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

- 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

Source: UCL. Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science
“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

- Disabled people
- Women
- 16 - 24 year olds
- Older people (65+)
- Minority Groups
- People on low incomes
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Signal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Youths hanging around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Closed ticket offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ticket barrier problems</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Graffiti</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Ticket scalpers</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Verbal abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Terrorist incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Litter/Rubbish/Dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Drunk and disorderly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **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

- Low crime levels
  - High fear of crime
- High crime levels
  - High fear of crime

- Low crime levels
  - Low fear of crime
- High crime levels
  - Low fear of crime

Source: Home Office, UK
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why do you feel unsafe?</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear of being mugged or physically attacked?</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of burglary</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knife crime</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenagers hanging around on the street</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of police presence</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using and dealing drugs</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun crime</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People being drunk or rowdy in the streets</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Local concerns in London wards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>St Helier</th>
<th>Colville</th>
<th>Upper Edmonton</th>
<th>Falconwood &amp; Welling</th>
<th>St Marys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graffiti</td>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>Damage</td>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Youths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>Mugging</td>
<td>Mugging</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Damage</td>
<td>Damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage</td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>Mugging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugging</td>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Assault</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UCL, Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science
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

- **Car**: 45 (Quite safe) / 40 (Very safe) / 85%
- **Black Cab**: 42 (Quite safe) / 42 (Very safe) / 84%
- **Minicab**: 43 (Quite safe) / 15 (Very safe) / 58%
- **Train**: 46 (Quite safe) / 10 (Very safe) / 56%
- **Tube**: 44 (Quite safe) / 10 (Very safe) / 54%
- **Bus**: 42 (Quite safe) / 10 (Very safe) / 52%
- **DLR**: 33 (Quite safe) / 8 (Very safe) / 41%
- **Tram**: 31 (Quite safe) / 9 (Very safe) / 40%
- **Walking**: 33 (Quite safe) / 5 (Very safe) / 38%
- **Motorbike**: 18 (Quite safe) / 5 (Very safe) / 23%
- **Bicycle**: 13 (Quite safe) / 3 (Very safe) / 16%

Base: All respondents 2006 (n=1006), 2005 (n=1012)  
Source: SSSb How safe from crime or antisocial behaviour would you feel travelling on xxx after dark? Do you feel….
## Concerns on London’s Tube

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enforcement Team</th>
<th>London Underground Staff</th>
<th>Travelling Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with youths</td>
<td>Terrorist incidents</td>
<td>Closed ticket offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station assistants</td>
<td>Being spat at</td>
<td>Begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resentment of police</td>
<td>Assualts on staff</td>
<td>Bad smells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombings</td>
<td>Station Cleaning</td>
<td>Damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overstretched enforcement</td>
<td>Ticket scalpers</td>
<td>Hate crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open ticket barriers</td>
<td>Drunk and disorderly</td>
<td>Robbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed ticket offices</td>
<td>Graffiti</td>
<td>Delays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Heat problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn backs</td>
<td>Verbal abuse</td>
<td>Dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticket scalpers</td>
<td>Safety issues</td>
<td>Old stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>Fare evasion</td>
<td>Terrorist incidents</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Key
- **Yellow**: Social Disorder
- **Pink**: Crime
- **Green**: Environmental disorder
- **Blue**: Service provider issues

Source: Operation Pipe, British Transport Police, Universities’ Police Science Institute 2007
Identifying concerns on London’s Tube

Operation Pipe, British Transport Police, Universities’ Police Science Institute 2007
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)

July Bombings
Perception of safety and security on TfL services

Perception by transport mode

July bombings

At train station
On train
On bus
At bus stop
“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

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**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).

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
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.

Problematic behaviours for TfL Customers

- Shouting/swearing at others: Morning rush hour 13, Morning non rush 7, Afternoon 26, Evening rush hour 31, Evening non rush hour 15, Late night 6
- Not paying fare: Morning rush hour 19, Morning non rush 12, Afternoon 25, Evening rush hour 27, Evening non rush hour 11, Late night 6
- Spitting: Morning rush hour 13, Morning non rush 5, Afternoon 29, Evening rush hour 21, Evening non rush hour 21, Late night 10
- Smoking: Morning rush hour 8, Morning non rush 8, Afternoon 26, Evening rush hour 17, Evening non rush hour 22, Late night 19
- Dropping litter: Morning rush hour 11, Morning non rush 13, Afternoon 28, Evening rush hour 31, Evening non rush hour 12, Late night 3
- Pushing/shoving: Morning rush hour 31, Morning non rush 12, Afternoon 21, Evening rush hour 32, Evening non rush hour 31, Late night 31
- Drinking/being drunk: Morning rush hour 22, Morning non rush 10, Afternoon 17, Evening rush hour 44, Evening non rush hour 25, Late night 25
- Not giving up priority seating: Morning rush hour 27, Morning non rush 20, Afternoon 23, Evening rush hour 27, Evening non rush hour 2, Late night 2
- Using more than one seat: Morning rush hour 15, Morning non rush 18, Afternoon 29, Evening rush hour 28, Evening non rush hour 9, Late night 2
- Listening to loud music: Morning rush hour 22, Morning non rush 16, Afternoon 26, Evening rush hour 28, Evening non rush hour 7, Late night 7
- Speaking on phone: Morning rush hour 17, Morning non rush 20, Afternoon 26, Evening rush hour 32, Evening non rush hour 4, Late night 4
- Eating hot food: Morning rush hour 4, Morning non rush 8, Afternoon 30, Evening rush hour 30, Evening non rush hour 22, Late night 6
- Travelling in large group: Morning rush hour 7, Morning non rush 8, Afternoon 29, Evening rush hour 29, Evening non rush hour 23, Late night 5
- Carrying large bag: Morning rush hour 18, Morning non rush 20, Afternoon 30, Evening rush hour 25, Evening non rush hour 5, Late night 5
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

Source: Home Office, UK
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