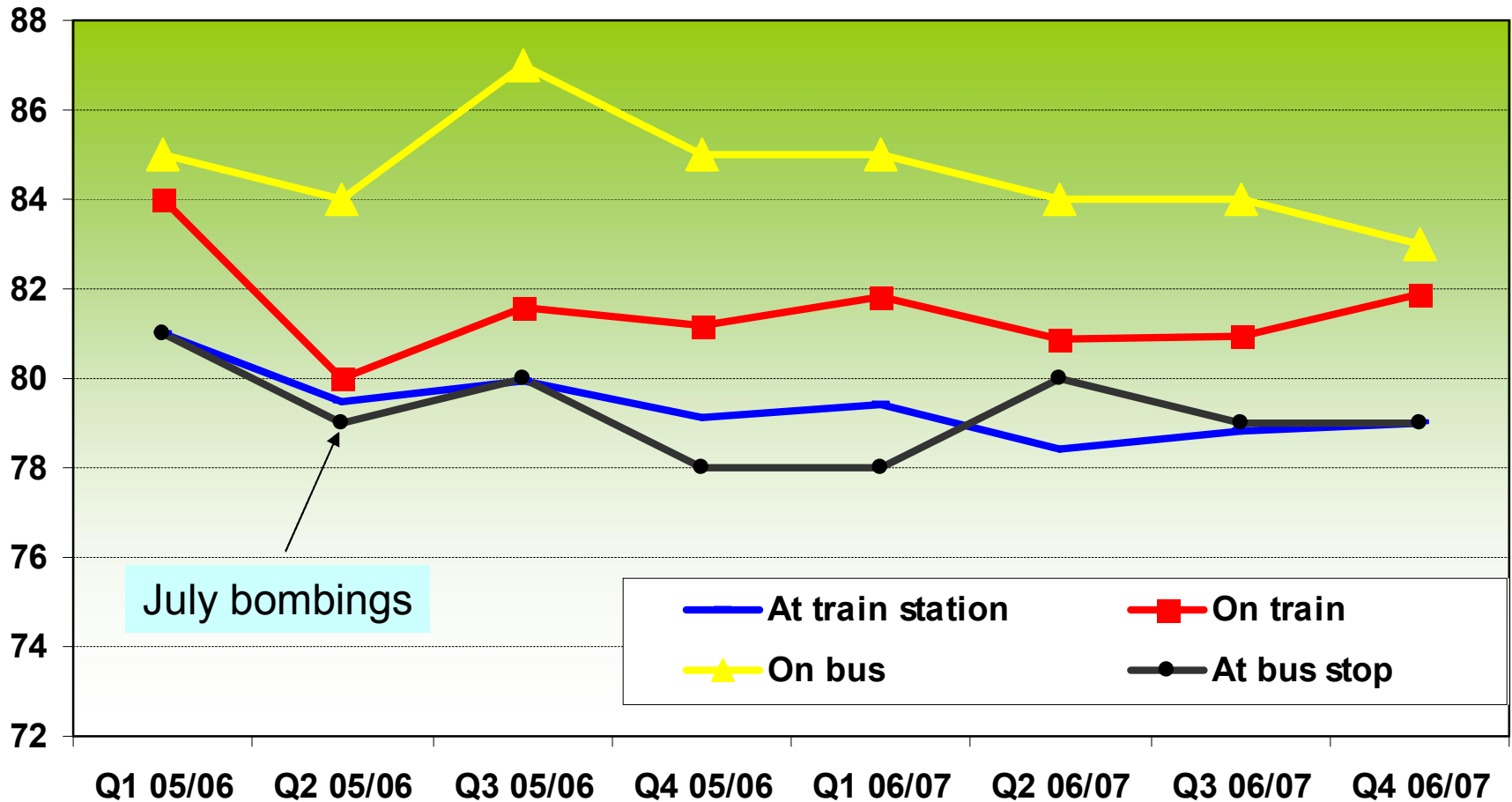
Impact of July's terrorist attacks on perception of safety

Perception of safety and security on TfL services
(aggregate score)



Perception by transport mode

Perception of safety and security on TfL services



“The police have a tendency to say crime is coming down...but if the perception of local people is of disorder and lack of control, they feel unsafe...if you tell them things are better, you destroy your own credibility and their trust in you.”

Peter Fahy
Chief Constable, Cheshire Police
20 August 2007

Problem-solving approach to fear of crime

- Targeted and integrated approach
- Based on data
- Account for social, environmental and personal factors
- Address the cues that people base perceptions on
- Response-oriented policing on its own is insufficient to address fear of crime
- Can't be done in isolation
- Reducing fear has proved difficult

What strategies can be used to address fear of crime in public places?

Strategic Areas

■ Communications and media



BRITISH
TRANSPORT
POLICE

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24/08/2007 00:01

**INVESTMENT IN POLICE PAYS
DIVIDENDS FOR RAIL SECURITY BUT
ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IS STILL A
CONCERN**

Serious violent crime on Britain's railways has decreased but passengers are more likely to experience low level disorder and anti-social behaviour, according to figures released today by British Transport Police (BTP).

Tube anti-social behaviour rises by a third in a year

SERIOUS cases of anti-social behaviour on the Tube increased by almost one third this year, it was revealed today.

Figures released by the British Transport Police show the number of recorded public order offences, which include harassment, racial hatred and violent disorder, rose by 32.3 per cent in 2006-07.

However, the overall rate of crime fell by 2.1 per cent across the network, despite a five per cent rise in the number of people using the Underground.

Strategic Areas

- Communications and media
- Visible control and reassurance
- Environmental Improvements
- Application of technology
- Crime reduction/prevention
- Community engagement

Times Group Newspapers H

'Help us to stop vandals defacing buses' — police



Response strategies

Transport for London
Experience

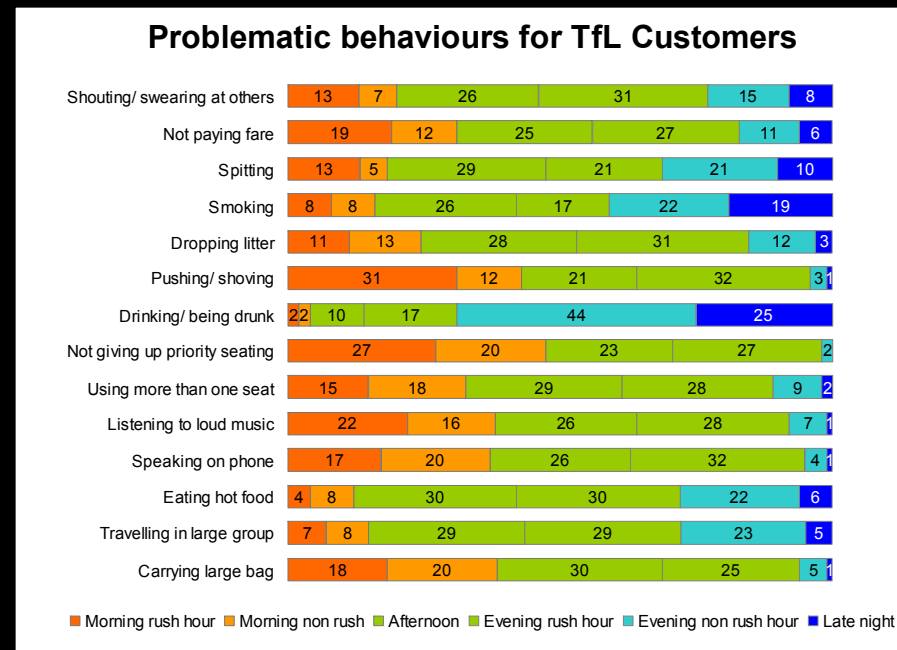
Tackling the issues that matter most to passengers and staff

- Introduction of Safer Transport Teams in response to community intelligence and feedback
- Local problem-solving
- Data collection and engagement
- Community decides the priorities of the team rather than the police setting priorities
- Communications campaign to raise awareness of the teams and their work



Tackling anti-social behavior

- Research found that passengers were mostly concerned about incivilities and ASB rather than crime
- Marketing campaign developed to tackle these behaviors and engender respect and social cohesion
- Demonstrates that TfL is listening to public concerns and working to address them



Increasing surveillance

- TfL research identified that CCTV would further increase feelings of safety and security
- London has one of most extensive CCTV systems of any transport system in the world
- CCTV installed in places where the public felt unsafe
- Installation of CCTV on its own is not enough to reassure people – you need to tell them it's there



Raising Awareness

- Multi-media communications campaign to raise awareness of the dangers of using illegal taxis
- An average of 18 women a month were sexually assaulted yet 18% of women surveyed said they would use illegal taxis



Unexpected outcomes of response strategies

- Attempts to tackle fear of crime can have unexpected outcomes
 - Create complacency / expose people to risk
 - Displacement (location and crime type)
 - Heighten fear of crime
- Interventions impact groups in different ways
- Strategies must take these 'side effects' into account
- Ethical problems when attempting to challenge fear of crime without tackling the risk

Measuring impact

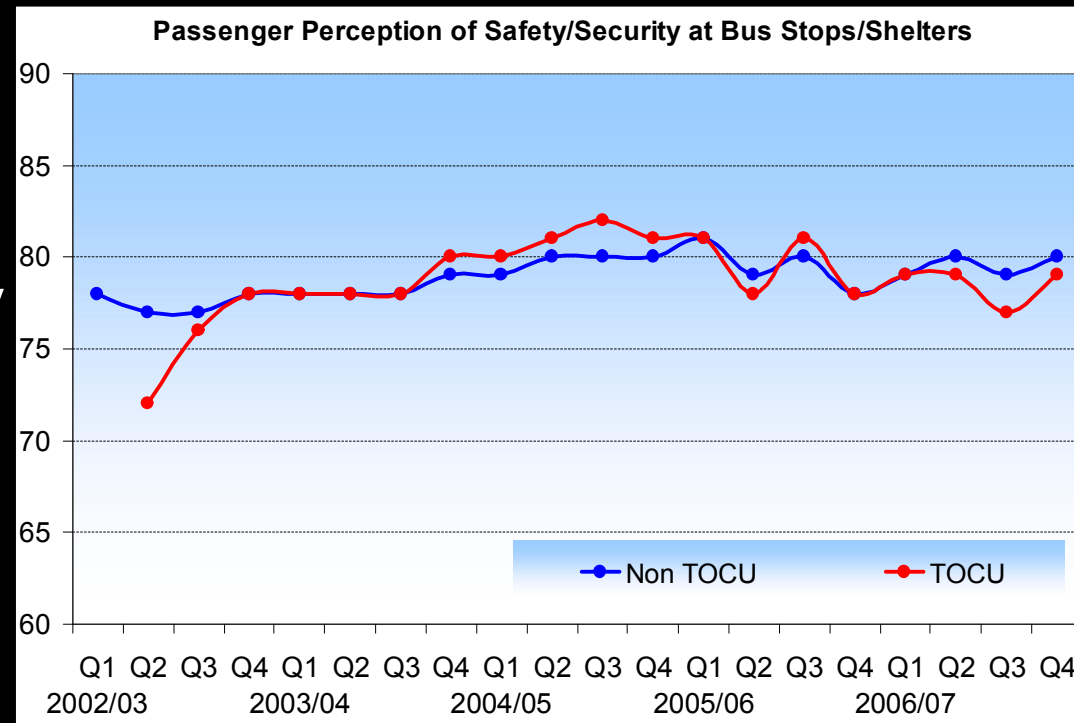
- Important to measure impact and evaluate effectiveness of specific responses
- Monitoring satisfaction and citizen focus
- Monitoring levels is a good indicator but it also needs to be specific
- Consistent questioning is helpful to monitor levels over time
- Comparisons between fear of crime and experience

Measuring impact

Transport for London
Experience

Monitoring perceptions on key bus routes

- Omnibus Survey
- Dedicated policing capability on 20 key bus routes
- Crime has fallen



- Scores on routes policed by the Transport Operational Command Unit (on bus and at bus stops) have improved significantly as a result

Tackling knife crime and reassuring the public

- Research undertaken to determine the effect of metal detectors on public safety perceptions
- 31% of respondents avoid public transport because of fear of knife crime
- Measured perceptions of equality groups and white Londoners



- Awareness of anti-knife initiative was likely to reduce fear of crime

Measuring impact of visible policing at major London transport interchange

- Surveys undertaken pre, during and post initiative
- Presence of uniformed officers increase feelings of security
 - sudden appearance of many officers has the opposite effect
 - triggers concerns about crime or possible terrorist threats



Conclusions

- Fear of crime versus healthy apprehension
- Can be positive if it leads to increased crime prevention measures
- Complex relationship between crime and fear of crime
- Smart policing can have a dramatic affect on fear of crime

Conclusions

- Incivilities and anti-social behaviour are key drivers
- Key measures include:
 - making changes to physical and social environment
 - crime reduction activities
 - reassurance strategies
- Measures need to be carefully developed to avoid complacency and increased crime levels
- We need to do some things better

What we need to do better?

- Understand the nature and drivers of fear
- Document the extent of the problem
- Identify if it is really a problem
- Target fear drivers more specifically
- Problem-solving approaches (Effective place management, guardianship, and control of offenders)
- Provide the public with accurate, timely and local information
- Better understand the use of technology (particularly CCTV)

Want to know more?

- Crime Reduction, Home Office, United Kingdom
www.crimereduction.gov.uk
- Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science
www.jdi.ucl.ac.uk
- Universities' Police Science Institute, Cardiff University
www.upsi.org.uk/
- Safer Hastings Partnership
www.saferhastings.co.uk
- Transport for London
www.tfl.gov.uk

Steve Burton
Deputy Director

Mandy McGregor
Policy Support Manager

Transport Policing and Enforcement
Transport for London

Practical examples in
support of slide 32

Communications and Media

- Communicate what action is being taken and why (targeted messages)
- Communicate successes
- Inform the public – accurate and timely information on crime levels, rates and risks (contextualize it)
- Work with the media
- Use a variety of formats to reach vulnerable and hard to reach groups

Visible control and reassurance

- Visible, uniformed presence – capable guardians
- Local, familiar and accessible policing
- Strategic police deployments
- Involve people of influence
- Set behavioural standards and actively address violations – self policing
- Act on community intelligence

Environmental improvements

- Open visible spaces
- Improve lighting and natural surveillance
- Creation of defensible space
- Design out crime
- Repair damage and clean up environment
- Environmentally sympathetic security

Application of technology

- Closed circuit televisions in areas where people feel most vulnerable (and publicise it)
- Real-time monitoring is more reassuring
- Personal security systems
- Help points
- Public alarms
- Electronic information boards
- Mapping fear of crime and fuzzy intelligence

Crime reduction and prevention

- Effective crime reduction and prevention measures (SARA, crime analysis triangle and situational crime prevention techniques)
- Crime prevention advice
- Tackle anti-social behaviour at its roots
- Prevent repeat victimization
- Positive policies to encourage crime reporting
- Diversionary activities for potential offenders
- Involve the community in preventative action (e.g. Neighborhood Watch schemes)

Community engagement

- Local collaboration with residents, businesses and neighborhoods – listening to their concerns and involving them in the solutions
- Hold community/partnership days
- Promote social cohesion / sense of community
- Educate youths about the affects of their behaviour (intentional or not) has on others