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Tolerance and Reactions to Crime

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by

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PREFACE

This study is about the meaning of tolerance in relation to people's reactions to crime and disorder. I was drawn to this topic by curiosity about why people respond differently to local problems with crime and disorder. Some people choose to tackle crime, whilst others do not. This is quite remarkable given the fact that crime is considered by many to be an undesirable and unwanted attribute of our local communities. Crime can penetrate deep into the lives of people. We know that crime - or the threat of it, may affect our quality of life, the communities in which we live, the environments in which we work and the places in which our children play. As Garland subtly states:

For most people crime is no longer an aberration or an unexpected, abnormal event. Instead, the threat of crime has become a routine part of modern consciousness, an everyday risk to be assessed and managed in much the same way that we deal with road traffic - another modern danger which has been routinized and 'normalized' over time (Garland, 1996: 446).

As high levels of crime and problems with disorder are now an inherent feature of our society it is argued by some critics that the government has lost the fight against crime. Instead of relying upon state agencies, such as the police and courts to manage crime, the government has adopted a relatively new approach in prompting non-state agencies and organisations to shoulder some of the responsibility and take action (see for instance, Garland, 1996). The rationale behind this strategy is that the state cannot counter crime alone. Garland argues that this method of governing crime characterises a 'responsibilization strategy' and the language that is used by the state is indicative of this:

Its key phrases are terms such as 'partnership', 'inter-agency co-operation', 'the multi-agency approach', 'activating communities', creating 'active citizens', 'help for self-help'. Its primary concern is to devolve responsibility for crime prevention on to agencies, organizations and individuals which are quite outside the state and to persuade them to act appropriately (Garland, 1996: 452).

As a result in the past decade or so, there has been a noticeable shift in responsibility for the reduction of crime from the state to local communities.

Legislation has been passed to encourage different groups and organisations in a community to work together so that crime may be more effectively tackled. The Crime and Disorder Act places responsibility upon various agencies to act as a collective force to tackle crime and related issues. People have also been encouraged to act collectively and set up self-help groups and crime prevention schemes in their communities. A popular example of this is Neighbourhood Watch which as a national scheme has the political backing of the state. Indeed, for quite some time ordinary citizens have been expected to perform 'quasi-police' functions themselves and assume an increased responsibility for the management of crime (Miers, 1992). The public appear to have responded well to this call for assistance by the Government to tackle crime, for there has been a decisive movement towards reducing the opportunities for crime. People appear to be more than willing to embrace any measure or method which may limit the risks of crime, that is if the booming private security industry is anything to go by. In reality the public appear to have little option but to 'manage' high levels of crime and the threat that this poses to them.

Given this current climate I felt that it was an appropriate time to look closely at how people typically respond to crime and disorder in their communities. It would be interesting to discover the different kinds of actions they take in response to criminal incidents, and to understand what motivates them to react. However, even though crime or the risk of crime is ubiquitous, people do differ in their willingness to react to crime and disorder problems. These differences persist even at the community level. Whereas residents of one community are prepared to tackle crime and disorder problems, residents from another community may not be so inclined and prefer instead to shy away from such problems. There may be a multitude of reasons for this. Perhaps people's reactions are connected to their tolerance or intolerance towards different kinds of criminal activity and these in turn to the sort of environment and community in which they live. These kinds of issues about reactions to crime are intriguing and of importance since we live in a society which has yet to counter and control the tide of deviant behaviour.

The reaction of the public to deviant behaviour attracted the attention of the sociologist Lemert (1951) some fifty years ago. Lemert then suggested that a concept known as the 'tolerance quotient' may be useful to compare how residents from different communities respond to increases in crime, although this concept (originally formulated by Van Vechten, 1940), is quite complex for it is expressed as a mathematical ratio. However, there is some value in drawing attention to it at this early stage for it had a part to play in directing this research. Lemert suggested that residents of a particular locality accept a certain amount of deviant behaviour, but there is some 'critical point' at which they will no longer accept more crime. When residents decide to respond to the deviant behaviour this constitutes the critical point or 'threshold' in the tolerance quotient.

The idea of the tolerance 'threshold' raises some challenging issues about the reactions of people to crime. For instance, the tolerance 'threshold' for collective action may vary across communities. The notion of a 'threshold' may be applicable to the reactions of individuals to crime. There may even be instances where people's tolerance to crime changes, and if so, there may be particular reasons for this. Perhaps people's tolerance and their reactions to crime are predictable. The nature of these questions suggest that the concept of tolerance could be complex. This study will seek to determine whether or not this is the case. The aims of the research are to discover:

- (1) What factors affect the tolerance of individuals or collectives to crime or disorder?
- (2) What are the differences, if any, in the factors that affect individual and collective tolerance?
- (3) Under what circumstances does the tolerance of an individual or community change or vary?
- (4) How does the concept of tolerance relate, if at all, to reactions?
- (5) What kind of effects can reactions to crime and disorder have upon individuals and communities?

To examine the relationship between tolerance and reactions to crime, a working model will be devised. The construction of a theoretical model is a challenging part of the thesis. It is the task of this study to examine whether the model stands up to empirical testing. In order to do this it is necessary to learn about how people respond to crime, and why they choose to do so. The suitability of the subject matter for community based research is for me one of the most attractive parts of the thesis. It is important to hear what people think about crime and disorder issues in their area. There is also a sense of discovery for people if they have to consider (perhaps for the first time) what they would do in response to certain kinds of crime and disorder. As people need to identify with an incident before they can respond to it, the focus is upon crimes and acts of disorder which are prevalent in our society. As a result the concern of this research is with the reactions of ordinary people to ordinary crimes. Since there appear to be good reasons to compare the reactions of residents from different areas, the fieldwork for this research will be conducted in several communities. As a result of engaging in an empirical 'adventure' it is hoped that the mystery and intrigue that drew me to the topic of tolerance and reactions to crime will be uncovered.

The study itself has been separated into three main parts. The background to the research is presented in Part I of the thesis. This is made up of two Chapters which examine the relationships between individuals, communities, and crime. Chapter 1 reviews the literature concerning communities and the impact of crime. In Chapter 2, an individual perspective is adopted with an examination of the connections between individuals and victimisation. There is also a brief discussion of what factors according to the literature are likely to affect people's reactions to crime and disorder. These factors are of relevance to my theoretical model about tolerance and reactions to crime. In providing the theoretical impetus for the model, the review of the literature helps to shape the remainder of the research.

Part II presents the empirical element of the study and comprises two Chapters (Chapters 3 and 4). In the first of these Chapters, a 'tolerance and crime' model is presented, and then explained. The remainder of this Chapter is used to describe how this model and the associated hypotheses will be

tested empirically. The fieldwork areas where the data was collected are introduced and there is a description of the methodology employed. There is also an explanation of how the model will be operationalised for subsequent testing. In Chapter 4, the model is empirically tested to ascertain whether it is an accurate representation of the relationship between tolerance and reactions to crime. A detailed description of the two fieldwork communities and their locales are provided in the form of a comparative analysis. The results of the analyses are then presented and arranged into four key themes which are designed to address the main assertions of the model.

The findings of this research are discussed in Part III (Chapters 5 and 6). In Chapter 5 the important lessons that have been learnt about reactions to crime and the concept of tolerance are discussed. The 'tolerance and crime' model is revisited to assess whether the main assertions are supported by the findings, and if modifications need to be made. A statement is made as to whether the findings support or reject each of the research hypotheses. In Chapter 6 there is a discussion of how the findings may have implications for future theorising and research. Attention will be paid to how the findings affect related topics of enquiry, and if relevant new paths of enquiry will be suggested. Conclusions are then drawn about the concept of tolerance, the reactions of people to crime in their community, and the contribution of this study to future research.

PART I

INDIVIDUALS, COMMUNITIES, AND CRIME:
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter 1

Communities and the Impact of Crime

There exist complex relationships between individuals, communities, and crime. A review of these relationships forms the basis of the following two Chapters, which concern respectively communities and crime, and individuals and crime. This review of the literature will act as a theoretical basis for a 'tolerance and crime' model which is to be set out in Part II of the research. At this juncture it is inappropriate to dedicate a Chapter or even a Section to 'tolerance' as so little research has sought to explore or explain the meaning of this term in relation to reactions to crime. As an alternative, a number of quotations from the literature which refer to the term 'tolerance' are presented at relevant points.

This first Chapter concerns communities and the impact of crime. The intention is to examine (i) how communities can affect crime patterns, (ii) how crime can affect communities, and (iii) how the causes and consequences of crime can interact. In Section 1 an ecological perspective is adopted to examine how communities may influence crime, primarily through their structural characteristics and social conditions. Community based theories are traced from the Chicagoans through to contemporary work. Communities display differential risks of crime, and there are certain community characteristics which are often associated with high levels of crime and disorder.

Section 2 looks to the consequences of crime and disorder upon communities at one point in time; a snapshot. As the meaning and significance of crime and disorder can vary across communities, the impact that they have are far from uniform. Nonetheless, the impact of crime and disorder is remarkably wide-ranging for they affect both the structural characteristics and social conditions of communities. Crime and disorder can affect communities in terms of their appearance, residential population movements, the capacity of the residents to mobilise against the threat of crime and disorder, and the local economy.

Section 3 examines the interaction between the causes and consequences of crime and the subsequent impact upon communities over time. Community decline theories act as the basis for this examination. Earlier Sections have discussed how the structural characteristics and social conditions of communities can be the causes and consequences of crime. The interactions between these causes and consequences are conceived as resulting primarily from the reactions of residents to crime and disorder. The way in which residents respond to crime and disorder can in turn affect the structural and social constituents of communities, and hence patterns of crime. Therefore communities can affect crime and crime can affect communities, and this two way relationship may result in interactions between these causes and consequences.

1.1. HOW COMMUNITIES CAN AFFECT CRIME PATTERNS

In this section it will be seen that communities can have an impact upon levels of crime. Crime is not evenly distributed across communities. Theories at the macro level of analysis seek to explain the uneven distribution of criminal offences and criminal victimisation across different social areas. Explanations as to why communities experience different rates of crime fundamentally differ in their underlying assumptions. Here, the concern is with 'ecological' theories which posit that the constituents of communities can affect patterns of crime. First, the origins of the ecological perspective is discussed. Particular attention is paid to the combined research of four Chicagoan sociologists which served to demonstrate that community characteristics were linked to crime rates. Second, there is a discussion of how the various constituents of communities can determine patterns of crime. Some of the key developments that concern the ecological perspective are reviewed, such as the early lessons of the Sheffield research in the 1970s, and the use of statistical tests at a community level in the 1980s and 1990s. It will be seen that an important distinction is made between the structural characteristics and social conditions of communities. The section will close with a look at the communities which have the greatest risk of victimisation according to research primarily conducted at a macro-level.

i) The work of the Chicagoans

The idea that the constituents of communities may be important in explaining and determining patterns of crime and delinquency is rooted in urban sociology. The research of two pairs of sociologists namely Park and Burgess more generally, and Shaw and McKay more specifically, at the 'Chicago school'¹ culminated in the development of ecological theory. This work paved the way for a macro-level theory of crime that was based upon the distribution of community characteristics in different spatial areas rather than upon the distribution of offenders. Although ecological theories have since changed, the main thrusts of the early research by the 'Chicagoans' persists in contemporary work. In essence the traditional social ecological perspective:

... does not focus on the individual offender but attempts to explain variations in the rates of crime and delinquency by relating these to types of spatial area and to the cultural adaptations people make when living in these areas (Einstadter and Henry, 1995: 129).

To describe the structure of urban communities Park and Burgess (1924) devised an ecological model that adopted principles of a 'biotic order' from plant ecology. The study of the relationship between humans and their environment is now analogously termed 'human ecology' or 'social ecology'. Burgess (1925), suggested that the expansion of Chicago (and perhaps other cities) would follow a specific pattern. Growth was posited to take the form of concentric waves or circles due to successive population movements. Burgess developed a 'zonal model of urban development' that consisted of five concentric rings each of which portrayed a distinct zone/area in the city. The innermost zone was the central business district which was the only non-residential area. This was circled by the 'zone in transition', which comprised factories and low class housing. The remaining three zones were residential areas of varying affluence and social class. A sudden growth in the population would create competition for the most desirable land and so the housing market would become subject to the principles of demand and supply. The

¹ The pioneering work of Park and Burgess, and Shaw and McKay into patterns of urban development, population movements, and delinquency rates have been examined and discussed in numerous texts. For more detailed discussion see Morris, 1957; Kornhauser, 1978; Bursik, 1986; Byrne and Sampson, 1986.

greater the distance from the centre the more desirable and affluent the zone. The least desirable residential areas in the centre of the city (where housing was of poor quality and close to commercial activity) would become the cheapest, whilst the more desirable residential areas on the periphery of the city (where land was less intensively used) would become the most expensive.

This model was applied to the residential movements of immigrants in Chicago. New immigrants it was posited would first have to settle in the cheapest areas of the city, but then as they became more economically active they would seek to migrate outwards. This invasion/succession process meant that the less desirable areas, such as the 'zone in transition', would come to be characterised by ongoing population movements and racial and ethnically heterogeneous populations. As a result areas of economic deprivation and physical deterioration also tended to have high rates of population turnover and cultural fragmentation. This meant there were cultural not just economic differences between areas. 'Given these dynamics, neighbourhoods were considered to be the result of the selective movement of the population into areas associated with particular economic, cultural, or occupational groups' (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993: 7, from Burgess, 1925: 54).

Shaw and McKay (1942) were influenced by the human ecology perspective developed by their contemporaries, and applied Burgess's zonal model to aid their study about the problem of juvenile delinquency. Shaw and McKay collected data on thousands of young offenders in Chicago. After geographically mapping the addresses and conducting basic statistical analysis, they were able to conclude 'that the pattern of neighbourhood delinquency rates were related to the same ecological processes that gave rise to the socio-economic structure of urban areas' (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993: 33). However, they did not posit a direct link between the economic status of the areas and rates of juvenile delinquency (Bursik, 1986).

By drawing upon the distinguishing features of the neighbourhoods highlighted by the zonal model, Shaw and McKay found that 'areas characterised by economic deprivation and physical deterioration were seen also as having population instability and cultural fragmentation, and it was

these factors which especially influenced delinquency through a process which they called social disorganisation' (Bottoms and Wiles, 1997: 310). Hence, community structural characteristics (poor economic status, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, and high rates of population turnover), affect the cultural environment of the neighbourhood by undermining the ability of the residents to achieve their values or common goals. Since 'social disorganisation' exists in the community crime and delinquency is liable to increase. This theory thus posited that the level of crime is dependent upon the structure and social conditions of urban neighbourhoods. Although Shaw and McKay articulated when social disorganisation exists in communities, they failed to stipulate what exactly 'social disorganisation' comprises (Kornhauser, 1978). This meant their contemporaries who wished to develop or modify the theory had little choice but to identify the components of social disorganisation. Various theories have been utilised to predict the neighbourhood dynamics of communities which are conducive to social disorganisation. These theories include resident networks, community solidarity, and social control.

Many studies have examined how resident networks can determine local levels of crime and disorder. The systemic theory has gained particular prominence and is based on the premise that local networks are the core social fabric of communities. This theory has been attributed to Kasarda and Janowitz (1974). They view local communities to be 'a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialisation processes' (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974: 329). Systemic theory posits that residents control and supervise the behaviour of people in their community through a web of networks and ties. Residents who have formed good networks are more able to enforce their standards of conduct and behaviour as they can recognise strangers in their community more easily, and engage in guardianship activities such as watching over the property of others they know (Skogan, 1986). Studies have used various indicators to measure resident networks in order to examine how they effect levels of crime.

Community solidarity, Hunter (1974) suggests is best demonstrated by the

existence of community organisations. Local organisations are said to have the capacity to protect the interests of the community, but if organisational links are poor then that capacity is weakened (Kornhauser, 1978). As a result a connection is made between community institutions and social disorganisation.

Shaw and McKay (1942) themselves recognised that juvenile delinquency is often a group phenomenon. Hence, they foresaw a connection between delinquency and the ability of the residents to control the behaviour of groups of people in their community (Sampson and Groves, 1989). According to Thrasher (1963), Shaw and McKay were of the belief that residents of cohesive communities are best able to halt the growth of juvenile delinquency as they can collectively control and supervise the behaviour of young people. Such control could be exercised by intervening when youths congregate in the street or by supervising the leisure activities of the young (Thrasher, 1963; Maccoby, 1958).

Therefore the social conditions of communities posited to affect local crime patterns are cohesiveness in the form of local networks and ties, the existence of local organisations which have the support of the residents, and supervision or control over groups of young people. We now turn to recent studies that have sought to establish precisely which constituents of communities affect crime rates.

ii) The effect of community characteristics upon patterns of crime

The legacy of the ecological approach was evident in the Sheffield research which was conducted in the 1970s, by criminologists at the University of Sheffield, in the UK. This was a major research project which is still ongoing today in Sheffield. The initial phase of the research was reported by Baldwin and Bottoms (1976) in their book entitled 'The Urban Criminal'.² They adopted an urban areal approach to examine the social processes that are connected with crime. One of their main concerns was to establish whether

² The work of Baldwin and Bottoms in Sheffield has been further developed. See for instance, Bottoms, Mawby, and Xanthos, (1989); Bottoms, Claytor, and Wiles, (1992).

there are connections between offender rates of communities and their housing tenure types. Their research involved a number of small housing areas in Sheffield, some of which were of a predominant tenure type (either owner occupier, private renter, or council estate), whilst others were of mixed tenure type. Offender data and census data for these housing areas was obtained for 3 years which spanned a decade (1961; 1966; 1971). Analysis of this data produced some interesting findings, three of which will be discussed here.

First, the 3 predominant tenure types often produced different offender rates. The council estates which were primarily occupied by the working-class, tended to have higher criminality rates. For instance, 5 of the 10 enumeration districts that had the highest offender rates (in 1966) were council areas. These findings indicated that the Chicago 'concentric ring' did not accurately portray the housing market in UK cities. Local authorities buy land wherever they can to build housing estates for the lower income groups, and as many of these estates are built on the edge of cities, the most desirable and expensive land is not necessarily situated on the periphery. As a result, offender rates may not necessarily be associated with the areas closest to the city centre or the 'zone in transition'.³

Second, different factors were found to explain the offender rates in the different types of tenure area. In the private housing areas, the variables which portrayed 'social disorganisation' (in the sense of Shaw and McKay's theory) were important in explaining the crime variables. In the council estates, the only variable found to be of relevance in explaining crime was 'social class'. The lower class estates had noticeably higher offender rates. These findings suggested the need to 'develop different explanations for criminal behaviour in different types of tenure area' (Baldwin and Bottoms, 1976: 120). This leads into the next point.

³ The importance of housing policy in determining offender residence patterns in the UK, had earlier been observed by Terence Morris (1957). In his empirical study of Croydon in the UK he found that council estates with high offender rates were located some distance from the city centre. Hence, the effects of the 'invasion/succession' process observed by the Chicagoans in the US was of less importance in the UK due to housing policy.

Third, there were major variations in offender rates in the areas that had the same predominant housing type. There were council areas which had high offender rates, but also council areas that had very low rates. Furthermore, there were council areas which were of the same social class composition and of the same age, yet had different rates of criminality. To explain why council estates with the same characteristics had different offender rates, Baldwin and Bottoms turned to urban sociology theories and the ecological perspective that had been developed by the Chicagoans. One of the major assertions of social disorganisation theory was that areas characterised by residential instability often had high levels of crime. However, there was no evidence of a relationship between offender rates and mobility on the estates. As a result, they had to look beyond the ideas of the Chicago School. They applied urban sociology theories to argue that the housing market may have a role in determining offender rates.

It was questioned whether the council had a role in determining the 'distribution of criminality on council estates' through housing allocative processes. Earlier research had suggested that Housing Departments may deliberately segregate difficult tenants to particular estates. The Housing Department in Sheffield was found to limit the choice of estates to 'problem tenants' (i.e. those whose standards are assessed as low), as they were not offered houses with high rents or in 'high class areas'. However, as the tenants were not restricted to just one or two housing estates in the city the authors felt it 'inappropriate' to label this a 'segregation policy'. The general policy of the Department was to allow tenants to choose where they would like to live, subject to availability. Hence, prospective tenants could self-select the estate that suited them best, both socially and economically. Baldwin and Bottoms found that there were connections between the tenant self-selection process, the reputation of council estates, and offender rates. This was evidenced by various findings. As would be expected, so-called 'difficult housing estates' (i.e. those with high offender rates and other social ills) produced more long-term vacancies than other estates. Thus, it appeared that the less desirable estates had proportionally more empty houses waiting to be filled. They stated:

This suggests strongly that people within the city do indeed have remarkably accurate perceptions of the 'desirability' or otherwise of estates generally as far as the level of criminality on the estate is concerned (Baldwin and Bottoms, 1976: 180).

They also found that the reputation or 'perceived desirability' of an estate can (by virtue of the self-selection process) affect what kinds of people move into or out of the estates. They applied Wilson's (1963) thesis about the way in which council estates acquire a reputation. One of Wilson's arguments was that new council estates take time to settle down, and as they start to acquire a reputation (favourable or otherwise), a process of self-selection occurs. If an estate has an unfavourable reputation, the more 'aspiring' tenants move out into more 'desirable' or 'respectable' estates, whilst only those who are 'indifferent to the estate's reputation' decide to stay or agree to move onto the estate. This explanation was compatible with the population movement patterns that had been observed in the Sheffield estates. The pre-war estates had lower moving rates when compared to the post-war estates. In the older estates the process of self-selection was complete. In contrast, in the newer estates which had yet to acquire a reputation, the process of sifting and sorting tenants was not complete, so they experienced high rates of population mobility. Furthermore, as the pre-war estates had already acquired reputations as 'rough' or 'respectable' places to live, this resulted in a greater 'polarization' of their offender rates. The difference between the highest-rate estates and the lowest-rate estates, was greater for the pre-war estates than for the post-war estates.

In sum, the Sheffield research confirms that the community characteristic of housing tenure can be very influential in determining offender rates. Indeed, the predominant tenure type of an area can determine what characteristics affect offender rates. The housing allocative processes which apply to council estates appear to have the potential to affect offender rates. The self-selection process which operates means that the reputation or 'perceived desirability' of an area can affect what kinds of tenants move into or out of the estate. Hence, the dynamics of the UK housing market may affect offender rates in a way that is quite different to the 'invasion/succession' processes advocated by the Chicagoans in the US.

In the 1980s there was a revival of macro level theories of crime rates and criminal activity (Smith and Jarjoura, 1988), and community level explanations are no exception. The work of Bursik and Webb (1982), Sampson (1987), and more recently Bursik and Grasmick (1993), testify to a renewed interest in the impact of communities upon crime levels. Hope (1995) highlights a reason for the sustained attraction when he states 'there has been a continuous and consistent pattern of criminological research suggesting that community structure itself shapes local rates of crime - that community crime rates may be the result of something more than the mere aggregation of individual propensities for criminality or victimisation' (Hope, 1995: 23).

What was reported to be the most comprehensive attempt to test the predictions of Shaw and McKay's theory of community social disorganisation was conducted by Sampson and Groves (1989). In utilising data from the 1982 British Crime Survey, some of the problems commonly associated with such research was overcome.⁴ The key question is whether community structural characteristics lead to a situation known as social disorganisation which in turn increases crime and delinquency rates. Five measures were used to represent the community structural characteristics, viz; urbanisation, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, low socio-economic status and family disruption. Three indicators of social disorganisation were employed, viz; sparse friendship networks, low organisational participation, and unsupervised teenage peer groups. The measure used for friendship networks was based upon the number of friends that live within 15 minutes walk of the respondent's home. For organisational participation respondents were asked about their attendance at social and leisure activities in a typical week. Finally, an indicator for the control of peer groups was based upon perceptions about the extent to which 'groups of teenagers hang about in public and make nuisances of themselves.' An overall indicator of crime was the total victimisation rate.

⁴ Empirical tests of social disorganisation theory are difficult due to problems with obtaining suitable data, and constructing indicators that measure social disorganisation which may be applied at a macro level. For a methodological discussion see Bursik and Grasmick, 1993, chapter 2; Veysey and Messner, 1999.

The findings confirmed that all three indicators of neighbourhood dynamics had significant direct effects on the dependent variable crime. Communities that displayed the characteristics of social disorganisation had disproportionately high rates of crime. From these results it may be inferred that the presence of teenage peer groups, high rates of local participation in formal and informal organisations and extensive local friendship networks are associated with lower rates of crime. Further support for these findings are found in the study of Veysey and Messner (1999) who used the same data sample as Sampson and Groves but were able to conduct more sophisticated tests due to advances in theory and software. In both studies the presence of unsupervised teenage peer groups had the strongest affect of the indicators of social disorganisation on the total victimisation rate. Hence, these statistical tests are supportive of Shaw and McKay's social disorganisation theory in so far as neighbourhood dynamics of communities directly affect the crime rate. Other studies are supportive of the relationship that the theory of social disorganisation posits between social conditions and the crime rate. For instance, a number of studies have found that more close-knit neighbourhoods have lower rates of crime when compared to less cohesive neighbourhoods (Maccoby et al, 1958; Hackler et al, 1974; Sampson et al, 1997).

Both studies found that all five structural community characteristics were moderately related to crime (Sampson et al, 1989; and Veysey et al, 1999). However, only two of the structural characteristics were found to have statistically significant negative affects on the crime rate in both studies, viz; urbanisation (population density) and family disruption (proportion of broken families or single parents with children). Thus as the population of a community increases the crime rate is predicted to increase. The same logic applies to an increase in the proportion of broken families. A low socio-economic status, population mix in terms of racial or ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility were found to have negative effects on the crime rate, but not at the level of statistical significance (Veysey et al, 1999).

Another set of tests were conducted to examine whether the indicators of social disorganisation, (i.e. social conditions) can mediate the effect that community structural characteristics have upon the crime rate. From the

results of both studies it can be inferred that social conditions (extensive networks, teenage peer groups, and good rates of participation in organisations) can distil some, but not all of the adverse affects that structural characteristics have upon the crime rate. However, there were discrepancies. Sampson and Groves found that all 5 structural constraints are mediated by one or more of the indicators of social disorganisation, whereas Veysey and Messner found that urbanisation and family disruption are not mediated as evidenced by their large direct effects on crime. According to the results of the later study, the potentially damaging impact of poverty, residential instability and racial and ethnic heterogeneity upon the crime rate can be offset by prevailing neighbourhood conditions. Hence there is partial support for the notion that 'good' neighbourhoods can reduce the bad effects of structural characteristics on local crime patterns.

When Veysey and Messner tested for relationships between the indicators of social disorganisation, they found that only organisational participation and presence of teenage peer groups were significantly (but modestly) related. In addition each social disorganisation indicator had an independent causal effect upon the crime rate. In conjunction, these results suggested to Veysey and Messner that the 'hypothesised indicators of social disorganisation measure independent social processes and not one underlying one' and that 'social disorganisation may be further specified, not as one construct but rather as several mechanisms by which communities maintain stability' (Veysey and Messner, 1999: 170).

The reservations of Veysey and Messner go some way to re-addressing inconsistencies observed in other studies and criticisms about social disorganisation theory. Various studies have found communities with characteristics that do not conform to the basic social disorganisation model. For instance, there are communities which have high rates of crime and delinquency and yet are residentially stable with extensive networks (see Whyte, 1981; Suttles, 1968; Moore, 1978; and Horowitz, 1983). Recently, Walklate and Evans (1999) reported that one of the communities they had studied in Salford (in the North of England), called Oldtown, had a low socio-economic status and had a high crime rate, but nevertheless the residents

showed strong signs of cohesion, solidarity and good networks. As we have already seen Baldwin and Bottoms (1976) in the initial phases of the Sheffield research, report that there are areas which have high crime rates and yet have low rates of residential mobility. Indeed, they failed to find a relationship between population mobility and levels of criminality.

In the later stages of the Sheffield project, Bottoms, Mawby, and Xanthos (1989) studied 6 different housing areas, one of which was a council estate named 'Gardenia'. Notably this neighbourhood was residentially stable and had social conditions that did not mirror a 'socially disorganised' community, yet it still had a high crime rate. To explain these characteristics of Gardenia, Bottoms and Wiles (1997) adopted the notion of disorganisation as described by Wilson (1996). On the basis of his research into the black ghettos of Chicago Wilson posited that neighbourhoods may display different types of social organisation and disorganisation, and that the crime rate is in part dependent upon the combination of the types present. In Wilson's view the concept of 'social disorganisation' is by nature complex if it is to properly reflect the social processes that occur in communities. This lies comfortably with the suggestions made by Veysey and Messner about the theory of social disorganisation.

In this section we have seen that the legacy of the Chicagoans lives on as criminologists today still strive to determine what characteristics of communities affect local crime rates and why this is so. Other research confirms that the features of communities, and their population composition are vital ingredients in the prediction of high crime areas. Some of their key findings, many of which are at a macro-level, serve to highlight communities found to be most at risk of crime and disorder. They are as follows:

(1) Problems with crime and disorder are commonly associated with poor neighbourhoods which score highly on other negative social indicators and have inadequate services (Matthews, 1992: 42).

(2) Crime is patterned by area of residence and housing tenure. Increased risks of victimisation are experienced in inner city areas that are high-status,

non-family and multi-racial, and among council tenants on poor estates (Hope and Hough, 1988: secondary analysis of 1984 BCS).

(3) The social distribution of crime is concentrated in areas distinguished by three characteristics: high unemployment rate of males; high proportion of the population aged 5 to 15 years; and high proportions of young adults, single-adult households (to include single-parent families), and households which are not self-contained accommodation (Osborn, Trickett, and Elder, 1992: secondary analysis of 1984 BCS).

(4) There is a loose correlation between crime and disorder, according to the 1984 BCS (Hough and Mayhew, 1985) and secondary analysis of this survey (Hope and Hough, 1988). Levels of disorderly public behaviour or 'incivility' are high in communities with high crime rates⁵ (Skogan 1990: 73).

(5) Disorder is concentrated in particular areas. Poverty, instability, and racial composition of a neighbourhood are strongly linked to the level of disorder (Skogan 1990: 75). Similarly, Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) found that structural characteristics particularly race/ethnic heterogeneity, concentrated poverty and land use (but not residential mobility) were strongly associated with physical and social disorder.

From these observations it can be concluded that high crime areas are often low in economic status, high in unemployment, and heterogeneous in ethnicity or race. These findings further confirm the effect that community structural characteristics have upon the crime rate. Spatial concentrations are apparent in that high crime communities are often located in urban areas: the inner city or estates. From a social perspective crime is unevenly distributed according to housing tenure (tenants), and household composition (single adult and multi-occupancy households). Communities high in crime also tend to have problems with disorder. In the following section it is appropriate to consider the impact of both crime and of disorder upon communities.

⁵ However, this is not to assert that disorder causes crime for such a causal relationship is debatable (see Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Matthews, 1992; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; and Skogan, 1990). Some consider there are few communities that are low in crime yet high in disorder (for example, Skogan, 1990). Yet, it has been observed that there are high-crime, low-disorder communities and vice versa (Lewis and Salem, 1986).

1.2. THE IMPACT OF CRIME AND DISORDER UPON THE COMMUNITY

The relationship between communities and crime is two way. Just as communities may have an impact upon the crime rate, so crime may have an impact upon communities. This section will look at the damaging effects of crime and disorder in urban neighbourhoods. Functional theories of crime look to both the positive and negative impacts of crime upon communities. The argument that crime has a positive function in maintaining order is often associated with the sociological work of Durkheim (1933, 1938). Durkheim argued that crime can bring residents together and serve to strengthen their bond of solidarity if for instance, they collectively express their outrage at the offences in question. However, it seems that crime more often than not has detrimental effects.

This section adopts the following structure. First, the meaning of disorder for the purposes of this research is clarified. Second, there is a discussion of why perceptions about crime and disorder may differ across communities. The remainder of the section concerns the affect of crime and disorder upon (i) the appearance of a community, (ii) residential movements out of a community, (iii) the ability of residents to tackle these kind of problems, and (iv) the local economy.

i) The meaning of disorder

There is no clear and consistent definition of disorder, (LaGrange, Ferraro, and Supancic, 1992). The terms disorder and anti-social behaviour are used interchangeably (Budd and Sims, 2001). Often a distinction is made between acts of social and physical disorder. This was the approach taken by Sampson and Raudenbush in a recent large scale study of disorder in America (1999: 603-604). Social disorder was taken to mean 'behaviour usually involving strangers and considered threatening', such as rowdy groups of children or young people, drug dealing, soliciting of prostitutes, and verbal abuse. Acts of physical disorder tend to cause 'deterioration of urban landscapes'. These include litter, graffiti, abandoned cars, broken windows, dog excrement on streets, and rubbish dumped in the streets and public places. These two

definitions of disorder will be adopted in this research although in keeping with Skogan (1990) acts of vandalism are considered to be 'physical' disorder.

Due to the recent revival of interest in disorder as a key topic of criminology, research about disorder is still at a relatively embryonic stage when compared to crime. Furthermore, in some instances the effects of disorder upon communities are interlinked with the effects stemming from crime, although sometimes it is possible to discern independent impacts. Skogan in his study of disorder for instance concedes it is difficult to ascertain whether crime and disorder have separate 'causes' and separate 'effects' at the areal level (Skogan, 1990: 73).

ii) Awareness and perceptions of crime and disorder

How individuals react to crime is very much based upon their perceptions, beliefs and fears of crime and victimisation (see Chapter 2). Therefore, awareness and perceptions of crime on the part of residents can be an important determinant of the extent to which crime and disorder may impact upon their communities.

At this point it needs to be asked whether residents' perceptions about crime mirror the true extent of crime in their communities? The answer to this question is important since how people perceive crime is likely to determine what 'people think and do' about crime (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 81). The following three studies support a relationship between perceptions and local crime problems (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Herbert and Darwood, 1992; and Walklate and Evans, 1999). For instance, Skogan and Maxfield (1981) in their American study found that residents' perceptions about crime substantially differed across neighbourhoods but in a consistent fashion. In view of this they chose to adopt the residents' assessments of the extent of crime in their neighbourhoods as general indicators of an 'objective' distribution of crime.

Perceptions of crime and disorder have been found to vary across communities. It is now well established that the meaning and significance of different kinds of crime and disorder vary considerably from place to place. A

recent Home Office publication about disorder/anti-social behaviour states at the outset that research about this topic is hampered since 'expectations of standards of behaviour vary both between and within communities' (Budd and Sims, 2001). Skogan has also recognised this subjectivity in perceptions as to what exactly constitutes disorder, for he states:

Physical and social disorder can be discomfoting, and run counter to many people's expectations about proper conditions. However, they will vary in their **tolerance** of such situations (Skogan, 1990: 82, emphasis added).

As a result the impact of disorder as well as crime are likely to be subject to the place in which such activities are construed. The reasons for this are plentiful. Social location is considered to be an important factor which determines how people perceive deviant acts (Matthews, 1992). Matthews suggests that residents in poor, high crime areas may be more preoccupied with the occurrence of serious crimes than with problems concerning disorder. In view of this it is possible that litter or graffiti and other kinds of 'incivilities' may be considered as 'trivial and non-threatening' (Matthews, 1992: 33).

On the other hand, perceptions of deviant behaviour may not necessarily differ according to local levels of crime or disorder. For instance, Maccoby, Johnson and Church (1958) found that perceptions of seriousness or attitudes towards pre-delinquent activities was no different according to whether residents lived in a high-delinquency area or a low-delinquency area. This finding was not in keeping with expectations for it was hypothesised that residents of the high-delinquency area would be more permissive or '**tolerant**' than residents from the low-delinquency area of pre-delinquent acts (such as abusive remarks, drunkenness, fights, damage to public or private property, and truancy). When trying to explain why the residents from the different areas shared similar values about the 'wrongness' and 'seriousness' of activities, they stated 'we may be dealing here with the ticklish problem of different "levels" of attitudes' (Maccoby et al, 1958: 50). They put forward two main suggestions. First, that the residents from the high delinquency area 'hold pro-social attitudes' whilst they also have 'strong anti-social impulses', or second, that these residents share general values about deviant activities, but have other values or beliefs which interfere.

Perceptions of disorder have been found to vary according to other characteristics of communities and the demography of the residents. The importance of socio-economic status of an area has been highlighted. Taylor, Schumaker, and Gottfredson (1985), found that neighbourhood confidence due to the presence of physical disorder varied according to social class. The greatest effect upon neighbourhood confidence was noted in the middle-class areas. Their findings suggested that in wealthier areas disorder was not perceived to be as threatening whilst in poor areas the residents were assumed to have other more pressing concerns.

Recent community based research carried out by Girling, Loader and Sparks (2000) and Walklate and Evans (1999), have gone to great lengths to articulate how crime and disorder should be contextualised at a local level. These authors have convincingly argued that to understand the 'crime talk' of people, their past, present and future relations with their neighbourhood should be considered. Hence, resident attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of crime and disorder are situated within a local context but at a personal level. This was well illustrated by Girling et al (2000) in their ideas about 'thick' and 'thin' disorder. Their research was conducted in Macclesfield (a town in the North of England) and a nearby affluent village called Prestbury. Two discernible kinds of perceptions towards teenage disorder were observed amongst the residents which were ascribed as 'thin' or 'thick' in nature. To the professional and middle-class residents (who were primarily from Prestbury), teenage disorder was something to be 'disconnected from other important and valued aspects' of their lives (Girling et al, 2000: 171). Teenage disorder to these residents did not merit a great deal of worry or concern, for they had little attachment to their community. Such a situation they termed 'thin disorder'. At the other end of the spectrum residents who were personally attached to their community and who had sentiment for how it had changed saw disorder as a cause for worry and concern:

... the appearance of a group of youths on the neighbourhood streets can be rich indeed in social meaning; serving as a powerful signifier of either all that has 'gone wrong' in one's own life ... or of the daily erosion of the order, civility and respectability that many of our (older) respondents have come to associate with the 'local community'. 'Thick' disorder is all too often disorder as the last straw (Girling et al, 2000: 172).

This notion of 'thick disorder' is interesting for this label applied to residents from a council estate in Macclesfield, from the town centre itself, and from the upmarket village of Prestbury. As would be expected levels of crime across these areas varied. The village of Prestbury like many rural areas was blessed with not having a high crime rate or high levels of disorder. On the basis of these findings of Girling et al (2000), it would appear that residents' perceptions of disorder are not necessarily related to the level of disorder in their community. Rather the meaning ascribed to disorder was subject to other factors such as residents' attachment to place.

Crime can take on different meanings across communities according to prevailing social and economic conditions. As a result crime may be perceived quite differently by residents in one high crime area when compared to another. If high crime communities have many negative features then these rather than crime or disorder can be the main sources of discontent. For instance, O'Mahony et al (2000), found that in two lower working class communities residents considered the top two local problems to be unemployment and a lack of activities for teenagers. Although problems with crime and disorder were rife, the economic viability of the neighbourhood and the provision of amenities were considered to be more important issues. Alternatively problems with crime and disorder may be outweighed and compensated by other more favourable features. This is commonly the case when neighbourhoods are undergoing 'gentrification' (Taub, Taylor and Dunham, 1981; 1984; McDonald, 1986). Taub et al's studies indicate that if residents are satisfied with their area for other reasons, such as a buoyant housing market, good amenities and public services, then concerns about crime are only one of a number of considerations (Taub et al, 1981; 1984). The situation in gentrifying neighbourhoods is well summed up by Skogan when he states that crime 'is just one strand in a bundle of features that make up a

community's character. Where people are optimistic about the bundle as a whole, crime counts for less' (Skogan, 1986: 221).

Problems with crime and disorder are likely to be of far greater concern for residents of communities in decline or which have little prospect for future improvement. This was the case for Oldtown and Bankhill in Salford according to Walklate and Evans (1999). These communities high in deprivation and other measures of poverty were in the view of the authors akin to areas 'in crisis'. In both communities the residents perceived that crime and disorder were the top two local problems, which was indicative of a local consensus about prominent issues.

It has been seen that the meaning and significance of crime and disorder is far from uniform across communities, so the impact such activities have is liable to differ. In respect of disorder there is at the outset a lack of agreement amongst the general public as to what constitutes disorder. Of particular importance is the context within which crime and disorder are perceived. Perceptions of crime and disorder can be influenced by social location, levels of crime and disorder, the characteristics of the community in question, and prevailing social and economic conditions. Perceptions may also be subject to the demography of the residents and the extent to which they are attached to their community. When communities are undergoing gentrification problems with crime and disorder can take on less prominence than in areas that have little prospect for improvement. Alternatively, other local issues may take prominence, such as the availability of employment opportunities.

iii) The appearance of an area due to crime and disorder

The impact of crime and disorder upon the appearance of communities is plainly obvious, but an important consequence all the same. The furtive nature of many crimes can mean there is a 'pluralistic ignorance' amongst residents as to the true extent of crime in their communities (Skogan 1986: 210). This situation does not apply to acts of disorder which are so often visible. Nevertheless, only recently has there been an attempt systematically to classify disorder so enabling the prevalence of different kinds of disorder to

be logged accurately and counted (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999).⁶ In Chicago where the research was undertaken physical disorder particularly litter and graffiti was found to be far more common than social disorder. Skogan in his research found that vandalism was the most highly rated kind of disorder (Skogan, 1990).

Although incidents of vandalism are often minor the significance is in their life span, for their 'effects persist and often accumulate. Vandals upset, dent, smash, slash, and spray-paint their targets, which may be street signs, vending machines, park facilities, schools or businesses' (Skogan 1990: 37). An act of vandalism will display similar scars wherever the community. The following description of two high crime urban communities in Northern Ireland is indicative of the impact upon appearance:

Evidence of decay and social disorder were obvious from the number of empty or derelict and boarded-up houses, the large amounts of graffiti and vandalism and the obvious physical attempts to minimise vandalism, like the widespread use of steel shutters on shop fronts. In some of the areas there were steel grills over the traffic lights to stop them being smashed, and many of the roads, especially around more major junctions, were scarred by the damage caused by burnt-out cars. (O'Mahony et al, 2000: 15)

The mention of empty and derelict buildings demonstrates how investors and owners of real estate can affect the attractiveness of a community. Skogan has suggested that the degree to which investors and businesses maintain their buildings and real estate may be the most important sign of the healthiness and buoyancy of a community: 'abandonment is a clear signal that in that area it is no longer worth the effort to keep housing or businesses open' (Skogan 1990: 40). The appearance of the urban landscape may therefore signify to residents that they themselves should re-assess their investment in the community. Indeed, it is widely accepted that the presence of disorder constitutes highly visible cues about neighbourhood conditions to which residents and non-residents respond (see Jacobs, 1961; Goffman, 1963; Lofland, 1973; Skogan, 1990; Taylor, 1997). It has been argued that perceptions of

⁶ An unusual methodology was employed with incidences of disorder being videotaped and observed through systematic social observations (SSOs). Across 196 census tracts every street (some 23,816 face blocks) was subject to this method of detailing the presence of physical and social disorder.

disorder may have a greater impact upon perceptions of crime conditions than crime itself (Lewis and Maxfield, 1980). Indeed, the presence of a large amount of physical disorder in a community over a period of time can have more of an impact than crime. This appears to have been the case for the residents of Bankhill who in the view of Walklate and Evans were repeatedly exposed to high levels of disorder:

It was often the petty crimes like criminal damage and graffiti, so visible to the whole neighbourhood, which pre-occupied local people. A number of residents even felt that they found it easier to cope with a burglary rather than the constant barrage of incivilities and signs of disorder which they faced daily (Walklate and Evans, 1999: 60).

With regards to social disorder, Girling et al (2000) found that when problems of this nature were present in a community, this would rank high as a priority in the crime talk of the residents. Invariably people articulated their perceptions and fears about young people in their neighbourhoods. More often than not teenagers or youths hanging around in groups or in 'gangs' were associated with anti-social behaviour and in some cases were mistakenly suspected of criminal activity.

Indeed, the perceptions of people about the presence of disorder in a neighbourhood may determine the future viability of that community both economically and socially (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999). They state:

Even if we wish it were not so, disorder triggers attributions and predictions in the minds of insiders and outsiders alike. It changes the calculus of prospective home buyers, real estate agents, insurance agents, and investors and shapes the perceptions of residents who might be considering moving. Evidence of disorder also gives a running account of the effectiveness of residents seeking neighbourhood improvement, and that record may encourage or discourage future activism. Physical and social disorder in public spaces are thus fundamental to a general understanding of urban neighbourhoods (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999: 604).

This statement suggests that the presence of disorder in communities has far reaching implications. Three key impacts are discernible. The first relates to the population movements in communities, the second to the ability of the residents to tackle such problems, and the third, to the commercial and

economic implications. The next three sections will examine in more detail these impacts.

iv) Residential population movements

The main intention of this discussion is to examine how high levels of crime and disorder in a community can influence the decision of residents to move to another area. Levels of crime or disorder directly affect a decision to move due to fear and concern about the safety of household members, although the relationship is stronger with crime (Skogan, 1990: 83). It is commonly assumed that residents in high crime areas (often with high levels of disorder) will be more fearful than residents of low crime areas. Thus in high crime areas fear is likely to be a prominent factor that prompts people to move to another neighbourhood. A number of findings when taken in conjunction are supportive of a connection between high crime areas, fear, and the decision to move.

(1) Residents' beliefs about the extent of neighbourhood crime as we have already seen often mirror the true level of crime.

(2) Crime has been found to be related to fear (Lewis and Maxfield, 1980; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). In other words a direct relationship between residents' assessments of the extent of crime in their neighbourhood and their fear of crime has been established. Various acts of disorder (to include physical and social) were correlated to fear with little variation between them (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 113).

(3) In looking at 'pull' and 'push' factors concerning out-migration, Skogan and Maxfield (1981) found that out-movers were 'pushed' out of an area by fear of crime and disorder amongst other concerns and 'pulled' through a desire to find a safer place to live.

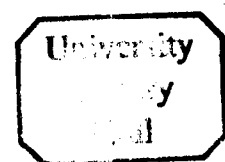
Fears about crime as well as about disorder can increase if residents perceive their area is falling into decline (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 114). This coincides with the finding of Taub, Taylor and Dunham (1984), that if neighbourhood conditions are changing for the worse then residents will

through fear of further deterioration seek to move out. Similarly, Walklate and Evans (1999) found that when the community of Bankhill fell into gradual decline during the 1990s and evidence of economic and social degeneration became apparent, many of the residents left the area. However, when an area is considered to be improving people may not move out even if they sense there are crime and disorder problems. Residents who live in areas which are undergoing gentrification have been found to be satisfied with their community (in terms of safety and reputation), despite perceiving victimisation risks to be high (Taub, Taylor and Dunham, 1981). As a result of this finding the authors state:

It seems that people will **tolerate** fairly high levels of crime as long as they find other aspects of community life sufficiently gratifying to compensate (Taub et al, 1981: 104, emphasis added).

Hence, if residents sense an improvement in their neighbourhood financially or socially, and are satisfied with the future well-being of the area, they will not necessarily seek to move as a result of high levels of crime and disorder. Indeed, how satisfied people are with their community has been found to be a factor that influences the decision to move (Skogan, 1990: 83). Skogan also finds that both crime and disorder are connected to neighbourhood satisfaction (Skogan, 1990: 83). As a result crime and disorder can indirectly affect moving decisions, due to their impact upon levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood.

Communities high in crime are probably being targeted by offenders who commit their crimes close to where they live. People's perceptions about their residential proximity to offenders have also affected out-migration. In the community of Bankhill, Walklate and Evans (1999) found that residents moved out of the area due to high rates of crime which was usually committed by resident offenders. Residents and professionals working in the area spoke of how predominantly young offenders in a territorial fashion targeted particular streets and sometimes returned to the same places to commit their crimes, especially burglary. It was not extraordinary actually to observe a burglary taking place. Hence, when people perceive they live near to offenders, this can prompt them to leave the area.



Crucially, research has highlighted how selective out-migration is in practice. Demography is a strong indicator of which individuals tend to move when neighbourhoods have local problems with crime and disorder. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) compared the characteristics of respondents who had moved from the Chicago metropolitan area to live in another part of the city or outside of the city (the 'movers'), to those who continued to live in the city (the 'stayers'). They found that the 'movers' were the more affluent, the better educated and the cohesive families. The 'stayers' were typically the poor, blacks, and single adults, even though these demographic groups were amongst the most dissatisfied with their neighbourhood. So whilst dissatisfaction triggers a move out of an area, the economic ability to move to a more desirable, safer and hence, more expensive area is the paramount factor. Taub et al (1984) have observed that once residents begin to leave a community others will seek to follow in a 'domino effect'. They found that home-owners were concerned that a failure to move may put their investment at risk. Hence out-migration has been found to be contagious amongst certain population groups.

The importance of affluence in determining the decision to move was also confirmed by the research of Walklate et al (1999). In the troubled community of Bankhill in Salford there were residents who wanted to flee the neighbourhood as others had done but could not afford to do so. Furthermore, there was a reluctance amongst some to forsake their emotional investment in their neighbourhood. Whilst the purchase of a house was conceived as part of a long-term plan to provide financial flexibility, there was also sentiment for their community and for other residents. Hence residential and social attachment to the community may affect the decision to move.

Once an area has acquired an unsavoury reputation it will deter potential 'in-movers'. For instance, Girling et al (2000: 51) found that certain areas of Macclesfield, such as the 'estates' had been identified by many residents, especially the middle-class, as places where they did not want to live, visit or even pass through. The primary reason appeared to be crime, since people especially the middle-class tended to talk about the estates in this context. In view of this finding the authors suggested that 'people's cognitive maps of the

town are in part characterised by distinctions between places they will happily visit (or live in) and those they associate with crime-related danger' (Girling et al, 2000: 140). Communities which come to be characterised with crime or disorder problems have been said to represent 'landscapes of fear' (Tuan, 1979). These findings indicate that few people will wish to remain in an area that has become characterised by crime and disorder problems, and even fewer will wish to move in (Skogan, 1990: 78).

It has been seen that levels of crime and disorder are linked to moving decisions. Key factors which lie behind the decision to move in areas with high levels of crime and disorder include fears about victimisation, satisfaction with the community, and perceptions of current and future neighbourhood conditions. More recent research indicates that out-migration may be affected by perceived residential proximity to offenders who commit much of the crime in the neighbourhood. However, 'flight' from a troubled community is selective in practice with the affluent, the intact families, and those who have little residential attachment often being the most likely 'outmovers'. The decision to move is thus associated with certain demographic groups. As the community acquires a reputation for being an area blighted with crime and disorder, few people will seek to move there and as out-migration becomes contagious the population declines. The composition and stability of the population are therefore disrupted as a direct result of crime and disorder. This has implications for the residents who remain in the area for they are left to 'fight' the adverse local conditions in the community as it falls into decline. These changes are likely to have significant impacts for the community.

v) The ability to tackle crime and disorder

This discussion is about the impact of crime and disorder upon the ability of residents to counter criminal and other undesirable activity in their neighbourhood. The consequences of disorder largely but not entirely mirror those traditionally associated with the presence of crime. Crime and disorder as we know can have negative as well as positive affects upon communities. However, it will become clear that their impacts are typically considered to be detrimental to the well-being of communities.

The presence of crime and disorder can undermine the confidence and willingness of the residents to rectify the situation. With disorder this issue is pertinent as both physical and social disorder are visible to the community at large. On seeing disorder in their own back yard individuals are liable to conclude that they as residents cannot collectively solve problems, and this could deter future efforts. Skogan has confirmed the existence of a negative relationship between disorder and collective co-operation amongst residents (Skogan, 1990: 70). His conclusions on the impact of disorder upon community control are instructive:

In sum, disorder may undermine in several ways the capacity of communities to preserve the conditions they value. Disorder may foster suspicion and distrust, undermine popular faith and commitment to the area, and discourage public and collective activities. Disorder may also undermine individual morale and the perceived efficacy of taking any positive action. Since there is little that individuals seem able to do about many forms of disorder, they may feel disheartened and frustrated, rather than motivated to do more, even to protect themselves (Skogan, 1990: 72).

Some of these effects which stem from the presence of disorder were evident in the community of Bankhill in Salford, as reported by Walklate and Evans (1999). The residents were socially disorganised and had not mobilised themselves to tackle effectively local problems such as disorder. In their view the responsibility for tackling the widespread disorder and neglect in their community lay with the authorities and absent landlords:

Much of the crime occurring in Bankhill was simply outside the control of the individual. If grids and drain covers are stolen from along the street then residents must wait for the appropriate authorities to act; if houses are left empty then subsequently vandalised, it is up to others to trace absent landlords or to initiate repairs; if graffiti is painted on roads and in public space then it is again up to others to respond (Walklate et al, 1999: 60).

Furthermore, the residents knew the identity of the offenders and their different modes of operating, but due to a lack of cohesion and the absence of any real social mechanism they were unable to exercise community control. This created an environment in which the residents became suspicious and mistrustful of others, even of their neighbours, and this led to divisions in the local community. The offenders were able to capitalise upon the situation, by

intimidating local people for instance. Many residents were fearful of repercussions or that they would be labelled a 'grass' if they reported the offenders which meant there was a reluctance to involve the police. Residents were deterred from becoming involved in crime prevention activities, and the few that did so held covert meetings outside the community. Due to this climate of fear and suspicion, Bankhill was termed the 'frightened' community.

This divisive and atomising effect that crime can have upon residents' efforts to counter crime and disorder is particularly apparent with activities that rely upon the co-operation of the residents. A well-known community based scheme which aims to reduce crime primarily through surveillance is Neighbourhood Watch (NW). These schemes are in place across the UK and are by nature a joint venture between local residents and the police. However, studies consistently show that NW schemes are most likely to be found in communities that have low levels of crime and disorder, as conditions in high crime areas are generally not conducive to the existence of NW groups (see for example Skogan, 1988; Rosenbaum, 1988b). Even during the 1980s when the schemes became very popular and mushroomed in number, this drawback was well known, as Rosenbaum explains:

The problem, as research suggests, is that neighbourhoods which need the most help (i.e. have the most serious crime problems) will be the least receptive to such programmes because these residential areas are characterised by suspicion, distrust, hostility, and a lack of shared norms regarding appropriate public behaviour (Rosenbaum, 1988a: 134).

However, it is important to note that NW has low levels of participation amongst the population generally (Husain, 1988; Laycock and Tilley; 1995). Informal arrangements between residents to watch out for each other's property to try and reduce crime, especially burglary, are more widespread (Mawby, 2001). However, if these reciprocal security arrangements are to exist then residents must know their neighbours and also be trusting of them. Such arrangements are of little use when residents suspect (or know) that the burglars are their neighbours (Girling et al, 2000: 145). Indeed, if neighbours are mistrusted, even subject to suspicion then it is their actions rather than community events which will be watched (Skogan, 1988). As a result in high

crime communities like Bankhill, where fear and suspicion are rife, these neighbourly arrangements may be of limited use.

On the other hand, there are instances where residents become acclimatised to high levels of crime and disorder and even pull together as a community to cope with the adverse circumstances they endure. Indeed, not all residents in high crime areas will be 'incapacitated' with fear and modify their behaviour. People may develop routines to cope with the everyday risks posed in their environment (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 112). Residents may over time become acclimatised to their surroundings whatever the level of threat they face. The 'coping mechanisms' of residents in high risk places is testified to by an observation made by Sampson and Raudenbush in a different context, but which remains instructive:

Although existential weariness in the inner city may lead to a greater **tolerance** of certain forms of deviance, it is precisely the acceptance of common standards by residents ... that underlies efforts to establish social order and safety (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999: 611, emphasis added).

The implication is that the impact of crime can be moderated through persistent exposure to crime and risks of victimisation. Furthermore, crime does not always undermine 'community spirit' by for instance breaking down resident relations. If there is a strong 'community spirit' amongst the residents they may be able to counter the potentially damaging effects of crime even if there is scepticism that little can be done to tackle such problems in the near future. A neat illustration of such a community was provided by the research of Walklate and Evans (1999). The area of Oldtown in the city of Salford was greatly troubled by crime and a number of other problems such as poverty and unemployment. Although it had acquired a local reputation as a dangerous place the residents displayed a high degree of cohesiveness and solidarity. The authors described Oldtown as a 'defended' community for the following reasons:

The local neighbourhood dogma equips them with a set of beliefs which enables sense to be made of their routine daily lives. This neighbourhood dogma also endorses the fierce sense of loyalty felt to this area by many people living within it (Walklate et al, 1999: 97).

In this discussion it has been seen that in communities blighted with crime and disorder the organisational capacity of residents to tackle crime is often substantially compromised. Crime and disorder engender isolation, suspicion, mistrust, and division between residents. Under such conditions the residents are unlikely to engage in surveillance with their neighbours through informal arrangements or NW schemes. Intimidation from offenders can mean there is a reluctance to report incidents to the police. Paradoxically the presence of crime and disorder appears to effectively undermine the efforts of residents to rid their communities of such problems.

vi) Impact of crime upon the local economy

The economy of a community is liable to change as a result of high levels of crime and disorder. Brand and Price (2000) in a recent study entitled the 'Economic and social costs of crime' identified the various economic impacts that crime can have upon communities. The authors used a 'comparative analysis' whereby they compared the situation in a community that had a high level of crime to the expected situation in the same community with a low level of crime. Their emphasis was upon the costs which would be borne by the residents rather than by other 'economic agents' such as businesses who tend to pass on costs to consumers. Brand and Price (2000: 52-53) suggested the following impacts can be expected:

- (1) The presence of crime may mean there are fewer amenities in a community due to higher maintenance costs as a result of vandalism and other types of disorder.
- (2) There may be fewer shops and services, and those that are present will charge high prices to cover insurance and security costs. So goods are therefore available at a premium.
- (3) Opportunities for employment will fall if there are fewer businesses and services operating. As a result individuals will have lower disposable incomes.
- (4) Public sector goods and services provided in a high-crime area may be more expensive. The employees may demand higher wages given their

undesirable place of work.

(5) The costs of crime to the state in terms of the criminal justice system, crime prevention work, victim support services, and so on, will be borne by the general public perhaps in the form of higher taxation.

In this section we have seen that as a result of crime and disorder, the physical appearance of communities can become aesthetically unpleasant. The visual signs and scars of crime and disorder potentially have knock-on effects, as residents reassess their financial investment and commitment to their community. When residents seek to move out, others follow. As a result the composition of the population changes, and if ongoing this will lead to residential instability. The presence of high levels of crime and disorder can undermine the efforts of the residents to rid their community of these problems. In a common scenario the residents lose the ability to counter crime as the environment in their community comes to be characterised as one of fear, suspicion and isolation. These conditions are not favourable for crime prevention activities, especially at a collective level as the co-operation of the residents would be essential. The presence of resident offenders may mean there is a reluctance to involve authorities such as the police. Crime and disorder can have economic implications for both residents and commercial investors. The costs of repairs, security measures, etc in a community with crime and disorder problems can mean that goods and services become more expensive, and if there is a decline in trade, the number of businesses will reduce and unemployment will rise.

1.3. THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CRIME

So far we have examined how communities can affect crime and how crime can affect communities. It has been seen how community structural characteristics and social conditions can cause crime. It has also been seen how the consequences of crime can result in changes to the structural and social constituents of communities. No doubt similarities between these causes and

consequences of crime have become apparent to the reader. The cross-over is not one of coincidence. The commonality of the factors that contribute to crime and yet are also repercussions of crime lend themselves to feedback processes. Due to the relationships between the causes and consequences of crime there are a number of interesting interactions. Indeed, theories of urban change which incorporate feedback loops help to demonstrate the existence of these interactions.

The primary intention of this section is to examine how the consequences of crime, especially the reactions of residents to crime, interact with the causes of crime. These reactions take the form of population movements and collective efforts to control or counter crime. To open this section two leading theories of community decline are described, one of which will act as a basis for the remainder of the discussion. Theories about urban change indicate that population changes are the main determinant of interactions between the causes and consequence of crime. In view of this the remainder of the section concerns population changes. There is a description of the main population changes that are likely to occur in a community in decline. This is followed by an examination of how changes to the population can affect the structural characteristics of a community, the crime rate, the economy, and the ability of the residents to tackle crime and disorder.

i) The decline of the neighbourhood

Communities by nature are not static but continually evolving structurally, politically, economically and socially (Downs, 1981; Skogan, 1986). Variations in community crime rates over time was an issue overlooked by Shaw and McKay (Reiss, 1986). Such a void has been readily filled by contemporary theorists who chart how changes within communities can effect changes in their crime rate. Increases in the crime rate are evidenced in communities in decline (Schuerman and Kobrin, 1986), whereas falls in the crime rate have occurred in communities experiencing gentrification (McDonald, 1986). Since crime and disorder more often than not have detrimental effects upon communities, it is in keeping that theories of urban change predominantly concern the ways in which communities may fall into decline. Perhaps the

attraction for 'decline theorists' is that if they can diagnose how and why communities deteriorate, this knowledge may help to prevent communities falling into decline or reverse a situation where a community has already declined.

For Wilson and Kelling (1982), community decline is triggered by the presence of social and physical disorder. Crime and other undesirable activity they argue will flourish in a community which has problems with disorder. Criminals, particularly those with a propensity to commit personal crime, will be attracted to an area that appears unkempt as their activities are likely to go unchecked by residents who show little sign of guardianship, territoriality or control. When crime especially of a violent nature is perceived to be on the increase the residents through fear of being victimised withdraw from the streets. This in turn weakens their ability to informally control and tackle criminal and other undesirable behaviour in their community. Tenets of this 'broken windows' theory are disputed such as the causal link between disorder and crime, and the role of disorder in the process of urban change.⁷ Of more importance here is the criticism which has been directed at the absence of certain factors in their developmental sequence of urban decline. For instance, Matthews is of the belief that Wilson and Kelling are 'noticeably reticent about the role of economic change, the changing structure of the labour market, and the processes of social and economic marginalisation' (Matthews, 1992: 30). In contrast these kind of factors are the platform from which Skogan (1986, 1990) and Schuerman and Kobrin (1986) examine neighbourhood decline.

Probably the most comprehensive theory of urban decline is that developed by Skogan (1986, 1990) in his discussion of neighbourhood feedback loops. Under certain conditions it is suggested crime may have feedback consequences. Skogan argues that 'triggering events' such as a fall in investment, changes in land-use and a rise in unemployment bring about changes in urban neighbourhoods. He states 'the critical role of these triggering events appears to be their effect on the number and mix of people

⁷ For a detailed assessment of the 'broken windows' thesis see Matthews, 1992.

moving into and out of a neighbourhood' (Skogan, 1986: 207). This was in keeping with the finding of Frey (1980) that the selective out-migration of residents from troubled areas is the driving force behind neighbourhood change. These triggering events undermine residential stability, thereby creating an unsettled economic and demographic climate. The prospect of further decline and increases in the level of crime will have an impact (although not necessarily directly correlated) upon levels of fear of crime. In accelerating the decline of a neighbourhood the spread of fear amongst residents and other local problems together result in a feedback process which further increase levels of crime. Skogan (1986: 215) suggests that an increase in levels of fear may bring about the following causal chain of events:

- (1) physical and psychological withdrawal from community life;
- (2) a weakening of the informal social control processes that inhibit crime and disorder;
- (3) a decline in the organisational life and mobilisation capacity of the neighbourhood;
- (4) deteriorating business conditions;
- (5) the importation and domestic production of crime and delinquency; and
- (6) further dramatic changes in the composition of the population.

What is particularly interesting about Skogan's theory of community decline is the portrayal of the conditions under which this may occur. Notably, the feedback processes incorporate the effects that residents' reactions to crime and disorder can have upon communities. This can be illustrated in three ways. First, according to Skogan, changes in the size and composition of the population occur at an early stage in the decline process. Support has been found for this by Schuerman and Kobrin (1986) who report that population turnover in destabilising areas precedes changes in the socio-economic status of residents. Population movements are reactions to crime and disorder. Second, the theory posits that fears may increase as a result of the events

which 'trigger' decline. Residents' fears according to the neighbourhood feedback loops can bring about changes to the social and economic conditions of communities, and hence lead to further increases in crime. Fears may be conceived as another reaction to crime and disorder. Third, in a developmental sequence that is attractive to systemic control theorists (such as Bursik and Grasmick, 1993), it is assumed that low levels of community control can in turn increase the likelihood of crime.

The theory is therefore demonstrative of how residents' reactions to crime can have feedback effects upon community structure, social conditions, and crime patterns. This merits further investigation. Before we turn to these feedback processes that involve interactions between the causes and consequences of crime, it is necessary to understand the residential movements in a community troubled by crime.

ii) Changes in the population composition

When an area is perceived to be in decline not all residents will react in the same fashion by seeking to move out of their troubled neighbourhood. We have seen how a number of factors affect the decision to move. Those who move out of an area in decline are typically affluent, white, nuclear families. These 'outmovers' are unlikely to be replaced by individuals who share similar characteristics. Residents who remain in the community often do so due to financial constraints or a reluctance to give up on their financial investment. Some may be unwilling to leave a community to which they are attached and in which they have close social links with others.

When a community is perceived to be an undesirable and unsafe place to live, fewer people will wish to take up residence, house prices decline and there is likely to be a shift in the lower end of the housing market to rental tenure (Skogan, 1986). The former streets favoured and inhabited by the owner-occupiers may turn into temporary residences as landlords are attracted by the prospect of good rental incomes from housing they can purchase cheaply. The availability of rental tenure may also increase as renters are more likely to move than owner-occupiers for they are more residentially mobile (Dugan,

1999). If the local housing market has slumped and there are no signs of any imminent improvement landlords will have little incentive to invest in their properties which are producing only low-income rents (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Eventually the quality of the housing stock will deteriorate.

Of relevance here are a number of lessons learnt from research into housing allocative processes, particularly in the later stages of the Sheffield project (see Bottoms and Wiles, 1986; Bottoms, Claytor and Wiles, 1992). The research of Bottoms and Wiles (1986), for instance, indicates that private rental tenures are predominantly located in inner-city areas, tend to be older properties built early in the twentieth century, and generally offer poor quality accommodation. These marginal properties are likely to suit 'socially marginal' groups of individuals, such as students, single parents, and immigrants. This form of cheap, temporary housing is also liable to attract so-called 'undesirables' like individuals with criminal records, those who have a history of rent arrears, the unemployed and 'problem families'. As a result these private rental areas are prone to become 'ghettos' for the most marginalised of groups (Bottoms and Wiles, 1986: 154). However, in the UK private tenure is on the decrease, whereas owner-occupation and to a lesser extent public housing are on the increase (Bottoms and Wiles, 1986: 154).

With regards to publicly funded housing, Bottoms and Wiles found that the allocation of accommodation to prospective tenants in 'difficult-to-let' estates, was often but not invariably based on a system that grades and 'dumps' particular kinds of individuals. They described how local authority housing departments tend to allocate the 'least desirable' tenants such as 'problem families' and 'social misfits' to the worst estates which were the most difficult-to-let. Hence, housing allocative mechanisms can influence 'the differential distribution of social groups within the housing market' (Bottoms and Wiles, 1986: 122).

These findings indicate that residents who remain in communities which are tarnished with a reputation for crime and disorder problems will be joined by 'in-movers' who do not mirror the characteristics of the 'out-movers'. Selective in-migration through housing allocative processes in the public and

private rental market can directly influence the population composition in communities, more so in specific districts. High-income or middle-income individuals who once owned their homes are replaced by low-income individuals who seek cheap housing on a rental basis. In-movers who have little choice but to reside in cheap housing in undesirable areas are often from certain demographic groups, in that they tend to be poor, immigrants or ethnic minorities, young, single or from broken families. The composition of the population of a community in decline has therefore changed.

iii) Impact of population changes upon structural characteristics and the crime rate

As a result of such population movements the composition of the residents now mirrors that of a community associated with crime and disorder problems. A good illustration of this is provided in the work of Walklate and Evans (1999). They reported that the community of Bankhill in Salford had actually 'tipped' into decline during the 1990s. The 1991 Census figures for Bankhill indicated that a high proportion of the residents were young people (aged between 16 and 25); lone parents; larger families; and a relatively low proportion of people over a pensionable age. Compared to the rest of Salford it also had the highest mix of ethnic minority groups, although the population was predominantly white. In socio-economic terms Bankhill ranked poorly as a council ward in Salford with high unemployment and low levels of car ownership.

These population movements bring about significant changes in the structural characteristics of the community. It is now characterised with a population that is heterogeneous, poor in socio-economic status, and residentially unstable. It will be recalled that these structural characteristics can directly affect local crime patterns (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999). Indeed, as posited in the theory of social disorganisation these structural characteristics are conducive to an increase in levels of crime.

Therefore, the population movements of the residents as a result of out-migration and in-migration (consequences of crime), have affected the

structural characteristics (causes of crime), which in turn may bring about an increase in crime (consequence of crime). This developmental sequence is well summed up by Reiss who states:

Perceptions of crime induce structural and compositional changes in communities that in turn affect their aggregate crime rates. Perceptions of the crime rates of communities, for example, lead law-abiding individuals to move from high- to low-crime-rate areas, often increasing the density of offenders and thereby the risk of in-movers and those who remain (Reiss, 1986: 7).

There is an illustration of this sequence of events in the community of Bankhill which was researched by Walklate et al (1999). The decline in Bankhill was associated with changes in the population, and local residents had identified three successive waves of in-movers. First, tenants from council estates situated in poorer areas of the city moved in. Second, housing association tenants were allocated to fill newly refurbished houses as part of a regeneration scheme. Third, private landlords rented their houses to any tenants prepared to pay rent. The residents were unhappy about these changes in the population as a result of housing allocative processes, not least due to the perceived impact upon the local community:

Bankhill residents often blamed 'newcomers' for the disruption of the once-stable community and, if not directly involved in crime themselves as helping to create the conditions under which it had flourished. This group were often characterised as 'outsiders' in the sense that they had no connection to the area and had not chosen to move there but had been brought in to the ward as a result of successive house-building programmes (Walklate and Evans, 1999: 58-59).

The reactions of residents to local problems with crime and disorder in terms of their out-migration and in-migration movements have brought about changes in the population composition and hence the structural characteristics of the community. Furthermore, these structural characteristics can in turn affect crime patterns. This means that the reactions of residents to crime may indirectly result in higher crime rates. As a result crime in a community can indirectly cause more crime. The statement by Reiss (1986) draws attention to the importance of residents' perceptions in triggering changes to the composition of the population and hence levels of crime.

iv) Impact of structural characteristics on investment

Population movements can bring about changes in the local economy. In line with American research it has been observed in the UK that 'the high crime area is defined increasingly by the linkage between economic conditions and community social structure' (Hope, 1995: 75). In the following discussion it will be seen that the economic viability of a community is sensitive to changes in the social composition of the population. Local traders and businesses situated in the community are the focus here, for it is their financial well-being that has a knock-on effect upon levels of unemployment, housing tenure type, and the desirability of the area more generally.

The population movements of people in response to crime and disorder can affect the socio-economic status of the community. With a higher proportion of unemployed, poorer, and perhaps fewer people living in a community troubled by crime there is likely to be a reduction in overall spending power. If residents have lower disposable incomes then this will affect the economic viability of shops and businesses in the area. With recent changes in the retail landscape the trade of local residents is ever more vital given the strong competition from the large supermarkets situated on the edge of urban areas. Local shops and businesses which are mainly reliant on the local catchment area for their trade will probably struggle to survive. Through a fear of crime fewer residents will be out after dark consuming goods and services (Skogan, 1986). Furthermore, outsiders may be less inclined to visit or shop in an area labelled as undesirable. As the local market collapses there will be fewer shops and businesses, which will mean fewer employment opportunities in the community. This will further increase levels of unemployment which will be of detriment to the local economy more generally. If local residents are unable to find employment or sustain a regular income fewer residents will be able to purchase their own homes, so there will be fewer owner occupiers as the neighbourhood becomes more impoverished (McGahey, 1986).

The economic climate in an area which is blighted by crime, poverty and other social problems is liable to favour dubious business establishments which offer different types of services (Cohen, 1980). Outlets which could spring up

include drinking establishments, massage parlours, transient hotels, and shops on short-term leases that offer cheap goods to match the spending constraints of local residents. The clientele attracted to these establishments 'will further decrease the desirability of the area for families and others with a lower **tolerance** for deviance' (Skogan, 1986: 220, emphasis added). Hence, changes in the retail and business sector reinforce an already adverse reputation.

In sum, the chain of events which have been described include a number of interactions between the causes and consequences of crime. Population movements (a consequence of crime), have resulted in a lowering of the socio-economic status of the residents (a cause of crime), and as a result of a reduction in disposable income this contributes to a decline in the local economy (a consequence of crime). Due to a fall in consumer demand for goods and services the number of businesses and services will reduce (a consequence of crime), and there will be fewer employment opportunities (a cause of crime). As levels of unemployment increase, home-ownership in the community may decrease.

v) Impact of population movements upon the ability of the residents to tackle crime and disorder

We have seen that population movements can affect the structural characteristics of a community. Changes in the composition of the population have lowered the socio-economic status of the residents, increased racial or ethnic heterogeneity, and caused residential instability. As these structural characteristics have been found to be conducive to a situation known as social disorganisation, subsequent changes in the social conditions of communities can be expected. Indeed, changes to social conditions affect the ability of the residents to tackle local problems with crime and disorder.

Connections between the structural characteristics and social conditions of communities were hypothesised by Sampson and Groves (1989) on the basis of Shaw and McKay's theory (1942). Sampson and Groves predicted that structural characteristics (poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential instability) affect community disorganisation (fewer friendship networks,

lower rates of participation in organisations, and less supervision or control over groups of teenagers). Relationships were found to exist according to the statistical tests conducted by Sampson and Groves (1989) and later by Veysey and Messner (1999). The following relationships were in keeping with the predictions of social disorganisation theory:

(1) The socio-economic status of communities was the strongest determinant of organisational participation. In poor communities there were low rates of participation.

(2) The presence of unsupervised peer groups were significantly related to all five community structural characteristics, viz; low socio-economic status, residential instability, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, urbanisation and family disruption.

(3) Communities that were residentially unstable had scarce resident networks.

However, structural characteristics do not always affect social conditions in communities in the manner predicted by social disorganisation theory. For instance, O'Mahony et al, (2000) have found that there are affluent 'middle-class' communities where the residents are not well integrated. As a result affluence is not necessarily indicative of residential cohesiveness. The authors suggested that the residents of the middle-class areas had not had the opportunity to build strong networks as they had only lived in their communities for a relatively short time. Alternatively, it could be due to 'some of the more subtle differences in the nature of relations between individuals living in very differing communities' (O'Mahony et al, 2000: 30). For instance, residents of affluent communities typically in suburban areas, may enjoy a sense of privacy and so choose not to integrate with their neighbours (Baumgartner, 1988). Hence, criticisms that social disorganisation theory oversimplifies social processes in communities and the notion of social disorganisation itself appear to be well founded.

Nevertheless, for present purposes, it has been seen that changes to the structural characteristics of the community can have consequences for

community disorganisation. These changes in the social conditions can affect the ability of the residents to enforce their standards of conduct or behaviour. This will be demonstrated by reference to resident networks which facilitate social control, the supervision of groups of young people, and levels of participation in local organisations.

Residents who remain in communities which are characterised by crime and disorder problems are likely to be aware that different 'types' of people are moving in as others flee. When faced with 'newcomers' they may sense a loss of familiarity, feeling of well-being and attachment to others in their community. It may be the case that the 'in-movers' are not welcomed or they encounter resentment from the longer-term residents. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) suggest that as a result of these kind of anxieties fear will further increase. The consequences of fear upon individuals, particularly women and the elderly, are of prominence (see Chapter 2). People may withdraw from the streets particularly at night when fear of predatory victimisation is often amplified. Residents may withdraw from community life more generally, and if so, fewer people may participate in locally based organisations and activities. If certain groups of individuals react in similar ways then their behavioural movements can affect the vitality of a community. New friendship networks may not be forged due to loneliness and isolation in the wake of massive resident turnover, and this in turn may induce further fear (Skogan, 1986).

High rates of population turnover in a community will make it more difficult for the residents to form new friendship networks with the in-movers. Residential stability is the key predictor for the development of local networks (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Maccoby et al, 1958; Warren, 1969; and Kapsis, 1976; 1978). In addition, ongoing residential instability undermines the ability of residents to establish long lasting associations with others (Bursik and Webb, 1982). Racial or ethnic heterogeneity in an area may also be detrimental to the cohesiveness of the residents due to differences in culture and values. The growth of networks has been found to be hindered in communities which are racially or ethnically heterogeneous (see Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968; Merry, 1981).

Extensive friendship and kinship networks are essential according to systemic theory if residents are to exert social control in their community to tackle crime and disorder. Studies are supportive of this connection between residential cohesiveness and informal control. For instance, Maccoby et al (1958), found that in a close-knit community where residents tend to know one another and feel part of their community they were more likely to 'do something' in response to various deviant acts than residents from a less integrated community, as they were able to identify with local concerns and issues. Actions residents took included reporting the incident to the police or speaking to the parents of the child. Hence, levels of cohesiveness can affect the preparedness of residents to exert control when confronted with delinquent behaviour.

Greenberg, Rohe and Williams (1982: 147-48) identified three different types of control. First, there is informal surveillance where residents observe what is happening in their neighbourhood. Second, there are movement governing rules in so far as people seek to avoid areas in their neighbourhood or in other nearby places which are generally considered to be unsafe. Third, there is direct intervention, where residents question strangers or people they know about suspicious activities, and admonish children for inappropriate and unacceptable behaviour. Hence, if changes to the structural characteristics disrupt the growth of resident networks, this will weaken the ability of the residents to exercise these different forms of control. There may be less control and supervision over the activities of groups of young people, so anti-social behaviour in public places may pass by unchecked. Informal surveillance of streets in the neighbourhood by 'watching' may also decline as crime or fear of it impedes the growth of new networks and adversely affects cohesiveness amongst the residents. Jacobs (1961) has perceptively noted that it is the residents not the police who are the natural enforcers of acceptable standards of conduct on the streets and sidewalks. This natural form of 'policing' to ensure public peace will be compromised through a weakening of local networks and the presence of fewer residents on the streets especially after dark.

The structural characteristics of a community in decline may deter residents

from participating in local organisations. Indeed, a reduction in participation in local activities and groups can be expected when areas are residentially unstable. The decision to participate in these kind of activities appears to be dependent upon attachment to area, for it has been found that as length of residence increases so does involvement (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Lewis and Salem, 1986; and Tittle, 1989). Ongoing residential instability is therefore likely to affect the crime prevention activities of residents on a collective basis.

Studies consistently show that Neighbourhood Watch (NW) schemes are more likely to be found in communities which are residentially stable, relatively affluent, and racially homogeneous (see for example Skogan, 1988; Rosenbaum, 1988b; and Hope, 1995). Members of these schemes tend to be from certain demographic groups, and are likely to be owner occupiers, affluent, married/living as a couple, and to have children (see for instance Hope, 1988). Recent community based research confirms this. For instance, Girling et al (2000) found that residents of the more affluent areas around Macclesfield would often formalise arrangements to watch out for each other's property by establishing home watch schemes. At a more general level, with wide reaching implications, is the observation that participation in voluntary activity is largely a 'middle-class phenomenon' (Rosenbaum, 1988a: 129). Community volunteers have been found to have a similar demographic profile to those who choose to take part in anti-crime organisations (see Rosenbaum, 1988b; Skogan, 1988). Hence organisations which enjoy good support from the residents on a long-term basis are less likely to be found in the communities with crime and disorder problems than in the 'healthier' and 'wealthier' communities. It is an unfortunate anomaly that the proliferation of crime prevention activities are often discouraged by the very neighbourhood conditions that these activities seek to re-address. The problem is well illustrated in the following statement:

When neighbourhoods spiral into decline, demographic factors related to participation in community organisations can shift unfavourably. In-movers tend to be harder to organise; they are renters, single parent families, the poor and less educated, younger and unmarried persons, and nonfamily households. They report having little economic or emotional commitment to the community and usually expect to move again. As a result of these demographic changes, the mobilisation capacity of the area ... is diminished (Skogan, 1986: 218).

It has been seen that areas in decline tend to have structural characteristics that are conducive to social disorganisation. Changes in the community structural characteristics have weakened the ability of the residents to exercise control. This is evidenced by the disruption to friendship and kinship networks and the associated breakdown in cohesiveness, the fall in levels of participation in local organisations and activities, and the reduction in teenage peer groups. As these unfavourable social conditions are akin to a situation of 'social disorganisation' the residents are unable to enforce their standards of conduct or behaviour upon others in their community (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Clearly, linkages exist between community structural characteristics, social conditions, and patterns of residential control.

Furthermore, crime may increase as a result of this weakening in social control. We have already seen that the indicators of social disorganisation can directly affect the crime rate (Sampson et al, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999). Indeed, disruption to resident networks can according to systemic theory undermine social control processes, and this in turn leads to an increase in crime. Therefore, relationships exist between community structural characteristics, neighbourhood dynamics, patterns of control, and levels of crime. This feedback process appears to adopt the following sequence: population movements (consequence of crime), bring about changes in the structural characteristics of a community (causes of crime), which affect the prevailing social conditions. As these social conditions are conducive to the situation of social disorganisation (causes of crime), the likely outcome is an increase in crime. These linkages mean that an increase in crime may be one of the consequences of crime. Indeed, residents can affect local patterns of crime directly through informal social control processes, or indirectly through their population movements which in turn alter the structural characteristics of communities.

In a final twist, the social conditions of a community can have a mediating role in offsetting the effects that the structural characteristics have upon the crime rate. It will be recalled that Sampson et al (1989) and Veysey et al (1999), found that the indicators of social disorganisation mediated the effects that low economic status, heterogeneity, and residential instability had upon crime

patterns. However, if a situation akin to social disorganisation exists in a community, there will be less of a mediating role due to scarce resident networks, low organisational participation, and unsupervised teenage peer groups. This means that residents of a community in decline may be less able to counter the potentially damaging impacts that structural characteristics can have upon local crime patterns. Therefore, indicators of social disorganisation can have both a direct effect upon the crime rate and an indirect effect through a mediating role.

In sum, it has been seen that communities in decline tend to have the structural characteristics and social conditions which serve to undermine the efforts of the residents to prevent further increases in crime or disorder. Evidently there exist dynamic and complex interactions between the reactions of residents to crime and disorder, community structural characteristics, social conditions, and patterns of crime and disorder. Although feedback processes are found to exist the nature or intricacies of the way in which the causes and consequences of crime interact is by no means clear, so relationships posited are tentative. As a result, difficulties persist when efforts are made to identify the precise causal chain of events of urban change. Research about urban decline has been hindered for various reasons, and this is something that Matthews explains before embarking upon a discussion about the process of neighbourhood decline;

Understanding the processes by which particular inner-city neighbourhoods sink into decline is difficult because change is rarely linear. Identifying the role of any one factor in this process is even more difficult ... (Matthews, 1992: 29).

Controlling for all other influences upon criminal activity such as political, economic and demographic factors in order to isolate the effects of residential reactions is clearly problematic. In the opinion of Schuerman and Kobrin (1986: 69), research about urban decline, particularly the 'interaction between neighbourhood deterioration and crime' has been hindered by a lack of 'adequate time-series data' and 'appropriate analytical techniques'. Furthermore, in the absence of long-term studies about how residents' reactions bring about neighbourhood change, there is little option but to speculate about their contribution to the causal chain of events. As

communities differ in their constituents the effect of reactions upon urban change is likely to vary from one community to another.

Nevertheless, it would appear that reactions to crime have a pivotal role in bringing about urban change given the various ways in which the moving decisions of people can affect communities. Population movements can affect the size and composition of the population, the health of the local economy, the ability of the residents to tackle crime and disorder, and levels of crime. Since population movements may be a response to changes in prevailing conditions, particularly the crime situation, it is conceivable that crime itself can be seen as a source of community change (Reiss, 1986: 19).

Chapter 2

Victimisation and Reactions to Crime

In this Chapter the concern is with individuals and crime. An individual level focus is necessary to highlight the links between victimisation and individual reactions to crime. In addition, there are relationships which exist between communities, individuals, and crime, that are of relevance to the study of reactions to crime. A number of these relationships are discussed in the closing section of the Chapter which explicitly concerns reactions to crime. First, however, it is appropriate to examine the relationships between individuals and criminal victimisation. In Section 1 it will be seen that there are individuals who are disproportionately at risk of crime. There is then a description of how individuals can affect their risks of becoming a victim of crime. Finally, the attention turns to the different ways in which crime can have an impact upon individuals. Section 2 identifies the factors which according to the literature affect how individuals react to crime. People's reactions to crime appear to be influenced by various factors at the individual and collective level. These include characteristics both of individuals and of communities.

2.1. INDIVIDUALS AND CRIME VICTIMISATION

This first Section concerns the relationships between individuals and crime victimisation. There are three parts. First, individuals typically found to be most at risk of crime according to the British Crime Surveys are identified in terms of their personal and household characteristics. Second, a number of explanations and theories are drawn upon to illustrate how individuals can affect their risks of victimisation. Third, the impact of crime upon individuals is examined.

i) Individuals most at risk of crime

Official statistics based upon police recorded crime indicate an unequal frequency in the occurrence of different crime types. Property crime is far more prevalent in our society than personal crime. Trends in police recorded crime are borne out by the results of the British Crime Surveys. The most recent of these Surveys (2001/2002), has victimisation data which derived from 33,000 interviews (see Simmons and colleagues, 2002). Over three quarters of the incidents reported by the respondents to have occurred within a 12 month period concerned property crime (78%). Over a third of this property crime concerned 'thefts' from gardens, sheds, garages and from the person without violence (39%). The next two largest offence types were vandalism to vehicles and private property (26%), and thefts from vehicles (25%). The remaining 10% of the property crimes reported were 'domestic burglaries'. Roughly a fifth of all crimes were against the person (22%), and the majority of these were common assaults that involve at most minimal injury (62%). The remaining personal crimes were more serious incidents such as 'wounding', robbery, and snatch thefts which were relatively rare. Overall, it is clear that individuals are at considerably greater risk of becoming victims of property crime than personal crime.

Individual and household characteristics

Some individuals are at far greater risk of victimisation than others. Individuals who have the greatest risks of being victimised can be identified on the basis of individual and household characteristics. This may be illustrated in respect of burglary and personal crime. Burglary as a property crime is a major concern for people. However, the 2001/2002 British Crime Survey (BCS) found that just 3.5% of households had been burgled in the prior 12 months. Households with the highest risks for burglary on the basis of this survey include those where:

- (1) the head of household is aged 16-24;
- (2) one adult is living alone with children (single parent families);
- (3) the head of the household is unemployed;

- (4) household income is low: under £5,000 a year; and
- (5) the home is rented either privately or from a council or housing association (Simmons et al, 2002: 32).

On the basis of this information it would appear that burglary is more frequent for the young, broken families, the poor, and renters. The findings also confirm that the risks of burglary increase, although not to the same extent, if the home is regularly left unoccupied for long periods of time (5 or more hours). Indeed, secondary analysis of the 1998 BCS confirms that there is a positive relationship between burglary risk and the activities of individuals; the risk of being burgled increases as the average length of time the home is left unoccupied on an average day increases (Budd, 1999: 50). Individual characteristics associated with a heightened risk of personal crime are similar to those observed with burglary. For instance, individuals most at risk of violence include the unemployed, single parents, private renters, and those aged 16-24. One key difference is that gender is the most influential demographic factor to affect the risk of becoming a victim of violence, with men having a far greater risk than women. As with burglary, the behavioural patterns of individuals are of relevance, since those who regularly frequent a pub or wine bar have a higher risk of violence than others.

Similar patterns in the uneven distribution of individual risks are found in earlier British Crime Surveys. So, regardless of crime type, certain characteristics appear to be associated with increased risk. This means it is possible to identify particular groups of individuals who face increased risks of victimisation. There are recognised overlaps between the different social groups who are at particular risk, as the poor for instance, are often renters, single parents, and young people. In view of what is known about victims of crime, it was with some confidence that the authors of the 1998 BCS were able to state 'Where people live, the financial resources they have, the structure of their household, and their own personal lifestyle are among the main factors shown to be associated with risk of victimisation' (Mirrlees-Black, Budd, Partridge and Mayhew, 1998: 29).

The phenomenon of repeat victimisation

These differences in the risks of victimisation translate into an uneven distribution of crime across the population. The observation that a minority of individuals suffer a disproportionate amount of crime came to prominence during the 1990s and is now widely accepted (Sherman et al, 1989; Farrell and Pease, 1993; Ellingworth et al, 1995). This is attributed to the phenomenon of repeat victimisation, where some individuals are repeatedly victimised and suffer a number of crimes over a certain time period, when others may not be victimised at all. In the 1998 British Crime Survey (BCS) repeat victimisation was found to occur across all crime types covered by the Survey (Mirrlees-Black, Budd, Partridge and Mayhew, 1998). The findings indicate that individuals who are most likely to be repeat victims also tend to have the same characteristics as those who are most at risk of becoming a victim.

We have seen that the risks of victimisation are patterned according to individual and household characteristics, and to the activities of individuals. These findings would imply that individuals by virtue of their characteristics, habitation patterns, and lifestyle can increase or reduce their risks of becoming victims of crime. Indeed, research has indicated that repeat victimisation is not one of pure coincidence or chance alone (Polvi et al, 1990; 1991), so the aetiology of this phenomenon has been explored. Various theories have sought to explain victimisation patterns by identifying the aetiological role of individuals. Two common explanations account for the relationship between past and future victimisation (Farrell et al, 1995).

The first explanation often known as 'state dependence', is based upon the premise that the likelihood of victimisation is dependent upon the state of having been a previous victim. In other words, once individuals have been victimised, this affects their risk of subsequent victimisation. Repeat victimisation is therefore victimisation induced. Reasons for the repeat targeting of the same victims may be due to offender behaviour patterns which have been identified by opportunity theory (see for instance, Polvi et al, 1991; Farrell et al, 1995). The second explanation which is known as 'population heterogeneity' is based upon the assumption that the risk of

subsequent victimisation is independent of prior victimisation experiences. A relationship is posited between the personal characteristics of an individual and risks of victimisation. Some individuals have 'enduring characteristics' (Farrell et al, 1995) which increase the risks of victimisation and repeat victimisation. Certain personal and demographic characteristics affect the risks of victimisation, as we shall see below. Recently, Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta (2000), found population heterogeneity to be a more powerful explanation than state dependency for repeat victimisation.

ii) How individuals affect their risks of victimisation

We now examine what factors affect the risks of victimisation for individuals more generally. The probability of being victimised has been associated with the opportunities which are available for offenders to commit crime. The existence of a relationship between criminal opportunity and victimisation risk is asserted in two prominent victimisation theories. The first of which is called 'routine activities theory' (Cohen and Felson, 1979), and the second is the 'lifestyle opportunity perspective' (Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978; Garofalo, 1987). These theories suggest that the greater the opportunities for offenders to commit crime the greater the risks of individuals becoming victims of crime. They incorporate opportunity theory in so far as they embrace the behavioural patterns of offenders. They both assume that there are potential criminals who are motivated to commit crime. However, as their names imply they are concerned primarily with potential victims.

The fact these two theories are very similar is well recognised. According to routine activities theory, three prerequisite conditions are necessary for a victimisation to occur: that there are motivated offenders, suitable targets (people or objects), and the absence of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson, 1979). The routine activities of individuals include work, leisure, and the acquisition of basic needs such as food and shelter. As individuals have to carry out these routine activities on a regular basis, this can create the opportunities for criminal activity, when all three necessary conditions for a crime to occur are present. In a similar approach lifestyle theory posits that

the leisure and vocational activities of people determines their exposure to the risks of personal or property victimisation (Hindelang et al, 1978, Garofalo, 1987). Both theories assert that victimisation risk is linked to the interaction between individuals and objects, which means there needs to be a convergence of the time-space-target risk correlates. As a result activities which take individuals out of their homes and into public space may in tandem increase their risk of property and personal victimisation if there is no suitable guardian to protect the property or the individual from potential offenders. Meier and Miethe have identified four different variables which are evident in these victimisation theories (Meier and Miethe, 1993: 479-84). These will be discussed in turn.

Proximity to high crime areas

Physical proximity to high crime areas is a significant factor that increases the victimisation risk of individuals. If a community has a high crime rate then it is likely that it will also have a high proportion of offenders (see Bottoms and Wiles, 1986). Research confirms that offenders do not generally travel great distances to commit their offences (Wiles and Costello, 2000). Individuals who live in close residential proximity to potential offenders therefore face increased exposure to criminal victimisation as they go about their daily lives and routines. An association exists between propinquity to offenders and risk of personal victimisation (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990), as well as property victimisation, particularly burglary (Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta, 2000).

However, it has been argued by Garofalo that individuals may have little choice but to live in or near to areas with a high offender residence rate (Garofalo, 1987). He explains that structural constraints, such as economic status can determine place of residence, as the housing market inhibits the choice of many people as to where they can reside. More affluent individuals can afford to live in desirable areas that are located some distance from the residences of offenders, which in turn may reduce their risk of victimisation. Garofalo included this notion of exposure in his 'modified lifestyle model for direct-contact predatory victimisation'. When explaining his model he explicitly states that residential proximity to potential offenders represents the

'base level' of risks of victimisation. The idea that the less affluent are more exposed to potential offenders is a theme in keeping with the findings of the 2001/2002 BCS concerning risks of victimisation, as we have already seen.

Exposure to victimisation risk

It has been explained how the actions of individuals can affect their risks of victimisation. Studies have therefore sought to examine how the routine activities and movements of individuals, e.g. where they go, what they do, and when, affect the likelihood of becoming a victim of property or personal crime. The lifestyle theory asserts that the primary determinant of an individual's risk of victimisation is their lifestyle. Garofalo suggests that looking to differences among subgroups in their lifestyle can help 'account for deviations from the average likelihood of victimisation in a society' (Garofalo, 1987: 28). In other words, the lifestyle associated with certain groups of individuals is one of the main reasons why their risks of victimisation differ from the 'base level' of risks faced by other individuals who engage in routine urban activities. Hence, different lifestyles may help to explain differences in risks of victimisation.

The exposure of individuals to high risk situations is often measured by examining the level of non-household activity (Meier and Miethe, 1993). The rationale is that activities out of the home increase exposure to the risks of victimisation. Research has examined how the primary activity of individuals, such as employment status or attendance at school, can affect the risks of victimisation. However, it is difficult to compare the findings of studies as they vary in their definitions of primary activity and in the kinds of crime they examine. This may be demonstrated by reference to three studies. Cohen, Cantor and Kluegel (1981), found that the risks of personal victimisation were higher for persons in employment than for those who were 'home-centred'. In respect of household burglary, Cohen and Cantor (1981) found that the risks of victimisation were greatest for households that were 'less occupied'. However, against the predictions of the lifestyle model, Smith (1982), failed to find a statistical relationship between 'employment status' and the risks of becoming a victim of property or personal crime.

A more powerful predictor of victimisation risks appears to be the spare-time activities that individuals pursue. Smith (1982) reasoned that the examination of spare-time activities would capture 'behaviour patterns' of individuals at high-risk times and in high-risk situations. This transpired to be the case. The lifestyle variable which measured frequency of engagement in leisure activities was found to have the strongest effect in distinguishing victims from non-victims. To explore this further a distinction was made between activity type. Structured activities which occur in designated places and involve little stranger contact were not anticipated to increase victimisation risk. Indeed, only marginal differences were found to exist between victims and non-victims in terms of their engagement in such activities. Spare-time activities which are less structured in nature and involve more contact with strangers in public places were predicted to increase victimisation risk. Again, as expected, a disproportionate number of victims were found to have engaged in unstructured activities. In view of these findings it was suggested that 'a certain level of victimisation might, then, be expected to accompany particular urban life-styles' (Smith, 1982: 391).

Subsequent research has confirmed the importance of lifestyle in determining risks of victimisation and how this is closely tied to offending patterns. The work of Gottfredson (1984) was pertinent in demonstrating how individuals increase their risks of victimisation through their social activities. Young people who often socialise by frequenting pubs and clubs in urban places increase their risks of becoming victims of personal crime. The temporal and spatial concentration of personal crimes such as theft, assault and street robbery are skewed towards night time and in public places where there is much interaction with strangers. Furthermore in a pub and club culture where alcohol is consumed the volatile climate provides an even more potent cocktail for violent crime. Going out at the weekend (Friday and Saturday evenings), increases the risks of victimisation. Overall young men are at greater risk than women. Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta (2000) as with Gottfredson find that young people are at higher risk of personal offences (assault, threat, and personal theft).

Finally, the risks of victimisation may be affected by the type or kind of people

an individual interacts and socialises with. The cross-over between victim-offenders is now well documented as offenders often have high rates of victimisation (Singer, 1981). Offenders are prone to victimisation by other potential offenders as they make ideal targets in as much as there is impunity from the law (Sparks, 1982). Similarly individuals who have deviant lifestyles (such as excessive drinking, drug taking and persistent partying) will mix with other like minded people in an environment conducive to exploitation by predatory others (Jensen and Brownfield, 1986). It has been suggested that Spark's notion of victimisation with impunity may also apply to individuals who engage in deviant activities (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990). Hence, minor deviance may be a sufficient reason not to seek intervention from the police.

Guardianship

Victimisation theories assume that effective guardianship can reduce the risks of personal or property victimisation. The presence of people may prevent the commission of a crime. Studies have measured guardianship according to household size in terms of the number of people. Single-adult or non-family households are often assumed to have greater risks of victimisation than family households. Felson and Cohen (1980) for instance, suggested that individuals who live alone may be more prone than others to leave their home unoccupied and in the absence of effective guardianship this will increase the risks of property victimisation. This argument is particularly relevant given modern day living patterns with more adults who live alone, the increase in single parents, and in the proportion of women who work. Cohen and Cantor (1980) found that persons who live alone face a 'substantially higher' risk of becoming a victim of personal crime (robbery) than do those who live with other people. This was in keeping with their predictions. They reasoned that individuals who live alone will be more vulnerable than members of larger families as they do not have easy access to people who can provide guardianship. Persons living in single-adult households are probably not as likely to be accompanied when out in public places and this may increase the risk of personal crime. In addition, it was felt that those who live alone will probably spend more time out of the house

engaging in activities than members of families, which again would heighten the risk of personal victimisation.

However, the results of other studies question whether the guardianship activities of household members reduce the risks of victimisation. For instance, Smith (1982) found that the probability of victimisation for one person households and two or more households gave rise to only negligible differences.

Target attractiveness

The target attractiveness of an individual or their property is assumed to affect their risks of victimisation. The higher the economic or symbolic value of a target, the more attractive it is to offenders so the risks of victimisation increases (Lynch, 1987). As the affluence, status and education of individuals is likely to be related to the amount of valuable property owned, the affluent, particularly their property will be more attractive to offenders (Cohen, Kluegel and Land, 1981). Another indicator of target attractiveness, especially in respect of sexual offences appears to be the gender of an individual. Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta (2000), found that women were at significantly greater risk than men of falling victim to sexual offences.

In sum, it has been seen that individuals can affect their risks of becoming a victim of property and personal crime by providing opportunities for potential offenders in the absence of guardians. The risks of victimisation can be increased by prior experiences of crime (state dependency), and by certain 'enduring characteristics' such as age and gender (population heterogeneity). Other demographic factors are also of importance such as household composition and socio-economic status. One of the most pertinent factors to affect victimisation risk is the lifestyle of individuals as this dictates levels of exposure to criminal opportunities. The popularity of the lifestyle-victimisation theories is testament to this. Another prominent factor is the associations of individuals, particularly with potential offenders or those who are deviant. The dual status as offender-victim will clearly increase the

probability of victimisation. Having discussed how individuals can affect crime, it is now time to examine how crime can affect individuals.

iii) The impact of crime upon individuals

Victimology research informs us that people react in different ways to the experience of crime, and as individuals we ourselves are aware that the experience of similar events can and do exact dissimilar responses. It will be seen that the impact of crime may be subject to perceptions of victimisation, the police and criminal justice system. There is then an examination of the behavioural and emotional impacts that crime can have upon individuals. Attention is paid to both the effects of actual victimisation as well as the anticipation of victimisation.

Perceptions of victimisation

Following direct or indirect experience of crime some people may regard themselves as a victim when others do not. Importantly societal responses to victimisation depend upon perceptions of what constitutes a victim and who may legitimately claim that status (Walklate, 1989; Mawby and Walklate, 1994). Perceptions of victimisation depend upon the environment in which such evaluations are made, whether this be in a medical, legal, psychological or social context. Within a social context the conventions of the community, family, or peer group may dictate victimisation status.

Miers (2000: 80-81) discusses the requirements which need to be satisfied before a person can be labelled a 'victim'. There are four primary constituents. First, such a person must have suffered harm or injury by the act of another. Second, this suffering must be caused by another party, so the victim should not be at fault in any way. Third, the person must recognise they have been victimised. Fourth, that person must then manage and present themselves to others as a legitimate victim in a self-labelling process in order to suitably fit a social construct of a victim (Rock, 1998). Therefore, not all individuals who have suffered harm or injury will acquire the status of 'victim', not least due to the need to have the consent of others. This may be pertinent for certain

groups of individuals such as offenders or those with deviant lifestyles who may have precipitated their victimisation. As a result people are unlikely to perceive them as victims and label them as such unless their circumstances happen to fall within the remit of the 'ideal victim'. The concept of the so-called 'ideal victim' was created by Christie (1986), to portray instances where some individuals readily fulfil the status of victim due to societal values. Groups of vulnerable people such as the elderly and the young are entitled to this status as are individuals who have suffered due to the negligence of an employer or company.

The meaning and significance of victimisation has been found to vary considerably across different population groups. During the mid Seventies through to the mid Eighties there was a proliferation of work that sought to capture public attitudes and views towards crime and deviance. Studies often favoured the use of questionnaires as a means of examining potential differences in the seriousness ratings of crime. Public perceptions in the ratings of more serious crimes were found to be remarkably consistent and in general agreement with criminal law, whereas with less serious crimes there was a greater degree of disparity. Although differences between various demographic groups were found they were not consistently replicated (see for instance: Rossi, Waite, Bose and Berk 1974; Sparks, Genn and Dodd, 1977; Cullen, Clark and Polanzi, 1982; Levi and Jones, 1985; and O'Connell and Whelan, 1996).

Sparks, Genn and Dodd (1977), suggest that responses to deviance by social groups will depend upon their perceptions and classification of such behaviour. When different social groups agree to a set of rules this is a display of 'normative consensus'. However, social groups may adhere to their own set of cultural values, rules and norms. The subscription to different rules results in 'normative differences' across the population, and this may be the result of class, age, race, gender, and so on. Their study in London is demonstrative of differences between social classes in attitudes towards crime. It was hypothesised that residents of the working class areas of Brixton and Hackney would probably define fewer acts as 'assault' than the middle-class residents of Kensington. Indeed, residents of Brixton and Hackney were

found to be more likely to 'justify' violence and less likely to 'disapprove' of this kind of behaviour than the residents of Kensington. Alternatively this finding may have been due to the fact that residents from an area like Kensington 'would be readier to regard such acts as 'criminal', and would perhaps apply that label to actions which would be **tolerated** or approved of elsewhere' (Sparks et al, 1977: 181, emphasis added). The authors felt that such differences in perceptions was a function of cultural differences in terms of class/affluence. They argue these differences would persist even if the incidence rate were similar across all three areas. From this it may be inferred that whilst levels of exposure to violence can help to explain variations in perceptions, subcultural differences in this instance was considered to be a more powerful explanation.

Changes in public attitudes towards the seriousness of deviant acts is a phenomenon that has usefully been tracked by questionnaires that gauge public perceptions. Definitions of crime are not static over time as history shows. As with legal definitions of crime perceptions of crime change; the two are in a complex way related (see for instance Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979). Public attitudes towards the seriousness of crimes have been found to be subject to temporal changes, particularly minor offences where changes in the seriousness ratings can be observed over a relatively short period of time. O'Connell and Whelan (1996) report that in just under a decade there appears to have been a 'softening' of public opinion to less serious offences such as marijuana selling and dole fraud.

It has been seen that definitions of what constitutes a victimisation is by no means straightforward. Definitions are dependent upon the context in which perceptions are construed. Different social groups (according to demographic characteristics) are liable to show 'normative differences' in their views and attitudes towards victimisation. Perceptions of offence seriousness are subject to temporal variations over time, especially minor acts of deviance. This subjectivity in perceptions of crime and criminality is tied in with the notion that not all victims are seen as such. The individual who suffered a crime may not see themselves as a victim, or others may not readily assign them the status of victim. The impact of crime is therefore reliant upon the meaning

and significance attached to a deviant act, the perceptions of the victimised individual, and the response of others to the so-called 'victim'.

Perceptions of the police and the English legal system

It is notable that the occurrence of a criminal act does not always come to the attention of the authorities as victims, witnesses, or other interested parties may choose not to involve the police or the criminal justice system. As part of an interesting discussion concerning public support for the law, Conklin provides a host of reasons as to why people may choose not to enforce the criminal law even in situations where this may be appropriate (Conklin; 1975, chapter 7). In his view 'people **tolerate** crime if they fail to report crime to the police' (Conklin, 1975: 271, emphasis added). Hence, if a person takes action in response to a criminal incident by informing the authorities they are intolerant and supportive of the law, but if they decide not to act in this way they are tolerant and unsupportive of the law. Reasons why people may not report crime to the police, include perceptions of the authorities and prior experiences of them. Conklin suggests that the benefits to the individual of reporting must outweigh the time, effort, and cost following involvement of the police and the criminal justice system. As a result negative prior experience of the criminal justice system may deter future involvement of the police in situations where this may be appropriate.

More recent work confirms the effect of past experience of the police upon future relations. The findings of an International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) which had three main sweeps in 1988, 1992 and 1996, suggest to Van Dijk (2000) that the response of the police can affect the willingness of victims to report. Over half of the respondents from the developed nations (America, Canada and Western Europe) who were victims of property or personal crime had reported the incidents to the police (52%). However, repeat-victims were less likely to report subsequent victimisations than one-time victims. Van Dijk suggests that the reluctance of repeat victims to report further victimisations may have been due to past negative experiences of the police. The findings indicate that the demands made upon the police change following repeat experiences of crime. Repeat victims were for instance more concerned than

one-time victims to have the offender arrested and to stop the victimisations from continuing. In contrast, one-time victims had more 'modest expectations' of the police than repeat-victims, so overall they were more satisfied than repeat-victims with the response and service that was provided.

Secondary analysis of the 1998 British Crime Survey indicates that more victims than non-victims consider the police to be doing a 'poor or very poor' job (Mattinson and Mirrlees-Black, 2000: 8). Although the difference according to victimisation status was not great, this finding was nevertheless indicative of a more general pattern in which victims rated the criminal justice system less favourably than others. These findings are of importance since victims who are unwilling to contact the police will have little option but to deal with the impact of crime themselves.

People who have been victims or witnesses to a crime may find solace in the response of the police and other criminal justice agencies. Recent developments within the criminal justice system have sought to improve the service that victims receive. The implementation of victim-centred policies and practice have been seen as a pragmatic response to recognise the needs of victims (Marshall, 1996). Changes came about as a result of the work of victim lobby groups which were particularly evident during the mid 1980s and early 1990s, especially in America but also in the UK. This victim movement sought to 'improve the plight of victims in the criminal justice system, and rectify their traditional lack of voice in legal proceedings' (Erez, 2000: 166). Thus from the 1980s, victims became increasingly acknowledged as important players in the criminal justice system, who should be properly provided for at every step and turn of the legal process (Goodey, 2000). Despite the changes which were prompted by the 'victim movement', some commentators believe that the interests of victims are still liable to be overlooked. For instance, Reeves and Mulley (2000) argue that the criminal justice system was initiated to deal primarily with offenders, thus reforms that concern the needs and rights of victims are commonly tacked on or shaped to fit existing policies and practice. Victims and witnesses they believe are ill-informed about the provisions that seek to improve their treatment within the criminal justice system.

It has been seen that people's perceptions of the police and the criminal justice system can be affected by various factors. One prominent factor appears to be prior experience of the police. Fewer repeat victims report incidents than one-time victims and this could be due to a poor response of the police on prior occasions. The extent of dissatisfaction amongst repeat victims with the police is testament to the gap between needs and service provision. This may be a function of the fact that the needs of individuals change following repeat victimisations. Notably, one-time victims also expressed dissatisfaction with the police, so future involvement of the police following one victimisation may be debatable. Finally, it is evident that the police and criminal justice system have the potential to alleviate the suffering that can follow the experience of crime. Although efforts have been made to improve the provision of services for victims, there are doubts about the extent to which the changes have been implemented.

Having examined how the impact of crime may be subject to the perceptions of the individual and the response of the police and other criminal justice system agencies, the attention now turns to the effects of victimisation and the anticipation of victimisation. The emotional and then the behavioural impact of crime will be discussed.

The emotional impact of crime

Fear as a consequence of direct and indirect victimisation has dominated the area of victimology research for the last two decades. The majority of work appears to have followed the paper of Maxfield (1984) entitled 'Fear of Crime in England and Wales' which was based upon the findings of the 1982 British Crime Survey (BCS). In the foreword the Home Office declares this is the first report of 'any depth' on fear (Maxfield 1984: iii). In a later report which was supported by evidence from the 1984 BCS, Maxfield advances a model entitled 'explaining fear of crime' (Maxfield, 1987). The breakdown of the causes of fear in this model is complex as two types of fear are identified which derive from a number of contributory factors. In brief, fear according to Maxfield manifests itself first, through worry about victimisation risks in the neighbourhood generally and second, through personal anxiety about the

risks of becoming a victim. There is a relationship between the two types of fear as worries about the neighbourhood affect anxieties about victimisation. Maxfield found that these fears were influenced by a number of variables, including: the perceived vulnerability of an individual in dealing with the consequences of crime, the perceived risks of victimisation, and the perceived seriousness of crime and incivilities. These determinants of fear are clearly subject to the orientation of the individual in terms of their beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of crime and victimisation.

These connections between fear and the subjective attributes of individuals, indicated that fear is likely to be a complex phenomenon. This certainly appears to be the case given the large amount of research it has generated. For a comprehensive review of the literature on fear of crime refer to Hale (1996). Studies have extensively looked to the meaning, measurement, causes and consequences of fear. However, ambiguities about fear continue to exist, not least how best to measure it. A number of commentators argue that fear has been studied in a manner which distorts the true picture. For instance, Farrall et al (1997: 676) argue that the findings from questionnaires have presented fear as 'a function of the way the topic is researched, rather than the way it is'. Criticisms about the methodology employed to measure fear is one reason why fear of crime as a topic of investigation has become a 'distinct sub-discipline within criminology which may be studied independently of crime itself' (Hale, 1996: 131).

A refreshing approach to the examination of fear has been adopted by Girling, Loader and Sparks (2000) in their study of 'Crime and Social Change' in and around Macclesfield. Whilst they intended to address the issue of fear, they chose not to use it as the 'primary organising idea'. Instead their intention was to widen the net in a two fold approach so that the 'crime talk' of people is understood first, within the political and moral climate of the day and how that may change over time. They then situate these public responses against the context in which they were spoken. If we compare the early work of Maxfield (1984 and 1987) to the more recent study of Girling et al (2000), it is apparent how in a short period of time the concept of fear has evolved.

Studies have sought to discover the causes of fear and as a result the population groups which are the most likely to be fearful have been identified. It appears that prior victims (especially repeat victims) are the most likely candidates to report fear of crime. Victims of crime are more fearful of becoming a victim of personal or property crime than non-victims (Maxfield, 1984: 7). More recent research is supportive of this. Van Dijk (2000: 108) reports that there is a 'strikingly consistent pattern' between fear and victimisation experience according to the results of the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS). For all regions of the world represented in the survey including the developed countries (America, Canada and Western Europe), one-time victims were found to be more fearful of street crime than non-victims, and repeat-victims were more fearful than one-time victims. This survey testifies to how repeat experiences of crime can accentuate fears for personal safety.

Fear of crime is also evident among non-victims as Skogan and Maxfield (1981) report in their American study. They utilised the traditional measure of fear which asked respondents to state 'how safe' they felt when 'out alone in their neighbourhood at night'. They found that 30% of the respondents (regardless of their victimisation status) were fearful as they felt 'very unsafe' or 'somewhat unsafe' in this situation. They note this figure was three times as high as the number who reported being a victim of personal crime. In accounting for this discrepancy they suggest that the anticipation of being a victim induces fear, hence direct victimisation of crime has a 'relatively limited role' in 'explaining fear of crime' (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 63). They also found that vicarious or indirect victimisation may increase fear. Individuals tend to be more fearful if they know of other victims, particularly if the incident occurred in their own neighbourhood.

Individual characteristics often associated with fears are age, race, sex, and income. Skogan and Maxfield (1981: 74) have suggested that these demographic attributes also represent individuals who are most vulnerable to crime, and hence vulnerability may be conceived as a fundamental cause of fear. There were seen to be two dimensions to vulnerability, both of which were related to fear. 'Physical vulnerability' portrays those most anxious

about the consequences of crime, viz; women and the elderly. 'Social vulnerability' concerns individuals who are most at risk of crime due to their exposure to it and their inability to deal with the consequences of victimisation. The social and economic consequences of crime are felt most heavily by the poor or blacks who tend to live in impoverished areas that are also home to offenders. These vulnerable groups have a heightened risk of victimisation since offenders tend to operate in or close to their own neighbourhoods.

The concept of 'social vulnerability' has the support of other research including reports based upon the findings of the British Crime Surveys (BCS). Anxiety and concern about crime has been found to be the result of feeling physically, financially or emotionally unable to cope if victimised (Hough, 1995). Individuals who live in the inner-city recognise they have a greater risk of becoming a victim (of burglary or mugging) than those who live elsewhere (Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998). Similarly 'physical vulnerability' as a determinant of fear of crime has been confirmed by subsequent research which consistently reports that women and the elderly are the most fearful of crime. However the stereotyping of fearful women and fearless men has recently been questioned by the findings of a study conducted in Glasgow (Gilchrist, Bannister, Ditton and Farrall, 1998). Their interview data confirmed that there are men who express as high levels of fear as women. Conversely there are men and women who express low levels of fear. Despite this scepticism as to the extent of reported gender differences in fear a recent report (based upon the 1998 BCS) has found that women are far more likely than men to feel unsafe when out alone after dark (Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998). This was true particularly for elderly women aged 60 plus. Violent crime, especially rape proved to be far more of worry for women than for men, and such worries were predominant amongst young women. Indeed, women worried far more about all crime types except vehicle crime.

Feminists have done much to emphasise that the concerns of women especially about sexual crimes are justifiable. Painter (1992) in a paper concerning the spatial, temporal and social dimensions of female victimisation draws upon the findings of previous surveys to demonstrate that women's

fears about victimisation are rational. She argues that in a patriarchal society where the threat of male violence controls the movement and behaviour of women in time, space and in many social respects, it is little wonder they are more fearful. Poignantly, she states women 'experience a wider spectrum of crime than men, sexual offences and harassment being almost exclusively a female entitlement' (Painter, 1992: 173-74). Hence, the consequences of crime for women can take a more ominous slant than for men as a result of their fears about being sexually attacked.

From these findings it can be concluded that many individuals are affected by fear of crime. It is not just victims who are fearful, but indirect victims, the socially or physically vulnerable, and non-victims. Consequently, fear of crime may well be more widespread than the occurrence of crime itself.

Recently it has been pointed out that reactions to victimisation other than fear have been largely ignored (Ditton, Farrall, Bannister, Gilchrist and Pease, 1999). This claim was made in Ditton et al's study about the emotion of anger following victimisation which in comparison to fear of crime is a topic that is under-researched. To examine anger they utilised existing survey data on victims of burglary, vehicle crime, assault or vandalism. Respondents were asked how they felt initially after their victimisation. Only one feeling could be chosen. For all victimisations in combination anger was found to be the predominant feeling (69%). Other emotions included fear, being upset, and shock. Furthermore, over a period of time the anger of the victims remained constant, whilst feelings of fear, upset, and shock, reduced considerably. In an interesting format, the authors present a selection of texts taken from the victims' descriptions of how they felt following their experience of crime. These texts illustrate how the emotion of anger can arise regardless of the crime type, and that the context in which it is expressed can vary according to the nature and circumstances of the crime.

Anger is in fact a very common emotion expressed about crime. In the 1996 BCS roughly a quarter of the burglary victims felt anger (23%) which was the most common emotional response to this kind of victimisation (Mirrlees-Black, Mayhew and Percy, 1996). A survey by Mawby and Walklate (1997)

produced similar findings with regards to burglary victimisation. They found that a greater proportion of burglary victims were angry than were fearful. The emotion of anger as a major consequence of victimisation was also confirmed by Maguire and Corbett (1987). Regardless of offence type, anger was the most common effect that victims recalled experiencing 'intensely' after the incident.

Emotions which are expressed by victims about their experiences can vary according to the type of crime or disorder. This was a finding of Maguire and Corbett (1987). They had asked their interviewees to state their first reaction following their victimisation. A variety of emotions were expressed which included: feeling upset; anger and annoyance; surprise and disbelief; and shock, panic and confusion. There were differences in the proportion of respondents who felt these emotions according to whether they had been a victim of property crime (burglary) or personal crime (assault/robbery/theft). Furthermore, gender differences in the emotions felt following victimisation were observed. This finding about gender was also evident in the 1984 BCS, which indicated that women were more likely than men to suffer from emotional problems following a victimisation regardless of the crime type (Hough and Mayhew, 1985).

It has been seen that the emotional impact of crime is wide reaching for it is not simply confined to those who have been victimised. Fear of crime, for instance is heavily borne by women, the elderly, and the poor, as these groups are considered to be physically or socially vulnerable. Arguably, there is little that individuals can do to protect themselves from the threat of crime if they live in a high crime area or sense they are easy prey and attractive targets for potential offenders. Even learning of the experiences of others can fuel fear. Other emotional impacts of crime are of relevance to the experience of victimisation. The most common emotion that victims express following an incident is anger and this is usually regardless of the nature and circumstances of the crime. The demographic characteristics of individuals, such as gender appear to affect the emotional impact of crime. In sum, it has been demonstrated how diverse the impact of crime can be upon individuals.

We now turn to the impact of crime upon the behaviour of individuals. It will be seen that crime can have disturbing effects not just upon the lives of victims but also individuals who are fearful of being victimised. First this discussion will look at actions that individuals take to protect their property, and second, the avoidance tactics and personal precautions that are commonly employed to reduce the risks of personal crime.

Furedi (1997) in his book entitled 'Culture of Fear' examines how society today is increasingly fearful of taking risks across many different dimensions, one of which is personal safety. He makes reference to the growth of the personal security and safety industry and states:

Demand for house burglar alarms, fire alarms, car alarms and personal alarms has risen significantly in the 1990s. Even in the sluggish economy of the 1990s, the demand for security measures has kept the industry growing at an annual rate of 10 per cent. Every time a new threat to personal safety makes headline news, it serves to increase the demand for new methods of risk avoidance and protection (Furedi, 1997: 2).

Indeed, one of the key strategies to prevent crime during the 1980s and 1990s was the 'target hardening' of cars and homes (Crawford, 1997; 1998). Cars have been manufactured and marketed for their in-built security such as alarms, immobilisers or trackers, and such features are now fitted as standard. Homes typically have security alarms, double glazing, outside lights, window locks, mortise locks, and the like. These protective devices aimed at keeping intruders at bay can be expensive but it is a cost that many are prepared to bear. Incentives and inducements from insurance companies to install good security do little but to encourage such activity. When taken in conjunction with the old adage 'an Englishman's home is his castle' this has effectively meant that 'taking steps to secure one's property has come to be accepted as the proper responsibility of individual homeowners' (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000: 142). Hence, there is a clear movement towards security hardware as a means of reducing risk of victimisation.

Studies indicate that certain population groups appear to be attracted to target

hardening. These groups can be distinguished according to their demographics and victimisation status. Owner occupiers are more likely than renters to undertake security measures (Lavrakas, 1981). Girling et al (2000: chapter 7), found that affluent and middle-class individuals were particularly eager to install household security measures. There were several reasons for this. Many were aware their homes were attractive targets for potential intruders, especially if they were regularly left unoccupied during the day. In addition, occupants of large households with rambling gardens recognised this made natural surveillance very difficult and as a result they felt vulnerable to the risks of burglary. Individuals of poor households in contrast were found to be more sceptical about the effectiveness of expensive security hardware for the home. Rountree and Land (1996) found that prior victims of household burglary were more likely than others to take steps to protect their home against potential intruders. The efforts of victims to improve security included the decision to stay at home more often.

A recent prominent finding is that victims may re-locate as part of a crime prevention strategy. Dugan (1999) found that prior victimisation affects the decision to move, but only if the incident occurred close to the home. The probability of moving house increased if any of the occupants were the victims of property or personal crime within one mile of the home. Prior experience of property crime was a more powerful influence upon the household's decision to move than experience of personal crime. After the first property victimisation the chances of moving within the next 12 months increases by around 12%. However, Dugan suggests that victims will favour other preventative or precautionary strategies as an alternative to the more expensive method of moving home.

Individuals may call upon their immediate neighbours to help guard against the risks of crime through informal arrangements (Girling et al, 2000; Mawby, 2001). These arrangements are often reciprocal in nature as neighbours agree to look out for one another's property. They are often used when houses are left unoccupied over a period of time, when for instance, the occupants are on vacation. Neighbours typically swap keys and burglar alarm codes and keep a 'watch out' for anything suspicious, and if necessary check out the house.

Girling et al (2000: 145) found that these kind of preventative tactics were widespread with their use not confined to any particular population group.

The attempts of individuals to reduce the risks of crime by reducing the time they spend outside of the home is now widely accepted in the literature (see Conklin, 1975; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Maxfield 1984). For instance, Maxfield (1984) found a relationship between fears for personal safety and personal mobility at night-time. Those who were most fearful of becoming a victim of personal or property crime went out at night less frequently. More recently, the 2001/2002 BCS indicates that a sizeable proportion of people modify their movements due to fear of crime. Fear of becoming a victim of personal or property crime was the main reason why just under one fifth of the respondents (18%) never went out alone after dark on foot or did so less than once a month (Simmons and colleagues, 2002).

Studies have consistently found that women and the elderly are the most likely to take personal precautions and pursue avoidance strategies to reduce the risks of becoming a victim of personal crime. This impact of crime upon the behaviour of vulnerable groups is testified to by the findings of the British Crime Surveys and local surveys such as the Islington Crime Surveys (Jones et al, 1986; Crawford et al, 1990), and the Hammersmith and Fulham Survey (Painter et al, 1989). Painter (1992) examines the methods employed by women to reduce the risks of victimisation. These include the avoidance where possible of walking alone after dark, taking alarms, walking a dog, or even carrying weapons. Routes are carefully selected when moving from place to place. The term 'street nous' is used by Painter to describe the complex precautions taken by women when negotiating public space, many of which are probably second nature. Such actions include taking care not to appear an attractive target, to try and limit valuables in possession, and to increase visibility by walking in the road not on the pavement.

However, Painter also draws attention to the differential impact of the fear of personal crime at night among women. Although women are uneasy about being out alone after dark as a high proportion actively pursue a 'self-imposed curfew' not all women are homebound (Painter, 1992: 178). Some are more

able than others to reduce their fear of the risks of victimisation. Middle-class women have the financial means to protect themselves against the risks of victimisation and hence can feel secure when in pursuit of leisure and social activities. The more affluent have access to safe modes of transport such as a car or a taxi rather than public transport or by foot. As a result they are able to exercise greater control in the places they visit and when, and consequently have more freedom of movement than women who are poor and subject to greater financial constraints.

In sum, crime can affect the behaviour of individuals regardless of their victimisation status. Many people install security measures to protect their property from potential intruders and try to reduce their risks of personal crime through avoidance and precautionary strategies. Hence, actions to reduce the risks of victimisation can involve sacrifices at a social and economic level. Actions can be extreme, if for instance, individuals restrict or modify their night-time activities due to fears for their personal safety, or if victims decide to move home as a result of their experiences. The impact of crime may vary according to the demographic characteristics of individuals. Women and the elderly appear to be the most prepared to modify their behaviour to reduce the risks of victimisation. Socio-economic status is also important. The affluent are able to afford to reduce their risks of victimisation or their fear of it by limiting their exposure to offenders. They also have the financial means to afford security hardware to protect their homes. The poor have little option but to rely on their 'street nous' when out in public places after dark, and to protect their property without the use of expensive security measures. Hence the responsive actions adopted by individuals as a result of crime are determined by their personal characteristics as well as previous experience of crime.

In this section it has been seen that whilst the impact of crime is far-reaching, victimisation is skewed towards certain groups of individuals. Theories that seek to explain patterns of victimisation identify an aetiological role for individuals. Therefore crime may affect individuals, but individuals can also affect the risks of crime. It is a two way relationship. The characteristics of individuals are influential in determining the risks of crime, as well as the

actual impact of crime. The emotional and behavioural actions of individuals as a result of victimisation or the anticipation of victimisation appear to be influenced by social class, affluence, gender, and place of residence. Similarly, perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and fears that individuals have about crime and victimisation can serve to distort the actual impact of crime. Finally, it is apparent that the impact of crime is not uniformly experienced or felt by individuals.

2.2. REACTIONS TO CRIME

Throughout this review of the literature reference has been made to relationships between individuals and crime, and between communities and crime. It has been seen that these relationships are complex and that there are potential dynamic interactions and feedback effects, some of which are more obvious than others. According to the literature there are various factors which may affect the reactions of individuals and residents to crime and disorder. It is notable that these factors include both individual and community level influences, which is in keeping with the idea that there are connections between individuals, communities, and crime. The factors which have been found to affect people's reactions to criminal incidents are summarised and discussed in brief below.

i) Individual and community characteristics

Responses to crime are influenced by the characteristics of individuals and of communities. The demographic characteristics of individuals can influence their responses to crime and disorder. For instance, age, gender, and affluence can affect perceptions and fears, whilst tenure type can affect the likelihood of adopting certain crime prevention measures. Participation in crime prevention organisations or schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch are strongly linked in the literature to the demographic characteristics of individuals. Reactions may be affected by other personal characteristics, such as prior experience of crime, and perceptions and opinions of the police or of the criminal justice system.

How individuals respond to crime may be influenced by other factors at the community level, such as the characteristics of the area in which they live. Research at the aggregate level indicates that factors such as socio-economic status, residential stability, and homogeneity in race or ethnicity affect the preparedness of residents to tackle problems with crime or disorder. Close-knit communities in which the residents are cohesive and demonstrate 'community spirit' appear to differ in their crime prevention efforts from communities in which the residents are divisive, atomised, and fearful, suspicious or mistrustful of others. Responses to crime also appear to be influenced by perceptions as to the willingness of the residents in general to collectively tackle community problems such as crime and disorder. Therefore, the way in which residents react to local crime and disorder problems appears to be related to the characteristics of their communities.

ii) Perceptions and fears

The perceptions and fears of individuals and residents heavily influence their reactions to crime and disorder. Perceptions and fears of crime, disorder, and of changes in the area it will be recalled were key factors that led to the out-migration of residents from troubled communities, and which also served to deter, if not undermine collective efforts to counter crime and disorder. For individuals, fears of becoming a victim of personal crime can restrict their movements in certain areas (risky places) and at certain times (such as after dark). There may be a preference to remain at home rather than venture outdoors alone on foot. The perceived risk of becoming a victim of property crime prompts many to purchase security hardware to alleviate fears and reduce the likelihood of victimisation.

Hence, perceptions can affect the population movements of residents and the daily movements of individuals, whilst fear can affect the crime prevention activities of residents and individuals. Indeed, the decision of residents to 'migrate' out of their community when fearful of crime and disorder problems is not unlike the 'withdrawal' strategy of individuals who stay at home due to their fears of victimisation. Therefore, the way in which individuals respond

to the risks posed by crime may be likened to how residents react to crime and disorder problems in their community. Furthermore, the ability of both individuals and residents to offset these damaging impacts of crime can be determined by their affluence. It is only the more affluent residents who can afford to live in the safe, desirable, and hence most expensive places. Household security devices to deter burglars and access to private transport which is a safe mode of travel, are costly, and thus not affordable to all individuals.

iii) Emotions

Emotions are a response to crime and in the literature are most often associated with victims of crime. People who have suffered a crime may express a variety of emotions (such as anger, shock, and feeling upset) about their experience. These emotions are most prominent in the immediate aftermath of the incident and usually subside over time, although some emotions like anger may still persist long after the event. The emotions that victims feel about crime and disorder can vary according to the nature and circumstances of the incident. Emotions expressed about crime and disorder are likely to be an important determinant of how people react to different kinds of criminal incidents.

iv) Tolerance

Throughout this literature review references have been made to the term 'tolerance'. The intention was to demonstrate the variety of contexts in which the term tolerance has been applied. One such context concerns reactions to crime as we shall see below. Although there are many instances in the literature about reactions to crime where the term 'tolerance' has been used, a few examples are sufficient to highlight the diversity of these contexts. For instance, there have been assertions of what constitutes tolerance or intolerance. According to Conklin (1975), people are tolerant if they fail to report criminal incidents to the police, and intolerant if they do report. From another perspective tolerance may be separate from the reaction. Such a distinction has been made in research that was conducted nearly half a decade

ago. For instance, Maccoby et al (1958) were of the view that the attitude of people towards deviant activities constituted their tolerance, and their decision to 'do something' or 'do nothing' was their actual reaction to the incident.

In the literature various factors have been posited to affect tolerance, such as levels of satisfaction with the community (Taub et al, 1981); the extent to which people are exposed to crime in their community (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999); and the characteristics of individuals (Sparks et al, 1977). Sparks et al (1977), used the term tolerance to differentiate between the social classes in terms of their attitudes and beliefs towards minor personal crimes. There may also be a personal element as tolerance to deviance is likely to be subjective. Skogan (1990), is of the view that people vary in their expectations of local conditions and as a result their tolerance to acts of disorder may also vary.

The tolerance of people also appears to have an affect upon their reactions to crime or disorder. Tolerance can affect population movements in terms of out-migration and in-migration. For instance, in areas that are undergoing gentrification the residents may be willing to put up with high levels of crime as they are more tolerant since they have other reasons to be satisfied with their place of residence (Taub et al, 1981). Tolerance can also affect the decision to move into a community. Skogan (1986) suggests that people who have a low tolerance to crime and disorder will be deterred from moving into a community which is in decline. Hence, the literature suggests that tolerance can influence population movements. As population movements are the driving force behind urban change (Frey, 1980), the tolerance of residents to crime may have significant knock-on affects for their communities, such as increasing or reducing the level of crime. The notion that the tolerance of residents may have an impact upon crime rates is by no means novel as we have already seen with the concept of the tolerance quotient (Lemert, 1951).

The literature, therefore, shows the potential influence that tolerance has upon determining the reactions of individuals and residents to crime and disorder. In other words people's tolerance to crime and disorder may be conceived as a factor that can influence reactions. Although various derivatives of tolerance are suggested the meaning and constituents of this important concept has

rarely been examined within the context of reactions to crime. Therefore tolerance remains an ambiguous concept which is perhaps multi-faceted in nature. Given that so little is known about people's tolerance within the context of reactions to crime, this is clearly a topic which merits further examination. It was against this background that this research chose to examine the role of tolerance in respect of reactions to crime and disorder. Indeed, people's tolerance to crime and disorder is at the heart of a model in which it is posited that a relationship exists between tolerance and reactions. This model is of relevance to both individual and resident reactions.

So in sum, on the basis of the literature reviewed, reactions to crime and disorder are subject to a variety of influences at the community and individual level. Community level influences include the structural characteristics and social conditions of the areas or places in which people live. Individual level influences include demographic characteristics and other personal characteristics such as prior experience of crime. Some influences, such as perceptions and fears may apply to both the community and individual level. The emotions that people feel about criminal incidents may also affect their reactions. People's tolerance to crime and disorder has also been linked to their reactions.

This review of the literature shapes the research in several significant ways. First, it provides the theoretical foundation for the 'tolerance and crime' model which is introduced in Part II of the study (see Chapter 3). Many of the factors which according to the literature affect reactions to crime and disorder are incorporated into this model. Therefore, the model is based upon a variety of theories that concern individuals and communities. Second, the research design is partly based upon methodology from earlier studies. Some of the measures which will be used to operationalise the model are drawn from other empirical research. This is due to the fact that many of the factors which affect people's reactions have already been conceptualised and defined, and some have even been tested at a macro-level of analysis. Third, the literature review provides a useful framework from which to consider how the findings of this research may have implications for future theorising and research.

These issues are discussed in Part III of the research, prior to conclusions being drawn.

PART II

THE RESEARCH: MODEL, METHODOLOGY, AND RESULTS

Chapter 3

Theory and Method

Having covered the background to the research we now turn to the empirical part of the study. The intention of this first Chapter of Part II is to explain the theory underlying my 'tolerance and crime' model, present the main objectives of the research, and describe the methods which will be used to empirically test the model. In the following Chapter the main assertions of the model are empirically tested and the results which derive from the fieldwork data are presented in a format which helps to interpret the model.

Chapter 3 first introduces a working model of 'tolerance and crime'. The aims and methods of the research are then discussed and the hypotheses and main objectives of the research stated. The research methods used to test the model are described, viz; interviews and questionnaire, and then reasons are advanced for using a multi-method approach in this study. The fieldwork areas for this research are introduced. They include two communities located in the City of Kingston-upon-Hull known as Newland and Bricknell. The main characteristics of these communities and their relevant locales are briefly described. Finally, the 'tolerance and crime' model is operationalised for the purposes of empirical testing.

3.1. INTRODUCING THE 'TOLERANCE AND CRIME' MODEL

The concept of tolerance remains largely unexplored by criminologists and sociologists despite being cited in the literature as an important determinant of reactions to crime. To dispel the ambiguity which exists about tolerance a model has been devised entitled 'tolerance and crime'. This model is based upon theory and research which identify factors that can influence reactions of individuals or residents to crime and disorder. In this opening section the model is presented in the form of a diagram. This is followed by a brief

explanation of the main theories that underpin the model and limitations and qualifications that apply.

i) Presentation of the model

The aim of the 'tolerance and crime' model is to identify which factors influence tolerance and to examine the relationship between tolerance and reactions to crime at the community and individual level. The model is based upon the premise that tolerance comprises individual and community influences which determine reactions to crime (see above Chapters 1 and 2). Through a feedback process the reactions of individuals and residents of communities can in turn influence community and individual characteristics. Consequently tolerance and reactions to crime are inter-dependent. See the 'tolerance and crime' model in Figure 3.1.

It is posited in the model that perceptions of crime and disorder in the community (construct 2) are primarily a consequence of the actual crime rate (construct 1). Fears of victimisation at the individual and collective level (construct 3) are seen to be the result of perceptions of crime and disorder (construct 2), experience of crime and disorder at the individual level (construct 5) and crime prevention activities at the collective level (construct 4). Individual experience of crime in terms of direct or indirect victimisation can fuel or alleviate fears of crime so a direct link is posited to fears. Experience of crime is affected by exposure to the risks of victimisation, lifestyle, and associations (construct 6). Crime prevention activity mainly concerns residents' participation in community schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch. The level of crime prevention activities is determined by residential proximity to offenders, structural constraints such as socio-economic status (construct 7), and residential cohesiveness (construct 8).

Two types of tolerance called general tolerance and specific tolerance are represented in the model (constructs A and B). General tolerance (construct A) constitutes the predisposition of individuals or collectives to react to criminal incidents. This type of tolerance is affected by predisposing factors which represent the latent beliefs and attitudes of individuals and collectives. These

Notes

- [3] Fears of victimisation
- [A] General tolerance is affected by predisposing factors
- [B] Specific tolerance is affected by precipitating factors

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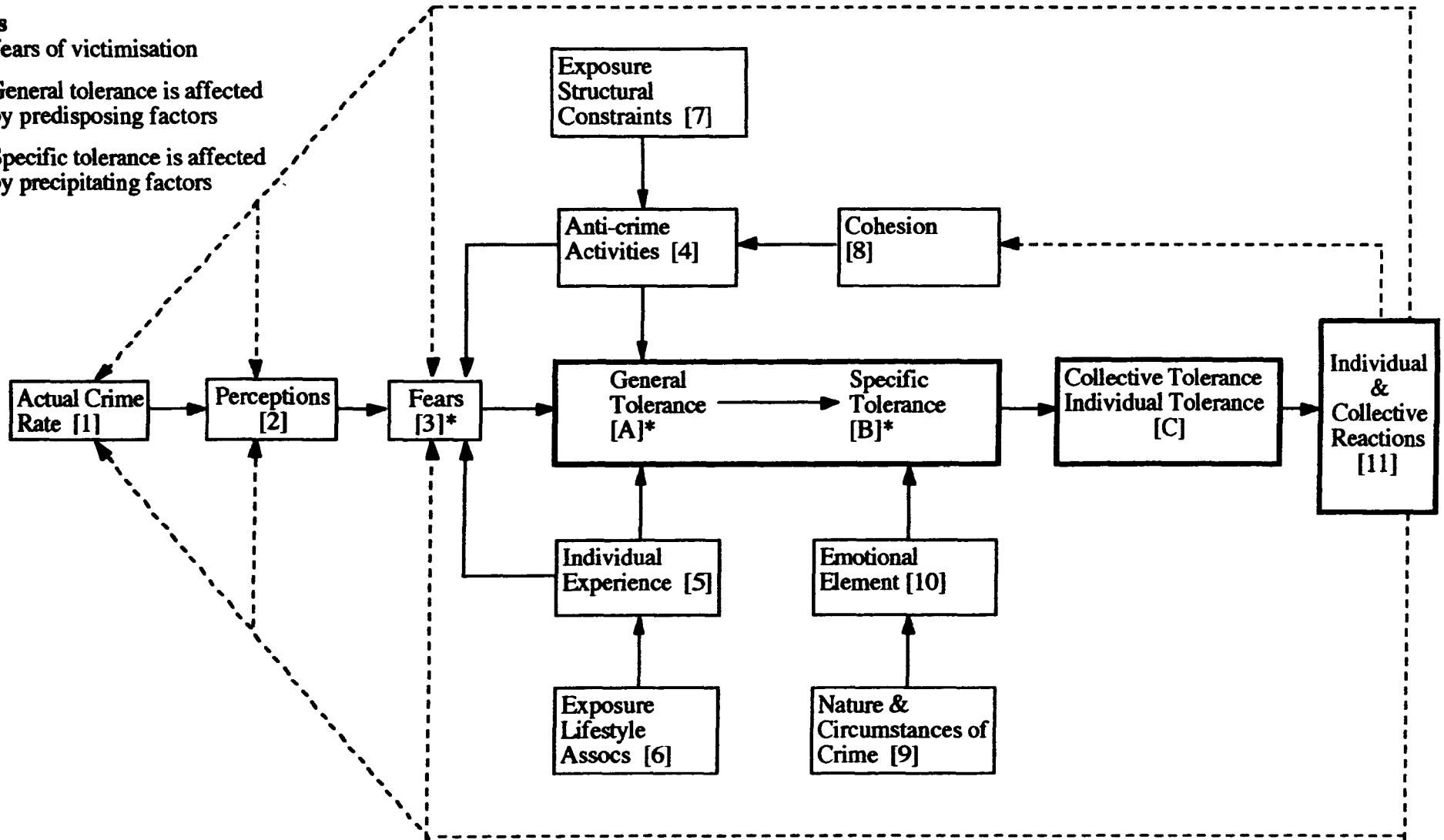


Figure 3.1: Tolerance and Crime Model

factors act as background, long-term influences upon reactions. The major determinants of general tolerance are individual experience of crime (construct 5), the extent of crime prevention activities (construct 4), and fears of crime (construct 3). Specific tolerance (construct B) precipitates the reactions of individuals and collectives to a particular act of deviance. This type of tolerance is affected by precipitating factors which arise directly from the occurrence of a specific deviant act, such as emotions (construct 10). These factors therefore act as short-term influences upon reactions. This can be seen in the diagram since the emotional impact of a crime is affected by the nature and circumstances of the incident (construct 9). Hence, precipitating factors are the emotions that are aroused by the occurrence of crime. Specific tolerance may also be influenced by predisposing factors (i.e. general tolerance). This relationship is portrayed in the model by an arrow between general tolerance (construct A) and specific tolerance (construct B).

In combination general tolerance and specific tolerance determine the tolerance of individuals and collectives to crime and disorder (construct C). Reactions to crime and disorder are affected by the tolerance of individuals and collectives (construct 11). These reactions may have feedback consequences in affecting the area crime rate (construct 1), levels of cohesion (construct 8), perceptions (construct 2), and fears (construct 3). The existence of these feedback loops are tentatively asserted in the model by the use of broken lines, since the precise impact and effects of reactions are not clear. Changes in communities which are suspected to be the result of residents' reactions are unlikely to be linear according to the literature, so the feedback loops should not be interpreted in this way. In a similar vein the reactions of individuals are unlikely to have linear feedback effects upon their personal characteristics. Hence, the tolerance or intolerance of people to crime and disorder can have knock-on effects at the individual or community level.

In sum, the model posits that tolerance can be both general and specific in type and can lead to individual or collective forms of reactions. General tolerance is determined by long-term influences that affect the predisposition to act. Specific tolerance is determined by short-term influences that precipitate the reaction to a particular deviant act. In combination the two types of tolerance

determine the subsequent reaction of an individual or collective. Reactions to crime or disorder may have feedback effects upon the characteristics of individuals and communities.

ii) Explanation of the model

The intention here is to outline briefly the main theoretical origins of the model. To aid interpretation of the model it is appropriate to comment upon several limitations and qualifications which apply.

Theoretical underpinnings

Incorporated into the model are components of different theories that identify individual and community characteristics which can influence reactions to crime (see Chapters 1 and 2, above). Ecological theories about variations in community crime rates demonstrate that a number of influences at the macro level can affect the reactions of residents to crime and disorder. These include the socio-economic status of communities, residential mobility, cohesiveness, and rates of organisational participation. Elements of behavioural theories which endeavour to explain why some people become victims and others do not are also drawn upon. These include lifestyle theory, routine activity, and opportunity theory. According to these theories a number of factors can affect risks of victimization, e.g. lifestyle, vocation, household size, and personal/social interaction. Theories which concern the impact of crime and disorder are of relevance to the model. Specific attention is paid to the impact of perceptions, fears, and experiences of crime upon reactions. Finally, aspects of theories about urban change and decline are incorporated into the model.

There are two further influences which are implicit in the model. The first is 'area of residence'. The literature indicates that the place in which people live can be an important determinant of how they decide to react to crime and disorder (see Chapter 1, above). The reactions of residents to local crime and disorder problems may be affected by various community factors, such as the actual crime rate, their perceptions of crime and of their neighbourhood, and their fears of victimisation. The other community level influences that are

posited in the model to affect reactions (structural constraints, exposure to potential offenders, cohesion, and anti-crime activities), are also a function of the place where people live. Since there are factors in the model which serve to represent 'area of residence', it is not necessary to include a specific construct for this type of influence.

The second influence which is not explicitly stated in the model concerns the 'demographic characteristics' of people. Like 'area of residence', the influence of demographic characteristics on reactions is of relevance to a number of the model constructs. For instance, demographic characteristics can influence the responses of individuals to crime, by way of affecting their perceptions and fears (see Chapter 2, above). This is due to the fact that connections have been found to exist between affluence and perceptions of victimisation, and between age, gender, and fears. Similarly, connections have been found to exist in the literature between the demographic characteristics of individuals and prior experience of crime. This may mean that demographics, such as age and gender, can also influence reactions by way of their affect on prior victimisation experience. Community level factors in the model are also linked to demographic characteristics. For example, engagement in anti-crime activities at a local level is according to the literature closely linked to the characteristics of the residents in terms of tenure type, age, and so on (see Chapter 1, above).

Some of the model constructs may apply to both the individual and community level (such as perceptions and fears). Although a distinction can sometimes be made between the individual and community influences in the model, the literature indicates that at a number of junctures they can converge and interact. For instance, anti-crime activities in the community may influence the fears of an individual and their subsequent reaction to crime. Conversely, the perceptions and fears of individuals may when aggregated affect how residents of a community react to crime. Therefore both community and individual characteristics may determine tolerance towards crime and disorder.

Underlying assumptions

General tolerance and specific tolerance

In the model it is posited that there are two types of tolerance, viz, 'general tolerance' and 'specific tolerance'. The inclusion of 'general tolerance' in the model is based on the assumption that people may respond differently to the same criminal incident. As a result the crime-specific context cannot alone explain why there are varying responses to the same deviant act. Such variation in reactions may be partly due to the predisposition of individuals and collectives to react to crime in general. This predisposition to react is affected by attitudes and values which are portrayed in the model by the characteristics of individuals and communities (i.e. predisposing factors). The occurrence of a criminal incident activates the 'specific tolerance' of people. This type of tolerance brings about the reaction to an incident. Factors which arise from a criminal incident, such as the emotions that people feel about it, affect specific tolerance (i.e. precipitating factors). For this reason emotions are subject to the nature and circumstances of the crime. In addition it is posited that emotions are affected by the attitudes and beliefs of people more generally. In other words general tolerance affects specific tolerance.

The distinction between tolerance and the reaction

In the model tolerance is distinguished from the reaction. This approach of conceiving tolerance to be separate from the reaction is in keeping with the work of Maccoby et al, (1958). Maccoby and her colleagues measured tolerance by examining attitudes towards different types of pre-delinquent behaviour. People were asked to indicate 'how serious' they felt the different incidents were. As a result tolerance to crime was considered to be something quite different to reactions to crime. In Maccoby's study people's 'reaction' to crime meant they would either act and 'do something about it', or not act and 'do nothing'. Actions could take a variety of forms such as calling the police, reprimanding the child, or speaking to the parents. Reactions are construed in my 'tolerance and crime' model in the same way. People are either prepared to 'do something' or 'do nothing'.

Disorder and deviant activities

The 'tolerance and crime' model applies to both crime and disorder. As there are widespread problems with disorder in many urban neighbourhoods reactions to disorder are considered in addition to reactions to crime. Disorder is far more prevalent in communities than most, if not all crime types, and is more visible in that it often occurs in public places. In communities problems with social or physical disorder can preoccupy the minds of the residents (see for instance, Walklate and Evans, 1999). The focus of this research is only upon incidents that involve contact between the offender and the target which can be an object or person. Therefore the term 'direct-contact predatory' crimes which was used by Cohen and Felson in their routine activity theory may apply here (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Certain crime types are excluded. The model does not apply to white-collar crime or corporate crime since their commission is not reliant upon direct-contact with the target. Second, incidents of domestic violence are excluded since these primarily concern the dynamics and intricacies of personal relationships in a private setting. Finally, so-called 'victimless crimes' such as drug taking are excluded as people or property are not targeted.

Offenders

Reactions of offenders are included in the model at the community level as residents of a community and as individuals. Offenders who are victims are not distinguished from any other victims in so far as they are represented by the individual level construct of experience of crime. The factors that can influence offenders' experience of crime continue to apply. Offenders may have a heightened exposure to the risks of victimisation due to their deviant lifestyles and criminal associations.

3.2. RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS

Having introduced the 'tolerance and crime' model the attention now turns to the research aims and methods. This section begins by outlining the main research questions that the fieldwork needed to address. The remainder of the section concerns the research methods that were employed to test the

'tolerance and crime' model. Following a description of these methods, there is a discussion of the strengths of adopting a multi-method approach in this study.

At this juncture it is appropriate to state the hypotheses of the research. As the research intends to examine whether the 'tolerance and crime' model adequately explains the concept of tolerance and how it affects reactions to crime, the model generates the hypotheses which are to be tested. The four hypotheses are as follows:

- (1) General tolerance affects individual and collective reactions to crime and disorder by way of its effect on specific tolerance
- (2) Specific tolerance affects individual and collective reactions to crime and disorder
- (3) The nature and circumstances of the crime affect specific tolerance by way of the emotional impact
- (4) Reactions to crime and disorder can in turn influence the characteristics of communities and individuals

i) Research questions

The fieldwork sought to address the main research questions which derive from the hypotheses and overall aims. These questions are as follows:

- (1) What factors affect a general predisposition to react to crime or disorder?
- (2) What factors precipitate reactions to a particular act of crime or disorder?
- (3) In what ways do the different types and forms of tolerance affect reactions?
- (4) In what circumstances does an individual take action?
- (5) In what circumstances do residents of a community take action?
- (6) At what point do residents or individuals react to crime or disorder?

- (7) Is there any difference between collective tolerance and individual tolerance, and if so, why?
- (8) What actions do residents and individuals take?
- (9) What are the effects of the actions?
- (10) Is tolerance crime specific?

These research questions raise issues about the concept of tolerance itself, the reactions of individuals and residents to deviance, the types of actions that would be taken, and the possible affects of those actions. Certain types of crime and disorder were selected to examine tolerance and reactions to crime. These categories of crime included property and personal crimes as well as physical disorder. They were as follows:

- (1) burglary of dwellings;
- (2) vehicle crime;
- (3) violence;
- (4) vandalism/damage to public property; and
- (5) graffiti.

For each type of crime or disorder a scenario was devised which included details about the circumstances of the incidents. The scenarios were included in the interview schedule and the questionnaire so all participants were asked to respond to hypothetical acts of crime or disorder. The scenarios are presented in Section 4 of this Chapter which describes how the 'tolerance and crime' model was operationalised.

ii) Methods

Before embarking upon a discussion about the methods used in the study it should first be noted that the fieldwork was carried out in the city of Kingston-upon-Hull, which is situated on the North East coast of England. The fieldwork area comprised two communities, namely Newland and Bricknell, both of which are referred to below. The fieldwork for the research was conducted over a period of 7 months from May to November 1999. Consideration was paid to what was feasible given time and costs constraints,

so a cross-sectional research design was employed. The use of interviews and questionnaires were considered to be the most suitable fieldwork methods to answer the research questions. The following description of methods turns first to the interviews and then to the questionnaire survey. Specific attention is paid to the way in which the interviewees were selected and how their co-operation was sought, and to the sampling procedure which was adopted for the questionnaire.

Interviews

For the research it was necessary to interview people who had local knowledge of Newland and Bricknell and who would probably have something to say about reactions to crime and disorder in these communities. Those likely to meet this criteria were residents of these areas particularly if they were active members of their communities. There was then the question of how to gain access to the local residents? The main source of information on community activists was lists of various organisations and groups based in Hull which were available at Hull Central Library. These lists provided details of the names, addresses, and phone numbers of key individuals (i.e. the main 'contact') for each group or organisation. Groups and organisations were defined as being based in Newland or Bricknell if the home address of the key individual fell within the fieldwork areas. These key individuals were then contacted. This method of access was successful. Over 20 different groups and organisations acted as the initial point of contact for many of the research participants. They included:

- arts organisations;
- professional and trade organisations;
- women's organisations;
- sports organisations;
- community groups, residents and tenants associations;
- conservation, preservation and environmental organisations;
- miscellaneous organisations; and
- churches in Hull.

Other methods and information sources were used to enlist the participation of the residents:

(1) Various events were attended, including Police Community Liaison Meetings, Resident Association Meetings, and Parents Evenings at a local School.

(2) A mailshot letter was sent out to members of local Neighbourhood Watch Groups on my behalf by the areal representative of HANWAG (Humber-side Association of Neighbourhood Watch Groups).

(3) Students were engaged in the research following visits to Hull University Students Union. This was appropriate as Newland is a popular place of residence for students of the local Universities.

A total of 81 interviews were conducted with residents, 45 of which were with Newland residents and 36 with Bricknell residents. The interview schedule was 'semi-structured' in nature to ensure that a standard format was used with all the residents. See Appendix A for a copy of this schedule. In most cases the interviews were with just one person although some were joint as with couples or friends. Most of these interviews took less than an hour to conduct although they were longer if more than 2 participants were involved. The various ways in which the residents came to participate in the research can be seen in Table 3.1 below. Only the initial point of contact is recorded in this Table, although some interviewees could have been contacted as a result of other activities or statuses. In Bricknell for instance, 11 interviewees were contacted as members of Resident Associations or Neighbourhood Watch schemes, whereas in Newland no interviewees were contacted in this way. However, some of the interviewees from Newland who became involved in the research due to other activities were also members of Resident Associations and Neighbourhood Watch schemes.

The Table indicates that a total of 44 interviews stemmed directly from membership of local groups and organisations, although this was more common amongst interviewees from Bricknell than from Newland. Residents who had connections with the local schools were represented through parents,

governors, and teachers. All the students who participated were from Newland which was probably in keeping with the population composition of this community. The 'snowball' effect was quite an important means of generating participants as seen with the 12 interviews with residents which were the result of 'word of mouth'.

Table 3.1: Status of resident interviewees in Newland and Bricknell

Status according to initial point of contact (1)	No. of interviews	No. of interviews by area	
		Newland	Bricknell
Members of church groups	14	8	6
Members of Resident Associations	5	0	5
Members of Neighbourhood Watch schemes	6	0	6
Members of other local groups	19	10	9
Local schools (parents, governors, and teachers)	11	6	5
Students	12	12	0
Other residents (word of mouth)	12	7	5
Councillors (2)	2	2	0
Total	81	45	36

Notes: (1) Only the initial point of contact is recorded, even though some residents were members of more than one local group and/or had multiple statuses

(2) These councillors were also residents and for current purposes were considered 'residents'

A further 23 interviews were conducted with people who were able to provide useful background information about the communities of Newland and Bricknell. These participants included local police officers, councillors, and representatives of estate agents and accommodation agencies. A breakdown of the status of these interviewees can be seen in Table 3.2 below. Officers of Humberside Police who were able to provide information relating to crime and disorder included the local beat officers for Newland and Bricknell, and the Divisional Commander of Hull West who had responsibility for the Newland ward. Information about the local housing market was provided by representatives of six local estate agents and accommodation agents. Other participants who had a working knowledge of Newland or Bricknell included park and cemetery wardens, and a headmaster of a local school.

In sum, a total of 104 interviews were conducted for the research, the majority of which were with local residents. All interviewees agreed to be taped. The interviews were transcribed in full which was a time consuming process, but nevertheless one which improved familiarity with their content and provided a complete and accurate record of what was said.

Table 3.2: Status of other participants

Description of participants	No. of interviews
Representatives of estate agents and accommodation agencies	7
Officers of Humberside Police	6
Park and cemetery wardens	3
Councillors (1)	2
Area representative of N.W. Schemes (HANWAG)	1
Representative of Hull University	1
Head of local school	1
Other local workers	2
Total	23

Note: (1) These councillors were not residents of Newland or Bricknell

Questionnaire survey

Questionnaires were hand delivered to 250 households in Newland and Bricknell towards the end of the fieldwork in September and October 1999. A copy of this questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. Prior to this a pilot was carried out (n = 25), and appropriate amendments were made. To identify households in Newland and Bricknell the local Register of Electors (1999) was used as the sampling frame. The household sample (n = 250), was randomly selected across the four wards (Newland, The Avenues, Beverley, and Cottingham North). The use of the areal boundaries which were suggested by the residents resulted in similar sample sizes for Newland (n = 127) and Bricknell (n = 123).

A systematic sample approach (Dixon and Leach, 1978), was employed to ensure that households from across the entire electoral register were proportionately represented. The total household count including flats for the

target area ($N = 6,726$) was calculated after excluding ineligible properties (such as public institutions, private businesses and rest homes). The sampling interval remained constant ($k = 27$) where k equals the total household count divided by the sample size (N/n), which in this case was $6726/250 = 27$. In all four Registers of each council ward a random starting point was adopted so that each household (between 1 and k) had an equal chance of selection, thereafter every k th household was chosen. Criticisms of this sampling approach include the objection that once the initial household has been chosen the remainder are not independent as they are fixed and pre-determined. In addition, the sampling frame lists the streets and household numbers in an ordered and not random fashion. This means that the use of a predetermined sampling interval may result in the sample having certain features, such as consisting entirely of odd numbered houses. Whilst the first of these pitfalls cannot be overcome, there was no evidence to suggest that the second had in any way biased the nature of the sample. It is also important to note that the scale of the exercise was small as the sample size represented less than 4% of the entire sample frame.

Three hand-delivered sweeps of the questionnaire were undertaken, two of which were reminders undertaken systematically over a period of 4 weeks. Each questionnaire was numerically identifiable to a particular address but individual respondents were anonymous. The response rate was 52% with 130 questionnaires being completed and returned out of a total of 250. With the exclusion of one questionnaire which was only partially complete the questionnaire sample ($n = 129$) was used for the statistical tests.

iii) Strengths of a multi-method approach

The adoption of a multi-method approach serves a number of purposes. The first relates to a division of labour to tackle different dimensions of the research questions. Second, anticipated problems regarding the causal order of relationships need to be overcome. Third, the 'combination' of methods can help to ensure there is triangulation of the results.

Division of labour

The tasks posed by the research questions could be simply distinguished. On the one hand the methodology had to identify what relationships exist between the various model constructs and factors posited to influence tolerance. On the other hand the reasons why these relationships exist needed to be understood. These two aspects of the same research problems may be addressed by the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The fusion of both research traditions has been conceived as a 'division of labour' by Bryman in so far as 'quantitative research may be conceived as a means of establishing the structural element in social life, qualitative research the processual' (Bryman, 1988: 140). He suggests that quantitative research adopts a static view of social life in so far as the emphasis is upon establishing linkages between variables at a particular point in time or over a predetermined period of time. In contrast qualitative research provides more of an opportunity to examine the reasons for these linkages and hence reveal the underlying processes.

In this research there is seen to be a division of labour in how the two methods are applied. The quantitative data that emanate from the questionnaire will be used statistically to establish 'what' relationships exist between the different model constructs. The components of the model can be conceptualised, defined, and measured, for it is largely based upon theories that already lend themselves to a macro-level of analysis. However, intricate connections between the various concepts or structures which draw in the social reality of everyday life are not likely to be discernible through variables which establish 'cause' and 'effect' in a static sense. As a result the reasoning behind the responses of individuals to the hypothetical scenarios may not become apparent by simply examining connections that exist between the variables, especially as only simple statistical procedures are employed.

To explain the presence or absence of relationships it is necessary to 'delve deeper' to discover the underlying reasons. This task is well suited to the qualitative data which derives from the interviews. The 'semi-structured' format of the interview schedule provided the flexibility for people to air their

opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and views about issues they perceive to be important. Analyses of this qualitative data may therefore reveal the underlying processes which explain the reasoning behind people's reactions to criminal incidents. This will also aid understanding of the connections which exist between the model constructs. The interviews are seen as providing complementary information in a multi-method approach. Hence, the 'tolerance and crime' model will be tested in a way that reflects both the structural and processual elements of the social world.

Time order

It has been seen that qualitative data can identify the processes which underlie relationships between variables. However, there may be difficulties in understanding the causal connections between two or more variables. One research question which is likely to be problematic regarding the time order of variables concerns the feedback effect of the reactions of individuals or residents. Without complex statistical tests the precise 'cause' and 'effect' relationship cannot be identified. For instance do the reactions of the residents affect the cohesiveness of their community or is it cohesiveness which affects the actions of the residents? Analysis of the interview data may help to identify the relevant processes, outline the causal chain of events, and possibly establish the temporal order of variables. It should be noted that the cross-sectional research design may preclude detailed analyses as to the time order of events.

Triangulation

A further important reason for adopting a multi-method approach is the need to establish triangulation by way of mutual confirmation in the results. So when drawing upon the results of the different data sets the validity of the conclusions are enhanced. For example, the results of the questionnaire can be used to address the typicality of the findings which emerge from the interviews.

The validity of the interview and questionnaire findings may be enhanced by

the presence of a 'third' method which arose from the fact the researcher lived in Newland. Prior to the study the researcher was familiar with the fieldwork areas, and in the case of Newland this personal involvement in the community provided the opportunity to observe everyday happenings. As a resident the researcher had effectively become immersed into the community which meant it was possible to identify and understand the subtleties of a place that contribute to its character. This was of use when establishing how the fieldwork areas compared to one another in terms of their key features and characteristics. This approach is similar to the method of 'participant observation', but it cannot be construed as such since there was no attempt to systematically record what was observed in Newland or Bricknell. Nor was this kind of observation and involvement in the fieldwork areas seen to constitute an inherent part of the research design. Nevertheless, this 'first-hand' experience of Newland and Bricknell was clearly of benefit in the triangulation of the results and helped to ensure they were presented against a meaningful background context.

3.3. INTRODUCING THE FIELDWORK AREAS

In this section the fieldwork areas of Newland and Bricknell are introduced. These two communities are described in terms of their social and structural fabric although specific emphasis is paid to their housing and environmental design. This is followed by a brief discussion about recent crime trends and problems associated with disorder. More detailed descriptions of these areas are provided in the form of a comparative analysis in Chapter 4.

i) The communities of Newland and Bricknell

The fieldwork area is situated approximately 2 miles from Hull City Centre, and lies more or less on the periphery of the inner city. The area stretches across four council wards, to include the whole of the Newland Ward, and small parts of three surrounding wards, viz; Beverley, Cottingham North, and Avenue. The arrangement of these wards can be seen in Figure 3.2.

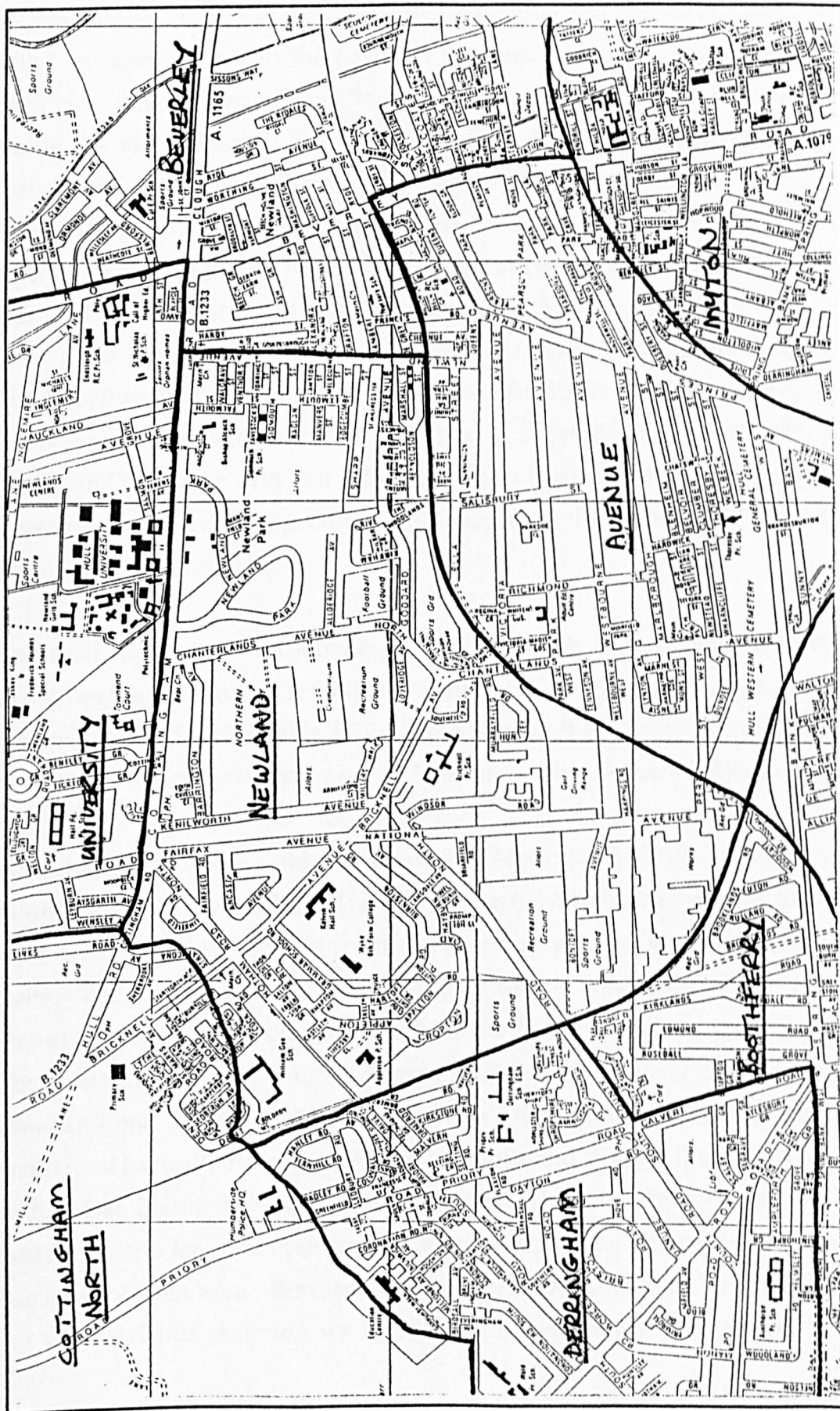


Figure 3.2: Ward Boundaries

Two localities colloquially known as Newland and Bricknell make up the fieldwork area. Together these localities constitute the Newland council ward, with Newland situated to the East and Bricknell to the West (see Figure 3.3). The places where Newland and Bricknell infringe upon the three other council wards are also evident. The Northern boundary of the fieldwork area is defined by Cottingham Road. The Eastern boundary extends to Beverley Road (which falls in the Beverley ward). To the South the fieldwork area extends as far as Queens Road and Ella Street (which are part of the Avenue ward). The boundary to the West mainly cuts through open land right up to Dent Road which borders a housing estate (situated in Cottingham North ward), before finally ending at the junction of Bricknell Avenue and Hull Road. Interestingly Cottingham North falls into a different Local Authority (East Riding of Yorkshire and not Kingston-Upon-Hull). This is a talking point especially in regard to council tax with people on the same street falling into different Local Authorities.

The total number of households in the fieldwork area calculated from the Local Register of Electors is 6,726. The entire fieldwork area is estimated to be 3.5 km², of which Bricknell is 2.5 km², and Newland is 1 km². Bricknell is more than twice the geographical area of Newland. The distance between the East and West boundary of the fieldwork area (at the widest point) is approximately 3 km, and between the North and South boundary the equivalent distance is 2 km. The size of the fieldwork area can be illustrated by the time it takes to walk from one boundary to another at a reasonable pace. The longest distance from the East to the West would take about 50 minutes to walk and from the North to the South a slightly shorter time of about 40 minutes. A boundary was established to separate the areas of Newland and Bricknell. The boundary is Chanterlands Avenue which as a main road basically runs from North to South and divides the Newland ward in half (see Figure 3.3). This boundary was left to the discretion of the local residents who based it upon the location of shopping centres that act as the nucleus for each area. Residents in Bricknell would refer to their local shops on Chanterlands Avenue, whilst Newland residents would speak of their

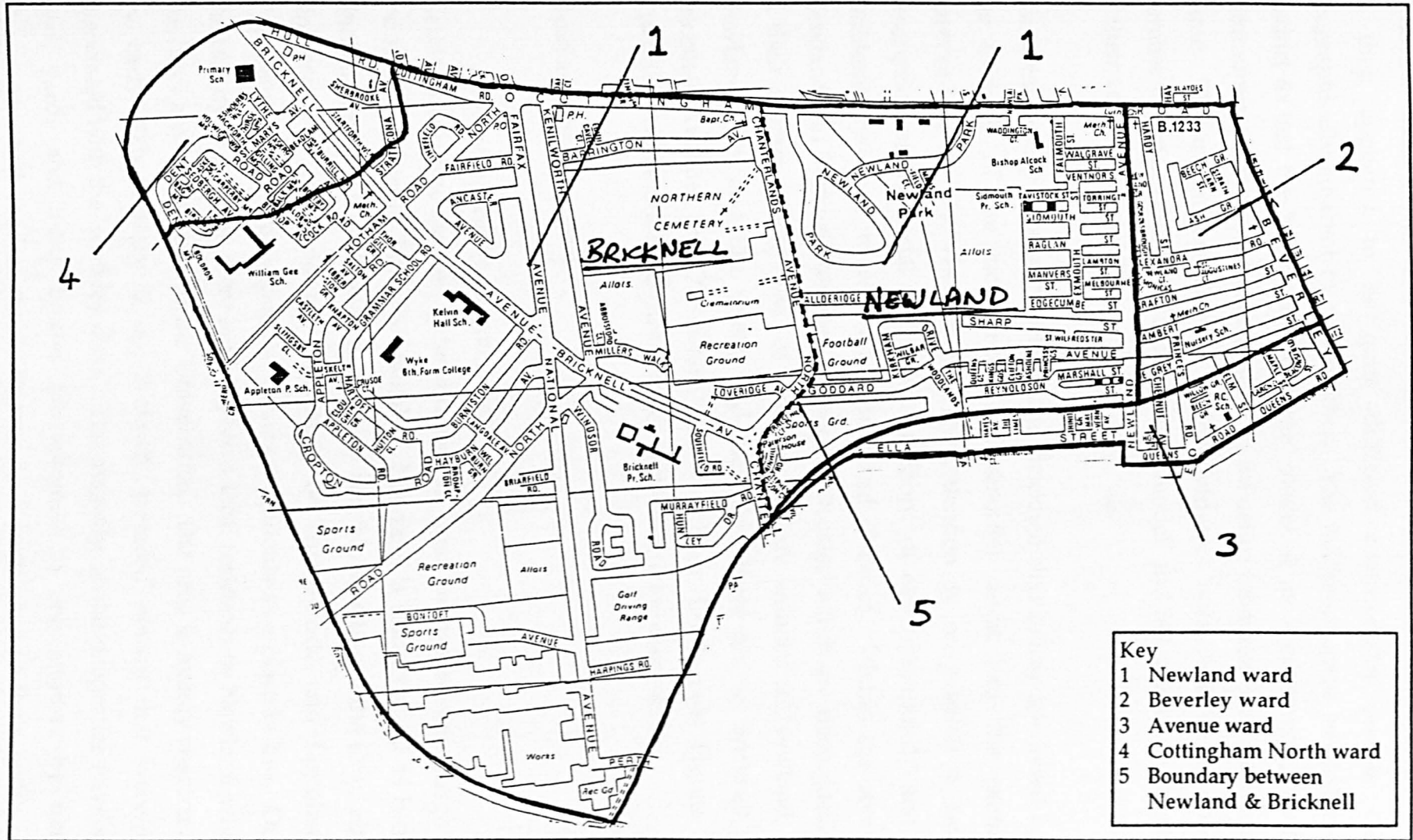


Figure 3.3: Fieldwork Areas

equivalent called Newland Avenue. Chanterlands Avenue was seen to be the natural boundary. Newland and Bricknell were selected as the fieldwork areas as they appeared to be quite different communities despite being geographically adjacent to one another. The fieldwork areas needed to be distinct to test the 'tolerance and crime' model at an areal level given that community characteristics are posited to influence tolerance and reactions to crime. This meant the selection of the fieldwork areas was based upon a number of considerations relevant to my 'model' and not purely on the basis of their actual crime rates.

The areal descriptions of Newland and Bricknell that follow are based upon the findings of the local crime and disorder audit and the personal observations of the researcher. The intention is to provide a simple description of the social and structural fabric of each community and the problems they face in respect of crime and disorder. Within the areas of Newland and Bricknell there are five specific 'locales' which are distinguishable in their characteristics. Two of these locales are situated in Newland, viz; Newland Park and Ella Street, and the other three are in Bricknell, viz; Bricknell Avenue, the Old Estate, and the New Estate (see Figure 3.4). Attention will be drawn to these locales in the following discussion.

Social and structural fabric

Housing and environmental design

Newland and Bricknell are quite different in their environmental design and the style of housing that predominates. Newland is characterised as being a 'student area' for it is adjacent to the only two Universities in the City, viz the University of Hull and the University of Humberside and Lincolnshire. Consequently the area is popular amongst students as a place to live. Due to the history of the area there are long-term local residents in Newland who do not have any connection to the Universities. The area is mainly characterised by early 20th Century '2 up, 2 down' terraced houses that were once associated with the 'working class'. The majority of the properties have small back yards and many houses are adjoined to one another by narrow alleyways which are commonly known as '3 foots' due to their width. In a

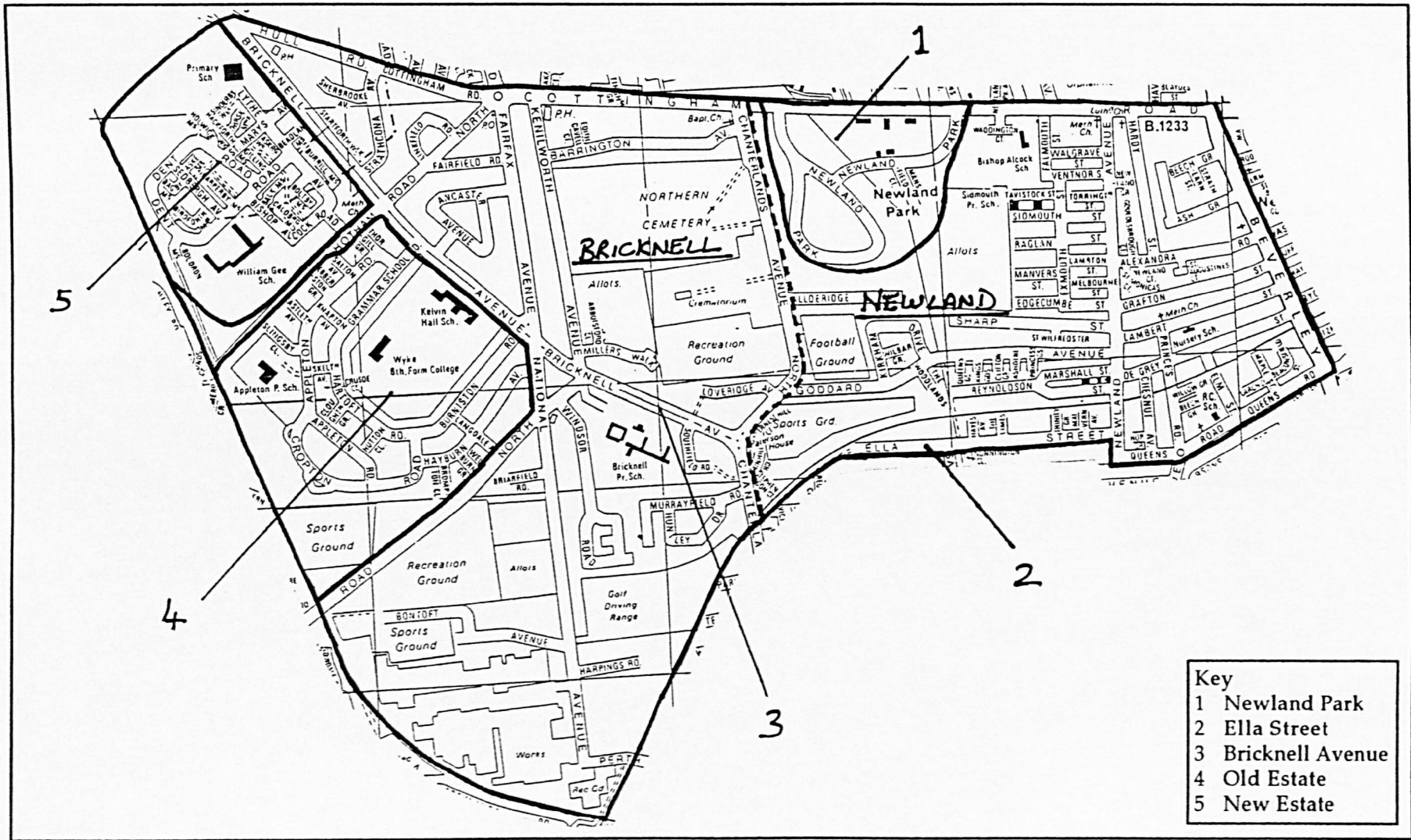


Figure 3.4: The Locales of Newland and Bricknell

traditional design the houses are densely packed along the contours of small, squat streets, although this pattern is intermittently broken by wider, leafier streets lined by large terraced houses. Few notable green areas exist in Newland, with the exception of one large piece of land which is dedicated to allotments and several school playing fields. Outside of Newland (to the east) there is a large park called Pearson Park which is easily accessible by foot. There is one secondary school in the vicinity and three primary schools. In sum, Newland is historically a working class area that now doubles as a 'University area'. The community has a compact layout and is dense in housing and population.

There are two locales in Newland which are distinguishable in some way from the rest of the area. The first called Newland Park lies to the North of Newland and as the housing is amongst the most exclusive in Hull it is inhabited by the affluent and professionals. The Park is not dissimilar to an exclusive village for it is discreetly located off Cottingham Road which runs parallel to the Universities (see Figure 3.4). There are just two entry and exit points which both feed onto this main road. The Park is home to fewer than two hundred houses all of which are detached or semi-detached, of individual design, and many have large rambling gardens. The second locale called Ella Street is situated to the far South of the Newland area and constitutes part of the fieldwork boundary. This street is quite a desirable place to live for it is a tree-lined street and there are large, imposing terraced houses which front on to the road. On each side of Ella Street there are a number of 'Courts' where smaller houses are designed around a communal area. These Squares can be accessed by public walkways.

Bricknell is located further away from the Universities than Newland and is the typical suburb. The area comprises mainly larger terraced or semi-detached houses many of which have 3 bedrooms, family sized gardens, and private garages. Instead of the '3 foot' alleyways found in Newland there are lanes commonly known as '10 foot' due to their width. These lanes or tracks run behind many of the houses in a web like style and nowadays provide rear vehicular access to garages and gardens as well as useful short-cuts for pedestrians. The housing is less densely concentrated in Bricknell with wider

roads, cul-de-sacs, and the presence of much more open land than in Newland. There is a cemetery, sports ground, two primary schools, two secondary schools, and a sixth form college, all of which have large tracts of grassland. Bricknell is certainly the more suburban and cosmopolitan of the two areas which suits the 'middle class' for it provides good quality family housing within a pleasant environment and has important local amenities such as schools.

There are three distinctive locales of Bricknell. The first called Bricknell Avenue is the dual carriageway which runs right through the centre of Bricknell and constitutes one of the main traffic routes into the City Centre. Well over three hundred family sized houses line the route of this dual carriageway. The noise levels from the traffic distinguishes this road from the other roads in Bricknell which are generally peaceful. The other locales are the two notable estates in the Bricknell area, both of which are adjacent to the Western boundary of the fieldwork area. To the far West is a small estate built in the post war era which is colloquially known as the 'New Estate'. The residents are predominantly council tenants although a number of owner-occupiers chose to buy from the council. The Estate is geographically isolated from the rest of Bricknell due to the location and environmental design. The high concentration of houses are served by many small interlinking roads, but there are few access points to the main border roads of Bricknell Avenue and Hotham Road North (see Figure 3.4).

Located nearby is the 'Old Estate' which was built at the beginning of the 20th Century, hence the name. This Estate was perceived to be more residentially desirable than the New Estate due to the better standard of housing available and the more favourable reputation it had acquired as a place to live. The popularity of this Estate ensured that many residents chose to purchase their homes from the council. The estate is situated within a pleasant environment for it is designed around the grounds of a school and college and to the rear there are fields and a sports ground. The estate benefits from having a low density of housing and a good road network ensures that it can be approached from most directions (see Figure 3.4).

Demography

Unfortunately, the 2001 Census cannot be used as an aid to compare the demographic characteristics of Newland residents with Bricknell residents. This is due to the fact that the two fieldwork areas represent just one council ward and impinge upon other wards. At a guess-estimate between 13,500 - 14,500 residents live in the areas of Newland and Bricknell. The Newland ward which accounts for roughly 85% - 90% of the entire fieldwork area has a population of just over 11,500 residents according to the 1991 census. In the parts of the fieldwork area which lie outside the Newland ward there may be a further 2,000-3,000 residents as these small pockets are densely populated. To the West is the New Estate (in the Cottingham North ward), and to the East (in the Beverley ward) is an area between Newland Avenue and Beverley Road which is characterised by densely packed terraced housing (see Figure 3.4).

Crime and disorder

Crime

In this description of crime in Newland and Bricknell only general observations are made about their crime patterns. Reference is made to the recent findings of the Crime and Disorder Audits for Kingston-upon-Hull. Use was not made of police recorded crime data as this would have required detailed analysis of the geographical location of crimes since the fieldwork areas did not coincide with local police beats.

The Newland ward when compared to the other council wards in Hull sits rather uncomfortably in the upper half of the wards associated with the greatest crime problems. Whilst the two areas of Newland and Bricknell do not fundamentally differ in their crime rates, Bricknell does appear to have less of a problem with particular types of crime than Newland. They also differ in how their crime patterns are changing. The Crime and Disorder Audit update for Hull in 2000 indicates that crime in Newland is reported to be on the increase, whilst in Bricknell crime is in decline (Hull Community Safety Partnership, 2000). These distinct areal trends were confirmed by a comparison of police beats. The Newland/Beverley Road police beat (which

includes the Newland area) had the 3rd highest increase in crime in Hull during the 12 months from April 1999 to March 2000, when compared to the fiscal year 1998-1999. Over the same time periods Bricknell Avenue police beat (which includes the Bricknell area) benefited from the 6th lowest fall in crime across the city.

More recent crime patterns in the Newland ward over the period of 1999-2001 were available in the Crime and Disorder Audit 2001 which records the full findings (Hull Community Safety Partnership, 2001). Again, time periods are over a fiscal year. Burglary related incidents appear to be a persistent problem for residents of Newland and Bricknell. Over the period 1999-2000, the burglary rate of 60 per 1000 households in the Newland ward was the 5th highest across the city. In the following twelve months to March 2001, this rate halved to just over 30 burglaries per 1000 households, which meant the ward had improved in position to 12th highest of all city wards. However, over the same 12 months this trend was observed across the entire city as burglaries reduced by 22%, so some other explanation at the city or regional level may be applicable here. The Newland ward appeared to have a particular problem with break-ins to sheds, garages, and outbuildings. This type of crime may be more of a problem in Bricknell as more houses in this area have sheds and garages. Over the period 2000-2001, 'burglary other' rates in Newland were the 4th highest of all council wards which meant it notably exceeded the 'city average' rate. This result should be interpreted with some caution as commercial and shop burglaries were included in this category of crime, although domestic incidents still constituted the majority of offences.

Incidents concerning car crime and violent crime were not distinguishing features of the Newland ward on the basis of the 2001 Audit. The rate of motor vehicle theft in the ward was the 12th highest when compared to all other wards, which was below the 'city average' for the period 2000-2001. As would be expected violent crime was geographically concentrated in the City Centre and was relatively rare elsewhere. Across the city this type of crime constituted less than 8% of all incidents for the period 2001-2001. In Newland just 6 violent offences per 1000 population were reported.

Disorder

Some useful information about physical and social disorder in the Newland ward is provided by the 2001 Audit. The case load of the councillors for this ward indicated that problems with disorder were on the increase. The complaints from the residents were various, including acts of vandalism, anti-social behaviour, and neighbourhood nuisance. A pedestrian walking around Newland or Bricknell would conclude that Newland had a greater problem with physical disorder than Bricknell. The streets in Newland appeared to be quite unkempt as there was a quite a lot of graffiti. Nor was it unusual to observe alleyways and streets being used as rubbish dumps for household furniture and other goods. A further memorable feature of Newland was the number of poorly maintained houses, with some looking really quite dilapidated. In the small front yards of houses there were often piles of rubbish. In Bricknell there appeared to be more of a problem with social disorder. Large numbers of school children or youths could be seen gathering in groups, particularly around the local shops on Bricknell Avenue. The area around these shops looked quite tatty as a result of litter, vandalism, and graffiti especially on the 'street furniture' such as benches, railings and fences.

ii) Summary of the fieldwork areas

Given the descriptions of Newland and Bricknell it seemed likely that the two communities would differ in their characteristics and demography. Bricknell as the typical 'suburb' would probably be the more relatively stable and affluent of the two communities. The characteristics of the area make it attractive to families and the 'middle-class'. In contrast, Newland seemed likely to be a more transient, less settled area for it has a mixed population of local residents and students. As the housing stock is not to the same standard as in Bricknell house prices are likely to be lower and will appeal to the less affluent, such as the 'working-class' and young people. There will probably be plenty of rental accommodation available for students and perhaps others seeking temporary housing. Levels of crime appear to be higher in Newland, especially with regards to domestic burglary. In addition, break-ins to sheds and garages were reported to be a widespread problem for the Newland ward. Signs of disorder were evident in both areas. Newland may suffer

more from acts of physical disorder such as vandalism and graffiti, whereas in Bricknell the greatest problems observed were with large groups of youths hanging around and acting in a disorderly way. Finally, it has been seen that there are a number of locales situated within these two fieldwork areas which appear to differ in their characteristics to the 'rest of Newland' and the 'rest of Bricknell'.

3.4. OPERATIONALISING THE 'TOLERANCE AND CRIME' MODEL

In this section the various methods used to examine the concept of tolerance and reactions to crime and disorder are outlined. To test the linkages posited in my 'tolerance and crime' model the various constructs need to be operationalised. This is of relevance to both method types as the questionnaire and interviews are used in combination to test the model and address the main research questions. The overall intention is to portray to the reader the kinds of analysis that will be undertaken in Chapter 4 and how this will shape the discussion of the results in Chapter 5 when the 'tolerance and crime' model is revisited.

There are five parts to this Section. First a working definition of tolerance acts as a basis for the analysis which may later be revised in light of the findings. This is followed by a presentation of the crime and disorder scenarios which have been selected to examine tolerance and reactions to deviance. The concern is then with the distinction made between the concept of tolerance and the reaction to deviance for the purpose of examining relationships between the two. The two remaining parts of this section concern the factors which are posited to affect tolerance. The different types of influences posited to affect tolerance and reactions are identified and the main types of analyses that will be carried out are briefly described. Finally, the components of the model are conceptualised for the purposes of statistical testing, and limitations of the statistical tests are then outlined.

i) Working definition of tolerance

In this research tolerance is examined only in responses to criminal victimisation. As a point of reference a working definition of the concept of tolerance and its various elements has been devised:

“Tolerance is a state of mind that influences the decision of how to react to a criminal incident. Tolerance may be individual or collective in nature and can lead to individual or collective forms of reactions. Individual tolerance affects personal reactions, whilst collective tolerance affects residents’ reactions. Tolerance is ‘general’ or ‘specific’ in type. Tolerance is defined as ‘general’ when it is affected by factors which constitute the predisposition of an individual or collective to react to crime, and ‘specific’ when it is affected by factors which precipitate the reaction of an individual to an incident of a given nature and in a given place.”

Further commentary on this definition may be helpful. The predisposing factors (which affect general tolerance) represent the latent beliefs of an individual or collective, whilst the precipitating factors (which affect specific tolerance) derive from a particular deviant act. It is suggested that reactions to crime are determined by the relationship between the factors that affect general tolerance and specific tolerance. This relationship is conceived to be one way, with the predisposing factors directly affecting the precipitating factors. If the relationship can be ‘unpicked’ by examining which factors are referred to, when, and why, then the reasons behind the different responses to the same deviant act may become clear.

However, reactions to criminal incidents could be unpredictable for a variety of reasons. For instance, it is possible that either factor type could exert more influence than the other in making the decision. This is because there can be any number of variations in the relationship as each individual and collective can refer to an infinite number of factors when deciding how to react. The more sources that are referred to, the more complex the relationship between the two factor types. Another reason why it may be difficult to predict reactions is the possibility of a conflict between the two factor types if an individual or collective experiences opposing feelings about how to react. Finally, the ease with which a decision to react is made can vary. The decision may be straightforward to make, if for example, it is pre-meditated or based

on some rationale, whilst in other cases, the decision may have been more difficult and have taken some time to consider.

ii) The nature and circumstances of the crime types

We now turn to the crime and disorder scenarios to which the research participants were asked to respond. These scenarios constitute the keystone of the analyses since they provide the means to examine the reactions of people and their tolerance to criminal incidents. The nature and circumstances of the scenarios differ to provide for a variety of contexts. They focus mainly upon reactions to incidents of victimisation, specifically victims of crime, but also include more general issues that concern fear, risk, and awareness of crime. The scenarios presented in the interviews and questionnaire concern the same types of crime and disorder, although their circumstances differ with the interview providing more details and some complementary scenarios. The alternative scenarios presented in the interviews meant it was possible to examine, how, if at all, changes to the nature and circumstances of the incident might affect reactions and tolerance. The scenarios used in each method type are stated below:

Questionnaire scenarios

Burglary

“Suppose that some of the houses on a street like yours have recently been burgled.”

Car crime

“Suppose that speeding in stolen cars becomes a problem in your neighbourhood, and there is a lot of noise and squealing of the tyres, especially at night.”

Violence

“Suppose that a friend of yours was attacked and injured outside a local pub.”

Vandalism

“Suppose that the local school has been vandalised, and you knew that one of the offenders was the child of a neighbour.”

Graffiti

“Suppose that offensive and rude graffiti start appearing in your area.”

Interview scenarios

Burglary

“Some of the houses on your street have recently been burgled.”

- (1). What would you do about this, if anything?
- (2). What would the police do?

Car crime

“Speeding in a stolen car has become a problem in your neighbourhood, and it looks set to continue. There is a lot of noise and squealing of the tyres, especially at night. No-one has yet been hurt but there is a clear danger to people on the street.”

- (1) What would you do about this, if anything?
- (2) What if a child was ‘knocked down’ when a car dangerously driven swerved out of control, would you react any differently?

Violence

“A friend of yours was injured in a brawl outside a local pub. Your friend was not to blame in any way.”

- (1) What would you do about this, if anything?
- (2) If your friend did something to provoke the ‘fight’ would you react any differently?

Vandalism

“Your local primary school has been broken into and paint has been sprayed into the classrooms. This is not the first time it has happened. You suspect that a group of boys around the ages of 12-15, who are known in the area as ‘trouble’ or ‘bad news’ are responsible.”

- (1) What would you do about this, if anything?

- (2) Would it make any difference if you knew the group of boys who were responsible?
- (3) How would you react if you knew the group of lads who vandalised the school were of ages between 16 to 20?

Graffiti

“Graffiti is appearing in your neighbourhood on public property such as walls, fences, and in the park. Some local shops and businesses have also been targeted.”

- (1) What would you do about this, if anything?
- (2) Several residential properties on your street have also been the target of graffiti, would you react any differently?

The questionnaire respondents were asked to respond to all five scenarios. Three questions about each of the scenarios were asked, viz; what they would ‘feel’ should the incident occur; whether they would ‘do something’ or ‘do nothing’; and if ‘do something’ what this would be. The reaction of the respondents to each of the scenarios was represented by a variable. These 5 dichotomous variables classified respondents on the basis of whether they chose to react or not to react. The interviewees were presented with one or two scenarios which were randomly selected beforehand. Show cards were used to present the scenarios to enable the interviewees to fully digest the information before they responded to the questions that are stated above. Additional questions about the scenarios that were asked in the interviews will now be discussed.

iii) Distinguishing tolerance from the reaction

A key assertion of the model is that tolerance or intolerance to deviance is distinguishable from the reaction to a deviant act. However, there is a practical problem of being able to identify what tolerance is and what the reaction is for the purpose of examining how they connect to one another. A number of the interview questions about the crime and disorder scenarios were designed to address this problem. Basically, the interviewees were asked to explain their reasoning behind their reaction to the scenarios. For each

hypothetical incident the interviewees were first asked 'what would you do about this, if anything?'. They had a choice of two possible responses: either take some kind of action or not take any action.

If the interviewee chose to take some kind of action the following set of questions were then asked:

- (1) Why have you chosen that action?
- (2) What alternative actions did you consider?
- (3) Why did you not choose any other actions?

On the other hand if no action would be taken a corresponding set of questions were asked:

- (1) Why have you chosen not to act?
- (2) What alternative options did you consider?
- (3) Why are other options not acceptable, or not worthwhile doing?

By examining the replies to these sets of questions it should be possible to 'unpick' the various reasons that lay behind the reactions of the interviewees. The reasons forwarded for a reaction may constitute a logical chain of events or alternatively there may not be a clear rationale, if for instance the response was made in haste. Nevertheless, these reasons are likely to incorporate the views, attitudes, and perceptions of people that will be instrumental in determining whether they are tolerant or intolerant of the incident in question. There were questions in the interviews which were of relevance to collective tolerance and reactions. The interviewees were asked to comment upon the perceived reactions of others to the hypothetical crime scenarios, with the question: 'what would other people do?' In more general terms the interviewees were asked for their views and opinions about the perceived willingness of their neighbours and others in the community to tackle local crime and disorder problems. These questions provided the opportunity to identify why residents may choose to act or not to act as a collective to criminal activities. This kind of analysis should mean it is possible to establish what connections, if any, exist between tolerance and the subsequent reaction. Furthermore, any analysis concerning the reasons why people decide to act or

not act will also help to identify the 'processes' which underlie the relationships between the different model concepts (structures).

At this point a distinction needs to be made between tolerance and intolerance. According to Conklin (1975) a person is tolerant of crime if they chose not to report a criminal incident to the police. On the basis of this it may be inferred that a person is intolerant if they choose to report an incident. For the purposes of this study, the definition of tolerance and intolerance will be somewhat broader than Conklin's definition so that actions other than contacting the police may be taken into account. In this study, a person is said to be tolerant when they do not take action in response to a specific crime, whilst a person is intolerant if they take action.

The difference between action and inaction also needs clarification. When people are prepared to 'do something', even if they are unsure of what kind of action they would take this constitutes 'action'. Hence, there must be an intention to react. When people choose to 'do nothing' or have no intention of taking action this is said to be 'inaction'. So when people seek out advice from others about whether or not they should react, this may be considered as 'action'. However, this situation is quite different to when people chat or gossip about crime but do not have the slightest inclination to react. This is considered to be 'inaction'.

These definitions open up the possibility that people may appear to be tolerant and intolerant at the same time. In other words a certain degree of intolerance towards a criminal incident may not necessarily lead to a reaction. The beliefs and attitudes of an individual may signify they are 'intolerant' of a crime, but if they subsequently choose not to react by taking action they have effectively shown they are 'tolerant' of the crime in question. This situation could arise if for instance, a person was deterred or inhibited from taking action. Hence there may be occasions where people decide not to react to a criminal incident even though they show signs of intolerance to it. The possibility that this may occur is supportive of the decision to differentiate tolerance from the reaction.

iv) Examining tolerance and reactions to crime and disorder

We shall now explain how the factors which are posited to affect the reactions of individuals and collectives will be analysed. According to the literature important influences that affect people's reactions to criminal incidents include area of residence, that is the community in which they live, the characteristics of the community itself, their demographic and personal characteristics, and the emotions they express about the incidents. Hence the different types of influences which are expected to affect reactions to crime and disorder are as follows:

- (1) individual and community characteristics (which as predisposing factors affect general tolerance);
- (2) emotions expressed about the crime scenarios (which as precipitating factors affect specific tolerance);
- (3) area of residence (collective level); and
- (4) demographic characteristics (individual level).

Not all these influences are included in my 'tolerance and crime' model. Obviously, the influences that concern the two model factors, viz; (i) predisposing factors, and (ii) precipitating factors, are expressly stated in the model. However, the influence of (iii) area of residence and (iv) demographic characteristics of individuals on reactions to crime and disorder are not explicitly stated in the model. Earlier in this Chapter it was explained that these two types of influence apply to a number of the model constructs and as such they are implicit in the model. Area of residence is represented in the model by community characteristics, such as cohesion and structural constraints, and by resident perceptions and fears. The demographic characteristics of individuals has relevance to many of the factors posited to affect reactions, to include individual level constructs (such as prior victimisation experience), community level constructs (like anti-crime activities), and perceptions and fears.

Details of how all four of these influences have been conceptualised for the statistical analysis are provided below. For present purposes it is sufficient to

explain how these different influences will be examined at the individual and collective level.

Individual tolerance

The reactions of individuals may be influenced by their personal characteristics such as prior experiences of crime, lifestyle, and so on. How people perceive crime and disorder and their fears about victimisation may influence their preparedness to react. The characteristics of communities such as levels of cohesiveness amongst residents and exposure to offenders may also affect the reactions of individuals. These influences are posited to affect 'general' tolerance. As a function of 'specific tolerance' the emotions that individuals express about the crime scenarios are expected to have an effect upon the decision to react. Perhaps groups of individuals can be associated with particular feelings. Finally, individuals can be grouped according to their demographic characteristics, since gender, age, occupation or marital status could have a bearing upon reactions.

So to examine the tolerance of individuals the focus will be on:

- (1) the reactions of individuals to the scenarios;
- (2) the effect of individual and community characteristics upon individual reactions;
- (3) the effect of emotions upon individual reactions;
- (4) the effect of demographic characteristics upon individual reactions;
- (5) the emotions expressed by individuals about the scenarios.

Collective tolerance

To examine tolerance at a collective level a distinction is made between Newland residents and Bricknell residents. The reactions of residents may be influenced by the place in which they reside and if so, the different types of influences need to be examined at the areal level. The two areas may differ in their community characteristics, such as the extent to which they are cohesive or residentially stable. These community characteristics affect 'general' tolerance. As a result of 'specific tolerance' the emotions people express are

expected to affect their reactions. So if residents from Newland and Bricknell express different emotions about the scenarios, this could in turn mean they differ in their preparedness to react. Finally, the demography of the respondents from the two areas may be different and this could affect the preparedness of residents to take action. A comparative analysis of Newland and Bricknell in terms of their community characteristics and demography will be undertaken to help identify why, if at all, the residents differ in their reactions.

To examine tolerance at the community level the focus will be on:

- (1) the reactions of residents to the scenarios;
- (2) the effect of community characteristics at the areal level upon resident reactions;
- (3) the effect of emotions at the areal level upon resident reactions;
- (4) the effect of demography at the areal level upon resident reactions;
- (5) the emotions expressed by residents about the scenarios.

v) Conceptualising the factors that can affect tolerance and reactions

The four different types of influences which are expected to affect tolerance and reactions are now operationalised for the purposes of the statistical tests. In the subsequent Chapter attention will be paid to the way in which the interview data further aids the conceptualisation of these influences. First the influences that affect general tolerance and specific tolerance are discussed, viz; the predisposing factors and the precipitating factors. There is then a brief account of how area of residence constitutes a collective level of analysis, and a description of the demographic characteristics of the questionnaire respondents. To close the section a number of limitations of the statistical tests are identified. All variables used in the statistical analysis are dichotomous.

Predisposing factors

We begin by conceptualising the predisposing factors which is the term given to the influences that affect general tolerance. A total of 16 variables represent the predisposing factors that are contained in the model constructs. However,

for reasons which are explained below, one construct; the 'actual crime rate', and part of another construct; 'associations' are not subject to statistical tests. For each variable the frequency is based upon the total sample (n = 129) as no account is taken of 'missing' cases. The discussion will open with the construct 'actual crime rate', and then turn to factors which may be analysed at the individual or community level (perceptions, fears, and exposure). Next are factors that relate to the individual (experience of crime, lifestyle, and associations), and to the community (anti-crime activities, structural constraints, and cohesion).

Actual crime rate

The actual crime rate of the two neighbourhoods as a construct in the model is not statistically tested. It was earlier mentioned that police recorded crime data was not available for the two areas of Newland and Bricknell. Other information sources are relied upon to portray the crime situation such as observations made by police officers and residents, and reference is made to the findings contained in the crime and disorder audit for Kingston-upon-Hull.

Perceptions of residents and individuals

Research about the consequences of disorder in communities is in a relatively embryonic stage when compared to crime, so to allow for the possibility that they may have different effects upon reactions, perceptions about disorder are examined independently from perceptions about crime. If crime or disorder are perceived to be amongst the three worst features of a community they constitute a prominent and significant local problem. Thus there is a comparative element as perceptions are based upon an evaluation of how crime or disorder problems compare to other local problems. The third variable concerns perceptions about how the area has changed, if at all, over a period of several years. A distinction is made between perceiving the area to have declined (i.e. changed for the 'worst'), to perceiving that it has changed for the 'better' or that there has been 'no change at all'.

Fears of residents and individuals

The definition of those fearful of victimisation is broad for it concerns personal crime, property crime, and social disorder. Those fearful are 'very concerned'

or 'quite concerned' about the prospect of 'being burgled', 'being attacked/beaten up by someone', and 'being threatened in the street by young people acting disorderly'. These crime types have been chosen due to common concerns about burglary, violence, and the unruly behaviour of young people in public places.

Exposure of communities to crime

The 'tolerance and crime' model differentiates between residential community exposure to crime and the exposure of an individual to crime. This approach is similar to how Garofalo portrayed exposure in his modified lifestyle model (Garofalo, 1987). The exposure of a community to crime is affected by residential proximity to offenders. Living in close residential proximity to potential offenders increases the risks of personal and property victimisation (see Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Without access to police offender data reliance is placed upon perceptions of resident offenders. Respondent beliefs about resident offenders suspected of committing 'some' of the local crime are portrayed by two variables, one of which concerns young offenders and the other adult offenders.

Exposure of individuals to crime

The measures used for individual exposure to crime have been adopted from other studies. One measure concerns vocation, the other household size. Employment status has been used as an indicator of major routine activity (see for instance, Cohen, Cantor and Kluegel, 1981; Smith, 1982). In this study a variable distinguishes the employed and students from others, viz; the retired, housewives, and unemployed. This variable is justified on the basis that ongoing and substantial vocational commitments require the individual to regularly leave the confines of the home. This in turn heightens the risk of personal victimisation from strangers in public places, and property victimisation if the home is left unoccupied. For the second variable single adult households are distinguished from other households. It is suggested that individuals who live alone may be more exposed to crime than others as they are less likely to be accompanied when outdoors or leave their house occupied and guarded. This approach was taken by Cohen and Cantor (1980), as they argued that members of single adult households have a greater

likelihood of personal victimisation. There are limitations with the data as the daily movements of the respondents or any other members of their households are not known.

Individual experience of crime

Individual experience of crime is portrayed by a variable which indicates whether the respondent has been a direct victim of crime in the previous 12 months. The bias is likely to be towards property related crimes which constitute the majority of incidents reported to the police.

Lifestyle of the individual

The measure for lifestyle of individuals is based on the work of Smith (1982). Lifestyle is represented by leisure activities, as Smith found that the level of participation in different types of spare time activities affect the risks of victimisation. One variable portrays structured activities which tend to be pre-arranged and held in designated places, so the risks of victimisation are not heightened through increased contact with strangers. A distinction is made between those who participate in two or more structured activities and those who do not. Six types of activities are included, three of which are the attendance at a meeting, evening class, or church/place of worship. The others concern visits to family or friends, going on child centred trips, or being a spectator/participant of sport.

The second variable portrays unstructured activities which are often held in public places where contact with strangers is increased. Hence, the personal risks of victimisation are heightened. Five activities are included which comprise: visits to a pub or other licensed premises, a club or dance, cafe or restaurant, cinema or theatre, and taking a walk. Those who participate in 3 or more activities a week are distinguished from others. These variables have effectively 'standardised' lifestyle, so use will also be made of supplementary information contained in the interview data. The difficulty of defining lifestyle and devising appropriate variables has already been acknowledged, by for instance Garofalo when presenting his modified lifestyle model for direct-contact predatory victimization (see Garofalo, 1987: 28-29).

Associations of the individual

The questionnaire is not an appropriate tool for obtaining information about the associations of an individual. No effort was made to acquire the views of offenders known to the police or those who are entwined in the criminal justice system. For obvious reasons the interviewees are likely to be reluctant to disclose details about offenders they know.

Crime prevention activities

Crime prevention activities at the collective level primarily concerns Neighbourhood Watch schemes, although other organisations such as Resident Associations may be of relevance. The concern is with organisations that may tackle crime and which act as a focal point for residents. Hence, the variable highlights whether or not respondents know of any local organisations that may prevent crime. No attention has been paid to whether respondents are members of anti-crime schemes since some schemes may not be active and exist in name only.

Structural constraints

The structural constraints of communities are represented in the model by residential stability and affluence. Residential stability is determined by the proportion of residents who have lived in the area for 5 or more years. This period of time accounts for modern day trends in residential movements which are often dictated by local job opportunities. In the absence of detailed financial information a rather crude indicator is adopted to assess the affluence of communities which is based on the aggregate wealth of the residents. Vehicle ownership will be used as an indicator of affluence. In this study home ownership is not a particularly good sign of affluence as parts of the Newland area are characterised by traditional 19th Century terraced houses which are often poor in quality and relatively cheap to purchase. As a result this housing is affordable to residents who in other areas may be financially excluded from the residential market.

Cohesion

In this study the notion of community cohesion comprises two dimensions that derive from the concept of 'neighbourhood integration' as defined by

Skogan and Maxfield (1981: 100-101). Use is made of their distinction between 'social ties' and 'residential ties', each of which is represented by a variable. Personal commitment to a community and attachment to the area concern 'residential ties'. Such ties are displayed by long-term residency of 10 or more years and a financial investment through home ownership (either outright or with a mortgage). The extent to which residents are socially integrated into their community and have sentiment for others in their area is termed 'social ties'. To be socially tied residents need to demonstrate they know three or more neighbours, sense that others in the community are 'friendly', and that they feel a part of the community as an 'insider'.

Precipitating factors

We now turn to the factors in the 'tolerance and crime' model that are posited to directly affect specific tolerance and thereby precipitate reactions to crime and disorder. Emotions that people feel about a particular crime or act of disorder are precipitating factors since they arise directly from the occurrence of a criminal incident.

To help establish whether these precipitating factors affect specific tolerance, use was made of the crime and disorder scenarios. It was earlier mentioned that the questionnaire respondents were asked to state how they would feel should the events outlined in the scenarios occur. For each scenario a list of emotions was presented so the respondents could indicate their feelings about each scenario. A total of 7 or 8 emotions were listed for each scenario although the respondents could add others if they wished. A dichotomous variable represents each emotion that was expressed about each scenario. Each variable distinguishes between the respondents who expressed a particular emotion and those who did not. By examining these emotional reactions to the scenarios, it should be possible to establish if connections exist between the events of a criminal incident and the emotions that people feel.

As the scenarios differ in the events that they outline, analysis can be conducted to identify how, if at all, the nature and circumstances of an incident affect the emotions that are expressed. The nature of the offences as we have

already seen concern: burglary, violence, car crime, vandalism, or graffiti. The circumstances of each incident varies, and details which are provided concern the offenders, victims, potential victims, or the scale of the crime or act of disorder in question. These details may influence the emotions that people feel about the criminal incidents. For instance, information about the victim is provided in the violence scenario. The victim of the pub brawl is said to be a 'friend' and as such this introduces a 'personal' aspect to the situation. Perhaps knowledge about the offender/s can arouse emotions. In the vandalism scenario where a local primary school is the target, the offenders are said to be young (aged 12-15 or 16-20), and one of them is known to be a child of a neighbour.

Area of residence

Area of residence is a factor that may influence the decision of people to react. To conduct analyses at an areal level a variable was used to distinguish between respondents according to whether they live in Newland or in Bricknell. Hence, the community level is simply an aggregation of individual respondents. The distribution of the residents according to where they live is fairly similar, with 69 respondents from Bricknell (53%) and 60 respondents from Newland (47%).

Demographic characteristics

The demographic characteristics of people constitute an important part of the analyses since these factors may affect reactions to crime and disorder. The characteristics which are examined comprise gender, age, tenure type, marital status, family status, household size, and transport status. Four key demographics have been selected in some statistical tests which are gender, marital status, tenure, and age.

In Table 3.3 below the characteristics of the respondents and their respective frequencies are presented. There are gender differences with nearly twice as many women respondents as men respondents. When respondents are separated into two age groups there is an even distribution between those

aged between 18-45, and those aged 46 or over. Differences become apparent when there are three age groups as half of the respondents are middle aged (31-60), with just a quarter who are elderly (61+), and a similar proportion who are young (18-30). The majority of respondents own their home (71%), and with respect to renters there is little difference in the proportion who are tenants of private landlords (16%), or the council/housing associations (13%). There are more respondents who are married or living as a couple than single persons, but far fewer families (23%) than non-families (78%). Respondents are family members if they have children aged under 18 who live at home, so no account is taken of children who have left home and no distinction is made between two parents or single parents. Two adult households are the most common (53%), with just over a quarter living in single adult households (29%), and slightly fewer in residences with three or more adults (19%). Roughly half of the respondents are in employment (51%), a quarter are retired (26%), and a minority are either students or housewives/unemployed.

Table 3.3: Demographic characteristics of respondents and frequencies

Characteristic type	Break down of characteristic	% of sample (n = 129)
Gender	Men	34
	Women	66
Age	18-45	48
	46+	52
	18-30	21
	31-60	54
	61+	25
Tenure type	Owner	71
	Renter	29
Marital status	Couple	60
	Single	40
Family status	Family	23
	Non family	78
Household size	2 adult	53
	Single adult	29
	Other households	19
Occupation	Employed	51
	Retired	26
	Students	11
	Housewife/other	14
Transport status	Access to a vehicle	76
	No access	23

Note: Percentages may not add due to rounding

The Table indicates that the vast majority of respondents have access to a vehicle. Transport status will act as both a demographic characteristic and community characteristic. It will be recalled that transport status is also the measure for affluence at the community level. This approach allows for the possibility that the effects of affluence (as a community characteristic) upon tolerance and reactions, are separate from the effects of transport status (as a demographic characteristic).

In sum, the sample appears to vary in terms of gender, marital status, housing tenure, and transport status. Whilst imbalances may be expected in the proportion of respondents who are single, home owners, and car owners, there is no apparent reason why there are considerably more women than men in the sample. The population composition of the fieldwork areas does not seem to be heavily skewed towards either gender. Hence, it would appear that the sample is biased in character with regards to the gender of the respondents.

Limitations of the statistical tests

To statistically test the 'tolerance and crime model' use will be made of cross-tabulations and to a lesser extent the method of regression. The form of multiple regression employed is termed linear regression in SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The descriptions of the various regression tests and the selection methods used for the inclusion of variables are provided when the results are presented (see Chapter 4). At this stage it is necessary to identify the conditions under which regression is an appropriate method and to then explain the extent to which these conditions are fulfilled in this study. A number of conditions under which regression can be legitimately used are listed below:

- (1) Regression can be used with 'fairly small samples' although the use of this method will be limited (Bryman and Cramer, 1997: 250).
- (2) Dichotomous variables can be employed in regression (Bryman and Cramer, 1997: 259).

(3) For multivariate analysis the dichotomous variables should if possible be evenly split with a ratio that does not exceed 70: 30 being recommended (Davidson, 1976: 9). If the variables are not evenly split this may result in a skewed distribution of the variables.

(4) Cases with missing values should be omitted (Bryman and Cramer, 1997: 262).

(5) Independent variables should not display signs of multicollinearity (Bryman and Cramer, 1997: 257-58).

However, due to the limited sample size ($n = 129$), the use of regression is very limited so rigorous statistical testing cannot be undertaken. Only some of the statistical results in the multiple regression tests are employed. Use is made of the SIG T in respect of the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable. In addition use is made of the F ratio as a test of statistical significance for the regression equation as a whole. BETA or R^2 values are not used to examine the affect of changes in the independent variable upon the dependent variable. Scales to indicate different strengths of association between variables are not used although the Sig T of (< 0.05) constitutes a valid relationship.

Furthermore, not all the conditions recommended for regression testing have been satisfied so this further emphasises the importance of conducting only simple statistical procedures. It will be seen from the results (see Chapter 4), that the dichotomous variables in this research do not all comply with the recommended 70:30 ratio. Consequently there are instances where the standard deviation of a variable is greater than the mean which would indicate the results can be skewed. Procedures to eliminate cases with missing values were not carried out so the frequency of the variables based upon 'yes' responses (1) and 'no' responses or 'missing cases' (0) have to be treated as a valid measure. Finally, tests to counter the possibility of multicollinearity were not conducted although care was taken to avoid using variables that are likely to be very highly correlated.

In spite of these limitations the regression tests are useful in so far as they identify variables which may warrant more in-depth examination by using the interview data. In addition important themes and issues may be highlighted by the results of the regression tests. As two sets of data are employed in this research there could be triangulation of the results which in turn will improve the validity of the conclusions.

Chapter 4

Tolerance and Reactions to Crime

The aim of this Chapter is to examine the relationship between tolerance and reactions to crime, by reference to the 'tolerance and crime' model which was set out in Chapter 3. In the opening Section of this Chapter the fieldwork areas are described in some detail in order to illustrate their suitability for testing the model. Particular attention is paid to the community characteristics, social conditions, and demography of the areas as these aspects are of relevance to the model. A variety of information sources are used to compile these areal descriptions, particularly the questionnaire data which is utilised in the statistical tests.

The main results of the research are then presented in four Sections which examine (i) reactions to the crime scenarios, (ii) the emotions that are expressed, (iii) the influence of various factors upon the reactions, and (iv) the feedback effects of reactions upon communities. These Sections are intended to address whether the main assertions of the model have been supported. Hence attention is paid to the linkages that are posited between the constructs, particularly the connections between tolerance and reactions. The first section examines the reactions of people to the crime scenarios in terms of their preparedness to react and the kind of actions they would take. The second section concerns how people would feel should the criminal incidents actually occur. Analysis is conducted to examine whether the emotions that people express are affected by their demographic characteristics and place of residence. In the third section the examination turns to the factors that may affect reactions. The four different types of influences which are said to comprise tolerance are scrutinised, viz; predisposing factors, precipitating factors, demographic characteristics of individuals, and the area where people live. As the constituents of tolerance comprise both individual and community level factors the analysis undertaken will reflect this. The fourth section concerns the potential feedback effects of reactions. It is posited in the model

that reactions may in turn influence the characteristics of communities and individuals.

4.1. THE COMMUNITIES OF NEWLAND AND BRICKNELL

Before reporting the results of this research it is necessary to undertake a comparative analysis of Newland and Bricknell according to their community characteristics and demographic make-up. The purpose of this analysis is twofold. The first is to examine how the two communities differ, if at all, in their characteristics and demography, and the second, to confirm whether the choice of variables are appropriate to test my 'tolerance and crime' model, particularly at an areal level of analysis. This analysis is primarily based upon the opinions of the questionnaire respondents although the views of interviewees and professionals who work in the communities are also represented. The discussion will first turn to community characteristics and then to the demography of the Newland and Bricknell area. Where appropriate attention will be paid to the five additional locales which in some way differ in their characteristics from the rest of Newland and Bricknell.

At this point it is useful to clarify the names to be used in this research regarding the fieldwork areas. With regards to the interview results a distinction will be made between 'Newland' and the two locales of Newland Park and Ella Street. Similarly, the three locales of Bricknell, namely, the Old Estate, New Estate, and Bricknell Avenue are distinguished from the rest of 'Bricknell'. However, the respondents were distinguished simply according to whether they lived in Newland or Bricknell. Hence, it is appropriate to speak of Newland and Bricknell when discussing the results of the questionnaire. This was due to the fact the sample size of the questionnaire was not large enough to warrant analysis at the more detailed level of the locales. For a breakdown of respondents according to locale see Table 4.1. below. It can be seen from this Table that far fewer Newland respondents lived in locales when compared to Bricknell respondents. As only a simple place classification has been adopted for the questionnaire, the results will be more general than the

interview findings in respect of place of residence. This needs to be borne in mind when considering the implications of the results.

Table 4.1: Distribution of questionnaires by area and locale

Newland		Bricknell	
Place of residence	% of respondents (n = 60)	Place of residence	% of respondents (n = 69)
Newland Park	3	Old Estate	19
Ella Street	12	New Estate	9
Rest of Newland	85	Bricknell Avenue	14
		Rest of Bricknell	58

i) Community characteristics

Residential stability

As Bricknell was the more suburban of the two areas it attracted residents who wished to settle in a community for some time, who could travel easily to and from work, and who could raise their children in the knowledge they were conveniently situated close to local schools. Aside from young professionals and families, Bricknell was also popular with elderly people who enjoyed the relative peacefulness of the area and certain locales were renowned for housing older residents. The population was changing gradually as young families, couples, and professionals moved into the area to occupy properties which were formerly owned by the elderly. For these reasons Bricknell was the more residentially stable community with the majority of respondents having lived in the area for more than 5 years (73%), compared to fewer than half of Newland respondents (48%), a difference that was statistically significant.

In Newland the more affluent residents and families had moved out of the area as it became increasingly unstable and often their properties had been purchased by private landlords who then rented them out to students. Due to the large number of University students who resided in the area every academic year there was a massive turnaround of people as new students arrived and former students moved out. The situation in Newland Park and Ella Street bore more resemblance to the Bricknell area than to the rest of

Newland. Ella Street appealed to the middle classes and professionals for it was a relatively private and quiet place to live, and there were a number of large terraced family homes. The population was relatively stable in this street as the majority of homes were owner occupied and there were notably few student dwellings. As Newland Park was an affluent area there were few rental properties so this locale remained largely unaffected by student movements.

Residential cohesiveness

As the population of Bricknell was relatively stable the residents were able to form good cohesive ties. Many residents for instance had forged friendships with others in their community and over time had become attached to the area in which they lived. Those who had residential ties needed to demonstrate a degree of commitment to their community in terms of being owner occupiers and having lived in the area for 10 or more years. In Bricknell over half of the respondents displayed residential ties (52%), which compared to fewer than a third of Newland respondents (30%), a difference that was statistically significant ($\text{Chi}^2 = 6.48, p = .01089$). The other dimension of cohesion focused upon whether the residents felt a part of the community in which they lived. Hence, social ties was more about relations with other residents, especially neighbours and personal sentiment for the area more generally. Again more respondents from Bricknell had social ties (49%), when compared to their Newland counterparts (42%), although the difference was not significant. In Bricknell many residents had moved to the area to raise their families and had decided to stay after their children had left home. This meant some had known their neighbours for 'donkey's years' and as a result felt their street was 'friendly'.

On the New Estate there was quite good cohesiveness amongst the residents as some families had lived there for several generations and had opted to buy their homes from the Council. The Old Estate was residentially stable but for slightly different reasons. On this Estate there were many elderly residents who had moved to the area years ago to benefit from the family sized homes and the local schools. Over the years friendships had evolved between the

residents and so as a result this was a close-knit community. The local estate agents were of the opinion that the Estate was stable, but 'ageing' for the following reasons:

There are a lot of older people in this area, they moved in as council tenants, bought their homes, and they've stayed there, and their children may have moved on.

Like most parts of Bricknell, the residents of Ella Street and Newland Park appeared to be cohesive which was largely due to the residential stability of these two locales. Newland Park was distinct from other areas in that the residents often considered their neighbours to be friends who they would happily socialise with. However, in Newland such cohesiveness at a localised level was not at all evident. This was primarily due to ongoing changes in the population and an increase in the amount of accommodation available for rent in the area. The continued growth in the number of students in recent years had notably reduced cohesiveness at a street level. Some of the long-term residents for instance knew only a few of their neighbours which in turn fuelled feelings of isolation. There were also signs of resentment on the part of the permanent residents about the way in which the community had become more student orientated. As a result an underlying tension had developed between the long-term residents and the students. Indeed, most students realised that their presence in the area was not welcomed, as one stated: 'I would say there was quite a few locals in Hull who don't approve of students being here.'

Dynamics of the local housing market and affluence

The consensus amongst the estate agents was that Bricknell was 'one of the better areas in town' which meant it was very popular with potential home buyers. The housing market was said to be 'buoyant' and showing signs of an upward trend in prices. Bricknell as an attractive residential area was considered to be the 'normal step up from Newland Avenue' and the price of the houses reflected this. The residents were relatively more affluent than in Newland and the results concerning the measure of affluence confirmed this. The majority of Bricknell respondents had access to a car (83%) compared to

just over two thirds of Newland respondents (68%). One estate agent described why the area had such a strong appeal particularly for families:

Obviously with the Bricknell area people want to move to as there are the schools. The schooling is wonderful, it's a good area. It resells no problem, and if a family move in there and they don't settle for whatever reason, they know that they are going to resell it on fairly quickly because there is a demand. They are good, well built houses and obviously the size of them, they are good value for money.

The Old Estate in Bricknell was considered to be 'one of the most sought after' Estates in Hull by the local estate agents, for it was a 'nice area' and the 'right people' had been housed there by the Council. The New Estate offered the cheapest housing for those wishing to buy in the Bricknell area. Although there was a mixture of owner occupiers and council tenants it was clear this locale more closely resembled a council estate than a private residential area. The residents were far from affluent and problems with crime and disorder were specific to the locale. In complete contrast the housing market in Newland was far from favourable. The estate agents explained that property prices had fallen considerably in most parts of Newland due to a 'flood of very cheap properties on the market' and 'for sale' signs were evident on vacant properties throughout the area. Many landlords had been forced to sell their properties due to a significant fall in demand for student accommodation following a major restructuring of one of the Universities at the time of the fieldwork. Others had opted to accept lower rents from 'less desirable' tenant types such as the unemployed and so-called 'problem' families. House prices in Ella Street were also on the decline but not to the same extent due to a more favourable ratio of owner occupiers to renters. Newland Park was largely unaffected by property prices for the locale was dominated by owner occupiers and very little accommodation appeared to be owned by private landlords.

Crime and disorder

In keeping with the findings of the Crime and Disorder Audit officers of Humberside Police were of the opinion that Newland with the exception of Newland Park had more problems with crime and disorder than Bricknell.

The perceptions of the respondents accurately portrayed the extent of the crime problem in their communities. Proportionally twice as many Newland respondents (40%) perceived crime to be one of three main problems in their area compared to Bricknell respondents (20%). In Newland the main problems were with domestic burglaries and thefts from cars although petty crime from sheds and back yards was also common. A notable proportion of burglaries were student dwellings which the police suspected was due to the potential rewards that can be gained from targeting households with a number of tenants.

In Bricknell house burglaries and thefts from cars constituted a major part of the crime problem although at lower levels than found in Newland. However, in this area the preoccupation was with break-ins to sheds and garages. Residents would often comment that such break-ins 'happen all the time'. Sheds and garages were perceived to be easy targets due to the maze of 10 foot paths situated behind the houses which provided vehicular and pedestrian access. Furthermore, residents often had good household security so this 'displaced' the problem to their outbuildings. The residents of the Old Estate were similarly preoccupied with shed and garage break-ins as well as thefts from cars. In the New Estate there were specific crime problems that included disorder, petty crime, and car crime, which were often attributed to the local gangs of youths. Recently the youths had gained a local reputation for committing petty crime around the Estate and terrorising the residents especially the elderly who represented easy targets. It was suspected that most of these youths attended the secondary school in the estate but lived elsewhere in several notorious council estates. One resident described the current problem on the Estate with regards to criminal activities:

There are kids that seem to be hell-bent on destruction, vandalism, and any kind of petty crime that you can imagine.

Disorder was perceived to be a prominent local problem for roughly two thirds of Newland respondents (68%), compared to a third of Bricknell respondents (32%), a difference that was statistically significant. Acts of disorder can be distinguished according to whether they are 'physical' or 'social' in nature. Such a distinction was discussed in Chapter 1 (see Sampson

and Raudenbush, 1999). Physical disorder which includes acts of vandalism was considered to be far more of a problem for Newland respondents than for Bricknell respondents. This can be seen in Table 4.2 below. On the other hand social disorder appeared to be an issue of equal concern in both communities.

Table 4.2: Social and physical disorder by area

Disorder as a major problem	% who agree (1)	
	Newland (n = 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)
Physical disorder	53	20
Social disorder	23	19

Note: (1) Percentages are based upon the number of respondents who perceived disorder to be one of the three worst features of their area, although disorder could be selected more than once

Problems with social disorder in Bricknell centred upon the so-called nuisance behaviour of young people and school children. The Neighbourhood Beat Officer for Bricknell said the residents constantly complained about youths and/or school children 'causing annoyance' and 'hanging around in large groups'. The youths typically congregated outside the shops on Bricknell Avenue at lunch times and in the evenings. This prompted reports of intimidation, harassment, and suspicions of drug taking and underage drinking. In Newland, complaints about social disorder was often directed at the students who were blamed for the 'rowdiness and noise' late at night and in the early hours of the morning when they returned home from the pubs and clubs. A more pressing matter for many Newland residents which again concerned the students was the failure of private landlords to maintain their rental properties. It was suspected that most of the properties which were in a poor state of disrepair were student accommodation. More generally, it was felt the area looked 'scruffy' due to the presence of household rubbish in the alleyways and the large amount of litter on the pavements and streets.

Newland Park was distinguishable from the rest of Newland in respect of crime and disorder problems. The Police Commander for Hull West which included Newland Park confirmed that neither crime nor disorder was a

problem in this locale: 'very rarely do we get much crime down there at all'. This view was reiterated by the local residents who thought that the level of crime was 'pretty minor', and if anything it was 'mainly' thefts from cars and shed break-ins. Burglary was not perceived to be a major problem and according to one resident the last spate was '3 or 4 years ago'. However, local police officers recognised that Newland Park as an 'upper crust' area with a 'lot of well to do people' was sometimes targeted by opportunists from the nearby council estate. There was no evidence to suggest that the Park had a problem with physical or social disorder.

Beliefs about offenders

Residents of Newland appeared to be more willing than Bricknell residents to connect problems with local crime to offenders who lived in their community. Proportionally more respondents from Newland than from Bricknell suspected that some of the local crime was committed by resident offenders regardless of age. This can be seen in Table 4.3 below. In Newland the Local Beat Officers suspected that crime and disorder problems had been exacerbated by recent changes in the local population composition due to an abundance of student accommodation. However, it was still felt that much of the local crime in Newland and Bricknell was committed by visiting offenders from several nearby council estates. These council estates were located immediately to the North of the Newland Ward and were 'notorious' for housing offenders and for having drug related problems. In Bricknell, the police attributed some of the petty crime to pupils of the local secondary schools who lived in other parts of Hull.

Table 4.3: Suspicions about resident offenders by area of residence

Characteristics of offenders	% who agree		Sig (p =)
	Newland (n = 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)	
Resident young offenders	52	42	.27368
Resident adult offenders	23	13	.12777

Perceptions of how the area is evolving

According to the perceptions of the residents, Bricknell as a community had fared better in the past couple of years when compared to Newland. Residents from Bricknell generally perceived their area to have remained “much the same” over the past couple of years which was in contrast to the situation in Newland. In Newland proportionally more residents perceived their community to have declined (43%), when compared to Bricknell residents (32%). The long-term residents of Newland tended to blame the decline in their community upon the landlords who had bought large numbers of properties cheaply in order to rent out. This had made the area undesirable to families and other potential settlers, which meant property prices had plummeted. The following description of how Newland had fared over the last few years by a permanent resident was typical:

It's changed for the worse. I think a lot of students coming into the area has changed it. I think it's devalued some of the properties. It's meant that some of the properties are not maintained to the same standard and you've only got to walk round here as now, there's loads of rubbish in back yards, back gardens, just outside the front door. It's not necessarily the students fault. It's definitely deteriorated really. I would put students certainly high on the list of factors.

Fears about victimisation

Local conditions in respect of crime and disorder were less favourable in Newland than in Bricknell. Thus it was understandable that residents of Newland were more likely to be ‘fearful’ of being victimised than their Bricknell counterparts. Well over a third of Newland respondents expressed such fears (42%), compared to a quarter of Bricknell respondents (25%). Clearly, fears about becoming a victim were by no means rare in either community.

Experience of crime

We now turn to the victimisation experiences of the respondents. Consideration is paid to incidents that had occurred to the respondents within the 12 months prior to the questionnaire. The results indicate that the levels of

victimisation experienced by the respondents from the two communities did not coincide with the officially recorded levels of crime for these areas. More Bricknell respondents reported that they had been a victim of crime (55%) than in Newland (45%), although this difference was not statistically significant. This result does not correspond to the recorded crime levels in the two areas as Bricknell had lower levels of crime than Newland. Furthermore, the Crime and Disorder Audit update 2000 (as discussed in Chapter 3), indicated that the amount of crime was on the increase in Newland, whereas it was falling in Bricknell. This inconsistency may have been due to the reluctance of Newland residents to report trivial incidents in view of their overall experience of crime. Alternatively the sample size may not have been large enough to portray accurately the true extent of victimisation amongst respondents according to area of residence.

However, there were several instances where the victimisation experiences of the respondents did coincide with areal crime patterns. Table 4.4 below provides a breakdown of incident types reported by the respondents according to area of residence. Proportionally more of the burglary victims were from Newland, whilst thefts from sheds, garages and gardens were reported by more Bricknell respondents.

Table 4.4: Breakdown of incident type and proportion of victims

Incident type	% victim (n = 129)	% victim by area	
		Newland (n = 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)
Theft (outside of property/sheds/garages)	22	13	29
Burglary (successful and attempts)	12	17	7
Car crime (taking vehicle without consent or theft from)	15	15	15
Damage to private property	11	12	10
Personal crime (verbal abuse or being followed)	6	7	7

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

These results coincide with the observations made by local police officers and residents that burglary dwellings was a major problem in Newland, whilst

'burglary other' incidents occurred more frequently in Bricknell as the houses tended to have outbuildings and gardens. Victims of personal crime, vehicle crime, and vandalism were equally distributed across the two areas. Of the 96 incidents that were reported by the respondents the majority as expected were property related offences (88%), with only a few that involved the person (12%). None of the personal offences reported were serious for there were no assaults or attacks. Half of the respondents (50%) reported they had experienced an incident, and of these respondent victims roughly a quarter (26%) indicated they had been repeat victims.

Crime prevention activities

Newland and Bricknell appeared to differ in the extent to which the residents engaged in crime prevention activities at a collective level. The Neighbourhood Watch (NW) co-ordinator of the Humberside Association of Neighbourhood Watch Groups (HANWAG), confirmed that more schemes existed in Bricknell than in Newland although the precise numbers were unavailable. This was to be expected as Bricknell was the more residentially stable and cohesive community. Local NW schemes could be found scattered across the whole of Bricknell and the majority of these appeared to be active. The one Residents Association in existence in Bricknell was designated to represent those living on the two Estates. This Association called the Bricknell Estates Residents Group (BERG), had been formed for 12 years, but in the past had suffered from long periods of inactivity. Recently the Association had experienced a revival due to an active and dedicated Chair person but it was suspected by the local Councillors this would be short-lived as there was a lack of long-term support from the residents. Furthermore the Association was reputed to be biased towards council tenants on the New Estate so this alienated some owner occupiers especially those who lived on the Old Estate. In keeping with the prevalence of local schemes across the two fieldwork areas more respondents from Bricknell knew of a local anti-crime scheme (41%), when compared to Newland residents (30%).

In Newland most of the NW schemes had fallen by the wayside as support for them had dwindled over the years. One Police Inspector explained that 'a lot

of schemes lapsed' when the more active members and co-ordinators moved out, these being the families and the more affluent. Throughout Newland there was still evidence of the old schemes as the Inspector explained 'the only thing you will see is the signs that say it's a Neighbourhood Watch area, when in fact it probably isn't.' Newland had a Residents Association but it was perceived to be unrepresentative of the community with a bias towards certain groups, namely the elderly and the permanent residents. In the view of one long-term resident and his friends this Association constituted nothing more than a 'student bashing enclave and most of us aren't interested in that.' Ella Street in Newland was noticeable in that it had a Residents Association. This Association was run on an ad hoc basis for it was usually activated when the residents had 'specific problems'. The most recent activities of the Association had concerned environmental issues such as cars being parked on the grass verges and the proposed road humps by the local council in an attempt to reduce speeding.

Summary of community characteristics

A summary of the questionnaire results regarding the community characteristics of Newland and Bricknell are contained in Table 4.5 below. Bricknell was the most attractive community in which to live and was preferred by the more affluent in-movers to Newland. In addition, there was a greater degree of residential commitment to Bricknell which helped to stabilise the population turnover. In Newland the residents were more likely to have unfavourable perceptions of local conditions in terms of both crime and disorder and to be 'fearful' of becoming a victim of crime. The remaining community characteristics were not statistically associated with any particular area. However, differences still emerged in that more Newland residents perceived their community to have declined or suspected that local crime was committed by resident offenders, whilst more Bricknell residents were aware of anti-crime schemes or had cohesive social ties with others.

Table 4.5: Community characteristics according to whether they are associated to area of residence

Community characteristic	Area associated with factor
Unfavourable perceptions of crime	Newland
Unfavourable perceptions of disorder	Newland
Fear of crime and disorder	Newland
Cohesiveness: residential ties	Bricknell
Structural: residential stability	Bricknell
Structural: affluence	Bricknell
Perception: area has changed for the worse	-
Experience of crime: awareness of schemes	-
Cohesiveness: social ties	-
Exposure: beliefs about resident adult offenders	-
Exposure: beliefs about resident young offenders	-

ii) Demography

Details about the demography of respondents according to their area of residence is provided in Table 4.6 below. It can be seen that the areas were similar only in respect of gender, the middle age group (31-60), the employed, and housewives or other unwaged. There were many differences between the areas that were statistically significant (highlighted in bold). We already know that Bricknell is the more affluent of the two areas, and this was reflected by our measure of affluence according to transport status. It will be recalled that a distinction has been made between affluence as a community characteristic and transport status as a demographic characteristic. Therefore, it is appropriate to detail differences according to car ownership in the Table. With the other demographic characteristics, Bricknell respondents were more likely to be owner occupiers, to live as a couple, to be elderly or retired. On the other hand, renters, single persons, and young people were predominantly from Newland. There was no apparent reason to suspect that the sample was biased at an areal level, since the response rate was similar for both Newland and Bricknell respondents. Furthermore, where there are differences in the demography of the areas this was to be expected, as we shall see below. The reasons for the areal differences in the demography of the respondents will now be examined in brief.

Table 4.6: Main demographic characteristics of respondents by area of residence

Characteristic	% of respondents		Sig (p =)
	Newland (n = 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)	
Gender: women	65	67	.84214
Tenure type: owner	58	83	.00236
Age: 18-30	30	13	.01821
Age: 31-60	55	54	.87559
Age: 61 & over	15	33	.01618
Age: 18-45	60	38	.01138
Live as a couple	43	74	.00041
Family member	17	28	.14020
2 adult household	47	58	.19960
Occupation: employed	50	52	.80539
Occupation: retired	15	36	.00633
Occupation: student	18	0	.00020
Occupation: housewife or other unwaged	17	12	.40693
Transport status: access to private vehicle	68	83	.05839

Bricknell

Bricknell was the more residentially stable community as the residents in this area were predominantly owner occupiers. Of the renters in Bricknell (17%), the vast majority were Council or Housing Association tenants (92%), rather than tenants of private landlords (8%), which may be due to the existence of two public housing estates in the area. Bricknell had a sizeable proportion of elderly residents (at least according to the questionnaire), many of whom were retired and had lived in their area for some time. More Bricknell respondents lived as a couple or were family members. This may explain why far more respondents from 2 adult households lived in this area (58%), than single adult households (23%), or other households with 3 or more adults (19%).

Newland

The younger half of the respondents (aged 18-45) were more likely to live in Newland. The popularity of the area with students who liked to live close to the Universities was one of the main reasons why young respondents (aged 18-30) were predominantly from Newland. Renters were more likely to be found in Newland than in Bricknell. The majority of Newland renters (unlike those from Bricknell) were found to be living in privately owned accommodation (76%), as opposed to accommodation owned by the Council or Housing Associations (24%). The availability of private households to let was evidenced by the presence of many accommodation agencies. Other 'transient' individuals were also attracted to Newland in their search for affordable but temporary accommodation. The number of young, single people in Newland probably accounted for the high number of single adult households in this area (35%).

Summary of demographic characteristics

The population composition of the two areas as reflected by the questionnaire sample differed in several key respects. Newland was characterised as being a 'student area' with a transient population which was dominated by the young and renters. The permanent residents were primarily working class, although there were exceptions to this with locales such as Newland Park which were inhabited by the middle-class and professionals. This meant there was an intriguing mixture of long-term and short-term residents in the area which resulted in ongoing and disruptive residential movements. In contrast Bricknell was a typical suburb which had a more stable population in that the majority of residents were home owners. The community was dominated by middle-class families and retired persons who had lived in the area for some considerable time, although traditional working-class families also featured particularly on the two estates. The population was evolving naturally as young people moved in to occupy the properties formerly inhabited by the elderly residents.

In sum it has been seen that the structural and social fabric of Newland and Bricknell are in many respects quite different. This would confirm that the two communities from which the research participants have been drawn are suitable for testing my 'tolerance and crime' model. The choice of variables to represent the community characteristics and demography of Newland and Bricknell have also been shown to be appropriate.

4.2. REACTIONS TO THE CRIME SCENARIOS

This section will examine reactions that would be taken in response to the crime and disorder scenarios. First, the results concerning the willingness of individuals to react to the various scenarios are reported. This is followed by a discussion of the types of actions that would be taken. Finally, it is suggested that the decision to react can be quite complex.

i) How many respondents would react?

The five scenarios to which reactions will be examined were presented in Chapter 3. They concern a spate of house burglaries, stolen cars being driven dangerously and at speed, vandalism of a local school, violence outside a pub in which a friend was injured, and the presence of offensive and rude graffiti in the area. The questionnaire respondents (n = 129) were asked how they would respond to each of the five scenarios by indicating whether they would be prepared to 'do something' or 'do nothing'. Only one answer could be given. If respondents chose to 'do something' they were asked to state what action they would take. Several inconsistencies were noted in how respondents answered these questions. First, in a total of 11 cases across each of the five scenarios respondents indicated that they would 'do something' but did not stipulate any kind of action. Second, in a further 13 cases respondents signalled they would 'do something' in response to a scenario but then indicated they 'did not know' what action to take. For coding reasons these cases have been re-classified as opting not to react, that is 'do nothing'. Although these cases could have been termed 'action' as there was an

'intention' to react (see Chapter 3), the absence of information about the kinds of actions that would be taken meant there was no further data to analyse.

Considerable differences emerged across the scenarios in the proportion of respondents who would have been prepared to react by 'doing something'. This can be seen in Table 4.7 below. Roughly three quarters would react to the occurrence of house burglaries, a local problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously, and the vandalism of a local school. Fewer than half of the respondents would react if rude and offensive graffiti were to appear in their area or if a friend was injured in a brawl outside a local pub. As a result differences in the nature and circumstances of incidents can elicit varying levels of response. The preparedness of the respondents to react according to their place of residence will be discussed below in Section 4.4 where the concern is with identifying which factors determine reactions.

Table 4.7: Respondents who would react by scenario

Scenario	% who would react (n = 129)
Burglary	78
Car crime	75
Vandalism of a school	74
Violence outside a pub	48
Graffiti appearing in the area	48

ii) Types of actions that would be taken

Having outlined the willingness of respondents to react to the scenarios it is appropriate to examine the type of actions they would opt to take. The reasons why people chose particular kinds of action will not be examined here for this warrants a more detailed examination elsewhere. There was a great deal of variation in the type of actions which ranged from reporting the incident to some organisation or agency, and methods of crime prevention, to acts of risk management and/or vigilantism.

The reported likely reactions of the respondents were loosely categorised into three different types of actions, the popularity of which are presented in Table

4.8 below. The first category comprised reporting to the police which constituted an individual action, the second concerned other types of personal action and the third, community orientated actions. The police category is self explanatory. Other personal actions were wide ranging and included reports to the council, to an MP, to the local paper, and various precautionary, avoidance, and protective measures. Other examples were the gathering of information or intelligence and vigilante action to try and catch the offenders in a desire for retribution or vengeance. Community actions concerned responses that involved other residents, neighbours, and were often remedial in nature such as reporting the incident to a Neighbourhood Watch group or to a Residents Association. Also included are those who chose to actively encourage residents to work together to try and prevent the incident from being repeated as one respondent stated to 'try to get people to watch out not just for themselves but others too.'

Table 4.8: Individual and community actions by scenario

Scenario	Total number of actions (n =)	Report to police %	Other personal action %	Community action %	Total %
Burglary	124	30	56	16	102
Car crime	122	70	23	8	101
Graffiti	84	38	44	18	100
Vandalism of school	113	30	8	63	101
Violence outside a pub	75	39	39	22	100

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

Two discernible patterns are worth noting, the first was that reactions were predominantly at the individual level. Respondents appeared to be unwilling to react to the incidents on a collective basis. With the exception of vandalism only a small proportion of respondents in each scenario chose to react on a collective basis. Related to this trend of taking action at the individual level was the popularity of choosing to report the incident to the police. This pattern is confirmed when the responses for each scenario are broken down (see Appendix C Tables 1 to 5). The Appendix Tables indicate that the single most popular action in three of the scenarios was to involve the police, the two

exceptions being the burglary and vandalism scenarios. However even with these two scenarios the option to contact the police constituted the second most common response. Consequently the type of incident does not appear to affect a willingness to involve the authorities. We now briefly examine the kind of actions that would be taken in response to each of the scenarios should they occur.

Burglary

The burglary scenario was characterised by the popularity of 'personal actions' that did not involve the police. Over half of the reactions (56%) were of this nature which was the highest proportion of all scenarios. It can be seen from Appendix C Table 1 that many of these 'personal actions' concerned efforts to improve or review the security of their home. A preparedness to use property protection measures was demonstrated by statements such as 'make house as burglar proof as possible', and 'do all we can to stop them breaking into our property.' There was also a good awareness of security hardware available on the market. Another common personal action was to be more vigilant and keep a 'watch' for 'suspicious people' and 'strangers'. Presumably this surveillance was carried out on a household basis. One extreme reaction was a declaration to move house should a spate of burglaries occur on the street. Community based action through involving other residents was particularly low in the burglary scenario (16%), of which the most popular choice was to contact or set-up a Neighbourhood Watch group (see Appendix C Table 1). More respondents selected Neighbourhood Watch in this scenario than in any other scenario. Another community action several would choose to take was to encourage fellow neighbours to be more vigilant.

Car crime

Reactions to the car crime scenario attracted the greatest number of actions involving the police (70%) along with the lowest number with a community emphasis (8%). Individuals were prepared to take other kinds of personal actions (23%), a breakdown of which can be seen in Appendix C Table 2. The most popular kind of personal action was to inform the council presumably

because the problem related to transport issues. Others were prepared to try and collect intelligence by obtaining details about the vehicle or descriptions of the offenders driving the stolen cars. One respondent in an extreme avoidance tactic would avoid bringing their car into the city through a fear it would be stolen.

Graffiti

The most popular response to the appearance of rude and offensive graffiti in the community was to take some type of personal action other than report it to the police (44%). Many of these personal actions would have involved keeping 'watch' to try and identify the culprits responsible, or alternatively reporting the graffiti to the council (see Appendix C Table 4). One respondent would seek to move house if graffiti started appearing in the area. Only a few respondents would remove the graffiti but as there was no indication other residents would help this remedial action was categorised as a 'personal action'. Another popular reaction to the graffiti scenario was the preference to involve the police which constituted a third of all actions that would be taken (38%). Fewer than a fifth of respondents chose to pursue a community based reaction (18%). An imaginative reaction chosen by one respondent was to contact local schools and youth clubs to try and identify the offenders and deter others from doing the same.

Vandalism

The vandalism scenario was distinct from the other scenarios as the most popular kind of action was community based (63%). This was largely due to a willingness to speak to the neighbour/parent of one of the young offenders responsible (see Appendix C Table 3). A number of respondents were prepared to react but their choice of action would 'depend' upon whether they knew the parent 'well', or how 'approachable' they considered the parent to be. If they decided not to speak to the parent concerned, then the police or school would instead be contacted. Very few respondents would approach the young person responsible for the vandalism (n= 4), which as an action might be retributive in nature.

Violence

If a friend was attacked and injured outside a local pub the single most favoured reaction was to inform the police (39%), as can be seen from Appendix C Table 5. Other personal reactions included those that were precautionary in nature such as avoidance of the pub where the trouble occurred or taking extra care when out in public places by going out in groups or being more alert. A number would seek to prevent a reoccurrence of such incidents by contacting the landlord or taking vigilante action to avenge the attackers. The precise actions of a few respondents (n = 5) would depend upon acquiring further details about the 'circumstances' of the brawl. Of the community orientated actions (22%), the vast majority involved the offer of help and support to the friend who was injured. In taking account of the victim's well-being this could be perceived as remedial in nature.

The manner in which actions have been categorised in this discussion are not entirely unproblematic. For instance, it could be argued that the removal of graffiti was beneficial to the community, yet there was no mention that other residents would assist with this kind of remedial action. Similarly, keeping a 'watch out' for potential burglars or graffitists could be construed as reactions that would benefit the community at large even though they were categorised as 'personal actions'. No doubt there were other inconsistencies but the purpose of these categories was to highlight the preference for individual action over community action and the popularity of police involvement.

The reactions of the interviewees were equally diverse and ranged from the sophisticated to the simple. One interviewee when confronted with the graffiti scenario was prepared to try and identify the culprits through investigation and gathering clues from the content of the graffiti, where it was done, and so on. Other reactions to the scenarios were far less complicated, such as the decision to involve the police or to be more vigilant about household security. Although the interviewees confirmed a preference for action at the individual level, there were several 'anomalies' to note between the two data sets. First, the interviewees were rather less inclined to contact the police although an exception to this was the car crime scenario where there was almost an

'automatic referral'. Instead there was more of a preference to pursue other kinds of personal reactions. For instance, with the burglary scenario many chose to become more vigilant and to be more security conscious around the home. The popularity of vigilante action in the violence scenario constituted the second 'discrepancy'. This may have been due to the tendency of the interviewees to imagine they were present at the time of the incident happening, hence the attempts to 'break up' the brawl or 'drag' the friend away. This issue was not confined to the violence scenario as some envisaged they had witnessed burglars trying to break-in to houses or youths painting graffiti.

iii) The complexity of the decision to react

Reactions to a criminal incident may be a complex decision for a number of reasons, three of which will be briefly discussed here. First, there may be a preparedness to react but the choice of action is conditional upon other relevant factors. For instance, in the vandalism scenario a key question was how approachable the neighbour was perceived to be whose child happened to be one of the culprits. Similarly in the violence scenario the kind of reaction would depend upon the provision of more information about the circumstances of the brawl. Second, people may be unsure of the kind of action they would take if a criminal incident were to occur. It was stated earlier that some respondents who were prepared to respond to the scenarios, 'did not know' what action they would actually take. This predicament also arose with the interviewees, who often found it difficult to decide how they would react. It was not uncommon to hear them state aloud 'I just don't know' as they were in the midst of deciding how to react. However, people would overcome this uncertainty by reasoning with themselves or by conferring with others who were present (such as their spouse/partner), before eventually committing to a particular reaction.

Another indication of the difficulty in deciding how to react was the tendency of individuals to take more than one action and this pattern was observed across all the scenarios. In respect of each scenario there was a proportion of respondents who chose two or more actions as can be seen in Table 4.9 below.

Of those who would take several actions the majority chose two actions with only a handful who would take three or more. Combined actions usually involved police intervention in conjunction with another type of action. In the graffiti scenario the most common combination was to report to both the police and council, whereas in the vandalism scenario police intervention was favoured along with speaking to the parents of the young offender.

Table 4.9: Respondents who would take two or more actions in response by scenario

Scenario	Respondents who would react (n =)	% who would take more than one action
Burglary	101	22
Car crime	97	25
Graffiti	62	32
Vandalism	96	15
Violence	62	18

iv) Summary of reactions to the crime and disorder scenarios

Having examined how people respond to the scenarios it has been seen that the type of incident has an effect upon willingness to take action. More people were prepared to react to a spate of burglaries, for instance, than to a local problem with graffiti, or to a violent incident in which a friend had been injured. Individual actions are far more common than community based actions. The popularity of action at the personal level is evidenced by a bias towards reporting and to other actions that individuals can take alone. Police intervention is favoured in the car crime scenario, whilst the most favoured response to the burglary scenario concerned home security improvements and a declaration to become more vigilant. Only in the vandalism scenario was community based action the most favoured option which appeared to be a function of the nature and circumstances of the incident.

The reactions of individuals are wide ranging and diverse with for instance some being simple, others more complicated. Reactions to criminal incidents may be complex for various reasons. Individuals may be prepared to react but require additional information about the incident or they need to assess the likely response of others before they can decide which kind of action to

take. When there is uncertainty as to how to react people would often take the time to consider in a rational way what they should do, if anything. The complexity of the decision to act is also demonstrated by a need to take several actions regardless of the type of incident.

4.3. FEELINGS EXPRESSED ABOUT THE SCENARIOS

In my 'tolerance and crime' model it is posited that specific tolerance is affected by precipitating factors. These factors include the emotions that people feel should a given crime or act of disorder occur. Later there will be a discussion of whether emotions influence reactions to criminal incidents. Here we examine what emotions the respondents felt about the crime scenarios and their respective frequencies. There is then an assessment of whether emotions are influenced by the demographic characteristics of individuals or area of residence.

i) Feelings in response to all the scenarios

This discussion concerns the emotions expressed by the respondents about the scenarios. Although the emotions of the interviewees were not dissimilar, they expressed far fewer emotions. This was to be expected as the interviewees unlike the respondents were not specifically asked how they 'would feel' should the events contained in the scenarios occur.

In the questionnaire a list of emotional reactions was presented for each scenario from which respondents could choose. They were also free to say what other emotions they would feel were the incident to occur. Whilst some emotions appeared in all the scenarios, others differed according to the nature and circumstances of the incident. A total of five emotions appeared in each scenario which were: anger, concern, shock, surprise, and helplessness. The remainder of the emotions applied only to selected scenarios. Only two additional feelings were expressed by the respondents that were not included in the lists, viz, 'frightened' and 'inevitable'. Nearly all respondents expressed one or more feelings about each scenario. There were a total of six instances

where a very small proportion of respondents (3%) did not express any feelings at all. This could mean they were not emotionally aroused by the scenarios, which was certainly not in keeping with the majority of respondents. The emotions expressed by the respondents about each scenario are listed in Table 4.10 below in descending order of frequency.

Table 4.10: Emotions expressed about the scenarios and their frequencies

Scenario	Emotion	% who expressed emotion (n = 129)
Burglary	Worried you may get burgled	77
	Angry	62
	Concerned	62
	Worried someone you know may get burgled	47
	Helpless	20
	Shocked	15
	Surprise	4
	Frightened	2
	Inevitable	2
Car Crime	Angry	78
	Concerned	63
	Worried that someone you know may get hurt	49
	Worried that you may get hurt	30
	Helpless	27
	Surprised	14
Graffiti	Shocked	11
	Angry	72
	Concerned	50
	Worried that your property may be next	50
	Afraid of what might happen next in your area	47
	Shocked	23
	Surprised	19
	Helpless	16
Inevitable	4	
Vandalism	Angry	53
	Guilty if you did not do anything about it	49
	Concerned	45
	Shocked	30
	Worried about how neighbour would react	29
	Surprised	28
	Helpless	12
Violence	Angry	71
	Concerned	59
	Shocked	46
	Worried that someone you know may get hurt	44
	Worried that you may get hurt	34
	Helpless	22
	Surprised	22
	Think it may be your friend's fault	6
	Frightened	2

Anger and concern

In four of the scenarios anger was the most common emotion expressed by respondents. The exception to this was the burglary scenario. The emotion of concern featured in a similar way to anger for it consistently featured amongst the three most common emotions in all the scenarios.

Helpless

Across all five of the scenarios a significant number of respondents felt 'helpless'. So regardless of the nature of the incident individuals often feel there is little they could do. However, differences in the frequency of this emotion were apparent according to incident type. For instance twice as many respondents felt 'helpless' about a local problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously (27%), compared to the situation where a local school was vandalised (12%).

Shock and surprise

The hypothetical scenarios did not appear to be extraordinary events if account is taken of how many would feel 'shocked' or 'surprised' when compared to the other emotions. The violence scenario elicited the highest proportion of respondents who were shocked (46%) which was probably due to the fact it was a friend who had been 'attacked and injured' and that violent crime is still relatively rare. Respondent expectations about the incidents varied considerably. A spate of burglaries appeared to be the most expected incident with only a few who expressed 'surprise' (4%). The least expected incident was the vandalism of a local school with just over a quarter who expressed this emotion (28%). This may have been due to the fact one of the culprits was said to be the 'child of a neighbour'.

Worries about the likelihood of victimisation

Worries about victimisation was a common emotion. Personal worries about becoming a victim of the incident in question was relevant to all scenarios but for the vandalism scenario. Such worries were directed more towards property crime than to personal or car crime. The majority of respondents would be worried about becoming a victim of burglary (77%), and half expressed worries about their property being defaced by graffiti (50%). Fewer were worried for their own safety should the violence (34%) or car crime (30%) scenarios occur. Individual worries about victimisation appeared to be a result of a perceived 'heightened risk' rather than to the perceived consequences of becoming a victim. Worries about the likelihood of victimisation were most frequent in the burglary scenario. Should a spate of burglaries occur, the interviewees would typically assess their 'risks' of becoming a victim: 'if there's been a lot of burglaries in the area, you think am I going to be next?'

Worries about the likelihood of others being victimised appeared in three of the scenarios. Just under half of the respondents expressed worries that others would be burgled (47%), or hurt in a violent incident (44%), or injured by cars driven dangerously (49%). In the car crime and violence scenarios proportionally more respondents were worried about the well-being of others in an altruistic fashion than for themselves. If the graffiti scenario were to occur just under half of the respondents (47%) expressed worries about the future well-being of their community in so far as they would be 'afraid of what might happen next' in their area.

Feeling guilty or worried about reaction of the neighbour

Finally, two emotions that were exclusive to the vandalism scenario were a feeling of guilt and worries about how the neighbour would react. Just under half of the respondents admitted they would feel guilty if they chose not to react (49%). The popularity of this emotion may be a function of the fact that one of the culprits was known to be the child of a neighbour. Worries about

confronting the parent/neighbour whose child was amongst the culprits responsible was expressed by a sizeable proportion of respondents (29%).

ii) The influence of demographic characteristics for emotions

We now examine the influence, if any, of the demographic characteristics of individuals upon the emotions they express. The prime concern is with gender, age, and tenure type. In addition there will be an assessment of whether family status and car ownership generally affects emotions expressed about the crime scenarios where this seems applicable.

Gender

Emotions appeared to be influenced by the gender of respondents. Both data sets confirmed that women were perhaps understandably more inclined than men to display signs of anguish, concern, to have sentiments for others, to feel worried and helpless. In the violence scenario women interviewees often chose to stand back from the situation and commiserate on behalf of the victim: 'I'd feel sorry for the person it happened to, it shouldn't have happened'. In contrast men were less inclined to express themselves emotionally for they would dispense with the 'niceties' and swiftly move on to consider how they would react.

Of the respondents proportionally more women than men expressed worries about the likelihood of victimisation as can be seen from Table 4.11 below. Several results were at the level of significance as indicated by the bold type. Further evidence of gender differences in emotions can be seen in Appendix C Table 6. The emotion of concern for instance, was consistently expressed by more women than men across all the scenarios. Similarly, a feeling of guilt if no reaction would be taken about the vandalism was expressed by twice as many women than men. A further notable finding was that more women than men expressed the emotion of helplessness across all scenarios. This may be explicable by the fact that women often feel physically vulnerable when compared to men, and this in turn may affect their feelings and reactions to the scenarios. Whilst there were obviously exceptions to these general

observations it appeared there were inherent gender differences in the expression of emotions.

Table 4.11: Worries about the likelihood of victimisation by gender

Emotion expressed	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
	Women (n = 85)	Men (n = 44)	
Worry you may become a victim of burglary	79	73	.43716
Worry someone you know may get burgled	54	32	.01607
Worry you may get hurt by stolen cars driven dangerously	40	11	.00079
Worry someone you know may get hurt by stolen cars driven dangerously	54	39	.09539
Worry you may get hurt in a brawl	37	30	.43155
Worry someone you know may get hurt in a pub brawl	48	36	.19803
Worry your house may be the target of graffiti	57	39	.05478

Age

We now examine emotions according to the age of respondents. Three age categories highlight the young (18-30), the middle aged (31-60), and the elderly (61+). (See Appendix C Table 7 for a breakdown of age and emotions across all scenarios).

With the elderly the most notable findings related to the emotions of anger and concern. The elderly interviewees would often feel angry about the scenarios. This appeared to be largely due to their tendency to backtrack sentimentally to the distant past which they would compare more favourably to the present day. The mere mention of crime or disorder to the elderly reinforced a yearning for the 'good old days' when 'you could actually leave your door key under the mat.' The questionnaire results confirmed the tendency of the elderly to express anger about the car crime, vandalism, and graffiti scenarios. Yet, fewer of the elderly expressed concern about these three scenarios when compared to the other age groups. Similarly, a feeling of guilt if no action would be taken in respect of the vandalism scenario was expressed by fewer elderly (34%), than any other age group in combination (54%), a difference that was nearly statistically significant ($\text{Chi}^2 = 3.56, p =$

.05911). A lack of concern or absence of guilt may deter the elderly from reacting to the scenarios.

In a similar pattern observed with the female respondents the emotions of the young were distinguishable from others in the extent to which they expressed worries about the likelihood of victimisation. In Table 4.12 below it can be seen that the young were disproportionately worried about the risk of victimisation either for themselves or for others. In nearly all instances differences were statistically significant as highlighted in bold. The worries of the young also extended to how the neighbour would react whose child was one of the culprits responsible for the vandalism (see Appendix C Table 7). Young people were more likely to have these worries about the neighbour (44%), than those aged 31 and over (25%), a difference that was significant ($\text{Chi}^2 = 4.14, p = .04170$). The emotions of the young about the pub brawl were distinguishable in a number of respects which was perhaps a function of their active social lives and tendency to frequent pubs and clubs. Proportionally more young respondents expressed worries about becoming a victim of pub-related violence than from any other age group. The same pattern was observed with the emotions of anger and shock, and in more instances the young were prepared to blame their friend for the occurrence of the brawl (see Appendix C Table 7).

Table 4.12: Worries about the likelihood of victimisation by age

Emotion expressed	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
	Age 18-30 (n = 27)	Age 31+ (n = 102)	
Worry you may become a victim of burglary	93	73	.02837
Worry someone you know may get burgled	70	40	.00519
Worry you may get hurt by stolen cars driven dangerously	56	24	.00127
Worry that someone you know may get hurt by stolen cars driven dangerously	67	44	.03713
Worry you may get hurt in a pub brawl	52	29	.02874
Worry someone you know may get hurt in a pub brawl	52	42	.36704
Worry your house may be the target of graffiti	67	46	.05709

A notable finding about the feelings of the middle age group was their tendency not to feel helpless when confronted with the scenarios. Across all 5 scenarios this emotion was expressed by fewer of the middle age group than from any other age group as can be seen in Table 4.13 below. With the burglary and vandalism scenarios for instance, three times as many young people expressed a feeling of 'helplessness' when compared to the middle age group. In respect of the violence scenario it can be seen that proportionally twice as many elderly felt helpless compared to the middle age group.

Table 4.13: The emotion of helplessness according to age group

Scenario	% who expressed emotion		
	Age 18-30 (n = 27)	Aged 31-60 (n = 70)	Aged 61 + (n = 32)
Burglary	41	13	19
Car crime	37	21	31
Graffiti	15	14	22
Vandalism	22	6	19
Violence	19	17	34

Tenure type

Interviewees who were owner occupiers were generally more troubled about the scenarios than renters as they had financially committed to their area and had a vested interest in maintaining their homes. The questionnaire data confirmed this. More home owners than renters expressed anger about all five scenarios as can be seen in Table 4.14 below. Differences were statistically significant in respect of the burglary and graffiti scenarios. More owner occupiers than renters were concerned about the scenarios, with the exception of the burglary scenario. This can be seen in Appendix C Table 8 which details all other emotions according to tenure type. Indeed, the results about the burglary scenario were largely unexpected. Home owners as we have seen were more likely to be angry but in respect of the other emotions there were few notable differences. Consequently with the exception of anger the tenure type of respondents did not appear to have a great deal of influence upon emotions expressed about the burglary scenario. However, tenure type appeared to have an effect in respect of the graffiti scenario as all emotions

were expressed by proportionally more home owners than renters. Worries about having one's own property targeted by graffiti was felt by more owner occupiers (57%) than renters (35%). This is understandable since owners are entirely responsible for the upkeep of their house unlike renters.

Table 4.14: The emotion of anger according to tenure type

Scenario	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
	Owner occupier (n = 92)	Renter (n = 37)	
Burglary	69	46	.01709
Car crime	82	68	.08596
Graffiti	79	54	.00377
Vandalism	54	49	.55762
Violence	72	68	.63829

Family status and transport status

For the full results regarding emotions and family status see Appendix C Table 9. The family status of individuals appeared to affect certain emotions expressed about the car crime and vandalism scenarios. Parents, especially those with young children, were particularly concerned about the safety implications of stolen cars being driven dangerously in the community. Indeed, worries about the likelihood of others being hurt by cars driven dangerously were more likely to be expressed by family respondents (66%) than non-family respondents (44%). The altruistic worries that parents have for the safety of their children was re-affirmed by the finding that they were not any more worried for themselves being injured (28%), than non-family respondents (31%). As the vandalism scenario concerned an attack on a local primary school, it was understandable that interviewees who were parents felt particularly concerned or upset. Although more family respondents than non-family respondents expressed concern, there were no relationships found between family status and emotions felt about the vandalism scenario.

Finally attention turns to the variable of car ownership. The segregation of respondents according to transport status provided the opportunity to examine whether emotional reactions to the car crime scenario can be affected

by a vested interest. Respondents who had access to a car were more likely to feel angry (82%) than others (65%). Perhaps car owners were enraged about the fact that cars as an expensive commodity were targeted by criminals. An element of self-interest may have crept in as more car owners would feel concerned when compared to others should there be a local problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously, although the difference was not statistically significant. See Appendix C Table 10 for the results regarding transport status and emotions.

iii) The influence of area of residence for emotions

We now examine whether emotions tend to be affected by the area of residence in which individuals live. At an areal level of analysis there were some striking patterns in the emotions expressed about the scenarios by the respondents. See Appendix C Table 11 for the results concerning area of residence and emotions. Feelings of shock, concern, and worries about personal victimisation were expressed by more Newland respondents than Bricknell respondents for all 5 scenarios. Worries about others being victimised and feeling helpless were also more apparent amongst Newland respondents. Indeed more Newland residents felt helpless about the burglary, car crime, vandalism, and graffiti scenarios than the Bricknell residents. On the other hand the emotions of Bricknell residents were characterised in the extent to which they felt angry about the scenarios. For each scenario more Bricknell respondents expressed feelings of anger than Newland respondents. Only the emotion of surprise did not give rise to any consistent areal pattern.

Areal differences in emotions that were statistically significant are shown in Table 4.15 below. The results which relate to the burglary scenario emphasise how a deviant act can generate different emotions in two areas. If a spate of burglaries were to occur it is probable that Newland residents would be preoccupied with worrying about the risks of being burgled, whilst Bricknell residents would be intent on expressing their anger. It was notable that the Bricknell residents also directed their anger towards acts of disorder. Bricknell respondents were more likely to express anger about the vandalism scenario than their Newland counterparts and in respect of the graffiti scenario the

same pattern persisted although differences were not statistically significant (see Appendix C Table 11).

Table 4.15: Areal differences in emotions that were significant

Emotion	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
	Newland (n = 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)	
Worried you may become a victim of burglary	90	65	.00089
Worried that someone you know may become a victim of burglary	58	36	.01206
Worried you may get hurt in a pub brawl	48	22	.00148
Worried that someone you know may get hurt in a pub brawl	55	35	.02109
Angry about the burglary scenario	52	71	.02393
Angry about the vandalism scenario	40	64	.00700

In sum there were more differences than similarities in emotions according to area of residence. Bricknell residents were characterised by their feelings of anger whereas for Newland residents it was their expression of concern, shock, worries about victimisation, and helplessness. As these differences in emotions were fairly consistent across the two areas this is supportive of the notion that place of residence can have a strong influence upon emotions expressed about crime or disorder.

It is important to note that the areal differences observed in emotions may be partly due to the demography of the communities. It has already been seen that emotions can be affected by gender, age, tenure type, and to a lesser extent car ownership. There are also differences in the demography of the Newland and Bricknell residents as reflected by the questionnaire. Indeed, key areal differences between the residents were found in terms of their age, tenure type, and transport status. Hence, connections are likely to exist between the demography of the two areas and the emotions that the residents express. In addition, perhaps the community features of Newland and Bricknell or even the personal characteristics of the residents themselves influence emotions at the areal level. This is a possibility, as there are

differences between Newland and Bricknell in terms of their community characteristics and social conditions.

As emotions could be affected by a number of different factors, it is difficult to determine the precise extent to which area of residence can influence emotions. Further analysis which is required to address this issue is not undertaken in this research, as the primary concern is to test the main assertions of the 'tolerance and crime' model. These issues are returned to in Chapter 5 when discussing connections between place of residence and the emotions that people express about criminal incidents.

iv) Summary of feelings expressed about the scenarios

The emotions expressed about the scenarios can be distinguished according to how frequently they are felt and to which scenarios they most often apply. The emotions most commonly expressed were anger, concern, and worries about the likelihood of victimisation of oneself or of others. On the other hand shock, helplessness, and surprise were less often expressed although these emotions were subject to greater fluctuation across the scenarios. A feeling of helplessness for instance, was most often expressed in respect of the car crime scenario. It is interesting that the scenarios are not too far removed from the everyday lives of local residents as relatively few would be surprised if the events described were to occur. Yet at the same time the frequency with which worries about the risks of victimisation were expressed emphasise the impact that local crime and disorder can have upon people. Such worries about the risks of victimisation were directed more towards property crime than personal crime or car crime. Emotions may be specific to the nature and circumstances of the crime. For instance, two feelings unique to the vandalism scenario were a feeling of guilt if no action should be taken, and worries about the reaction of a parent whose child was one of the culprits.

Emotions are clearly affected by the demographic characteristics of individuals. Gender and age appeared to be very influential. Women were naturally inclined to express emotions that portrayed a sense of caring such as 'concern' and 'worries' about the likelihood of victimisation. The young also

had a tendency to worry about the risks of victimisation, and their emotions about the pub related violence which were distinguishable from others may be a function of their lifestyle. The anger expressed by the elderly appeared to reflect how unfavourably they view local problems with crime and disorder in the present day. However, the elderly were not any more likely than others to express concern or feel guilty if they decide not to take action. Age and gender can affect feelings of helplessness as this emotion was consistently expressed by fewer men and middle-aged respondents than women, the young, and the elderly respectively. There are good reasons for such a pattern as we shall see later.

When individuals have a vested interest related to the criminal incident this can affect their emotions. The anger of car owners about the car crime scenario serves as one such example. Similarly, home owners who have a financial commitment to their area were more often angry and in most cases more concerned than renters. Family status becomes an important determinant of emotions when parental issues arise. In the car crime scenario where the safety of children was called into question the altruistic worries of parents for the safety of their own children distinguished them from others. Similarly, parents with young children would feel concern about the vandalism of a local primary school according to the interview data.

Finally, it has been seen that where individuals live appears to be a factor that affects their emotions. Possible reasons for the differences observed in the emotions of Newland and Bricknell residents have been suggested, although more attention will be paid to this issue below.

4.4. WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE WILLINGNESS TO REACT?

The intention of this section is to identify the factors that influence reactions to the criminal incidents described in the scenarios. There are six parts to the section. First, the importance of area of residence upon reactions is examined with a comparison made between the willingness of Newland and Bricknell residents to react. Second, an assessment is made as to whether demographic

characteristics can affect reactions. There is then an examination of whether reactions are influenced by the two types of factors in the 'tolerance and crime' model, viz; the predisposing factors and the precipitating factors. These factors are posited to affect general tolerance and specific tolerance. Fifth, there is a discussion of 'other variables' which were found to be of relevance. Finally, regression tests are employed to identify statistically which factors were the most influential in determining the decision to react.

i) The influence of area of residence

According to the questionnaire data there was little to distinguish between the residents of Newland and Bricknell in their preparedness to react to the scenarios. This can be seen in Table 4.16 below. However it is difficult to interpret these results as Newland and Bricknell have additional locales which vary in their community characteristics and demography. As these factors may affect reactions this could mean there is little uniformity in preparedness to react amongst Newland residents or amongst Bricknell residents. Consequently the impact of locale as a place of residence upon reactions will be considered throughout much of this Chapter, especially in the discussion concerning community characteristics.

Table 4.16: Preparedness to react according to area of residence

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Newland (n= 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)	
Burglary	82	75	.38630
Car crime	73	77	.64822
Graffiti	45	51	.51628
Vandalism	73	75	.79221
Violence	50	46	.68120

ii) The influence of demographic characteristics of individuals

The demographic characteristics of individuals may affect their reactions to criminal incidents. There will be an examination of gender, age, tenure type, marital status, family status, household size, and car ownership. First, we turn to the regression tests which were conducted to assess which key

demographic variables, if any, influenced reactions to each of the scenarios. The results indicated that the variables of age, housing tenure, marital status, and gender did not significantly explain the dependent variable to any of the scenarios. See Appendix C Table 12 for the results. Nevertheless these tests were of value as they were indicative of how reactions can be influenced by demographic variables. In the graffiti scenario age was found to be related to reactions, with older respondents aged 46+ (n = 67) being more likely to act than others. In the car crime scenario housing tenure appeared to be the most influential of the competing explanatory variables with more owner occupiers than renters being prepared to take action. This result was nearly significant (Sig T .0513). There were no significant results in the burglary, violence, and vandalism scenarios.

Gender

On the basis of the evidence available the influence of gender upon willingness to react was somewhat debatable. There was no discernible difference between men and women interviewees in their preparedness to react to the scenarios except for the violence scenario. When interviewees imagined themselves to be present at the time of the brawl men were often the most inclined to react usually by opting to personally 'intervene' with the intention of ending the violence. Yet, after the brawl had occurred men struggled to envisage what they could do, whilst women often considered the well-being of the victim through the offer of help and support. According to the questionnaire data considerably more women than men would react to the violence scenario as can be seen in Table 4.17 below. Perhaps this result was due to the way in which the respondents chose to interpret the scenario. If the respondents considered whether or not they would react after the brawl had actually occurred this would probably result in more women than men opting to take some kind of action. In four of the scenarios more women respondents than men chose to react, although differences were not statistically significant. Consequently the results of the two data sets lacked the consistency to confirm that gender can affect preparedness to react.

Table 4.17: Preparedness to react according to gender

Scenario	% prepared to react		Sig (p =)
	Women (n = 85)	Men (n = 44)	
Burglary	80	75	.51371
Car crime	79	68	.18460
Graffiti	48	48	.95634
Vandalism	79	66	.11100
Violence	53	39	.12316

Age

With regards to age both data sets confirmed the middle age group were overall the most inclined to react to the scenarios. The interviewees from the middle-age group were often more confident, more self assured and seemingly more 'able' to react than the young or the elderly. As can be seen in Table 4.18 below proportionally more of the middle age group than from any other age group would react to the vandalism, car crime, graffiti, and violence scenarios. However, no statistical relationships were found between the age group of respondents and willingness to react. With the burglary scenario it can be seen that preparedness to react appeared to be unaffected by age group. Young people and the elderly were as willing as the middle age group to 'do something' should there be a spate of burglaries on their street, by for instance, becoming more vigilant about home security.

Table 4.18: Preparedness to react according to age group

Scenario	% prepared to react		
	18-30 (n = 27)	31-60 (n = 70)	61+ (n = 32)
Burglary	85	80	81
Car crime	70	81	66
Graffiti	30	54	50
Vandalism	70	79	69
Violence	44	53	41

The reluctance of young respondents to react to most of the scenarios was a trend largely mirrored by the elderly except for the graffiti scenario where a difference of 20% can be observed in Table 4.18. With the graffiti scenario there appeared to be a 'generation gap' as over half of those aged 45 or over were willing to react (58%), which compared to roughly a third of respondents

aged 45 or under (37%), a difference that was significant ($\text{Chi}^2 = 5.74, p = .01649$). This supported the results of the regression test with the key demographic variables which highlighted the willingness of the older respondents to react. Indeed, many of the young interviewees freely admitted they would probably 'do nothing' if rude and offensive graffiti started appearing in their community. In respect of the violence scenario there was another 'generation gap' amongst age groups in their preparedness to react which was not apparent from the questionnaire data. Here it was the young interviewees who were considerably more prepared to respond than the elderly. Indeed, the young interviewees were as prepared to react to the violence scenario as those from the middle age group.

There is little to be gained from detailing the results according to occupation type since this characteristic was closely linked to age and gender. All but one student was a young person, those retired were predominantly over the age of 61 (88%), and the employed were largely from the middle age bracket of 31-60 (80%). The fourth occupation group 'housewives and the unemployed' ($n = 18$), was dominated by women who constituted all but two of these respondents. For the results that relate to students, earners, retired, and housewives/unemployed refer to Appendix C Tables 13 to 16. There were three notable results concerning occupation which were statistically significant and supported earlier findings. First, students were less willing to react than others in response to the graffiti scenario. Second, the retired were significantly less likely to react in response to the violence scenario when compared to others. These two findings coincide with the interview results concerning age. Third, housewives/unemployed were more willing to react to the violence scenario which was in keeping with the result concerning gender and this scenario.

Tenure type

Reactions according to the tenure type of respondents are presented in Table 4.19 below. It can be seen that more home owners than renters would be prepared to react with the exception of the burglary and violence scenarios. It was understandable that reactions to the graffiti scenario were affected by

tenure type since this kind of disorder causes damage to property. Home owners unlike renters are responsible for the upkeep of their own property.

Table 4.19: Preparedness to react according to tenure type

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Home owner (n = 92)	Renter (n = 37)	
Burglary	78	78	.98832
Car crime	79	65	.08496
Graffiti	53	35	.06238
Vandalism	76	70	.49346
Violence	47	51	.63535

The results concerning the violence and burglary scenarios can be explained by a relationship observed between tenure type and age. Home ownership was by far the most dominant tenure type amongst the middle age respondents (80%). On the other hand, young respondents were more likely to live in rented accommodation (45%) than any other age group in combination (25%). With regards to the violence scenario young interviewees were as inclined to react as the middle-age group so this would help to explain why renters were equally prepared to react as owner occupiers. As willingness to react to the burglary scenario was not affected by age this meant that tenure type also had no discernible affect. Tenure type was only important in determining the type of action. As would be expected owner occupiers and hence the middle-aged were more inclined than renters and young people to improve or review household security measures. Renters had little reason to improve the security of a house they did not own so the most viable action was to become more vigilant by locking doors, windows, and so on. Indeed, many owner occupiers were discouraged from reacting to the burglary scenario as they already felt they had good household security in place. It was not uncommon to hear statements such as: 'I've already done what I can to make the house secure'. The desire of home owners to protect their home from intruders appeared to be relentless as the following extracts illustrate:

I consider that my house is fairly secure, with these prickly bushes, the way that I've done the boundary fencing, the doors and locks, what I've got, the burglar alarm and of course I've got 2 dogs. (Married man, late fifties, retired)

I mean the thing is we have tall gates, we have a high fence at the back, we have security lighting. We've got a dog. There's usually somebody in the house most of the time. We've got windows of the latest standard that have got proper bolts, locks on them. Even the front door, it's got different points of locking. Nobody can gain access. We think we've done more or less everything. The only thing we haven't got is an alarm put in. But we may do that in the future. (Working man, early forties, who lived with his parents)

Other demographic variables

The two variables of family status or marital status did not distinguish reactions to the scenarios as can be seen in Appendix C Tables 17 and 18 respectively. These findings about marital status were largely replicated in the interviews although notably family status emerged as an influential variable in determining reactions to the vandalism scenario. As a local primary school was said to be vandalised this captured the imagination of parents. They were inclined to react as they considered how such an incident could disrupt the education of their own children and how they would like to be informed if their children committed misdemeanours:

I'd probably go and have a word with the Headmistress at the school first ... She's in charge of the school and I'd think well I would go and have a word with her to see what she had to say about it first. I'd leave it with her to decide whether to get the police or whatever because I'm a parent and it would be important for my boy going to that school ... (Working mother who had a child aged 10)

I would rather somebody tell me if my kids were doing bad things so I can talk to them and do something positive about it ... The kids have got to be stopped. I mean this sort of vandalism all it's doing in the end if you sit and think about it, all it's doing is costing your kids education. (Married mother of four grown up sons, who lived in a housing association property)

With regards to household size proportionally more respondents from 2 adult households would react when compared to others across all the scenarios. See Appendix C Table 19. Finally, the results regarding reactions and car ownership can be seen in Table 4.20 below. As expected this variable affected reactions to the car crime scenario with those who had access to private transport being more likely to react than others.

Table 4.20: Preparedness to react according to transport status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Access to private transport (n = 98)	No access to private transport (n = 31)	
Burglary	80	74	.52511
Car crime	80	61	.03974
Graffiti	50	42	.43344
Vandalism	76	71	.61340
Violence	47	52	.64983

Summary of the importance of demographic characteristics upon reactions

It has been seen that demographic characteristics have the capacity to influence reactions although there are doubts as to the extent of this influence for some variables. There are few differences in preparedness to react according to marital status, family status, transport status, and household size. Consequently, the precise role of some demographic factors in determining reactions remains unclear.

The age of individuals is very influential in determining preparedness to react. The middle-age group appear to be the most willing to respond to the scenarios whilst the elderly and the young appear to be less inclined although exceptions to this general pattern are observed with the burglary and violence scenarios. Reasons for the relationship between age and inclination to react may become clearer when examining the other factors that can influence reactions. There is a probable connection between age and lifestyle which could explain why young people were equally prepared to react to the violence scenario as the middle-age group. The results regarding occupation group are similar to those observed with age due to the relationship between these two demographic factors. There is also a connection between age and tenure type. Notably these two characteristics do not affect willingness to react to the burglary scenario, rather their influence lay in determining the type of action. Renters and young people typically choose to be more vigilant as they have no incentive to invest in a home owned by somebody else. However, in some instances owner occupiers may have less of a reason to react if they have already gone to great lengths to ensure their home is 'burglar proof'. The relationship between age and tenure type also helps to

explain why renters are equally prepared as owner occupiers to react to the violence scenario.

It is questionable whether the gender of individuals affects willingness to react. It is possible that the influence of gender is dependent upon whether men or women imagined themselves to be present at the time of the incident or after the incident had occurred. Men may be more prepared to react by intervening in say a violent brawl, whilst women may in having a natural 'empathy' toward the victim be more inclined to react after the event. With regards to the other demographic variables a pattern appeared in so far as reactions are affected by having a vested interest. Those with access to a car were more inclined to react according to the questionnaire data, whilst parents were notably willing to respond to the vandalism scenario due to their affiliation with schools and their preoccupation with the well-being of their children. There were few other notable results according to marital status, family status, car ownership, and household size.

In drawing together these findings it could be suggested that a particular group of individuals would be inclined to react. In general respondents most willing to react are in the middle age bracket (aged 31-60), many of whom are employed and own their home. This age group are also likely to live as a couple (61%), share a house with one other adult (51%), and to have access to a car (87%). On the reverse side of the coin respondents who are generally less inclined to react are young people and the elderly, many of whom are renters, single persons, live alone or with 3 or more adults, and are non car owners. However, this kind of categorisation is open to criticism for being too rigid as there will invariably be exceptions to such a pattern. One example concerns the violence scenario where the young/renters were inclined to react probably due to their lifestyle. As a result reactions are not straightforwardly predictable according to the demography of individuals.

iii) Can predisposing factors directly influence reactions?

According to my 'tolerance and crime' model general tolerance affects specific tolerance and together these in turn determine reactions. In addition, general tolerance may directly influence reactions. This may occur when the influence of the predisposing factors (that affect specific tolerance), exceed that of the precipitating factors (that affect general tolerance). These predisposing factors represent the latent beliefs and attitudes of individuals and collectives. In the model these factors are portrayed by individual and community characteristics. Two approaches were taken to examine whether these factors predispose individuals or collectives to react in a certain way to crime and disorder.

First an attempt was made to ascertain which predisposing factors, if any, were the most influential in determining the decision to act in each scenario. All 16 variables which represent these factors were tested in combination against the dependent variable. However, the tests did not reveal the combination of variables that significantly explained the dependent variable. Consequently it was necessary to identify individual relationships between the predisposing factors and the decision to react for each scenario. This constitutes the second approach and is the basis of the following discussion. Factors which can be analysed at the community level are examined first, viz; perceptions, fears, cohesiveness, residential stability, affluence, collective experience of crime, and beliefs about offenders. Attention is then paid to factors at the individual level particularly the importance of prior victimisation and lifestyle, although exposure to crime is also touched upon. Reference will be made to place of residence (including the locales) where this is relevant.

Perceptions of local conditions and fears about victimisation

How people perceive local conditions in their community can influence their reactions to criminal incidents. Respondents who had unfavourable perceptions of local crime or of disorder were in more instances prepared to react when compared to others. This can be seen in Table 4.21 below. Statistical relationships were evident in four of the scenarios. The third

measure of local conditions in the community reaffirmed the same pattern between adverse perceptions and preparedness to react. Respondents were asked if their area had changed over the past few years. Of those who perceived their area to have declined, proportionally more chose to react to four of the scenarios when compared to others (see Appendix C Table 20).

Table 4.21: Preparedness to react according to perceptions of crime and disorder

Scenario	% willing to react		Sig (p =)	% willing to react		Sig (p =)
	Adverse perception of crime (n = 38)	Not adverse perception (n = 91)		Adverse perception of disorder (n = 63)	Not adverse perception (n = 66)	
Burglary	92	73	.01394	87	70	.01533
Car crime	82	73	.27788	76	74	.79789
Graffiti	63	42	.02658	48	49	.92163
Vandalism	82	71	.22841	83	67	.03889
Violence	68	40	.00278	51	46	.54405

The preparedness of the interviewees to react was similarly connected to their perceptions about crime and disorder. However, the nature of the relationships observed were quite different to those found in the questionnaire. When a particular type of crime or disorder was perceived to be widespread in the community this would often deter the interviewees from reacting. Conversely, when it was perceived that the community did not have a problem with particular types of crime or disorder this encouraged reactions. As levels of crime and disorder varied across Newland and Bricknell and their additional locales, this had an affect upon the perceptions of the residents and their subsequent willingness to react to criminal incidents. These connections are well illustrated in the reactions of residents from different places to the events contained in the graffiti and car crime scenarios.

In Newland and Ella Street graffiti was commonplace on garage doors, dilapidated buildings, fences, walls, and so on. As a result the residents had become accustomed to the presence of this kind of disorder in their community: 'you get used to graffiti in the area, there's a lot on the garages near here.' This in turn reduced their propensity to react to the events contained in the scenario. For similar reasons residents would also be

deterred from reacting as a collective. This was evidenced by the comments of an elderly man from Bricknell where problems with graffiti were largely confined to the 10 foots that ran behind the houses. He and his neighbours had yet to tackle an ongoing problem with graffiti which was attributed to the school children who hung out behind their houses:

We haven't done anything, we've got it outside in the 10 foot. There's some out there on a garage just at the back ... People get complacent about it, it's so common, but it is a bit of a mess you know, you get obscenities as well which isn't very nice. (Resident of Bricknell for 36 years)

When residents perceived there were other more pressing crime problems this also reduced their willingness to react. This was the case with the New Estate where there were problems with drugs, petty theft, car crime and mindless vandalism. Residents did not perceive graffiti to be a priority nor did it warrant a reaction by calling the police. One resident who was a mother of two young boys reasoned that: 'there's a lot worse things go on in this world', and her preference was that the 'police tackle our drugs problems and tackle all the burglars, [rather] than look at the graffiti.' In contrast in Newland Park which had relatively few problems with crime or disorder the residents were far from 'permissive' of graffiti. One resident perceived graffiti to be a precursor to more serious problems: 'it's probably a sign that there is a problem which may result in crime because it means there's people hanging around with nothing better to do.' Consequently if graffiti were to start appearing in this locale the residents would react by seeking to have it removed with a view to try and prevent more from appearing.

Reactions to the car crime scenario were affected by perceptions in a similar way. Again, perceptions were based upon the degree of exposure but this time it was exposure to car related crime. Hence the proximity of an individual's household to traffic would affect their perceptions about car crime as well as their preparedness to react. People who resided in streets which had a lot of traffic were less inclined to react than those who lived in quiet streets such as cul-de-sacs. In Newland Park there was very little traffic so if there were a problem with stolen cars driven dangerously this would be very conspicuous. As a result the residents of this locale were prepared to react

should this scenario occur. In contrast those who lived on Bricknell Avenue were exposed to high levels of traffic so they chose not to react. Indeed, the residents who lived adjacent to this dual carriageway felt unable to distinguish between cars that were stolen or cars that were simply speeding, as one interviewee said:

It's all so vague, from my point of view, it's so vague. It could be just somebody in a hurry for all we know, you just say to yourself 'mmm, I wonder if that's somebody in a stolen car?' (Woman, aged 72 years, who had lived on the Avenue all her life)

However, when people were exposed to high levels of crime or disorder on a daily basis this did not mean they invariably refused to react to criminal incidents as a result of their perceptions. This point can be illustrated by reference to the graffiti scenario although the same applied to the car crime scenario. Graffiti was often perceived to be 'everywhere it's a fact of life'. However, even when problems with graffiti were perceived to be widespread there seemed to be a turning point at which people would decide to react. This turning point or 'threshold' appeared to be when people's expectations were exceeded. While expectations about graffiti varied, they were often based upon assumptions of the kind of property usually targeted, the quantity of the graffiti, and the content. For instance, many interviewees would find it unacceptable if graffiti started to appear on residential properties as this would be contrary to their expectations. As a result more interviewees were prepared to react when people's homes were targeted than when public property, or shops and businesses were targeted. Hence changes to the scenario in terms of the kind of property which was said to be targeted by graffiti affected reactions. The assumption was that graffiti would be largely confined to certain kinds of property, as one interviewee from Newland stated:

Like businesses you expect that sort of thing to be targeted, but if it was actually residential properties that's a bit different. It seems a bit more offensive than somewhere that's business premises. It's a more personal sort of thing. (Female student, aged 21, resident of Newland)

Some individuals felt they would be prompted to react if the amount of graffiti became 'excessive', whilst for others this point was when it became

'threatening and really offensive.' For one couple who had been residents of Bricknell for 26 years the amount of graffiti which appeared in their community would make all the difference to how they would react to the scenario. The husband explained why this was so:

To a certain extent I would think we would turn a blind eye to it because it's almost part of today's life. But I suppose it would be at a certain level where you would do nothing and then it would reach a higher level where there was more and more of it where you would start doing something.

Within the context of the burglary scenario we now examine whether perceptions and fears can affect reactions. Burglary was perceived to be prevalent throughout most parts of Newland and Bricknell. Virtually all the interviewees had a story to recite about actual or attempted break-ins to houses, sheds, or garages. Hence, it was not uncommon to hear of burglary being perceived in the following way, as one male interviewee stated: 'you know you get burgled, it's just 'par for the course'. From his previous experience of talking to others about this crime he had surmised that:

Well you've only got to mention it to somebody, 'I've been burgled, next door's been burgled,' and they're come up with their own story; 'Oh yeah, I was done once, my neighbour was done.' (Married, home owner, aged 43)

Regardless of where people happened to reside their attitude and approach to the crime of burglary was accurately portrayed by the term 'crime management.' Perceptions about the prevalence of burglary in Newland and Bricknell served to accentuate 'fears' about the likelihood of victimisation. As one interviewee stated: 'You have a fear of being burgled don't you. It's an awful fear isn't it.' This connection was confirmed by the widespread use of household security measures to reduce the risks of being burgled. This 'fearfulness' on the part of individuals affected the emotions they expressed about the burglary scenario. Respondents who were fearful were more likely than others to feel worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim of burglary, or that others they know will be burgled, or to feel shocked or concerned. For the results regarding these statistical relationships see Appendix C Table 21. Fears about victimisation may have an indirect affect upon reactions if it is found that emotions do affect reactions. However, for

present purposes 'fears' about victimisation did not appear to directly influence reactions to the burglary scenario or any other scenario. This can be seen in Table 4.22 below. Indeed, there was little consistency in the results. Whilst proportionally more 'fearful' respondents were prepared to react in three of the scenarios (including the burglary scenario), this was not the case for the car crime and graffiti scenarios.

Table 4.22: Preparedness to react according to fears about victimisation

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Are fearful (n = 42)	Less fearful (n = 87)	
Burglary	83	76	.33476
Car crime	71	77	.49146
Graffiti	43	51	.41102
Vandalism	79	72	.45259
Violence	60	43	.07024

Cohesiveness, residential stability, and affluence

The first part of this discussion will examine how cohesion, residential stability, and affluence can encourage reactions, whilst the second part will examine the circumstances under which these factors can deter reactions. Before doing so it is necessary to report the questionnaire results. When residents displayed cohesive ties this appeared to be conducive to taking action as can be seen in Table 4.23 below.

Table 4.23: Preparedness to react according to cohesive ties

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Residential ties (n = 54)	No ties (n = 75)		Social ties (n = 59)	No ties (n = 70)	
Burglary	82	76	.45625	80	77	.72962
Car crime	80	72	.32225	71	79	.33329
Graffiti	61	39	.01183	54	43	.19747
Vandalism	79	72	.45810	76	73	.65796
Violence	52	45	.46476	56	41	.10048

In nearly all instances proportionally more respondents with cohesive ties would react when compared to others, although differences were rarely statistically significant. The results regarding residential stability were fairly

similar to those concerning residential ties, which is to be expected for they both concern length of residence (see Appendix C Table 22). With the graffiti scenario for instance, those who displayed signs of residential stability were more likely to react than others, the difference being statistically significant.

With reference to Bricknell, the Old Estate, Bricknell Avenue, and Newland Park, it will be seen that cohesiveness, residential stability, and affluence were often conducive to taking action. Many residents of Bricknell and Newland Park had lived in their area for some considerable time and displayed good cohesive ties. As a result they were often able to recall an occasion where local people had grouped together to resolve a problem. This 'shared history' meant there was an assuredness amongst the residents that should another situation arise there would be a similar response. This can be illustrated by the comments of a middle aged, professional couple who had lived in Bricknell Avenue all their married life. When confronted with the events contained in the graffiti scenario they had decided to react by reporting the problem to their local councillor. However, if the problem were to escalate and residential properties were targeted with graffiti they suspected that:

People would get together like we did when we were having the noise from the pub. We got together because there was a new landlord and he was introducing music at night and we responded didn't we. There was quite a few of us got together and sorted it out ... When a situation arises we do act, don't we, when it's on our own doorstep.

Residents of the Old Estate in Bricknell benefited from good levels of cohesiveness and the areas that were popular with the elderly were often very 'close-knit'. What was prominent about the Estate was that the residents displayed a degree of consensus as to what constituted unacceptable behaviour. This characteristic became prominent in respect of the vandalism scenario where a local school had been targeted. The Estate was surrounded by schools and the majority of the residents' children had at some point attended them. This meant there was a degree of sentiment and attachment for the local schools. One gentleman who had lived on the Estate for 22 years felt his fellow residents would react due to this shared interest:

I think people are concerned about the way the schools operate and I think that they're proud of the schools when they're running correctly, and when you know they're being looked after. So, I think if they were attacked with paint spray and vandalism, there would be widespread concern. (Professional man, late fifties, married)

The residents of Newland Park had an air of confidence about their collective ability to overcome local problems that was not evident elsewhere in Newland or Bricknell. As one resident remarked: 'in times of crisis we get together' and we have done 'time and time again to get things regulated as the residents would like.' The residents were particularly proud of how they responded to a parking problem that arose back in 1992. People from the nearby Universities had started using the 'Park' as a car park. Access to and from the 'Park' became difficult and there were worries about the emergency services having room to manoeuvre. In response the residents called a meeting, contacted the local paper and radio, and brought pressure to bear upon the Council to declare it a non-parking zone. The residents agreed to pay for the costs incurred by the Council for painting the double yellow parking lines which was done shortly afterwards. The affluence of the residents and their privileged positions had empowered them to react as a collective. This was evidenced by the comments of a long-term resident about the events contained in the graffiti scenario. In his opinion it was inevitable that this kind of problem would be overcome and his comments about how others would react testified to the self-assuredness of a close-knit, affluent community:

Supposing somebody came and sprayed paint on the garage doors in this area. It wouldn't be repeated because most people round here can afford and would afford to have it painted, repaired, replaced, whataveyou. They'd say, well it's only going to cost you know £150 or something. That wouldn't trouble people ... But if people's property began to be affected on a larger scale I can assure you that the residents of this area would mount as a man. Because there is clout here. (Retired professional, aged 73, who had lived in the area for 25 years)

To examine how reactions can be deterred by poor cohesion, high residential instability, and a lack of residential attachment or sentiment reference will be made to Newland. Amongst the long-term residents of Newland there was a realisation that the nature of their community had fundamentally changed. The community spirit once present had largely disappeared so there was scepticism that other residents would not be bothered to react to the scenarios

should they occur. The comments of one permanent resident in respect of the graffiti scenario when asked what others would do was representative of the prevailing opinion:

I think they'd all complain and they'd all have a moan but I'm not sure if anybody would do anything about it. I'm not sure anybody would actually get involved in doing anything. (Married woman, early forties, who had lived in Newland all her life)

This stands in complete contrast to the anticipated reactions of residents in Newland Park. Ongoing population changes in Newland (but not the locales) meant that attempts by the residents to encourage others to react as a collective were sometimes undermined. This in turn increased the isolation felt by some residents including those who had lived in Newland for a considerable time. These problems can be illustrated by the experience of one female interviewee who had lived in the area for 11 years. This woman was married, had 3 young children who attended a local school, and had many friends in Newland. When she first lived on the street she knew nearly 'everybody' as they were 'permanent' residents but as time passed well over half of the houses had become student accommodation. As a result she knew very few of her neighbours: 'there's probably about 3 people I'd know of, apart from that I don't know Adam from Eve.' Despite her enthusiasm to hold a meeting with other neighbours in response to the events contained in the burglary scenario, she felt this would be far from practical as she no longer knew enough households: 'there's people moving in and out all the time.'

Individuals were usually reluctant to react when they had little residential attachment or personal sentiment for their community. Young people, particularly students were illustrative of this as many were newcomers to their area and were likely to be only temporary residents. Only a third of young respondents had lived in their area for 2 or more years (37%) compared to the majority of those over the age of 31 (86%). Consequently, few young people displayed residential ties (4%), when compared to the middle age group (47%), and the elderly (63%). As the majority of students had left home to study in Hull they were tied to the city only for the duration of their University course which was typically 3 years. As a result very few students had an attachment to their community and their reactions were typified by a philosophy of 'not

wanting to get involved'. The comments of one student who chose not to react to the car crime scenario was representative of students:

I know I'm sort of in Hull for 12 weeks at a time or whatever, and then I just sort of go home for the holidays and so I just sort of tolerate it really ... unless there's a really real problem you just sort of ignore it and get on with it because you know you're going home or whatever ... So its not something that I want to start getting involved in or trying to kick off or cause a fuss or whatever, just sort of lie low.' (Male aged 22, in the final year of a degree, from Leicester)

Students generally refused to react to the vandalism scenario as they did not have any personal connection to the local primary school which was said to be targeted. They often perceived the area where they grew up to be 'home' so their sentiment lay with their former schools outside of Hull. Consequently students disassociated themselves from the scenario as the following comment testified to:

If anything happened to my primary school in Liverpool I would cry because it's a big part of your life, and I'm thinking we students haven't got this kind of bond to this particular school. (Young male, living in a rented house, and close to completing a 4 year degree)

An underlying tension between students and the permanent residents also inhibited students from reacting to the events outlined in the scenarios. Some felt they would be wary about venturing into the 'territory' of 'locals' who may resent 'outsiders' from interfering in local matters. For this reason one student refrained from reacting to the events contained in the vandalism scenario by reporting the culprits who were said to be local 'troublemakers' to the police. More generally students were reluctant to jeopardise relations with the local residents and so wished to avoid anything 'confrontational'. For instance the students did not even entertain the idea of confronting the parents of the culprits responsible for the vandalism of the local school. The desire to avoid such conflict helped to explain why young people were associated with expressing worries about how the parent would react should they be told about the incident.

Furthermore, it was notable that the expression of such worries appeared to be connected to residential ties (see Appendix C Table 23 for results

concerning emotions and residential ties). This may be due to the relationship observed between age and such ties. Respondents with residential ties were less likely to be worried about how the neighbour would react when compared to others. Consequently individuals were less inhibited about speaking to the parent when they had some kind of residential attachment to their community. This corresponds with the fact that young people as we have seen were not likely to have these kind of ties, but were the most likely (of all age groups) to have worries about the parent. Reactions to the other scenarios were affected by the breakdown in relations in Newland between the students and 'local' people. One student who refused to react to the events contained in the graffiti scenario believed that others would do the same due to the student-resident divide:

It's just a general stereotype that all locals don't particularly like students in the first place, so if you start meddling in their affairs there's going to be even less harmony ... Students wouldn't want to get on the wrong side of locals. (Female, aged 21, in final year of degree, originally from Kent)

Collective crime prevention activities

We have already seen that residents were more inclined to react when they were confident that others in their community would do likewise. The existence of Neighbourhood Watch schemes also increased the confidence of members that problems with crime or disorder problems would in some way be tackled. This was most apparent in Bricknell and in the locales of this area since many of the streets appeared to have a scheme, so most residents regardless of whether they were members were represented. The experiences of a lady who had lived in Bricknell with her husband for 27 years testified to how a local scheme can affect reactions. She explained that nearly everyone knew each other on her street so it was very neighbourly and there was an active Neighbourhood Watch scheme which was used to address problems. Recently, she recalled a sales person had gone round all the houses on her street to try and conjure up business as a microwave repairer. One couple suspected he was not genuine and might be a potential burglar so they posted notes through the doors of all the houses on the street warning everyone. A day or so later another note was distributed to confirm that he was in fact

genuine! As a result she was confident that her neighbours would as a collective react to the car crime scenario:

ZC What would others do?

Mrs F If it was a one off incident, then we've got an ex-policeman a few doors down! If it was a regular thing and we do have a Neighbourhood Watch group then we'd obviously get together. I presume a lot of people would report it to them anyway.

The existence of a Residents Association in Ella Street in Newland also provided the means and impetus through which residents of the street could group together and tackle local problems. Several residents did suspect that people would contact this Association if the events contained in a number of the scenarios were to happen. In the rest of Newland however support for Neighbourhood Watch schemes had declined which meant only a few existed and these were probably in name only. Although many of the long-term residents could recall a time when they did have a local scheme they did not appear to have the enthusiasm to re-activate them. Consequently the residents of Newland did not have the mechanisms in place which enabled them to react which was in complete contrast to Bricknell. Although a Residents Association did exist in Newland it appeared to have little affect upon how the residents reacted. This was partly due to perceived shortcomings of the Association itself and scepticism about the extent to which it would have the support of other residents in the community. The same situation was observed with the only other Residents Association in the fieldwork area, namely the Bricknell Estates Residents Group (BERG), which represented the two Estates in Bricknell.

The existence of locally based crime prevention schemes appeared to have the greatest influence upon reactions when it was perceived there was a lack of other available options. On occasions it was the decisive factor in determining how people chose to react and this became most apparent with the events described in the graffiti scenario where many felt unable to respond. To illustrate this point we compare the reactions of two interviewees about the graffiti scenario. The first interviewee was a man in his forties from Bricknell who was fairly confident of his reaction for he had recourse to a Neighbourhood Watch (NW) group:

ZC What would you do about this if anything?
 Mr S I think I would go to the NW co-ordinator and stay with that. That seems to be the point of any crime prevention that goes on along here. Find out what's happened and then obviously become more vigilant and begin looking at who is responsible ...

ZC What would the NW do?
 Mr S They'd probably contact the police to find out if they'd been aware of it and they may put something in the newsletter about suggesting possible ways and means of trying to identify where it's going on or see potentially who the perpetrators are.

We now turn to the second interviewee who was a woman aged 50 living in Newland. She had lived in the area for 6 years, was involved in local activities and considered herself to be well integrated into the community. However, she did not have access to a NW group and as a result was far less confident about how to react should there be a local problem with graffiti:

ZC What would you do about this if anything?
 Miss H I don't know because I'm not quite sure who you would contact for graffiti and it would be catching them doing it, you know, sort of see whether it was very young children or youths.

The questionnaire data also confirmed that the existence of community schemes could prompt people to react. In four of the scenarios proportionally more respondents who had awareness of local schemes were prepared to react when compared to others. This can be seen in Table 4.24 below.

Table 4.24: Preparedness to react according to awareness of crime prevention schemes

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Aware of local crime prevention scheme (n = 46)	Unaware of local scheme (n = 83)	
Burglary	78	78	.99448
Car crime	80	72	.30486
Graffiti	52	46	.48650
Vandalism	78	72	.45652
Violence	59	42	.07193

Both data sets confirmed that the middle-age group were the most aware of local schemes in their area to tackle crime. As a result schemes such as NW featured more often in the actions of the middle-age group to the scenarios than in the actions of any other age group. The elderly were also quite well

informed about schemes in their area but they did not appear to have the same enthusiasm to support the schemes or make use of them in their choice of reactions. In contrast young people knew little about local schemes and had no obvious desire to find out this kind of information.

It was notable that the existence of local schemes was not a prerequisite for collective action as evidenced by the widespread use of informal arrangements. In response to the burglary scenario pledges were sometimes made to continue reciprocal arrangements with neighbours to 'look out for one another's property.' Typically, these agreements were activated when people were away on holiday or out at work, and neighbours would keep a watch for suspicious activities and tend to the unoccupied house which could be vulnerable to break-ins. The advantage of these arrangements was that residential cohesiveness need only be on a micro scale with good relations between just two sets of neighbours. Consequently, these kind of informal pledges between neighbours were popular throughout the entire fieldwork areas. For instance several students who had lived in Newland for only a matter of months could recall occasions where the only neighbour they knew on their street had called the police on their behalf about prowlers in their back yards.

Beliefs about proximity to offenders

The questionnaire data indicated that preparedness to react was influenced by beliefs about offenders. Table 4.25 below details the results with those that were significant being highlighted in bold. A fairly consistent pattern emerged regardless of whether suspicions related to adult or young offenders. In four of the scenarios proportionally more respondents who suspected resident offenders were responsible for some of the local crime and disorder were prepared to react when compared to others. Only the graffiti scenario produced conflicting results in respect of reactions and beliefs about young offenders. However, the interview data did not suggest that beliefs about residential proximity to offenders were influential in the decision to react to the scenarios. Although the interviewees expressed views about offenders, their reactions appeared to be influenced more by the possible consequences

of taking action, such as reporting the offenders to the police than perceived residential proximity. This issue will be returned to later in the discussion of 'other influential variables'.

Table 4.25: Preparedness to react according to beliefs about offenders

Scenario	% willing to react		Sig (p =)	% willing to react		Sig (p =)
	Adult resident offenders responsible for some local crime (n = 23)	Belief local crime is not committed by adult resident offenders (n = 106)		Young resident offenders responsible for some local crime (n = 63)	Belief local crime is not committed by young resident offenders (n = 66)	
Burglary	96	75	.02590	85	73	.08493
Car crime	78	75	.70713	77	74	.71796
Graffiti	52	47	.66326	45	51	.51628
Vandalism	96	70	.01003	82	68	.07851
Violence	65	44	.06928	58	39	.02945

Individual experience of crime

We now turn to examine whether direct and indirect experience of crime can affect reactions. On the basis of the questionnaire data it appeared that direct experience of crime was particularly influential in determining reactions to the scenarios. Across all the scenarios more victims were prepared to react than non-victims as can be seen from Table 4.26 below. Differences in respect of the burglary and vandalism scenarios were statistically significant. As we know the most common types of property victimisation reported by the respondents concerned the loss of property as a result of domestic burglary or 'theft' from outbuildings such as sheds, garages, and also gardens.

Table 4.26: Willingness to react according to victimisation status

Scenario	% willing to react		Sig (p =)
	Victims (n = 65)	Non-victims (n = 64)	
Burglary	86	70	.02910
Car crime	79	72	.38647
Graffiti	52	44	.33072
Vandalism	88	61	.00050
Violence	55	41	.09343

The interview data reaffirmed the results of the questionnaire data and again victimisation status was found to be particularly influential in determining reactions to the burglary scenario. This may have been due to the fact that burglary and other incidents involving stolen property were the most common types of crime to have been experienced by the interviewees. In addition, victims were inclined to react when the events contained in the scenario bore similarities to their own experiences, so the burglary scenario featured the most here. However, it should be noted that the scale of the study meant there were relatively few burglary victims. From the evidence available there did not appear to be any obvious explanation as to why certain households were burgled, and the victims themselves were not distinguishable in any obvious way from non-victims in terms of their characteristics, such as age, lifestyle, affluence, and so on.

As would be expected the majority of victims following a burglary chose to make improvements to their household security to reduce the chances of re-victimisation and make themselves feel safer in their own home. However, the data confirmed there were other reasons why prior experience of crime was conducive to taking some kind of action. Victims were sometimes motivated to react in their desire for retribution; to see that justice was done and that the offender was apprehended. As a result they often felt the most appropriate response to the scenario was to contact the police in the reasoning that: 'if the police don't get to know, then they can't do anything about it can they?' This preparedness to contact the police arose even when there was good reason to be sceptical that the burglars would be caught and the stolen property recovered. One woman who had recently suffered a series of burglaries was very dissatisfied with the response of the police which she likened to being 'a bit blasé'. In her view the police had failed to tackle effectively the local burglary problem and the current situation she felt was 'hopeless'. However, in response to the events contained in the scenario she still chose to contact the police primarily to 'register it as a burglary' and to 'flag it up as a problem' on her street.

There was evidence in both data sets to suggest that victims were motivated to react as they did not wish others to suffer a similar fate. The questionnaire

data indicated that victims were more likely than non-victims to express worries about others they know being burgled. Over half of the victims expressed such worries (55%), compared to just over a third of others (38%), a difference that was statistically significant ($\text{Chi}^2 = 4.14, p = .04173$). This relationship was nicely illustrated by the actions of a man who only days before being interviewed had experienced a break-in where a trailer had been pinched from his garage. Upon discovery of the incident he spoke to his immediate neighbours and several other households to warn them of this and to keep their 'garages locked and be extra careful.' Consequently if the events contained in the burglary scenario were to occur victims may be inclined to react by informing their neighbours about the incident. Hence, victims had altruistic worries that others they know might be victimised.

The preparedness of individuals to react can be affected by prior experience of the police and the criminal justice system. A number of interviewees spoke about their requests for police assistance when they had witnessed a criminal incident or suspected an incident was about to take place. However, when there was dissatisfaction with the police response, this sometimes discouraged them from reacting or reduced their preparedness to react to the scenarios. Several adverse experiences with the police appeared to have a particularly damaging affect upon preparedness to react. A good illustration of these connections is provided by a married man in his early sixties who had lived in Bricknell for nearly 20 years. At one time he would have responded to the events contained in the vandalism scenario, yet he had since lost the enthusiasm to do anything of the sort:

- ZC What would you do about this?
Mr W Apathy, because 'I can't do anything about it. The police don't seem to do anything about it, or can't.
- ZC Why have you chosen not to act?
Mr W Because I don't think it's hardly worthwhile. The police don't seem to do anything. I've rung up Hessle Police Station twice about other problems and I've got an answering machine. I don't want that. I want to see policemen on the beat ... It's just that they don't seem as though they want to catch criminals, they're more intent on catching motorists. They say it's the paperwork if they caught someone. It's not our problem, they should get on with it and do it, so I think what's the point?

Individuals who had previous experience of the criminal justice system would often draw upon this when deciding how to react. Again, when interviewees were dissatisfied about the way in which a criminal case had been handled this would often reduce their willingness to react to the scenarios. A good illustration of this arose with a mother who was extremely unhappy at the legal obligations that were placed upon her son who had witnessed a mugging. Her son was of primary school age and had given a statement to the police about the incident, but against her wishes had been acting as a witness in the court case. Due to her objections of the legal process she refused to react to the vandalism scenario lest she be drawn into the criminal justice system again. Prior to this experience she would ordinarily have reacted if the local school had been vandalised:

ZC What would you do about this?

Mrs B If you asked me that a year ago I would of said yes, but if you were to ask me that now, I would say I'm not sure because I've recently got into some wrangling with my son who's been acting as a witness and I'm not happy with it at all; with the whole procedure that we have got involved in. So now I'm saying that in view of what's happened with my son, I'd say no, I don't want to know really.

Lifestyle and exposure to victimisation

Reactions to the events contained in the scenarios did not appear to be affected by the lifestyle of individuals or their degree of exposure to the risks of victimisation according to the questionnaire data. For the results concerning these factors see Appendix C Tables 24 to 27. However the interview data confirmed that reactions could be affected by the lifestyle of individuals, which was largely due to a close correlation between lifestyle and age.

The elderly often recognised themselves as a group who did not have a great deal of inclination to react to the scenarios. Often they had a yearning to potter along on a day-to-day basis and to follow their routine uninterrupted. These points were well illustrated by the reactions of an elderly couple named here as Mr and Mrs Jevons to the car crime scenario. In their view age was an important factor in determining who would probably react to problems in the community as young people should 'do something', but not the elderly

residents: 'why should we bother at our age? The part of the Old Estate in Bricknell where they had lived for 39 years was popular with many elderly residents who had formed a close-knit community. Both Mr and Mrs Jevons were of the belief that their neighbours would also not react to the scenario:

ZC What would others do?

Mrs J Nothing. Nobody round here, as I say they're all widows and my age, who try and keep themselves to themselves.

Mr J We'd all grumble about it, won't we.

Mrs J We don't want to get involved. They'd just let it go, forget about it, wouldn't they?

Mr J Well, we'll grumble amongst ourselves.

Mrs J They'd talk about it between themselves, 'did you see that car?' and all that, but they wouldn't get involved reporting I don't think.

The influence of lifestyle was perhaps most prominent in the violence scenario which concerned a brawl outside a local pub. For many of the older interviewees visits to the local pubs were rare and a few never frequented them at all as one couple stated: 'we ought to lay some ground lines here; we don't go to pubs, we've no idea about a pub brawl.' Consequently the elderly had difficulty imagining how they would react to a pub brawl let alone conceive that a friend of theirs could be injured in such a way. As a result the elderly often chose not to react to this scenario. In contrast young people particularly students were able to identify more easily with the events contained in the violence scenario as frequenting pubs and clubs was an important part of their lifestyle. All the young interviewees had active social lives and the majority had in the previous week visited pubs or clubs with friends. Indeed, the young respondents were the most socially active age group outside of the house. Nearly half participated in 3 or more unstructured activities a week (44%), compared to a quarter of those over the age of 31 (26%). Due to their familiarity with the pub scene young people were prepared to contemplate how they would react to the violence scenario although their decision was based upon similar considerations to others.

The lifestyle of young people and students was more of a hindrance than inducement to reactions in regard to the other scenarios. The lifestyle of the students was described by one interviewee as: 'they're asleep half the time, they're drinking half the time.' With the car crime scenario for instance, it was

said there was a lot of noise at night time due to cars being driven at speed and dangerously. One student felt this was unlikely to affect the quality of life of students and so like herself they had no real reason to react:

I think the most likely people to do anything about it would be more elderly people or people with young children who are perhaps trying to sleep or just don't want their peace disturbed, rather than students who would probably be up late anyway. (Female, aged 20, in the second year of a degree)

Summary of the influence of predisposing factors upon reactions

It has been seen that the characteristics of individuals and communities can influence preparedness to react. Hence, reactions to criminal incidents are affected by the predisposing factors of my 'tolerance and crime' model. In several instances the two data sets did not always agree as to what factors influenced reactions or how they exerted such influence. With regards to the exposure of residents to offenders, the questionnaire indicated there were relationships between beliefs about proximity to offenders and willingness to react, yet the interview data suggested otherwise. There was also disagreement as to the precise nature of the relationship between perceptions of local conditions and reactions. Whilst the questionnaire data suggested that adverse perceptions of local crime or disorder encourage individuals to react, the interview data suggested that adverse perceptions has quite the opposite effect. It is most probable that willingness to react decreases as levels of crime or disorder increase.

Hence, in areas with high levels of crime or disorder the residents would be deterred from reacting, whereas in areas with low levels of crime or disorder the residents would be encouraged to react. This was illustrated by reference to the graffiti and car crime scenarios. Graffiti was widespread throughout most of Newland which meant that fewer residents would probably react than in Newland Park where graffiti was virtually non-existent. Similarly, reactions to car crime were deterred by exposure to high levels of traffic. Residents of Bricknell Avenue who lived adjacent to a dual carriageway were unable to differentiate between speeding cars and speeding in stolen cars. Whereas residents of streets which had low traffic volumes were inclined to react as car

crime would be a notable problem. High levels of crime in an area may deter residents from reacting to more minor incidents such as disorder. In the New Estate, graffiti was not perceived to be a priority issue compared to problems with burglary and drugs. However, there may still be a point at which an individual chooses to react even if they are exposed to high levels of crime or disorder. This 'threshold' is determined by the subjective judgement of individuals.

Reactions are more forthcoming when residents are from cohesive, residentially stable and affluent communities. As seen in Bricknell and the Old Estate residents were prompted to react when it is perceived that others would do the same, when prior occasions can be recalled where neighbours had grouped together, and where there is a shared consensus about inappropriate behaviour. The situation in Newland Park confirmed that people in a privileged position were empowered to overcome problems either financially or by bringing pressure to bear upon others in a position of authority. Residents are deterred from reacting if they do not display good cohesiveness, neighbourly spirit, and experience high residential instability. Under such conditions as in Newland there was little optimism that others would react and attempts to encourage collective reactions can be undermined.

Individuals who have little residential attachment or personal sentiment to their area are not inclined to react. The reluctance of students to take action was partly due to their status as temporary residents and to the fact their sentiments lay not with Newland but for their home where they were brought up. This was evidenced by their nonchalant attitude towards the vandalism of a local primary school in Newland. A breakdown in relations between different community groups can deter reactions. This was observed in Newland where there was an underlying tension between students and the permanent residents. The students feared that if they chose to take action this could worsen relations with the 'locals' and encroach on to their 'territory'. As young people wished to avoid confrontation this inhibited them from speaking to the neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism. In contrast permanent residents were less worried about

confronting the parents as confirmed by the relationship observed with residential ties and this emotion.

The existence of local anti-crime schemes in the community can prompt people to react. Such schemes can increase confidence amongst members that others would react to a local problem. Where they do not exist residents are less motivated to react and feelings of isolation increase. Local schemes also encourage people to react when there are few other options available, as was observed in respect of the graffiti scenario. The middle-age group were more prepared than the elderly and particularly the young to use local schemes when reacting to the scenarios. Sometimes schemes fail to encourage residents to react as a collective if for instance there are perceived shortcomings in the schemes themselves or a scepticism that others in the community would be willing to use them. Another popular community action especially in response to the burglary scenario are reciprocal arrangements which can be entered into voluntarily by neighbours. This was due to the fact that such arrangements require only a micro level of cohesion and therefore could be found throughout Newland as well as Bricknell.

Fears about victimisation do not appear to directly affect preparedness to react. Rather the effect of fears is upon the emotions expressed about the criminal incidents. For instance, when people were fearful of victimisation this influenced their feelings about the burglary scenario, and in particular fuelled worries about the likelihood of victimisation. With reference to the burglary scenario it was also seen that perceptions can affect fears. Burglary was perceived to be prevalent in society and hence many people were 'fearful' of becoming a victim of burglary. It was more difficult to ascertain which factors affect the likelihood of becoming a victim of crime due to limitations in the sample size.

Of the individual level factors the most influential determinants of reactions are prior victimisation and lifestyle. The exposure of individuals to the risks of victimisation did not notably affect reactions. Prior experience of crime is conducive to reacting and this was most evident in respect of burglary. When the events contained in the scenario resonated with something that had

happened to an individual in the past this triggered a reaction. Victims of burglary for instance, were inclined to react in their desire to see the offender apprehended and to prevent others they know becoming victims. Indeed, victims are likely to express 'worries about the likelihood of others being burgled'. Individuals are sometimes discouraged from reacting due to their dissatisfaction with the police or the Criminal Justice System. A poor police response on more than one occasion is very likely to dampen the preparedness of individuals to react in the future.

The lifestyle of individuals helps to explain why preparedness to react can differ according to age group. As the elderly preferred to keep themselves to themselves and to 'potter' along, they were not particularly inclined to react to the scenarios. If anything, the elderly would gossip about local problems and believe it was the responsibility of young people to deal with them. The influence of lifestyle was most prominent in the violence scenario. As the elderly rarely visited pubs they were unable to identify with the violence scenario, and as a result were often not prepared to react. In contrast the active social lives of the young meant they were familiar with the pub scene and were hence more willing to consider how they would react to pub related violence. However, the lifestyle of the young generally inhibited them from reacting to the other scenarios.

iv) Can precipitating factors directly influence reactions?

In my 'tolerance and crime' model it is posited that specific tolerance is affected by the emotional impact which arises from the occurrence of a criminal incident. Specific tolerance then precipitates the decision to react. Factors which affect specific tolerance are short term influences upon the decision to react, such as emotions which people express about the criminal incident. In view of this it is appropriate to examine whether emotions can influence reactions. A simple distinction is made between emotions which appear to be conducive to reacting and those which are less indicative of a preparedness to react. First, it should be noted that regression tests were carried out to ascertain which, if any, emotions were the most influential in determining reactions to each scenario. However, in three of the scenarios the variables in

combination did not satisfactorily explain the dependent variable according to the F value. For the results of these five tests see Appendix C Table 28.

Emotions which are conducive to acting

A number of emotions were indicative of a preparedness to react. Proportionally more respondents were prepared to react to any of the scenarios when they expressed either anger, concern, shock, guilt, or worries about the likelihood of being personally victimised. This can be seen in Table 4.27 below. Indeed, statistical relationships were found between preparedness to react and the emotions of anger, concern, shock, and guilt as indicated in bold type. The remainder of this examination will concern the emotions which appeared to be the most conducive towards reactions, viz; worries about the likelihood of victimisation for others, worries for oneself, and anger/cross.

Table 4.27: Emotions that were conducive to taking action

Emotion	Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
		Expressed emotion	Did not express emotion	
Anger	Burglary	80	76	.54825
	Car crime	83	48	.00014
	Graffiti	50	44	.60889
	Vandalism	79	69	.16996
	Violence	52	40	.20708
Concern	Burglary	81	74	.29814
	Car crime	79	69	.19206
	Graffiti	61	35	.00368
	Vandalism	86	65	.00555
	Violence	51	43	.37576
Shock	Burglary	84	77	.49815
	Car crime	86	74	.33438
	Graffiti	53	47	.50948
	Vandalism	87	69	.03663
	Violence	51	46	.56102
Worry you may become a victim	Burglary	81	70	.20839
	Car crime	77	74	.76466
	Violence	54	42	.18513
	Graffiti	48	48	.95634
Worry someone you know may become a victim	Burglary	80	77	.66127
	Car crime	75	76	.87938
	Violence	53	44	.35535
Afraid what may happen next in area	Graffiti	53	44	.26381
Guilty if did nothing	Vandalism	87	62	.00105

On the basis of the interview data worries about the likelihood of others being victimised has been included in the Table as an emotion conducive to taking action. When this emotion was expressed about the events outlined in the violence and car crime scenarios it often triggered a reaction. With the violence scenario if the interviewees imagined themselves to be present they usually had a desire to stop the brawl and to stop their friend being injured. As one commented: 'you wouldn't want to see your friend get hurt so you'd try somehow to stop it.' The situation with the car crime scenario was quite different. Although some individuals were prompted to react if cars were being driven dangerously and this posed 'a clear danger to people on the street', this was not for the majority a sufficient motivating factor. However, a change in the nature and circumstances of the incident prompted reactions even from individuals who had previously decided not to react to the scenario. When the events in the scenario included an accident whereby 'a child had been knocked down' this served to fuel emotions which encouraged reactions especially from parents:

The knocking down of a gate post would annoy me but not drive me crazy. Whereas with an incident where a human is injured by a joyrider then that would move me into a different area, especially a child, that's an emotive thing. (Professional male, of single status, in his late fifties)

I think that would automatically make me fear for my son and the potential for it to happen to him. Our son is actually 6, so yes, if there was an accident that would make me more active, more to the proactive in doing something about it. Definitely. (A married mother, mid forties, who was a working professional)

The comments of the interviewees suggested there was a strong connection between preparedness to react and worries about the likelihood of victimisation although the questionnaire data did not reveal any relationships. This emotion when expressed about the graffiti and burglary scenarios was often the most influential factor that precipitated a reaction. A change in the nature and circumstances of the events contained in the graffiti scenario greatly affected worries about the likelihood of being targeted. Those who would not react to a general problem with graffiti in their community would often choose to do so when 'several residential properties' on their street had been targeted. It was clear that individuals were most inclined to react when they had good reason to suspect their own home could be the target for

graffiti: 'I think if it became closer to home, it was on other houses, I would worry it could happen to us.' The chief driving force behind the decision to react to a spate of burglaries was typically feeling worried about the likelihood of personally being burgled. This connection was evidenced by the following reaction which was representative of many:

We must take more care in securing the house when we go to work. That would be my first thought, we must be more careful ourselves. Making sure the gate's locked at the bottom, making sure the windows are locked when I go to work. I can be careless with them sometimes ... You just think well there's obviously people in this area because it does come in waves and you think oh they're doing this area again. (Married woman, aged 50, who was a home owner from Bricknell)

The emotion of anger and a feeling of being cross were in some instances very influential in determining reactions. The effects of these emotions upon reactions did not appear to be scenario specific. Rather, the key issue was how strongly the individual felt about the events contained in the scenario. The vandalism of a local school to one lady was just totally 'senseless' and as a result of her feelings she was quick to react: 'I'd be very cross. I mean it's just sheer vandalism isn't it. Well it would be immediate contact with the police to start with wouldn't it.' Often feelings of anger, irritation, or annoyance were expressed when individuals had strong opinions or views about a particular type of crime or disorder. Indeed some interviewees had their own social rules in terms of what they thought was 'right' or 'wrong' and possessed a very strong sense of how 'things should be'. When the events contained in the scenario appeared to violate an internal 'moral code' this fuelled feelings such as anger which encouraged reactions. The decision to inform the police should the graffiti scenario occur was straightforward for one man who was particularly incensed about this kind of disorder:

I think of it as defiling someone else's property, they don't have to think of the consequences of their actions. Basically they don't have to clean it up. I object to it full-stop. I don't see why people should do it. If someone feels so strongly that they have to go out and paint a wall, then paint their own. It's as easy as that. (Married man with 2 grown up children, home owner, who had lived in Newland for 22 years)

However the emotions people felt about the scenarios did not always translate into the reaction that would be expected. Sometimes emotions were

expressed which could be taken as a willingness to react when in fact a decision was made not to react. For instance, people were quite often irritated, annoyed, or angry about the presence of graffiti in their community, but this did not always translate into a desire to 'do something' about this kind of disorder. One interviewee had spotted some graffiti on a footbridge near to his house which he felt was quite unpleasant as it described the police as 'pigs'. Although it had been there for months 'staring people in the face', he had done nothing. Similarly, if the events contained in the graffiti scenario were to occur he would not react, but instead would 'grumble to myself and say it's disgraceful'.

Emotions less conducive to acting

Some emotions appeared to be more indicative of a reluctance rather than a willingness to react. According to the questionnaire data these were surprise, helplessness, worries about the reaction of others, and a degree of culpability on the part of the victimised person. As can be observed in Table 4.28 below these emotions either served to deter reactions or failed to demonstrate any kind of consistent effect. The interview data largely supported these results. The reactions of interviewees were deterred by three emotions in particular, viz; helplessness, worries about the reactions of others, and blameworthiness of the victim. Each of these will now be discussed in turn.

Many of the interviewees who chose not to react to the events contained in the car crime and graffiti scenarios felt helpless as they typically perceived: 'there's not a lot you can do.' Many believed that if there were a problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously in the community there was little option but to call the police or try to take details of the make, model, registration number of the car and so on to aid the police. It was commonly perceived there would be little chance of stopping a problem with rude and offensive graffiti appearing in the community. The surreptitious nature of the act meant it would be difficult to discover the identity of the culprits and so there was a sense of resignation about the situation:

It tends not to be immediately obvious who's doing it, so it's quite hard to see what could actually be achieved by taking any course of action. (Married father of two children and home owner in Newland)

Table 4.28: Emotions that were often not conducive to taking action

Emotion	Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
		Expressed emotion	Did not express emotion	
Surprise	Burglary	60	79	.31147
	Car crime	67	77	.36651
	Graffiti	46	49	.80861
	Vandalism	86	70	.05827
	Violence	46	49	.84499
Helpless	Burglary	65	82	.07393
	Car crime	69	78	.28792
	Graffiti	43	49	.60185
	Vandalism	75	74	.95459
	Violence	43	50	.53329
Worry about reaction of neighbour	Vandalism	70	76	.49346
Friend may be to blame	Violence	38	49	.53699

In some respects the events contained in the burglary scenario aroused feelings of helplessness. Although the majority were prepared to react to the burglary scenario there was still a point at which individuals felt so dejected about ongoing problems with burglaries or shed and garage break-ins that they would be dissuaded from reacting. This was the case with a group of close-knit residents in Bricknell who had tried to reduce the number of break-ins on their street. They were particularly vigilant and as a result of 'walking around and watching what's going on' had caught burglars in action. Yet, problems with break-ins and vandalism continued. One of the residents who was a Neighbourhood Watch co-ordinator explained how despondent they all felt about the situation, and for this reason she predicted that her neighbours would no longer react to the burglary scenario:

A lot of them would turn a blind eye actually now. They're accepting it as normal now. I mean we talk about it ourselves, crime like, but it's not on. I mean this is the general thing what we say to each other, 'it's not on', that is what people say to me, that is what I say to people, 'it's not on'. But what can you do? And that's it, I just don't know the answer. (Married woman with two grown up sons, who had lived in the area for 33 years)

One of the main reasons why the interviewees refused to react to the events contained in the vandalism scenario was due to worries about how a parent would respond to the suggestion their child had been in trouble. These worries were often fuelled by a preconception that parents 'nowadays' would be loathe to entertain the idea their children could be involved in any wrongdoing. There were also preconceptions as to how approachable parents would be if their children were known troublemakers. Occasionally it was feared that relations with the neighbour in question could be jeopardised following a confrontation. This effectively meant people never seriously entertained one of the most obvious actions to the vandalism scenario as the following comments would indicate:

A certain type of person will tell you to f. off when you knock on the door, or they may be the type of parents that say 'my johnny wouldn't do that.' (Married mother of two, who had lived in Newland for 5 years)

I wouldn't go to the families or the boys as I think you'd get a lot of grief. Some parents don't seem to know or care what their kids are doing. The parents who let their kids run round and vandalise bus stops and things are the ones who don't know or don't care so they're not the sort you'd go to, they'd tell you to be off I would think.' (Married woman, aged 66)

With the violence scenario fewer respondents would react if their injured friend were to blame for the brawl as can be seen in Table 4.28 above. In these circumstances the interviewees were similarly less inclined to rally round and support their injured friend but this did not necessarily lead to a refusal to react. For many the provocation by the friend served to affect how they felt about the incident but not how they would react. This was due to the fact it was a friend who needed 'help', and an appreciation of 'human nature' as anybody can be 'provoked' or act 'foolishly' especially when under the influence of alcohol. At some point however, it was clear the friend would probably be confronted about the stupidity of their actions. These points are illustrated in the following two reactions, the first of which was when the brawl was in progress, and the second after the brawl had occurred:

I don't think I'd necessarily react differently but I would perhaps feel differently about it. I'd probably have less sympathy for them but my first reaction would still be to call the police. I suppose after the event I would probably point out to them that they were partly to blame. I'd just have a different reaction to it later on but not at the time. (Male student, aged 21)

I'd probably think they deserve less sympathy but it wouldn't change my actions because they're still my friend as I'd be likely to forgive my friends behaviour. My feelings would change but not my actions. (Female student, aged 20)

Summary of the influence of emotions upon reactions

The results confirm that emotions expressed by individuals about criminal incidents can influence their decision to react. This is supportive of my 'tolerance and crime' model in so far as factors which arise from the occurrence of a given crime affect reactions.

Emotions can be conducive to taking action as is the case with anger, concern, shock, guilt, and worries about victimisation. Worries about the likelihood of victimisation is the most influential factor to encourage individuals to react should there be a spate of burglaries. If graffiti were to appear on residential properties this is the determining factor that triggers a response from many individuals as they are worried they could be targeted next. Worries about the well-being of others explain why many individuals would react should there be a violent incident or a road accident. If a child was injured as a result of a problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously in the community this prompts reactions even from individuals who had chosen not to react prior to the accident. Most individuals would react if they are present at the time of a violent brawl in which a friend was being injured. If the events contained in the scenarios conflict with the moral code of an individual this often fuels feelings of anger or annoyance and together these factors usually signify a preparedness to react. However, emotions expressed about a criminal incident may not always accurately portray how individuals would choose to react. The graffiti scenario illustrated this well, since individuals may be annoyed about the presence of graffiti in their community but they would not necessarily react if more started to appear.

Other emotions act more as a deterrent than as an inducement to react, namely; helplessness, worries about the reactions of others, and blameworthiness of the victim. Reasons for feeling helpless included not being able to identify the culprits responsible for graffiti and being unable to personally do anything but call the police should there be a car crime problem in the community. If efforts to tackle problems with crime or disorder prove to be ineffective this can create a sense of despondency. This was illustrated by the reluctance of a close-knit group of residents to react to the events described in the burglary scenario due to their failure to reduce break-ins and burglaries on their street. Worries about confronting people who have a connection to the offender can deter reactions even though this kind of opportunity may be relatively rare in practice. This was evidenced by the reluctance of people to confront the parent of a young boy who was suspected of vandalising a school. Finally, the violence scenario demonstrated that there may be less of an inclination to react if it is suspected that the victimised person is to blame for their plight. However, if the victim was a friend at fault then people will react as they recognise that behaving irresponsibly is part of human nature. However, emotions may change towards the friend due to the stupidity of their actions.

v) Other important variables

To close this section we discuss other important variables which affect reactions to criminal incidents. The three variables are namely; the potential consequences of reactions, personality and natural instinct, and public attitudes.

The consequences of reactions

The perceived consequences of reacting to a criminal incident sometimes affected willingness to react. Below we examine how reactions can be deterred by worries about legal repercussions, reprisals, and the possibility of being injured.

Potential legal repercussions

The willingness of individuals to react to criminal incidents was sometimes affected by their perceptions of relevant current legislation. A desire to take vigilante action such as physically reprimanding or restraining the offenders was usually subdued by the thought of unwanted legal repercussions. A couple of the interviewees declined to react to the vandalism and graffiti scenarios on the basis they would be acting 'illegally' if they personally 'admonished' the young offenders. There was a general perception that if you 'touch a youngster, you're in court full stop' or that charges for 'assault' would be pressed. Furthermore, as the 'Martin case' became headline news during the fieldwork this reinforced the notion that 'taking the law into your own hands' would result in legal recriminations. In August 1999 Tony Martin was arrested and charged for murder following his vigilante efforts to stop his property being burgled. His use of firearms resulted in one intruder (Fred Barras) being killed and the other (Brendan Fearon) being injured. As the issue of self defence gained prominence it was notable that very few interviewees were prepared to contemplate reactions which would leave them on the 'wrong side of the law'.

Fear of reprisals

Individuals were sometimes deterred from reacting to criminal incidents if they felt this would put them at risk of reprisals from the offenders responsible. Many of the interviewees had witnessed youths either behaving in a threatening or intimidating manner, or committing acts of physical disorder, but were too afraid to intervene personally or involve the police due to the perceived consequences. As fears of reprisals were seen to be synonymous with youths this issue arose mainly in respect of the vandalism and graffiti scenarios. Indeed, the prospect of reprisals constituted one of the main reasons why the interviewees declined to react to the vandalism scenario. A common worry was that if the police were to be informed about the incident the culprits would retaliate by 'putting a brick through' a window of their house. There was also reluctance personally to confront the culprits for fear of what could happen: 'I think you're liable to get repercussions later. I could be targeted, my wife or my house.'

Worries about reprisals were accentuated when the culprits of the vandalism were said to be older youths. People envisaged youths in their late teens as being more likely to 'take revenge' and that their actions could be more 'nasty'. As a result the age of the young offenders appeared to affect the willingness of people to react to a hypothetical act of vandalism. A number of interviewees who were prepared to react when it was suspected that the culprits were young (aged 12-15), subsequently chose not to react when the culprits were said to be older (16 - 20). The following comment was fairly typical about this change in tactics:

I'd say nothing. It's a different story then. They could do anything to you, lads that age. I'd do nothing, keep out of it. (Middle aged man, who was married and lived in Bricknell)

Individuals who had prior experience of being targeted by youths would often choose not to react. This can be illustrated by the experiences of a middle-aged couple who had been residents of Bricknell for over 30 years. Approximately 5 years ago they had been victimised by a group of school children. The couple had suspected that the children who often gathered in the 10 foot behind their house were responsible for some of the vandalism and graffiti on the sheds and garages. They set up a video camera and captured the children on film committing these acts. The film was then sent to the local school. Shortly afterwards eggs were thrown at their house and the kitchen vents were damaged. As a result they were extremely guarded and hesitant about reacting to the vandalism scenario:

Mr S If I could tell somebody about it and they'd not find out I would do it. But I'm the type of person that thinks these days you've got to stay in the background because if you tell on them, 'dob them in' the word they use, you know you could end up coming off worse. You could be making a lot of trouble for yourself.

ZC What kind of trouble?

Mrs S Well they throw a brick at your window don't they. I mean we have had it haven't we when we've told on kids in the past.

The issue of reprisals was particularly pertinent for the elderly mainly due to their physical vulnerability. One man in his fifties who lived in Newland (not the locales), was of the view that the residents in Sheltered accommodation across the road were 'too frightened to move' when minor incidents

happened on the street. One old lady who lived alone was prepared to react to the vandalism scenario by reporting the incident to the police only if she was able to remain 'anonymous in case of retaliation.' Her comments testified to the importance of age (and the media) in determining worries about reprisals from offenders:

I certainly wouldn't want anyone to know that it was me in case of repercussions. You do hear awful things that happen don't you and probably because it's on the box these things are shown and that is quite worrying. Now a younger person would probably not think about that, but as you get older you're more wary of things that can happen to you.

The possibility of reprisals appeared to surface more often on the New Estate than in any other parts of Newland or Bricknell. On the Estate there had been problems with intimidation and harassment by groups of youths who generally victimised the elderly. Even a couple in their mid-thirties were reluctant to report incidents to the police as 'you make yourself a target.' Their primary reason for refusing to react to the events described in the car crime scenario was not wanting to be known as a family that were a 'grass'. The mother was especially worried about their two children being taunted at the nearby secondary school by other pupils: 'if you get known to be a grass, our kids going to cop it. I'm not going to put my kids through that.' In their opinion the elderly residents were also unlikely to report incidents to the police as they were easy targets for the young delinquents:

The thing is if these people find a victim or somebody to play with, they really will play with them and make their lives a misery. The old biddies they've reason to keep themselves to themselves.

Perceptions of risk of personal injury

Actions were not often forthcoming when people had reason to be worried about personally being injured. This was evident in the car crime and violence scenarios. Individuals would not personally try to stop a local problem with car crime as this would obviously put them in great danger: 'I'd be worried for my own safety if I stood in the road and said 'stop'. I don't think they'd stop!' With the violent brawl the decision to react was sometimes based upon a subjective assessment of the potential risks involved to oneself. A vast array of factors affected risk that included the number of people involved in the

brawl, their gender, or their size. For others the crucial factor was how approachable the people involved were, or 'how much they'd had to drink' as this could affect personal judgement. Where there was a possibility that weapons could be involved such as knives, broken glasses, and even guns this deterred reactions. Only a minority would intervene without regard for their own safety in order to protect innocent others being injured, although such bravado was associated only with men. The following comment portrayed the kind of risk assessment interviewees undertook when deciding how to react to the brawl:

It depends on the situation. If it involves glasses and faces you're not going to step in and say 'now come on' because you'll get it as well. Friendship can only go so far, you're not going to get your face glassed for trying to intervene. You're going to weigh up the risks, how close you are, that's human nature isn't it, you know can I handle this situation and am I putting myself in the firing line? (Housewife, aged 52)

Age and gender were important factors which determined preparedness to react when there were possible risks of personal injury. Men who were physically fit were often prepared to confront youths whether they were suspected of painting graffiti on property, vandalising a local school, or committing burglary. Personal safety was often more of an issue for the elderly and women due to their physical vulnerability so if they felt at risk of being injured they typically refused to react. As the elderly often considered themselves to be more frail than others this helped to explain why they so often refused to react to the violence scenario. The prospect of a direct confrontation with young offenders sometimes deterred the physically vulnerable from reacting. This can be illustrated by the comments of a young woman who chose not to react to the events contained in the vandalism scenario, and of an elderly gentleman about the graffiti scenario respectively:

The only thing I could really do is confront the group of boys myself, but because I'm a girl and there's just me, it's a risk really, I wouldn't do it. If I was a man with all my mates I would. (Student, aged 20)

As I get older I am more reluctant to approach say a gang of people than I would with individuals. I would approach them but only to a particular level of risk. I wouldn't be looking for a physical reaction. If I thought I was going to get a physical reaction I would probably leave it alone or at least not approach them. (Retired professional, aged 68)

We now turn to the importance of personality and human instinct in determining reactions. At times the personality of the interviewee appeared to be the most influential factor which determined their reaction to the scenarios. However, there were fundamental differences in the personalities of the interviewees which meant the ways in which they approached criminal incidents were not comparable. In some instances the 'nature' or 'personality' of individuals appeared to propel them to react and to be at the forefront of a given situation by taking some kind of action. This was evidenced, for example, with two interviewees who chose to react to the events described in the violence scenario. They explained their reasoning behind their decision to act:

Well, I'd call an ambulance and try and help them. I don't believe in they'll do it. I'm a great believer in somebody has to do something and I'll be the one to do it. (Professional woman, married, aged 55)

I'd try to intervene and stop my friend being hurt, stop the fighting if I possibly could by calming down the situation. I'm not the type of person to stand by and watch and do nothing. (Married man, father, aged 53)

Conversely, there were people who preferred to remain in the background and let others deal with the incident in question. Indeed, a number of interviewees explained how they would typically 'not do anything' when confronted with a situation. The following two comments about the events described in the car crime scenario demonstrate this point well. Neither interviewee was prepared to take action:

I probably wouldn't do anything, I always wait for somebody else to do it. I usually just ignore things and expect somebody else to deal with it. (Female student, aged 22)

I sometimes think I'm a bit naughty in so much as I allow other people in the neighbourhood to take responsibility, and at some point somebody does and something is done about it. I'm not one of these people that normally sorts of gets involved. (Professional woman, early forties)

In certain situations it was apparent that the reactions of individuals may be primarily driven by their natural instinct. This mainly applied to the violence

scenario when interviewees imagined themselves to be present whilst their friend was being injured in a pub brawl. A man in his forties when asked how he would react to such a violent situation stated: 'you wouldn't think would you, you're brain just kicks in and you go for it.' Instinctive reactions meant there was not the opportunity to 'weigh up the situation' so even 'unlikely' interviewees chose to intervene in a brawl. One married woman in her fifties and of slim build felt her sense of rationality would disappear in such a situation:

I'm sure I should wade in. I'm sure I should start pushing and trying to stop them if it was me. I wouldn't stop to think of the consequences. You wouldn't walk away if your friend was getting injured. It isn't a case of having a go, it's just a case of helping isn't it.

Public attitudes

The attitude of people towards the well-being of others in their community appeared to be an important factor which determined preparedness to react as a collective. There was widespread scepticism across Newland and Bricknell and their locales, that others would react to the scenarios in a way that would benefit the community at large. Many interviewees were of the opinion that people are not as 'public spirited' as they once were. It was commonly perceived that in modern day society there is a preference to let others deal with communal problems. As a result it was suspected that local residents would resent spending time or energy on activities that would benefit others and not just themselves. Indeed, the reluctance of people in general to tackle a communal problem meant there were few community orientated reactions to the scenarios. The interviewees spoke of 'apathy', 'selfishness', an attitude of 'I'm alright Jack', and an overall lack of 'public responsibility'. One interviewee in his late fifties who was not alone in his views felt public attitudes had over time changed for the worse:

I feel very strong that in today's society there are too many people who walk away, turn a blind eye to what's going on. They may see something developing and yet do nothing about it. That's my own personal experience and that attitude aggrieves me. I guess I'm sort of an old fashioned type if you like. (Retired man, married, with one child)

A number of interviewees admitted they would probably be guilty of adopting the same thoughtless attitude in their reactions to the scenarios. For instance, it was often assumed that people would take care of their own property should the events contained in the burglary and graffiti scenarios occur. One interviewee was ashamed to confess that if several houses on his street were burgled he would probably just gossip about it and check his home security before paying any regard for the victims. He thought this attitude was a remnant of the Thatcher era which unfortunately was still fairly prevalent:

ZC What would others do?

Mr E I should imagine they would probably be the same and say 'oh Mrs Smith down the road, she has had her house broken into, oh dear isn't it terrible'. But yeah, most people are concerned about their own property which I think is symptomatic of the society that we live in nowadays. Because people are more selfish now than they used to be even 20 years ago. I think during the 80s we all turned into like 'me first' attitude you know, and I think it's still hanging on now from that. (Married man, father, aged 39)

Summary of other variables that influence reactions

It has been seen that reactions to criminal incidents may be affected by a number of factors not included in my model. As a result modifications will be made to the model which we will return to in the next Chapter.

One important factor which appears to affect preparedness to react is the possibility that unwanted consequences may arise from taking action in response to an incident. These include possible legal repercussions as a result of taking vigilante action and fears of reprisals from offenders as a result of notifying the police about criminal incidents. Fears of reprisals were widespread. The extent to which residents have such fears can vary according to place of residence, age of the offenders, and the age of the residents themselves. In the Bricknell New Estate fears of reprisals was quite common and more residents would decline to react for this reason than in other parts of Bricknell and Newland. Fears about possible reprisals were most pertinent for the elderly as they are physically vulnerable and are easy targets. Worries about reprisals became more prominent as the age of the offenders increased.

Residents indicated they were more fearful of offenders in their late teens taking 'revenge' than young offenders in their early teens. Concerns about personal safety was another consequence that may arise from taking action. This issue is most prominent for the elderly and women as evidenced by their refusal to react when they perceived they were at risk of being personally injured. The reluctance of the elderly to react to the violence scenario was in part explained by their physical frailty and perceived risks of being injured. In contrast fit and healthy men had less reason to worry about being injured. This meant they were prepared to confront young offenders about vandalism and graffiti whereas women and the elderly often were not.

The personality of an individual is sometimes the key determinant of how they choose to respond to an incident. There are certain situations where reactions can be instinctive particularly with violent incidents. An instinctive reaction pays little regard to the potential consequences. The urge to assist a friend who was said to be involved in a pub brawl meant that even the physically vulnerable such as women are prepared to intervene with little consideration of the potential risks. However, as personal safety is a prominent issue for the majority of people, the decision to intervene in a violent situation was generally subject to an assessment of risks. This assessment may be based upon a whole host of factors and hence preparedness to react may vary from one individual to another.

Finally, public attitudes often deterred reactions particularly on a collective basis. Individuals were often assumed to have little regard for others or for the community at large. A lack of 'public responsibility' meant that local problems were often neglected by residents in the hope that somebody else would 'do something' about it. Consequently there are few collective reactions to the scenarios.

vi) Which factors are the most influential in the decision to react, by type of crime or disorder?

Now finally, we can briefly examine statistically which model factors are the most influential in determining the decision to react to each of the scenarios. The method of regression was employed. In the five tests the number of variables ranged from 20 to 22, which comprised the 16 predisposing factors and between 5 to 7 precipitating factors that were relevant to each scenario. The emotions included in the test for each scenario are the same as those listed in Appendix C Table 28. As the sample size was small emotions were examined only within the context of the scenario in which they were expressed. The results presented in Table 4.29 below confirmed that both factor types can have a strong influence in determining reactions to crime or disorder. However, these results were tentative as in three of the scenarios the choice of variables in combination did not significantly explain the dependent variable. Further tests were therefore required.

Table 4.29: Factors significantly related to reactions by scenario

Scenario	Factors	Factor Type	Beta result & sign	P value of F
Burglary	Helpless	Specific	-0.221469	0.2751*
Car Crime	Angry	Specific	+0.349909	0.2441*
Graffiti	Concerned Perceptions of local crime Structured activities - lifestyle Perception that area has declined	Specific General General General	+0.260112 +0.254400 +0.200102 +0.202859	0.0246
Vandalism	Guilty Prior victimisation	General Specific	+0.214107 +0.209010	0.0219
Violence	Awareness of anti-crime scheme Perceptions of local crime	General General	+0.219982 +0.196389	0.2117*

Note: *Not statistically significant

In these further tests only the variables statistically related to the dependent variable are included. For each scenario the independent variables were tested in combination against the dependent variable. The results are presented in Table 4.30 below. In four of the five scenarios the significance value of all variable tests was satisfied, the exception being burglary. A comparison of

these results with the former regression tests confirms there were no changes in the statistical relationships observed in the vandalism and car crime scenarios. We now briefly examine the results for each scenario.

Table 4.30: Re-examination of significant combination of factors related to reactions by scenario

Scenario	Factors	Factor Type	Sig T	F ratio
Burglary	Helpless	Specific	.0750	0.0750*
Car Crime	Angry	Specific	.0001	0.0001
Graffiti	Concerned	Specific	.0033	0.0006
	Perceptions of local crime	General	.0368	
	Structured activities - lifestyle	General	.1042	
	Perception that area has declined	General	.0394	
Vandalism	Guilty	General	.0053	0.0000
	Prior victimisation	Specific	.0023	
Violence	Awareness of anti-crime scheme	General	.0556	0.0017
	Perceptions of local crime	General	.0021	

Note: * Not statistically significant

Burglary

The burglary scenario was unique in that none of the selected factors were predictive of the decision to react. This was comparable to the earlier regression test where respondents who did not feel helpless were the most likely to react.

Car crime

The car crime scenario evoked the greatest response from those who felt angry. It was notable that an emotion (as a precipitating factor) was found to be the most influential factor to determine reactions to this scenario.

Graffiti

Responses to the graffiti scenario were influenced by both predisposing and precipitating factors. The most predominant influence appeared to be a feeling of concern on the part of respondents. As with the previous test

adverse perceptions of crime and a belief the area had declined were factors that were conducive to taking action. Adverse perceptions of disorder in the community did not on the basis of these results influence reactions to the graffiti scenario. The expression of concern was conducive to reacting. The lifestyle of an individual in terms of engaging in structured activities was no longer a factor which prompted a reaction in this scenario.

Vandalism

Both predisposing and precipitating factors greatly influenced reactions to the vandalism scenario. The most influential factor was prior experience of crime where respondents had been victims in the previous 12 months. Perhaps victims were triggered to react in their desire to see the offenders apprehended as a result of their own experiences. A feeling of guilt which arose from knowing the identity of one of the young culprits was an emotion which was conducive to taking action.

Violence

Reactions to the violence scenario where a friend was said to be injured in a pub brawl were strongly influenced by perceptions of local crime (which is a predisposing factor). A perception that crime was a prominent local problem was conducive to taking action. The connection between awareness of a local crime prevention scheme and reactions was no longer strictly significant. However, more respondents who were aware of schemes were prepared to react.

The results of these regression tests confirm that both predisposing factors and precipitating factors can in conjunction affect reactions to criminal incidents. This would support the assertion of my 'tolerance and crime' model that short-term influences and long-term influences affect the decision to react. Furthermore, these regression tests also point to the existence of close links between both factor types in respect of their shared capacity to affect reactions.

4.5. THE FEEDBACK EFFECTS OF REACTIONS

This final section is concerned with the different ways in which the reactions of the residents may have feedback effects upon the communities in which they live. Whilst there was not the evidence to confirm the precise nature of these feedback effects, nor the order in which they occur, there were nevertheless indications that they can occur. We will examine how the reactions of residents may affect the communities of Newland and Bricknell as well as their various locales.

In Newland Park, it was likely that the willingness of the residents to react to the scenarios either individually or as a collective meant this part of Newland would remain relatively free of crime and disorder. A shared consensus amongst the residents as to the type of behaviour that was unacceptable meant they were fairly self assured there would be a collective reaction if there were a need to overcome most problems concerning 'the Park'. There was a good community spirit amongst the residents as a number mixed in the same social circles and due to their affluence and status in society they were part of the local elite. One temporary resident of Newland Park who lived in tied accommodation was of the opinion that if there were a particular problem with crime or disorder the residents would use their privileged positions to go directly to 'the top' and 'they'd be relentless' until a solution was forthcoming. He articulated why the residents exuded such an air of confidence:

A lot of people in Newland Park have that ability to make something good the majority of the time. They'd continue until action was forthcoming. Of course a privileged position gives them that kind of confidence, not to feel that they need to take the law the law into their own hands, but they have a more open access than others do.

Ella Street situated in Newland was not dissimilar to many parts of Bricknell. This street had desirable terraced family homes which attracted middle-class 'professionals'. The existence of a Residents Association meant that householders had a central point from which they could react collectively to problems. This sense of empowerment served to strengthen cohesiveness amongst the residents of Ella Street.

In the rest of Newland problems with crime and disorder were likely to continue as there would not be sufficient action at the collective level to tackle them effectively. Over time the residents had become accustomed to high levels of social and physical disorder which meant their expectations were somewhat lower than residents of Newland Park for instance. Even if the residents wished to react as a collective there was little opportunity for them to do so given the lack of cohesiveness even at a street level and the limited number of active Neighbourhood Watch groups in the area. The only Residents Association in the area failed to bring the residents together for it was unpopular amongst some of the younger 'locals' who felt it was biased against students and other temporary residents. Under such conditions the isolation felt by some residents due to ongoing residential stability and a lack of 'community spirit' may be further exacerbated. One resident who had lived in Newland for 12 years articulated the importance of the community in determining how residents react towards local problems:

I think to some extent they might do nothing like I've done because there has been noise and nobody seems to do anything about it. It just seems to be a general feeling that up to a point you accept it or you just moan to somebody else. I think people would put up with it for a while ... I don't think I'm talking about apathy, I just think living in a student area we're used to quite a lot of noise and perhaps people feel powerless to do anything about it and we all show a certain level of tolerance.

Furthermore, the popularity of Newland with the University students meant that certain problems such as rowdiness late at night would be difficult to overcome unless the tension between the students and long-term residents was resolved. However, this division between the various community groups appeared to be intractable. The resentment of the residents would probably continue as their community became ever more student orientated with the arrival of fast food outlets, cafes, theme pubs, and so on. Students, by virtue of their temporary status would probably continue to pay little regard to the long-term interests of Newland and so have little inclination to integrate into the community or engage in local efforts to reduce crime and so on. Indeed, the Police Commander of Hull West (in which Newland and Bricknell are situated), suspected that transient populations such as students have an

attitude that is characterised by the way they 'tolerate' things, as if to say, well it's not affecting me, I'm not really bothered.'

Bricknell would probably continue to fare better than Newland in respect of problems experienced with crime and disorder. The existence of active Neighbourhood Watch schemes throughout the area enabled the residents to react collectively if there was a need to do so. Furthermore, good levels of cohesiveness amongst the residents especially on a street by street basis meant that small problems would probably be dealt with at a localised level regardless of the existence of such schemes. Even if efforts by the residents to combat crime and disorder were sporadic there was at least a chance such problems could be kept under control in some parts of Bricknell. These efforts would also reinforce a sense of neighbourliness amongst the residents and help maintain a good community spirit in the area. Indeed, many residents described Bricknell as a 'nice, friendly' place in which to live and due to their sentiment and attachment for their area they had a vested interest in keeping it that way. The perception of Bricknell as a 'pleasant suburb' was re-affirmed by the Police Commander. In his view residents in the Bricknell area were 'more inclined to ring the police and set up Neighbourhood Watch Schemes' than residents of Newland. This difference in approach towards crime and disorder he thought was primarily due to the type of families who tend to live in Bricknell and their high 'expectations' of how their area should be:

They want to make the area better, they don't want crime on their doorstep. These people have lived in their area much longer and don't want to see it decay. People who have only a 3 year tenure don't really care. If they are only living in a place for a short period of time, why bother getting involved in Neighbourhood Watch.

On the Old Estate the cohesiveness amongst the residents will probably be strengthened by their continued efforts to tackle local crime and disorder. Many residents had personal sentiment for the local schools and were 'proud' about the quality of the schooling offered in their area. This shared 'interest' meant it was likely the residents would group together to resolve problems which in some way concerned the schools. For instance, there appeared to be a consensus amongst those living on the Estate as to what constituted inappropriate behaviour particularly with regards to the young. Indeed, the

Police Commander recognised that the long-term residents of this area who had seen 'society change' were not at all prepared to 'tolerate' the anti-social behaviour of the local school children. This he said was evidenced by the nature of the reports the Police often received from this area.

Problems with car crime will probably persist on the dual carriageway of Bricknell Avenue unless the council or the local police take effective action to reduce the number of speeding cars. Residents who live on this Avenue cannot be certain that a stolen car is being driven dangerously when numerous other cars speed along. Due to problems with intimidation and fears of possible reprisals on the New Estate the high levels of petty crime and disorder will no doubt persist. It is unlikely that residents will call the police about criminal incidents and only the brave and the bold will consider confronting the groups of youths personally. There were few means by which the residents could group together to tackle the problems on the Estate. Even the Residents Association (BERG) had limited support on the Estate so this was unlikely to result in any effective action at the collective level. The elderly will probably continue to live in 'fear' of being victimised by groups of youths unless the police can gain the confidence of the residents and encourage them to report incidents that occur.

In this closing section we have seen that the reactions of residents to crime and disorder could potentially have a variety of feedback effects. In some instances these knock-on effects may be of benefit to the communities, if for instance the residents become more cohesive as a result of reacting as a collective to local crime problems. Equally, residents may not be prepared to tackle issues connected to crime or disorder. If this is the case some residents may withdraw from community life, and cohesiveness may suffer if relations become fragmented. Divisions may arise if certain crime or disorder problems are associated with particular population groups.

In this Chapter it has also been seen that the reactions of individuals and collectives may be influenced by various factors, many of which are represented in my 'tolerance and crime' model. Interestingly, there appear to be connections between the concept of tolerance and reactions. In Part III of

the thesis the attention turns to the key lessons that have been learnt in this research. Consideration is given to the way in which the main findings may affect the assertions of the original 'tolerance and crime' model, and future theorising and research about reactions to crime as well as other relevant areas of study.

PART III

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Chapter 5

Tolerance and Crime: The Model Revisited

This final Part of the thesis concerns the research findings. In Chapter 5 the main findings are discussed, particularly those that are relevant to my 'tolerance and crime' model. The aim of Chapter 6 is to discuss how the findings may have implications for future theorising and research.

The intention of this Chapter is to draw together the main lessons learned from the research, and revisit the tolerance and crime model and the hypotheses in view of the findings. These lessons are based upon my understanding of the model and of the findings. The Chapter is divided into two Sections. In the first section the key findings are discussed, with particular attention paid to the factors which were posited to influence reactions. In the second section the attention turns to the concept of tolerance and the 'tolerance and crime' model. The model is revisited to determine how, if at all, it should be modified in view of the main findings of the research.

5.1. IMPORTANT LESSONS LEARNED

In the first part of this section the factors which were found to be the most influential in determining reactions to the crime and disorder scenarios are discussed. The notion of a 'personal profile' as a means of predicting willingness to react is then introduced. Various connections between the different types of influence posited by the model to affect reactions are then outlined. Finally, the attention turns to a methodological issue, with a brief account of how incongruent findings in the study were dealt with.

i) The most influential factors in determining reactions, by type of crime or disorder

Reactions to criminal incidents were found to be affected by the different factors of the 'tolerance and crime' model, and other influential variables not included in the model. According to both data sets the factors which appeared to be the most influential in determining reactions varied according to the nature and circumstances of the criminal incident. What follows is an attempt to collate the main results by identifying which of the model factors are the most influential in determining reactions to each scenario.

Burglary

The main factor which prompted reactions to the burglary scenario was the emotion of being worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim. Indeed, this emotion was so conducive to reacting to this scenario that it resulted in more people being willing to react to this scenario than to any other. Such worries were fuelled by fears about victimisation and a perception that burglary is prevalent throughout society.

Car crime

Levels of exposure to traffic volumes affected preparedness to react to the events described in the car crime scenario. People who lived on quiet streets would perceive car crime to be unusual and hence a problem that would warrant their attention. The emotion of anger was pertinent in prompting reactions, and was evident with car owners in this scenario. If a child was knocked down and injured by a stolen car driven dangerously this created an overwhelming need on the part of many to react. However, if a problem with car crime in the community had not caused an accident there was less of an inclination to react. Often people perceived that little could be done about a local car crime problem, so feelings of helplessness proved to be a major reason for not reacting. In addition people were sometimes not prepared to intervene themselves due to worries about personally being injured by cars being driven dangerously and at speed.

Graffiti

People would react to graffiti appearing in their community when they had good cause to be worried that their own property may be the next target. If graffiti started appearing on residential properties this would fuel such worries which in turn prompted reactions. Low levels of exposure to this kind of disorder was generally conducive to taking some kind of action. People were inclined to react when they perceived that the appearance of graffiti in their community was a relatively unusual occurrence and was far from being a widespread problem. A major deterrent to reacting was feeling helpless about the situation. Often this was due to anticipated difficulties in identifying the culprits as graffiti is usually a clandestine activity involving groups of young people. However, feelings of helplessness were overcome when people for instance, felt that contacting a local crime prevention scheme would be an effective response. People were often inhibited from taking action if they were fearful of reprisals from the young offenders responsible.

Vandalism

In the vandalism scenario a feeling of guilt if no action were to be taken was one of the most important factors which encouraged people to react. On the other hand reactions were discouraged by the possibility of reprisals from the culprits themselves regardless of whether they were aged 12 to 15 or 16 to 20. Worries about how the parents would react if they were confronted about the vandalism was also a prominent factor which deterred reactions.

Violence

In the violence scenario the main factor which prompted people to react was the fact that a friend was said to be injured and needed help. Even if the friend was to blame this did not necessarily deter people from reacting but it reduced the inclination to react. People were mainly deterred from reacting to this kind of violent situation if they sensed they were at risk of being personally injured. However, sometimes natural instinct may prompt people to intervene on behalf of their friend, which can mean that those who would

normally distance themselves from a violent situation may find themselves taking action.

ii) The importance of the 'personal profile' in determining reactions

This research has found that the personal characteristics of individuals can affect preparedness to react. Whilst some characteristics are conducive to taking action others are not. The profile would focus upon the characteristics of individuals which were found to be the most influential in affecting preparedness to react. Hence, the notion of a personal profile is based upon the assumption that differences between individuals in their inclination to react is partly a function of their characteristics.

Demographic characteristics

The demographic characteristics of individuals appear to be consistently influential in determining reactions to the crime and disorder scenarios. Age in particular was a prominent factor. The influence of age upon preparedness to react was often due to relationships with other demographic and individual characteristics. Indeed, differences between the age groups in their preparedness to react was sometimes attributable to connections between variables as can be seen in the summaries below.

The elderly (61+) were generally reluctant to react to the scenarios particularly the violence scenario. Reasons for this included:

- (1) a desire for a simple and quiet life - keep 'themselves to themselves';
- (2) physical vulnerability and worries about being injured;
- (3) worries about intimidation, harassment, reprisals; and
- (4) lifestyle.

Young people (18-30) were often unwilling to intervene due to their:

- (1) tenure type often being renters;
- (2) temporary residence and a philosophy of 'not wanting to get involved';
- (3) status as 'outsiders' who are not welcomed into the community; and
- (4) socially active lifestyle.

The middle age group (31-60) often had the greatest inclination to react largely as a result of their:

- (1) tenure type in being owner occupiers;
- (2) family status;
- (3) affluence;
- (4) length of residence and attachment to and sentiment for their area; and
- (5) good awareness of local schemes to tackle crime.

Amongst the factors that influence the reactions of the middle-age group are demographic characteristics. As these characteristics often overlap this may suggest there is an 'ideal type' of person who is likely to react to criminal incidents. This person would for instance be middle-aged (31-60), a home owner, a parent, and relatively affluent. So-called vested interests are important here as people are usually willing to 'do something' if they have some kind of discernible 'stake' in the outcome. Owner occupiers often have more cause than renters to react as they have a financial 'stake' in the well-being of their community and are responsible for the upkeep of their property. Parents have good reason to react when they feel their children may be at risk of being hurt or are likely to be inconvenienced as a result of crime or disorder. Similarly, car owners have more cause to take action than non-car owners if there are a spate of incidents involving stolen cars. Young people are unique as they do not often have the 'vested interests' which are so often associated with older people. So few of this age group are home owners, long-term residents, or child orientated. Rarely would the young fulfil the criteria which makes an 'ideal type' of person in terms of someone who would be inclined to respond to crime and disorder problems. Indeed, the young were the least inclined of all age groups to react to the crime and disorder scenarios and their philosophy has been summarised as 'not wanting to get involved'.

The importance of other individual characteristics

Reactions to crime and disorder were influenced by other individual characteristics, such as lifestyle, fears of unwanted consequences, prior experience of victimisation or the criminal justice system. As these factors

could help forecast the likelihood of an individual taking action they may also form part of the 'personal profile'.

The influence of lifestyle upon reactions was closely tied in with age group. The typical lifestyle of young people and the elderly often inhibited them from taking some kind of action. Young people especially University students were keen to pursue social activities and to visit pubs and clubs into the early hours of the morning which often resulted in unusual sleep patterns. Consequently, there were doubts whether students would even be affected by some problems, such as late night noise stemming from speeding cars. In contrast, the reluctance of the elderly to react was partly due to their desire for a trouble free life as evidenced by their philosophy of 'wanting to keep themselves to themselves'. Yet, when a criminal incident is of relevance to the lifestyle of people this can prompt reactions. The familiarity of the young with the local pub and club scene meant they were the most able of all the age groups to associate with a violent situation where a friend was said to have been injured in a pub brawl. The elderly due to their detachment from the local pub scene had more difficulty in envisaging how they would react to such a situation.

When individuals were fearful about the possible consequences of taking certain kinds of action in response to a criminal incident, this often discouraged reactions. Such fears concerned the prospect of being personally injured; of facing reprisals from offenders; or of facing legal repercussions. For instance, some individuals when confronted with a violent situation would assess the likelihood of being injured before deciding whether to react. Age and gender were predictive of which individuals were likely to express fears about the consequences of acting. The elderly and women as a function of their physical vulnerability had a tendency to worry about the risks of being personally injured. Fears of reprisals from offenders was particularly pertinent for the elderly although this was a factor which deterred reactions across all age groups.

Previous experiences of victimisation, the police, or the criminal justice system were important factors that affected preparedness to react. Prior burglary

victims were inclined to react to try and reduce the likelihood of re-victimisation; to try and prevent others they know being burgled; or to help apprehend the offender. Dissatisfaction with the police or with the criminal justice system could reduce the inclination to react and even deter reactions. A poor police response meant that people who were once prepared to react to criminal incidents may no longer be so inclined. The same was observed with those who were critical of their experiences of the criminal justice system.

Although other individual attributes are likely to be important components of a personal profile, their subjective nature means there is less clarity as to how they affect reactions. This applied to the expectations of individuals and to personality type. Reactions were affected by the expectations that people have about crime and disorder, for it was observed that when expectations are exceeded this would often trigger a reaction. However, the difficulty arises in trying to ascertain the precise expectations of an individual. There were for instance subtle variations in what was perceived to be 'acceptable' graffiti in terms of content and quantity. The personality type of an individual may determine whether they have a natural inclination to react or whether they would prefer to distance themselves from the situation and allow others to react. Again, the difficulty is in identifying the type of personality of the individual in question. For instance, individuals may be prompted to react if a criminal incident violates their own 'internal moral code'. This may occur when people have strong views as to 'how things should be' and their own social rules in terms of what is 'right' or 'wrong'.

The use of a 'personal profile'

These emergent findings support the notion of a personal profile which may be indicative of an individual's preparedness to react to problems concerning crime or disorder. In other words a personal profile could be used to predict how an individual is likely to react to a criminal incident. In order to compile a personal profile for an individual, information would need to be obtained about the demographic characteristics and other characteristics such as lifestyle. The idea of personal profiles may be useful at the community level of analysis to help determine the likelihood of residents reacting to criminal

incidents. This would be dependent upon information being made available about the demography of the residents and whether they had been prior victims and so on. Obviously, the construction of personal profiles to predict reactions may be criticised for being over deterministic. Such a problem exists with stereotyping people according to predefined categories. This is a valid point which cannot be countered as certain members of the public may react to criminal incidents in an entirely unpredictable way.

However, a personal profile of an individual may be indicative of their preparedness to react in three main ways. First, if the individual's characteristics which comprise the personal profile are conducive to reacting, it is likely that action would be taken in response to a criminal incident. On the other hand, if the characteristics of the individual are not conducive to taking action this will probably mean there will be a refusal to react. A more complicated situation could arise if the characteristics of the personal profile do not affect preparedness to react in the same way. It may be the case that some of the personal characteristics of an individual are conducive to taking action to an incident, when others are not. In this situation it is unlikely that the personal profile will be a reliable indicator as to the individual's preparedness to react.

iii) The importance of connections between the various factors which determine reactions

It has been confirmed that connections exist between the different types of influences which determine reactions to crime. These relationships involve the predisposing factors and precipitating factors of my 'tolerance and crime' model, the demographic characteristics of individuals, and place of residence. As a result there are a variety of ways in which the various influences can in combination affect reactions.

Predisposing factors and precipitating factors

Many relationships were found to exist between the predisposing factors and the precipitating factors. Two good examples arise in respect of the events

contained in the burglary scenario. Fears about victimisation (predisposing factor) were found to affect the emotions people expressed should there be a spate of burglaries, especially worries about the likelihood of being burgled (precipitating factor). This emotion was found to be a strong inducement to react. Second, the victimisation status of individuals (a predisposing factor) was statistically related to worries about others being burgled (a precipitating factor). This relationship was found to affect willingness to react as the desire of victims not to see others suffer a similar fate was one reason why they were more inclined to respond than non-victims.

Predisposing factors and demographics

Important connections have been found to exist between the demographic characteristics of individuals, predisposing factors, and preparedness to react. Reactions to the violence scenario as we have seen were very much dictated by the lifestyle of individuals (predisposing factor) and age group (demographic characteristic). For this reason a comparison could be made between the young and the elderly in their reactions to a situation where a friend was said to be injured in a pub brawl. Similarly participation in local crime prevention schemes (a predisposing factor) was found to be connected to age. The middle age group had good levels of awareness about the existence of local schemes and were largely supportive of them. Indeed, they were the most inclined of all the age groups to contact local Neighbourhood Watch schemes as a means of action. Hence, the confidence exuded by the middle-aged when deciding how to act in response to the scenarios may have been partly due to their awareness of local schemes and willingness to use them.

Precipitating factors and demographics

The findings also confirm that connections exist between the demographic characteristics of individuals, the emotions they express (i.e. precipitating factors), and their preparedness to react. This was evident with age, tenure type, family status, transport status, and gender. For instance, age appeared to be linked to the emotion of 'helplessness' which generally deterred people

from taking action. Fewer middle age group respondents than from any other age group felt helpless when confronted with each of the crime and disorder scenarios, and overall this age group were for reasons already discussed the most prepared to react. In contrast more of the elderly felt helpless about the events contained in the violence scenario and they were the most reluctant to react when compared to the young and middle-age groups. Similarly, more young than from any other age group expressed feelings of helplessness about the vandalism scenario.

Similarly, there are observable connections between other demographic groups and the expression of emotions. People with vested interests were often distinguishable from others in their emotions and hence their willingness to react. Parents are inclined to react if they have reason to believe their children may in some way be adversely affected. Hence, the emotions they expressed in such instances were conducive to reacting. For instance, if there were a local problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously, family respondents were associated with expressing worries about others they know being hurt (i.e. their children). Anger was another emotion found to be conducive to reacting. For instance, car owners were associated with feeling angry about the events contained in the car crime scenario and proportionally more were inclined to react when compared to others. Similarly, should there be a local problem with graffiti then owner occupiers were more likely than renters to feel angry or worried that their home could be targeted. As both these emotions were conducive to reacting this would help to explain why more home owners were prepared to react than renters.

Connections exist between the gender of individuals, their emotions, and preparedness to react. Gender differences were evident with feelings of helplessness as more women than men consistently expressed this emotion about the events described in the scenarios. Women may have had reason to feel helpless if they were inhibited from taking action due to worries about being physically injured, especially when there was the possibility of a violent confrontation. In contrast, men may have had less cause to feel helpless as in fewer instances their worries about being personally injured would deter them from taking action.

Individual and community level factors

There is evidence of interaction between the individual and community level influences which are represented in my model. The reactions of individuals may be affected by the characteristics of the area in which they live. For instance, the cohesiveness of the community can affect preparedness to react. In Newland, relations between different community groups were tense and this in turn affected preparedness to react to criminal incidents. If a local school were vandalised, young people from this area were reluctant to confront the parents of one of the culprits, which was partly due to the existence of an underlying tension between themselves and the permanent residents. This meant the young often declined to speak to the parents which was of importance given that this choice of action was popular amongst the respondents.

Conversely the reactions of residents may be affected by factors which can be analysed at the individual level. This research found that perceptions of crime and disorder can affect the reactions of individuals to a criminal incident. When individuals perceive that graffiti or car crime is widespread in their community they are not inclined to react to these kind of incidents. If these perceptions of individuals who reside in the same area are then aggregated, this will effectively mean that relatively few residents of that community will have taken action.

Place of residence and precipitating factors

There appear to be connections between area of residence, emotions (i.e. precipitating factors), and preparedness to react according to the two data sets. The questionnaire data indicated that the residents of Newland and Bricknell felt quite differently about the crime and disorder scenarios. A number of statistical relationships were observed and in many instances there were discernible patterns. For instance, more Newland residents than Bricknell residents felt concerned and shocked about the events contained in all five scenarios. The same pattern was apparent with residents' worries about the likelihood of personally being victimised, or of others being victimised, and

feelings of helplessness. In contrast the emotion of anger was consistently expressed by more Bricknell than Newland residents.

However, the precise extent to which area of residence accounts for areal differences in emotions is not known, since other factors have been found to affect emotions. We know that the demographic characteristics of individuals are very influential in determining emotions, so at an areal level the demography of a community may also affect emotions. The demography of Newland may help to account for why proportionally more respondents from this community than from Bricknell would feel helpless about a local burglary problem. More young people than from any other age group expressed this emotion which was in keeping with the fact that the young were predominantly from Newland. In Bricknell, the anger of the residents was particularly pertinent in respect of the burglary scenario. This may have been partly due to tenure type, since home ownership was a characteristic of Bricknell residents, and owner occupiers were more likely than renters to express anger about the burglary scenario.

There is also evidence to suggest that area of residence may have an influence upon emotions that is separate from the influence that demographics can have upon emotions. The findings indicate that the characteristics of communities affect what people feel about local crime and disorder problems. For instance, levels of community cohesiveness influenced the emotions that people felt about the events concerning the vandalism of a local school. Those who had residential ties were less worried than others about confronting the parent of one of the culprits. Since residential ties was a characteristic associated with residents from Bricknell, this could partly explain why proportionally fewer residents from this area than from Newland expressed worries about the reaction of the parent. Furthermore, in Newland, ongoing population changes, poor levels of cohesion, and a lack of Neighbourhood Watch groups, probably fuelled feelings of helplessness amongst the residents in respect of the local burglary problem. Indeed, proportionally more Newland residents than Bricknell residents felt helpless about the events contained in the scenarios.

In sum, the findings indicate that area of residence, in terms of community characteristics and demography, can help to explain areal differences in the emotions which residents express about criminal incidents.

iv) Conflicts in the findings: a limitation of the research?

In this research there were occasions where the questionnaire and interview findings conflicted. Yet, this need not be a cause for concern. It has been pointed out by Bryman (1988) for instance, that discrepancies between findings which derive from qualitative and quantitative data 'are not in the least unusual' (Bryman, 1988: 134). Indeed, he cites a number of studies in social research where this situation has occurred. In this research, conflicts between the two data sets most commonly arose in the analyses of which factors affect reactions to criminal incidents. In some instances explanations were forthcoming for the discrepancies in the findings although in others there was no apparent explanation.

The interview data in one instance helped to explain why there were incongruent findings. The question concerned how gender affected preparedness to react to the events contained in the violence scenario. According to the questionnaire findings considerably more women than men were prepared to react. However, the interview findings indicated otherwise; that men were generally more inclined to react than women. This discrepancy may have arisen as a result of the way in which the scenario had been interpreted. The interviewees generally perceived themselves to be present at the time of the brawl. It was clear that whilst the brawl was occurring men were more inclined than women to intervene to prevent their friend being injured. Women were reluctant to respond in this way as they were often worried about being physically injured. However, if it was perceived that the brawl had occurred then women were more inclined to react by offering sympathy and support to their injured friend. Men usually sensed there was little they could do once the brawl had happened. These findings help reconcile the quantitative data. If the questionnaire respondents interpreted the scenario as being 'post brawl' in so far as their friend had already been injured, this would account for why more women than men chose to act.

When it was not entirely clear why there were differences in the findings between the two data sets, an informed choice was sometimes made about which was most likely to be correct. For example, this approach was taken to determine how perceptions of local crime and disorder can affect preparedness to react. The findings converged in so far as there was agreement that a relationship existed between perceptions and the decision to react, yet there was disagreement about the precise nature of that relationship. On the basis of the qualitative findings people were less inclined to react when they were exposed to high levels of crime and disorder and perceive that such problems were widespread in their area. However, the quantitative findings indicated that reactions were more forthcoming when people perceive that crime or disorder constitute a prominent and significant problem in their area. To resolve this situation an inference was made on the basis of previous findings. Prior studies about reactions to crime (such as Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Girling, Loader, and Sparks, 2000), have found that reactions are generally more forthcoming if residents live in low crime areas. Hence, the qualitative findings were deemed to provide the more accurate portrayal of the nature of the relationship between perceptions and reactions.

This approach in choosing one set of findings in preference of another has been criticised by Bryman (1988: 133). In his view incongruent findings are best used 'as a springboard for the investigation of the reasons for such contrasting findings' (1988: 133). However, it is not always possible to ascertain why findings conflict as this study has found, and when this situation occurs further research would be warranted. For instance, it is unclear on the basis of the evidence available, how, if at all, reactions to crime are affected by beliefs about proximity to offenders. In three of the scenarios statistical relationships were found to exist between beliefs about resident offenders and preparedness to react. In each instance reactions were more forthcoming from those who suspected that resident offenders in their area were responsible for some of the local crime. Despite the existence of these relationships and their consistency in nature, there was no validation of this in the interview data. Instead the interview data indicated that reactions were influenced more by the possibility of reprisals from offenders should action be taken. Hence, a potentially fruitful line of enquiry would be to examine

whether beliefs about residential proximity to offenders can affect fears about possible reprisals.

5.2. TOLERANCE AND CRIME

This section of the Chapter returns to the central concept of tolerance and the 'tolerance and crime' model. The findings confirm that tolerance is a complex concept. One issue which will be discussed is the distinction between tolerance and intolerance. Another interesting issue is the way in which people appear to change from being tolerant to intolerant and vice versa. The attention then turns to the 'tolerance and crime' model. An assessment is made as to whether the findings support the key linkages between the various model constructs, and whether reactions to criminal incidents are affected by the influences posited by the model. The hypotheses presented in Chapter 3 are revisited and on the basis of the evidence available it is stated whether they are supported or rejected. In view of the main findings modifications are made to the model and a revised version is presented.

i) The complexities of tolerance and intolerance

There is evidence which suggests that the concept of tolerance can be complex. The tolerance or intolerance of individuals may vary according to the nature and circumstances of the incident. Tolerance can be conceived in different ways; as a balance between competing factors or as a continuum. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether people are tolerant or intolerant of criminal activities. People may be intolerant of a criminal incident even though they decide not to react. This may occur where the intolerance of people is effectively stifled or blunted. There may be a 'critical point' or 'threshold' at which people change from being tolerant to intolerant or vice versa, about criminal incidents.

Tolerance differs according to crime or disorder type

Reactions to crime and disorder according to the tolerance and crime model, are determined by the tolerance of individuals or collectives. At the simplest level a decision to react to a criminal incident is brought about by intolerance, whilst a refusal to react is brought about by tolerance. The findings confirm that the preparedness of people to react is dependent upon the type of crime or disorder in question. On the basis of the questionnaire data it was found that considerably more people would react to the events contained in the burglary, vandalism, and car crime scenarios than to the violence and graffiti scenarios. In addition, changes to the events described in the scenarios was sometimes found to affect preparedness to react. This means that the tolerance or intolerance of people can change according to the nature and circumstances of the criminal incident. As a result, it can be said that tolerance or intolerance is specific to the type of crime or disorder and the incident in question.

Tolerance and intolerance: emotions and actions

At the simplest level people are said to be tolerant if they decide not to take action in response to a given crime. When action is taken this is a sign of intolerance. This assumption is based upon the ideas of Maccoby et al (1958), and Conklin (1975), as discussed in Chapter 3. However, the findings indicated that a certain degree of intolerance about a particular criminal incident does not necessarily lead to a reaction. For instance, people may express emotions which are conducive to taking action in response to a crime and disorder problem, even though they eventually decide not to react. This needs to be explained.

It would appear that tolerance and intolerance can be influenced by different factors. For instance, people were tolerant due to their personality, yet they were also intolerant due to an event that triggered them to react. As a function of their personality, some interviewees felt they were probably not the 'type' of person that would 'do something' if problems with crime and disorder arose in their community. Rather, their preference would be to leave

others to deal with it. This approach may well be indicative of a particular personality type. Nevertheless, in deciding not to react these interviewees are effectively displaying signs of tolerance to some local incidents concerning crime and disorder. However, if a 'trigger event' were to occur they may become intolerant and be prompted to take action. This may be illustrated by reference to the car crime scenario in which an innocent child was said to have suffered harm as a result of reckless others. People were literally compelled to react when they were told that a young child had been knocked down and injured by a stolen car which had been driven dangerously. As a result even people who were 'tolerant' of local incidents concerning crime and disorder in general, were prompted to respond to this incident. In this example the concept of tolerance is conceived as a balance between competing factors. On the one hand the personality of an individual can inhibit action, when on the other hand a 'trigger event' can prompt action. From this perspective tolerance is simply a balancing exercise between conflicting factors.

From another perspective tolerance may be construed as a continuum, whereby tolerance signifies one extreme and intolerance signifies the other extreme. This means that at different points along the continuum people are effectively represented according to how tolerant or intolerant they are towards an act of crime or disorder. At one end of the continuum there are individuals who are intolerant (which signifies action), whilst at the other end there are those who are tolerant (which signifies inaction). This notion of tolerance as a continuum may be illustrated in the following way. People sometimes indicated that they were likely to react towards a criminal incident (a sign of intolerance), even though they eventually decided not to react (a sign of tolerance). This occurred when people's intolerance to criminal incidents was effectively blunted or stifled. This kind of situation may arise for a variety of reasons, three of which are described here.

First, intolerance can be blunted by factors which are very influential in determining preparedness to react. This may be illustrated by reference to the events contained in the graffiti scenario. When people express 'anger', 'irritation', and 'annoyance' about the appearance of graffiti in the local community this may be seen as a sign of intolerance as these emotions were

conducive to reacting. Yet, some of the people who expressed these emotions did not react to the scenario as other more influential factors determined their decision.

This may equally apply at the community level. Perceptions of crime and disorder was a factor which was found to be very influential in determining reactions to graffiti. For instance, in Newland, (with the exception of Newland Park), where graffiti was perceived to be widespread, the residents had become accustomed to this type of disorder and hence many declined to react. In this respect they were tolerant of graffiti. Yet at the same time they would have preferred a situation where graffiti did not mar the appearance of their community. So whilst residents may dislike the presence of disorder in their area (and perhaps express emotions to that effect), they are not necessarily prepared to do anything about it. Consequently, perceptions had effectively blunted any show of intolerance they had to the appearance of graffiti. In contrast residents of areas which have low levels of crime or disorder are generally more prepared to react to graffiti as their perceptions do not stifle their intolerance. Instead their perceptions would act in conjunction with their emotions to determine their reaction. For instance, in Newland Park, the appearance of graffiti would be conspicuous and no doubt 'anger' or 'irritate' the residents. As the residents were not accustomed to this kind of disorder it would run contrary to their expectations and their subsequent intolerance of the graffiti would become apparent when they took action.

In a similar fashion perceptions effectively blunted the intolerance of people to the events contained in the car crime scenario. This concerned a local problem with stolen cars being driven dangerously and at speed. People who were exposed to high volumes of traffic were often inhibited from reacting as they were used to car crime in so far as there were large numbers of cars speeding. However, this was not to say they were happy with the situation and for good reasons they probably would have preferred more cars to keep within the designated speed limits. What was notable about this scenario was that the intolerance of people towards car crime was also curtailed by their inability to obtain a true picture of the situation. The residents who lived on busy roads simply could not differentiate between speeding cars and stolen cars that were

speeding. Thus, the sheer scale of the 'speeding' problem meant that their intolerance towards car crime was stifled by an inability to identify the 'offender'. Hence, intolerance to a criminal incident may be directly affected by the nature and circumstances of the crime.

A third way in which intolerance to crime and disorder may be repressed is when people have to compare the relative seriousness of incidents to assess which ones most warrant a response. In areas which have high levels of crime and disorder the residents may have little choice but to prioritise the incidents they are going to respond to. This may constitute part of the coping strategy of the residents. On the New Estate specific problems with drugs, car crime, and theft drew attention away from minor acts of disorder such as graffiti. For instance, one woman from this area declined to react to the events contained in the graffiti scenario for in her view other more pressing issues warranted attention.

This notion that intolerance to crime can be blunted may help to explain the 'puzzling' findings of Maccoby et al (1958) about community tolerance. In that study the residents of a high-crime area were no more tolerant (i.e. 'permissive') in their attitudes towards pre-delinquent behaviour than residents of a low-crime area (see Chapter 1, above). However, more residents from the low-crime area than from the high-crime area opted to 'do something' in response to the different incidents involving deviant behaviour. Maccoby and her colleagues offered a number of explanations for these seemingly contradictory results (see Chapter 1, above). For instance, they suggested that different 'levels' of attitudes were held by the residents from the two areas. The findings of this research provide several other explanations. Perhaps the residents in the high-crime community were less inclined to react as they were acclimatised to these problems. Alternatively, they may have become accustomed to having to prioritise and respond only to the more serious incidents. If so, their intolerance to crime would have been stifled, unlike the residents from the low-crime area, and this in turn would reduce their preparedness to react regardless of their attitude towards the seriousness of crime.

The transition from tolerance to intolerance

The evidence suggests that there is a 'critical point' or tolerance 'threshold' at which people change from being tolerant to intolerant. The idea of a 'threshold' is interesting for it draws attention to the subtlety of people's reactions to crime and disorder. The existence of a tolerance 'threshold' provides another reason to believe that tolerance can be construed as a continuum, for it would involve a switch from one end of the continuum to the other. People who choose not to react to an incident are said to be tolerant of that act, but if they react to a similar incident then this shows that they have become intolerant.

On some occasions it was possible to observe when and why such a transition occurred. People can be prompted to change their reaction as a result of a change in the nature and circumstances of the criminal incident. One of the main reasons for this is that many of the factors found to influence reactions are sensitive to changes to the events contained in the scenarios (as pointed out earlier in the Chapter). A change in the nature and circumstances of the incident can result in different factors determining the reaction, and this in turn may affect preparedness to react. This could lead to a situation where people respond quite differently to very similar incidents.

This was observed with reactions to the events contained in the graffiti scenario. If graffiti is widespread in a community and more begins to appear on public property and commercial property then people may not be inclined to react as this situation has become acceptable to them. If however, graffiti started to appear on dwelling houses far more people would be prompted to react for this would be an unusual problem which would exceed their expectations about disorder in their community. People are also inclined to react when they have reason to be worried about the possibility that their own house may be targeted. Consequently a change to the events in the graffiti scenario brought about a new factor which affected reactions, viz; the emotion of worries about a heightened risk of becoming a victim. In conjunction the expectations and emotions of people determined the point at which they would react. It has been seen that even subtle changes to the nature and

circumstances of the incident can bring about a transition point where a person once tolerant becomes intolerant.

The transition from intolerance to tolerance

Interestingly there also appeared to be a 'threshold' at which people who had formerly chosen to react to a criminal incident, subsequently decided not to react to a similar situation. This in effect constituted the transition from intolerance to tolerance. Again, this situation could be construed as a move from one end of a continuum to the other. Various factors appeared to steer people away from taking action following a change to the events described in the scenarios. It is notable that some of the factors which inhibited actions in this way were not originally included in the tolerance and crime model.

People would often decline to react if the changes to the nature and circumstances of the incident gave them cause to worry about the potential consequences of taking some kind of action. This can be illustrated by reference to the vandalism scenario where the culprits were said to be a group of young boys and a neighbour was the parent of one of them. A number of people chose to respond when the culprits were said to be aged between 12 - 15, but fewer chose to react when the age of the culprits was raised to 16 and over. The reason for this was that fears of reprisals became more of an issue when the offenders were older. Such a subtle change to the details of the incident meant that people once intolerant of the act of vandalism subsequently became tolerant simply due to their fears of repercussions should they react. Thus it could be concluded that intolerance was effectively blunted by fears about the potential consequences of taking action.

Implications of the complexities of tolerance and intolerance

This discussion has highlighted some of the complexities about people's tolerance or intolerance to criminal incidents. There may be implications for how we interpret reactions to crime and disorder. We have seen that the distinction between tolerance and intolerance can be ambiguous. For instance, people may indicate that they are intolerant of crime or disorder problems in

their community, yet their intolerance does not always translate into action. One reason for this is the possibility that there are different facets to tolerance and intolerance. For instance, there could be an emotional component and an action component to tolerance/intolerance. The emotion and action components may be evident when people express emotions that are conducive to taking action to a criminal incident, yet they choose not to react by taking action. In other words, people can be 'emotionally intolerant' about crime and disorder in their community, yet if they decide not to take action they are effectively tolerant of such problems. Therefore, emotional reactions which can signify intolerance or tolerance may not be indicative of the subsequent reaction. If there are different facets of tolerance, people can feasibly be both 'tolerant' and 'intolerant' towards an act of crime or disorder; the two are compatible.

The idea that there are different aspects to tolerance or intolerance may have implications for the way in which the concept of tolerance is conceived. If tolerance is a balance between competing factors, then the decision to react may be subject to a balance between factors that concern 'emotions' and factors that concern 'actions'. An example of this was the conflict between personality and the events of an incident that can trigger a reaction.

If however tolerance is conceived as a single, one-dimensional continuum, it is more difficult to envisage precisely how the emotion and action components operate. A continuum has already been suggested to represent preparedness to act in terms of tolerance/intolerance. It was explained that one extreme of the continuum signifies intolerance (action), whilst the other extreme signifies tolerance (inaction). A person can effectively move along different parts of this continuum as they decide how to react. If an individual is intolerant of a criminal incident (due to their emotions), then their inclination to take action means they are placed near to the 'intolerance' end of the continuum. Yet, should their intolerance be 'blunted' or 'stifled' by other factors which can affect reactions (such as perceptions of crime in the area), then this will mean they move along the continuum to the end that signifies 'tolerance'. However, this continuum does not distinguish between the different components of tolerance: emotions and actions. A potential way to overcome

this problem is to conceive of tolerance as having two continuums; one to represent emotions and one to represent actions. With the 'emotion continuum', one extreme could represent emotions that are conducive to actions and the other extreme could represent emotions not conducive to actions. The 'action continuum' could comprise of action at one extreme and inaction at the other extreme.

Of relevance to the action component of tolerance is the finding that people may react quite differently to criminal incidents which are similar in nature and circumstances. When there is a change to the details of a criminal incident this may mean that different factors influence the reaction. As a result people may choose to respond to one incident, but not to another incident which is similar in nature and circumstance. If people decide to substitute action for inaction should such a situation arise, this is effectively a transition from intolerance to tolerance. Alternatively, people may decide to substitute inaction for action, which is a transition from tolerance to intolerance. It was illustrated how reactions may change even in response to minor variations to the nature and circumstances of an incident. In view of this it was suggested that there is a 'critical point' or tolerance 'threshold' at which people decide to react differently. As a result the action component of tolerance may be affected by the subtleties of people's reactions to crime and disorder.

ii) The 'tolerance and crime' model revisited

In Chapter 3 the 'tolerance and crime' model was presented. The intention of this model was to identify the main constituents of tolerance and to portray precisely how the tolerance of individuals and collectives may influence their reactions to criminal incidents. This model was tested in Chapter 4 by analyses of questionnaire and interview data. It is now appropriate to assess whether the main assertions of the model were supported by the findings.

Links between the various model constructs

Before turning to issues which concern tolerance and reactions to crime, it is appropriate to first discuss the linkages between the key model constructs. It

is asserted in the model that a number of constructs at the individual and community level affect tolerance and reactions to crime. These constructs include: perceptions, fears, experience of crime, cohesion, and lifestyle. The findings are largely supportive of the main linkages that were posited between these model constructs. This was to be expected as the construction of the model was primarily based upon existing criminological and sociological theory and research.

Prior research regarding factors that can affect fears of victimisation was confirmed. It was found that people's perceptions of crime and disorder levels in their community were generally accurate in their assessment of the situation. Consequently perceptions are directly affected by the actual crime rate. Perceptions of crime or disorder fuelled fears of victimisation and this was particularly evident in respect of fears about becoming a victim of burglary. Fears of victimisation are also fuelled by previous experience of crime as the burglary victims testified to. The ability to tackle local problems at a collective level can affect fears. It was found that residents can become fearful if they feel isolated from others, and there are no communal crime prevention activities or schemes in existence.

In keeping with prior research, levels of participation in local anti-crime activities were found to be affected by community characteristics and prevailing social conditions. The extent to which residents participated in communal crime prevention activities was largely determined by affluence, residential mobility, and cohesiveness. Neighbourhood Watch Schemes were more prevalent in places that had low levels of population turnover, good levels of cohesiveness amongst the residents, and were relatively affluent. Conversely, few crime prevention groups were in existence in places that were residentially unstable, and low in socio-economic status. In addition, schemes did not often exist where there were poor cohesive ties amongst the residents and a lack of community spirit. These kind of social conditions contributed to a sense of isolation amongst some of the residents when they were confronted with local crime and disorder problems. No links were found between levels of participation in crime prevention groups and residential proximity to offenders. This did not coincide with the findings of

Walklate and Evans (1999: 69-71), concerning the residents of Bankhill who were 'frightened' of tackling local crime and disorder problems due to fears of reprisals from resident offenders.

The model incorporated elements of behavioural theories such as lifestyle, routine activity, and opportunity theory, in so far as these identify how individuals can affect their risks of victimisation. However, it was not possible to determine whether lifestyle, household size, or occupation affected the risks of becoming a victim of personal or property crime. The small sample size meant there were too few victims to determine with any precision whether these individual characteristics affected the risks of victimisation. Even the most common property crime ('burglary other' from sheds, garages, and gardens) was reported by a relatively small number of participants. Of the handful of experiences concerning personal crime these were confined to minor incidents with no reports of assault for example. Information was not available to examine whether the associations of individuals affects their risks/experience of victimisation. Indeed difficulties were anticipated at the outset in collecting the relevant data to address this question.

Factors which affect reactions

The findings of this research are supportive of the original tolerance and crime model in terms of the factors that were posited to affect tolerance and reactions to crime and disorder (see Figure 3.1: Chapter 3). The reactions of individuals and collectives to criminal incidents were influenced by:

- (1) predisposing factors;
- (2) precipitating factors;
- (3) area of residence; and
- (4) demographic characteristics.

Of these four types of influence, only the predisposing factors and precipitating factors are explicitly stated in the tolerance and crime model. The importance of area of residence and demographic characteristics in determining reactions are implicit in the model (see below).

Predisposing factors and precipitating factors

In the model the predisposing factors comprised characteristics both of communities and of individuals. The majority of these characteristics were found to influence people's reactions to crime and disorder which was in keeping with the findings of the previous literature. These factors represented the latent beliefs and attitudes of individuals and collectives and as posited in the model affected their general tolerance to crime [construct A]. General tolerance constitutes the predisposition of individuals or collectives to react to criminal incidents.

The community characteristics in the model comprised:

- the actual crime rate (construct 1);
- exposure to resident offenders (construct 7);
- structural constraints of affluence & residential stability (construct 7);
- anti-crime activities (construct 4); and
- cohesion (construct 8).

The characteristics of individuals represented in the model were:

- perceptions of crime and disorder (construct 2);
- fears of victimisation (construct 3);
- prior experience of crime (construct 5);
- exposure to the risks of victimisation (construct 6); and
- lifestyle and associations (construct 6).

The precipitating factors in the model represented the emotions of individuals and collectives about a particular criminal act (construct 10). As expected these factors were found to affect people's specific tolerance and thus triggered the reactions of individuals and collectives to a particular criminal incident [construct B]. The precipitating factors arose from the occurrence of a criminal act.

The emotions that people felt were influenced by:

- the nature and circumstances of the crime (construct 9); and
- the predisposing factors that affect general tolerance (construct A).

As a result, people's reactions to crime and disorder are subject to predisposing factors (that act as long-term influences) and precipitating factors (that act as short-term influences). Hence the findings confirm that there is a connection between the tolerance of individuals and collectives (construct C) and their reactions to criminal incidents (construct 11).

Area of residence and demographic characteristics

As predicted area of residence and demographic characteristics were found to be influential in determining the reactions of individuals and collectives. The importance of place of residence in affecting reactions was evidenced by the need to distinguish between communities and even parts of communities (i.e. locales) on the basis of their main characteristics for the analyses. The idea of a 'personal profile' as a method of forecasting people's reactions demonstrates how influential demographic characteristics can be in determining reactions to crime and disorder.

However, neither of these influences were explicitly stated in the original 'tolerance and crime' model. At the outset when the model was set out (see Chapter 3), it was explained why these influences should be considered as implicit in the model. Area of residence is represented by various community factors in the model, such as cohesion, residential stability, anti-crime activities, and the perceptions and fears of residents. In a similar vein, the demographic characteristics of individuals is of relevance to many of the model constructs. The personal attributes of individuals affect their perceptions of crime and disorder, fears of victimisation, preparedness to engage in anti-crime activities, and their likelihood of becoming a victim of crime. Although these two types of influence have been found to affect people's reactions, there is little reason to incorporate them into the revised 'tolerance and crime' model. Furthermore, as the model is based upon the premise that reactions are determined by both individual and community influences, this reinforces the need to maintain a community focus and an individual focus.

Other influential variables

Other variables not included in my model are also important determinants of reactions to criminal incidents. These other influential variables are the:

- (1) perceived consequences as a result of reacting;
- (2) public attitudes; and
- (3) personality and natural instinct.

The first two variables will be returned to below in the discussion about modifying the 'tolerance and crime' model. Since the third variable of 'personality and natural instinct' primarily concerns psychology it has less direct relevance to my criminological model. Nevertheless, the importance of personality in determining reactions to crime and disorder is a subject that will be revisited in the next Chapter.

The feedback effects of reactions

On the basis of the results it was predicted that reactions to criminal incidents could have feedback effects upon the characteristics of communities. This was posited in the original 'tolerance and crime' model via the dotted lines that fed back from reactions (construct 11) to other parts of the model, such as the actual crime rate (construct 1), and cohesion (construct 8).

These feedback effects were seen to be a function of the willingness of the residents to tackle crime or disorder and the likelihood that they would react as a collective. The reactions of residents were predicted to effect future levels of crime and disorder in communities. If local people were prepared to engage in crime prevention efforts this should reduce problems with criminal behaviour. However, in communities where problems with crime or disorder were not tackled, more criminal activity was presumed to follow. This is in keeping with the 'broken windows' theory of Wilson and Kelling (1982), in which it is asserted that potential criminals are attracted to areas where criminal activity passes by unchecked. Similarly, Skogan's neighbourhood feedback loops about the cycle of urban decline is based on the assumption that the reactions of residents, especially in terms of their population

movements, can generate fundamental changes in the community (Skogan, 1986).

It was also suggested that reactions may have repercussions for the social conditions of a community. If problems with crime or disorder are widespread then the residents may become acclimatised to this situation and not see a need to react. If there is very little crime prevention activity at a collective level this will not improve cohesiveness, and in an unstable community this may exacerbate feelings of isolation amongst residents. On the other hand, residents may become more cohesive if they group together and choose to react as a collective in order to tackle crime or disorder problems. They may forge new relations with their neighbours and become more confident in their ability to counter local problems associated with crime or disorder. As a result the reactions of residents may have positive as well as negative effects upon communities.

The hypotheses revisited

Having discussed the main findings concerning the tolerance and crime model it is appropriate to return to the hypotheses set out in Chapter 3 (Section 2). The four hypotheses are each stated below.

Hypothesis (1) General tolerance affects individual and collective reactions to crime and disorder by way of its effect on specific tolerance

Hypothesis (2) Specific tolerance affects individual and collective reactions to crime and disorder

According to the tolerance and crime model there are two types of tolerance, viz, general tolerance and specific tolerance. General tolerance has been found to be affected by: predisposing factors (which represent the latent beliefs and attitudes of individuals and collectives), demographic characteristics, place of residence, and other influential variables. Specific tolerance has been found to be affected by: precipitating factors (which arise from the occurrence of a

criminal act, such as emotions), *predisposing factors*, demographic characteristics, and place of residence. Hence general tolerance affects specific tolerance.

There is evidence of a *relationship* between specific tolerance and reactions to crime and disorder. The emotions which people feel about a particular criminal incident have been found to trigger a reaction to an incident. This means that specific tolerance towards a particular act of deviance can precipitate the reactions of individuals and collectives. Furthermore, the findings confirm that both general and specific tolerance determine the reactions of individuals and collectives. People's reactions to problems concerning crime and disorder are determined by their beliefs and attitudes towards deviant activity (which constitute general tolerance), and by the emotions they feel about a particular incident (which precipitate the reaction). Consequently there is support for each of the hypotheses stated above.

Hypothesis (3) The nature and circumstances of the crime affect specific tolerance by way of the emotional impact

Specific tolerance is posited to be affected by the emotions that are aroused by the occurrence of a criminal incident of a given nature and circumstances. The findings confirmed that people felt a variety of emotions about the crime and disorder scenarios which varied in nature and circumstances. Each crime and disorder scenario had a unique set of emotions. In other words, no two scenarios aroused precisely the same feelings. Some of the emotions expressed appeared in each crime and disorder scenario. For instance, in emotional reactions to all five scenarios people felt anger, shock, surprise, concern, and helplessness. This appears to suggest that criminal incidents which vary in their nature and circumstances can still provoke the same emotions. However, each scenario also prompted people to feel emotions that were unique to the events outlined in that scenario. As a result emotions can be exclusive to a particular criminal incident. For example, with the scenario concerning the vandalism of a primary school, it was said that a neighbour was a parent of one of the offenders. These details about the

culprit meant that people expressed specific worries about the possible reaction of the parent should they decide to take some kind of action.

The emotions people felt about the criminal incidents were found to precipitate their reactions. In broad terms emotions that were expressed about an incident were either conducive to taking action or not conducive to taking action. Hence, emotions can affect the specific tolerance of people, and this in turn precipitates their reaction to the criminal incident. Hence, there is support for the hypothesis stated above.

Hypothesis (4) Reactions to crime and disorder can in turn influence the characteristics of communities and individuals

In the model reactions to criminal incidents are posited to have feedback effects upon the characteristics of communities and individuals. The inclusion of the feedback loop was largely based upon theories which seek to explain why communities fall into decline. To establish what feedback effects reactions have, and the nature of them, it would have been necessary to examine the causal chain of events over an extended period of time. However, this was not possible due to the use of a cross-sectional research design which does not easily provide for comparisons over time. Given time and cost constraints it was not possible to implement a time-series or longitudinal design where information can be collected at different points in time. Indeed, a lack of these kinds of studies have hindered community decline theorists from reaching firm conclusions regarding the processes involved in urban change (Schuerman and Kobrin, 1986; Matthews, 1992). As a result, the above stated hypothesis was neither supported nor rejected. Notwithstanding this, predictions were made about the way in which the reactions of residents could have feedback effects in the communities of Newland, Bricknell, and their locales.

In this Chapter so far we have drawn together the main lessons learned and presented the key findings of the analyses. It is now appropriate to present a revised tolerance and crime model (see Figure 5.1). Three key revisions have been made to the modified model which concern the constructs of perceptions, fears, and cohesion. A new construct has been added.

Perceptions

The construct of perceptions (construct 2) essentially remains the same with perceptions primarily relating to local problems with crime and disorder, and to how the community has changed, if at all. However, the findings confirm that perceptions can *directly* affect reactions to certain types of crime and disorder, viz, car crime and graffiti. This means that perceptions can bypass fears of victimisation (construct 3) in order to influence the tolerance of individuals and collectives (constructs A, B, & C), and their reactions (construct 11). This change has been incorporated into the model.

Fears

The meaning of fears has been extended. It can be seen from the revised model that fears is now represented by two constructs (3a and 3b), which concern two different dimensions; fears of victimisation (3a) and fears about the consequences of taking action (3b). The earlier model included only fears of victimisation. The findings confirm that fears of victimisation affect the emotions people express about criminal incidents and this in turn influences their subsequent reaction. However, these fears of victimisation primarily concerned the individual. At the community level residents are sometimes fearful about the potential consequences of taking action in response to the occurrence of criminal incidents. This factor was sometimes very influential in determining preparedness to react, and arose regardless of the crime type. Additional variables that may be appropriate for this construct include: fears of reprisals, fears about getting physically hurt, and fears about breaking the law via vigilante action. These variables which were not originally included in my 'tolerance and crime' model, were sometimes very influential in determining reactions to crime and disorder. For instance, fears of reprisals

Notes

[3a] Fears of victimisation

[3b] Fears of potential consequences

[A] General tolerance is affected by predisposing factors

[B] Specific tolerance is affected by precipitating factors

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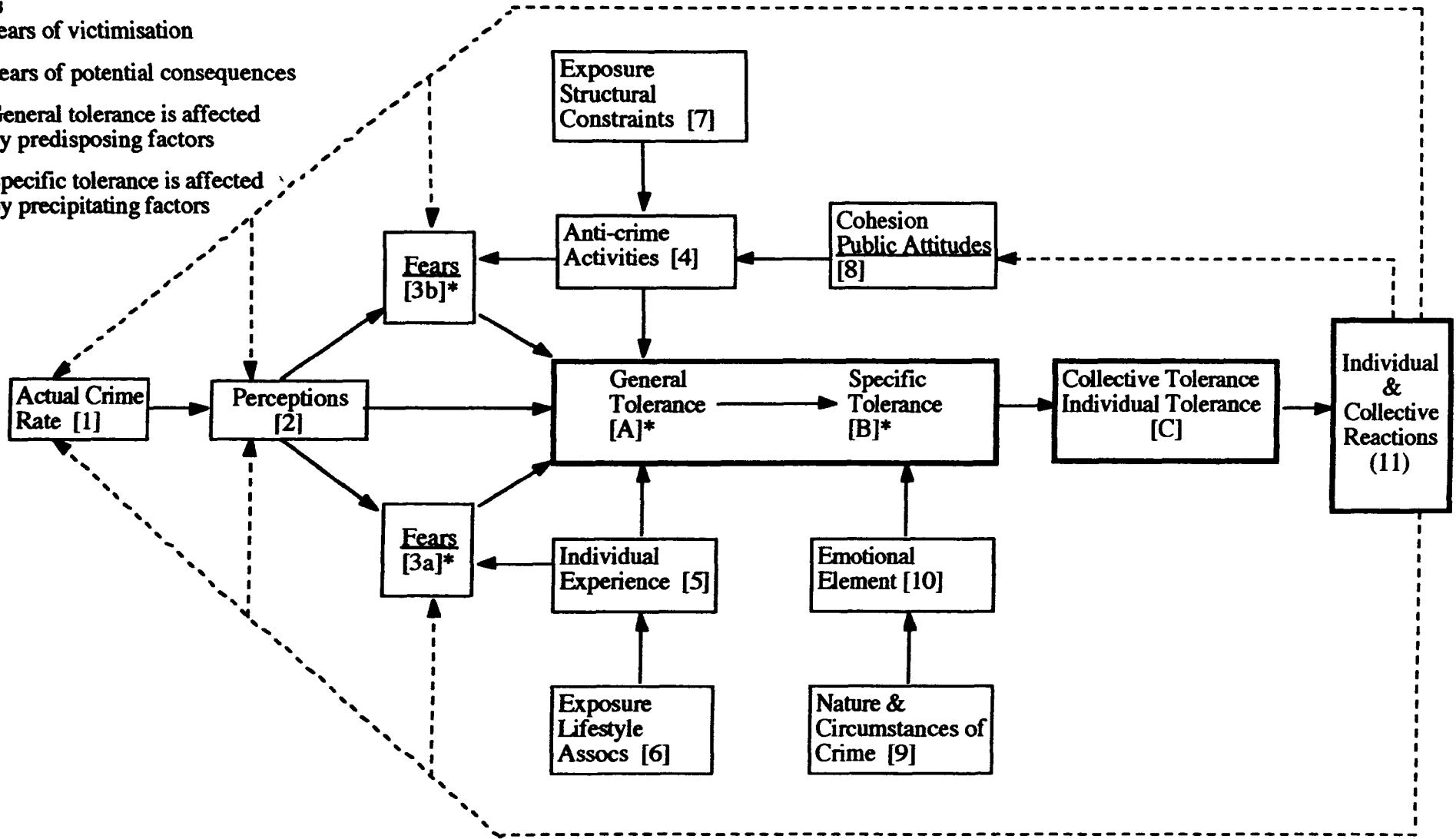


Figure 5.1: Revised Tolerance and Crime Model

from offenders was a prominent factor which deterred people from reacting to a criminal incident, especially if it was thought that young offenders were involved.

These changes in the model concerning fears are compatible with existing links to other constructs. Individual fears about victimisation (construct 3a) can be affected by prior experience of crime (construct 5). If individuals have been victims in the past that may serve to fuel their fears of victimisation. Resident fears about the possible consequences of taking action (construct 3b) are likely to be affected by their perceptions of local crime and disorder (construct 2). The presence or absence of anti-crime activities (construct 4) could feasibly affect the extent to which residents are fearful of taking action.

Public Attitudes

A number of variables which were not included in the original 'tolerance and crime' model were found to affect reactions, one of which was termed 'public attitudes'. It is therefore appropriate to incorporate this variable into the revised model (see Figure 5.1). It can be seen that 'public attitudes' has been added to an existing community construct; namely cohesion (construct 8). This variable concerns people's attitudes towards others in their community and to the welfare of the community more generally. It is intended to reflect how public spirited people are in contemporary British society.

Our research found that there was widespread scepticism about people's willingness to respond to crime or disorder problems that did not affect them 'personally', but which were detrimental to the community at large. This kind of attitude was evident in all the fieldwork areas, although there were variations in the extent to which residents were prepared to take 'public responsibility' for communal problems. When residents were cohesive and close-knit, this was reflected in their attitudes towards others as they had a 'sense of community', and as a result they were often (but not invariably) prepared to react collectively to tackle problems with crime and disorder. Furthermore, the findings indicated that public attitudes affected the preparedness of residents to engage in local crime prevention activities. This

connection is represented in the revised model with a link between 'public attitudes' and the level of 'anti-crime activities' in the revised model.

Finally, it is important to note there is a possibility that general tolerance may directly affect people's tolerance and their reactions. However, this suggestion does not warrant a change being made to the original 'tolerance and crime' model as further research is needed to confirm this.

Chapter 6

Implications and Directions For Future Research

The aim of this final Chapter is to explain how the findings of this study may direct future research in the disciplines of criminology and psychology. In some instances new lines of enquiry have been proposed. The Chapter is divided into five Sections. First, a revised working definition of tolerance is presented. We then turn to reactions to crime and disorder, and present a simple typology of reactors and non-reactors. The third section concerns research into communities and crime. Topics that have a community focus are: crime prevention, the impact of levels of crime and disorder upon reactions, the impact of the community in determining levels of crime and disorder, and the tolerance threshold of residents to crime and disorder. The emotional impact of crime constitutes the basis of the fourth section, and it is proposed that further research about emotions is justified in order to predict reactions. The fifth section proposes that current psychological theory may be of use to further research into the role of personality in determining reactions.

6.1. TOWARDS A REDEFINITION OF TOLERANCE

Our working definition of tolerance to crime was stated in Chapter 3. This definition acted as a useful point of reference. In view of the key findings there is now a need to revise this definition. It has been suggested that the concept of tolerance may be construed either as a balance between competing factors or as a continuum. These different ways of conceptualising tolerance need to be incorporated into a new definition of tolerance. However, parts of the original working definition remain unchanged for they have been validated by the findings. For instance, the constituents of tolerance were found to be in keeping with what was already posited in the original model. The revised definition is as follows, with changes highlighted in italics:

“Tolerance is a state of mind that influences the decision of how to react to a criminal incident. Tolerance may be individual or collective in nature and can lead to individual or collective forms of reactions. There are links between the two levels; individual tolerance can affect the reactions of individuals and residents’, and collective tolerance can affect the reactions of residents’ and individuals. Tolerance is ‘general’ or ‘specific’ in type. Tolerance is defined as ‘general’ when it is affected by factors which constitute the predisposition of an individual or collective to react to crime, and ‘specific’ when it is affected by factors which precipitate the reaction of an individual to an incident of a given nature and in a given place. Tolerance can be conceived as a balancing act between competing factors, or as a continuum whereby tolerance signifies one extreme and intolerance signifies the other extreme. Tolerance comprises two separate dimensions: an ‘emotional’ component and an ‘action’ component. As a result tolerance may be conceived as a two dimensional continuum which represent ‘emotions’ independently from ‘actions’.”

Some aspects of this revised definition of tolerance warrant further discussion. The predisposing factors (which affect general tolerance) represent the latent beliefs of an individual or collective, whilst the precipitating factors (which affect specific tolerance) derive from a particular deviant act. Reactions to crime are determined by the relationship between the factors that affect general tolerance and specific tolerance. This relationship is a one way process with the predisposing factors affecting the precipitating factors.

The distinction between tolerance and intolerance can be ambiguous. It is possible for a person to be intolerant of crime and disorder in one sense, and yet be tolerant in another sense. This may occur as there appear to be different facets to tolerance or intolerance, which are: emotions and actions. As a result a certain degree of tolerance may not necessarily lead to a reaction. Individuals or residents can be emotionally intolerant towards a criminal incident, and yet decide not to act. By deciding not to react they are effectively tolerant of the incident in question. In addition, individuals or collectives may have a ‘threshold’ at which they change from being tolerant to intolerant or vice versa.

However, reactions to criminal incidents may be unpredictable for a variety of reasons. It is possible that either factor type could exert more influence than the other in making the decision. There may even be a conflict between the two factor types that affect the tolerance of individuals and collectives. Finally,

the ease with which a decision to react is made can vary. The decision may follow a period of consideration or it may be simply instinctive.

6.2. A TYPOLOGY OF REACTORS AND NON-REACTORS

It has been seen that reactions to crime and disorder may be considered or instinctive in nature, and individual or collective in form in so far as they can be undertaken by an individual or by a group of people. Reactions to criminal incidents involve a variety of actions which range from the relatively simple through to the more complicated. Various factors have been found to influence how people choose to respond to criminal incidents. To develop these findings a typology of reactors and non-reactors has been devised.

This typology is based upon the different stimuli that can prompt or inhibit reactions. The actions that people take and the factors that influence reactions provided the framework for the typology. Although the analysis did not extend to ascertaining precisely why people chose certain kinds of actions, in some cases this was self evident. In addition, the analysis that was undertaken to identify the factors that determine reactions, in some cases helped to identify the reasons why this was so. Therefore the findings could be applied to ascertain what motivates people to respond or not respond to incidents of crime or disorder. Furthermore, it could be said that 'reactors' are tolerant of crime, whilst 'non-reactors' are intolerant of crime. No distinction has been made between individual and collective actions.

(1) Informer

Reports the crime or act of disorder to some person or body in a position of authority so that retributive action can be taken.

One of the strongest incentives to react is the quest for retribution; to see that justice is done; that offenders would be punished for their crimes. Contacting the police consistently featured as one of the most common actions people would take. There are certain groups of individuals who are likely to be informers, such as prior victims of crime. People may want to gather

information or intelligence before informing the authorities. Examples of a willingness to report when 'armed with information', include the intention to collect clues about the culprits responsible for local graffiti. If there were a problem with car crime some would on behalf of the police try to obtain details, such as vehicle registration number, make and model, and descriptions of the drivers.

(2) Apprehender

Applies oneself, perhaps in conjunction with others to take some form of action to personally apprehend the offender so that retributive action can be taken.

Some reactions are prompted by a desire to personally apprehend the offenders to ensure there would be some kind of retribution. This was most evident with vigilante actions, when people of their own accord declared they would try to catch the offenders themselves. Such actions might involve physically reprimanding or restraining offenders. More men than women were prepared to pursue vigilante actions. There was a preparedness to tackle burglars breaking into houses (especially if it was their own), and to apprehend youths acting disorderly. Often the intention was to catch the offenders in the act so that justice could be done by dispensing the appropriate punishment without the involvement of the authorities.

(3) Restorer

Applies oneself, perhaps in conjunction with others to take some form of remedial, restorative, or rehabilitative action.

For some people the incentive to react to criminal incidents is to rectify the damage that had been done or rehabilitate the 'wrongdoer'. An example of remedial/restorative action was the removal of graffiti from public buildings, walls, and so on. In other instances there was a preparedness to confront the young people who were suspected or known to be responsible for a misdemeanour. However, there are relatively few 'restorers' as the need to rectify, restore, or rehabilitate did not on many occasions constitute a motivating factor to take action. One reason for this was the lack of 'public

responsibility' in so far as people were often unwilling to act for the benefit of the community at large.

(4) Guardian

Protects oneself, one's property, or others, from potential risk or further harm as a result of crime or disorder by taking precautionary, protective, or deterrent measures.

People who try to reduce the likelihood of a crime occurring are termed guardians. This term was used by Cohen and Felson (1979) in their routine activities theory, where it was stated that the absence of a capable guardian constituted one of three prerequisites for a crime to occur. Guardianship most often arose in respect of property incidents. Actions applicable here include informal security arrangements between neighbours, and membership of anti-crime groups such as Neighbourhood Watch. Actions which have a deterrent affect are considered to be particularly appropriate for young people. An example of this was contacting local schools and youth groups about a graffiti problem. A more common way in which people guard against the prospect of property crime is through protection of the home. Security measures and target hardening in an effort to deter potential burglars was one such example. The actions of guardians may also extend to personal crime. Violent incidents such as a brawl outside a pub can prompt people to take precautionary measures, such as avoidance of the pub in question, an increase in awareness when out at night, or the decision to travel as a group when frequenting drinking establishments.

(5) Collaborator

Confers with, or seeks advice from others about whether or not to respond to a crime or act of disorder.

When people have the opportunity they often like to talk to others about 'what to do' in response to an incident, and this in turn may influence their decision about whether or not to react. Hence, the 'collaborator' could be a 'responder' or a 'non-responder'. The desire to confer was evidenced by the behaviour of couples (married or cohabiting) when confronted with a hypothetical criminal incident. Often they would reason with one another

about what kind of action to take, if any, and then reaffirm this before stating their decision. However, few people explicitly stated they would seek advice from others. The need to talk to others about how to react to an incident is distinguished from having a chat or gossip without any intention of taking action. Although residents talk to one another about crime this does not invariably mean they would react or help one another should an incident occur.

(6) Fatalist

Accepts or expects the occurrence of crime or disorder by not showing any care, concern, or interest in taking action.

The 'fatalist' is another non-responder. One prominent reason why people decide not to react to criminal incidents is that they feel little can be done to prevent crime; it is inevitable. Such an attitude was often accompanied by feeling 'helpless'. For instance, there was often a sense of resignation about car crime as this can be a difficult problem to rectify. Similarly, problems with catching the culprits of graffiti meant that people expected this kind of disorder to happen. From another perspective people may have little, if any, concerns about the occurrence of crime and disorder in their area. Temporary residents for example had no long-term interest in the well-being of their community and hence as a general rule were accepting of crime and disorder problems.

(7) Avoider

Avoids taking action about the occurrence of crime or disorder in case this brings about unwanted and undesirable consequences.

The final type of non-responder is the so-called 'avoider'. People may purposively refrain from reacting to a criminal incident if they are wary of consequences which may potentially follow. Amongst the main disincentives to react are fears of potential reprisals from the offenders, the possibility of being personally injured, and a risk of legal repercussions. In some cases there may be concerns about jeopardising relations with others. For this reason

people may choose not to confront parents of young children who are suspected to be responsible for criminal acts.

6.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH INTO COMMUNITIES AND CRIME

This section which has a community focus explores a number of themes. First, the most common actions people take in response to crime and disorder are posited to have implications for the introduction of community crime prevention initiatives. Second, there is a brief discussion of how local levels of crime and disorder can affect preparedness to react and that this may be crime or disorder specific. Third, with reference to prior research there is an examination of how the characteristics of communities, especially social conditions can affect levels of crime and disorder. The final theme concerns the tolerance 'threshold' of residents to crime and disorder. It is suggested that the tolerance 'threshold' of collective action may vary across different communities.

i) Implications for community crime prevention

In this research one of the most striking findings to emerge was that people preferred to take individual orientated actions rather than community orientated actions. In response to the events outlined in the burglary, violence, graffiti, and car crime scenarios, the research participants were inclined to react independently and not in conjunction with other members of the community. The only exception to this pattern was the vandalism scenario in which a school was the target. This may have been due to the fact that the parent of one of the culprits was said to be a neighbour, so someone in the community could be held accountable for the incident. The popularity of individual actions over collective actions may have implications for crime prevention initiatives in the community.

Current debates in the field of crime prevention appear to be preoccupied with conceptualising terms such as 'community safety', 'crime reduction', and 'crime prevention', and devising theories about consultation, implementation,

and evaluation. The popular usage of terms such as 'partnership', 'best practice', and 'joined up thinking' are testament to the current theorisation of how to tackle crime and disorder in our communities. A recent book entitled 'Secure Foundations: Key Issues in Crime Prevention, Crime Reduction and Community Safety' (Ballintyne, Pease, and McLaren, 2000) surprisingly (given the title) did not set aside a Section or even a Chapter for the opinions, experiences, and ideas of 'ordinary' people about crime reduction/prevention within a local context. The contributors to this book who were a mixture of policy-makers, academics, and practitioners had not in the true spirit of 'partnership' included the voice of the 'beneficiaries' - the residents from communities with crime and disorder problems.

This preoccupation with the generation of theory in the field of community crime prevention may be to the detriment of deciphering what is actually happening or not happening, and why, in communities throughout Britain. Perhaps there is widespread optimism as to the true extent of collective efforts to tackle local problems with crime and disorder. Indeed, given the popularity of individual actions, community orientated crime prevention may be more rhetoric than reality. If in practice very little is happening in the way of communal crime prevention activities then this needs to be understood at all levels, from the policy maker through to those responsible for devising and implementing strategies to combat crime and disorder.

To ensure that appropriate crime prevention initiatives are introduced into a community consideration needs to be paid to any current efforts to tackle crime and disorder problems. It would be useful to know what kind of actions the residents take in response to criminal incidents, why, and under what conditions they do so. Perhaps a typology of reactors and non-reactors would be a useful data gathering tool to help identify what motivates the residents to react (or otherwise) to criminal incidents. The residents would clearly need to be consulted to hear their experiences, opinions, and ideas about crime reduction. This kind of information gathering would aid an understanding of a community's main characteristics, social dynamics, demography, and day-to-day functioning.

Other commentators such as Walklate and Evans (1999) have argued for the need to acquire a good understanding of communities if crime prevention initiatives designated for them are to have any chance of success. Their research in Salford confirmed that Bankhill and Oldtown did not resemble the stereotypical image of two inner city areas. They suggest that communities are so complex and intricate in terms of their local structures and neighbourhood dynamics that theories which identify conditions that affect whether crime prevention strategies do or do not work are inappropriate. Hence, they urge caution against the use of crime prevention initiatives which may turn out to be unsuitable as they are based upon oversimplified notions of the target community. This is an issue they pursue throughout their book, as stated in the Introduction:

We will argue that a significant reason for the failure or limited success of such schemes or strategies is that they have failed to understand the specific dynamics operating in the communities in which they have been applied (Walklate and Evans, 1999: 7).

Indeed, our research found that the nature of crime prevention activities in Newland, Bricknell, and their locales, was closely tied in with the way in which they functioned and their specific dynamics. In the fieldwork areas collective efforts to tackle the hypothetical criminal incidents were largely disjointed, usually on an ad hoc basis, and predominantly at a street level not areal level. Relatively limited use was made of local Neighbourhood Watch groups, Resident Associations, and other local organisations. However, the popularity of informal arrangements between neighbours was a prime illustration of the localised nature of how collective responses tended to operate. These neighbourly arrangements were often rejuvenated as and when the parties felt a need for added security of their home.

Community level factors were found to be amongst the reasons why the residents preferred to take individual actions rather than collective actions. In some of the fieldwork areas only a few Neighbourhood Watch groups were in existence so not all residents were represented by this kind of local organisation. However, even when the residents had the means to react collectively by way of a local Neighbourhood Watch scheme or Residents Association they would often still prefer to respond as individuals. In some

instances the residents were sceptical that the local schemes would be able to respond effectively to their needs, or that they would have the support of other members of the community. The lack of support for community organisations was also attributed to a general reluctance of people to tackle communal problems and to accept 'public responsibility'. The 'apathy' of people was linked to public attitudes which advocate the idea of self preservation rather than communalism. This was perceived to be a characteristic of most communities. There may be other variables which prompted the residents to act alone rather than in conjunction with others. Perhaps these variables transcend differences between communities and apply countrywide. If so, the preference for individual actions over collective actions may be irrespective of the community in question and is actually a trait of contemporary British society!

The characteristics of communities and the way in which they function may also affect the kind of individual orientated actions that people commonly choose to take. For instance, in the New Estate in Bricknell the residents were reluctant to involve the police due to fears of reprisals from groups of youths who were thought to be the offenders. In a similar vein, Walklate and Evans (1999) described in some detail how fears of repercussions was a prominent issue for residents who wanted to tackle crime in Bankhill, the so-called 'frightened community'. The demographic make-up of a community can also influence the kind of actions that residents take. It was found that housing tenure distinguished between what home owners and renters would choose to do if there were a nearby spate of burglaries. Most people were prepared to try and reduce the likelihood of being burgled, but only home owners tended to consider actions which involved a financial outlay such as the installation of security hardware.

In sum it is suggested that more attention should be paid than is at present to how residents typically tackle crime in their communities and the reasons behind the kind of actions they take. This would help to bridge the gap in our understanding about the true extent of 'crime prevention' at a collective level in our communities. It would also help ensure that the introduction of crime reduction initiatives are suitable for the target communities.

ii) The impact of levels of crime and disorder upon reactions

This research has found that local levels of crime and disorder can affect the preparedness of residents to react to criminal incidents. Residents of communities which have high levels of crime or disorder were less inclined to react to certain criminal incidents when compared to residents of communities which have low levels of crime or disorder. This difference arose as people over time become acclimatised to prevailing local conditions in their community, and this in turn affects their perceptions of incidents involving crime and disorder. For instance, high levels of exposure to car crime and graffiti tended to deter actions, whilst low levels of exposure often prompted reactions.

What was interesting was that levels of crime and disorder in the community did not have a uniform effect upon preparedness to react. Rather it was dependent upon the type of crime or disorder in question. This may be a signal for the need for further research. For instance, the willingness of people to react to a spate of local burglaries appeared to be regardless of levels of exposure to this kind of crime. People were prompted to react as they were worried they had a heightened risk of being burgled. Furthermore, burglary was perceived to be a widespread problem by many people. Residents from areas which did not really suffer from burglary such as Newland Park were no less prepared to react to this scenario than residents from areas which were notorious for high levels of burglary, such as Newland.

iii) How communities can affect levels of crime and disorder

The findings from the interview data confirm that preparedness to react to criminal incidents can vary according to place of residence, showing that the characteristics of communities where people live can affect their reactions. The demographic make-up of communities may also result in variations in reactions. The findings support previous research about communities and crime in so far as reactions are most forthcoming from residents of communities that are affluent, residentially stable, cohesive, and having active crime prevention schemes. These community characteristics often featured in

combination as seen in the area of Bricknell and the locales of Bricknell Avenue, the Old Estate, Newland Park, and Ella Street. Residents of these places were typically owner occupiers, car owners, and family orientated, which as individual characteristics are often conducive to taking action. Hence residents from these communities were generally inclined to react to the hypothetical criminal incidents. In contrast in Newland (aside from the above locales) the community characteristics found to be conducive to reacting were largely absent and the demography of the residents meant that overall there was more of a reluctance to take some kind of action.

The importance of community characteristics in determining how residents react to crime and disorder is supported by research which sought to test Shaw and McKay's (1942) theory of social disorganisation. This theory constituted part of the theoretical underpinning for the tolerance and crime model. The structural characteristics of residential stability and affluence it could be said represent the exogenous sources of social disorganisation, whilst the neighbourhood dynamics of residential cohesiveness and participation in crime prevention groups may be construed as indicators of social disorganisation. In tests of the social disorganisation theory two key studies have found that the structural characteristics and neighbourhood dynamics of communities can affect levels of crime (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999). One of the underlying assumptions of the theory is that prevailing social conditions of communities can directly affect the ability of residents to control local levels of crime and disorder. Social conditions can through an increase or decrease in social disorganisation determine patterns of crime. From the results of the two studies it can be deduced that extensive friendship networks, good rates of organisational participation, and low levels of unsupervised teenage peer groups enable the residents to maintain effective control over activities in their community which in turn is likely to reduce the local crime rate.

Likewise in this research the existence of collective crime prevention activities and good levels of cohesiveness amongst the residents were found to be conducive to taking action in response to criminal incidents. When these social conditions were present there tended to be lower levels of crime, as was

evident in Newland Park, Bricknell, Bricknell Avenue and the Old Estate. On the other hand when the residents appeared to be less cohesive and there were few crime prevention activities, higher levels of crime were found. This was the case in Newland. Hence there were connections between neighbourhood conditions and levels of crime that were in keeping with the predictions of social disorganisation theory. The different ways in which these neighbourhood dynamics may have an impact upon patterns of crime and disorder will now be outlined. Although this research is by no means a satisfactory test of the theory, the results are nevertheless supportive of how neighbourhood dynamics (i.e. indicators of social disorganisation) are predicted to affect the willingness of residents to tackle local problems with crime and disorder. The findings may therefore be of interest to those conducting future research about how residents can affect local levels of crime.

Participation in collective crime prevention activities

In this research there were two prominent forms of collective crime prevention activities, viz; crime prevention schemes and informal surveillance arrangements between neighbours. Crime prevention schemes as earlier stated (see Chapter 5) were most commonly found in communities which were affluent, residentially stable and cohesive. The existence of schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch (NW) encouraged people to react for a number of reasons. First, members were confident that others would also be inclined to 'do something' about crime and disorder problems. This was especially the case when the scheme was very localised and covered just one or two streets. Second, they provided a means of recourse when people commonly felt there were few other options open to them. Third, they provided the opportunity for residents to easily respond as a collective to criminal incidents.

Informal security or surveillance arrangements between neighbours also influenced reactions. These arrangements were most commonly in place to guard against the risk of property crime, particularly burglary and thefts from outbuildings, garages, and so on. If there were a spate of local burglaries people would often reactivate arrangements they had made with their neighbours to 'keep an eye on' each others property. These reciprocal

agreements were found to be far more prevalent than Neighbourhood Watch schemes which was probably due to the fact that only two households need be involved. Prior research confirms that these informal arrangements can be found in different types of communities, but not where neighbours are mistrustful of one another (Girling et al, 2000). The popularity of these arrangements also emphasised the localised nature of crime prevention activities in the fieldwork areas.

In view of the ubiquity of these arrangements between neighbours it would be of value if future research could ascertain whether they do in fact help to reduce the occurrence of property crime. If so, then the existence of these arrangements may fruitfully be used as an indicator of the mobilisation capacity of residents to effectively tackle crime problems. This in turn would mean that future tests of social disorganisation theory would need to modify and extend the measures used for one of the indicators of social disorganisation. Future tests would not focus solely upon 'participation in organisations' as was the case in prior studies (see Sampson and Groves, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999), but would also include a measure for 'participation in informal arrangements with neighbours'. Furthermore, this would reflect the fact that collective crime prevention activities can be very localised.

Cohesiveness of the residents

The neighbourhood dynamic of community cohesiveness was an important determinant of preparedness to react to the hypothetical criminal incidents. Indeed, different aspects of cohesiveness appeared to affect the reactions of the residents in the fieldwork areas. Although this discussion is explicitly concerned with cohesiveness, the importance of residential stability should not be overlooked as there were strong connections between the two. Communities which were close knit and cohesive were also residentially stable. This pattern was consistent across all the fieldwork areas and locales. Newland was distinct in that the residents did not display many signs of cohesiveness and the area was residentially unstable.

In this study two dimensions of cohesiveness were measured which were based upon those used by Skogan and Maxfield (1981). One variable termed residential ties portrayed a commitment to the community, and the other termed social ties represented the degree of social integration into the community. In the majority of instances it was found that more residents who had cohesive ties were prepared to react to the hypothetical scenarios when compared to others. This is in keeping with previous research which indicates that residents who display signs of cohesiveness tend to be more willing than others to exert informal control in order to tackle local crime problems (see for example, Maccoby, Johnson and Church, 1958). As a result residential cohesiveness is likely to have an impact upon local levels of crime and disorder. Notably, other aspects of residents' relations were found to affect preparedness to react, and as they have the potential to affect patterns of crime it is appropriate to discuss each of them in turn.

(1) Temporary residents

A complete lack of commitment or attachment to the community was a very powerful deterrent against taking action. Temporary residents were not at all inclined to react to local problems with crime or disorder. This was evidenced with the University students who often assumed they would only be residents of Hull for the duration of their degree, which was typically 3 years. Other transient groups could include single parents, the unemployed, and shorthold tenants. However, their status as temporary residents may not be as rigidly defined as for students who often pursue courses that run for stipulated time periods. As temporary residence is so influential in deterring reactions to crime and disorder problems, it is likely to have a damaging effect upon the ability of residents to control levels of crime and disorder in communities which have a significant transient population.

(2) Relations between distinct community groups

A complete break-down in relations between different community groups can have a damaging affect upon the willingness of residents to tackle local crime and disorder problems. In Newland (with the exception of Newland Park), the students sometimes refrained from reacting to the criminal incidents in case this would exacerbate already tense relations with the permanent

residents. This student-resident divide arose from a conflict in interests. The local residents attributed the decline in their community to the presence of students, who in turn had created a market for rented accommodation and amenities geared towards the young such as theme pubs and fast-food outlets. This conflict between the main population groups of Newland would probably be detrimental to crime prevention efforts, especially at a collective level, and as a result levels of criminal activity could increase in the area.

(3) Perceptions of how others would react

Perceptions about the willingness of others to react to a criminal incident can be very influential in determining preparedness to react. A person may take action if they are confident that their neighbours or others in the area would do the same. It may also be of some reassurance to know that their decision to act has the support of others in the neighbourhood. Such confidence may arise from close-knit relations between residents especially at a localised level. People who had resided on the same street for a long period of time often enjoyed strong neighbour networks. Length of residence it will be recalled has been found to be the key factor to affect the formation of local networks (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). The existence of crime prevention schemes also helped to reinforce a belief that other members would probably 'do something' should a situation arise. This was especially the case if the members knew each other and lived on the same street. If residents are motivated to react to local problems due to their perceptions that others would do the same, this could reduce levels of crime and disorder in the community. This may be of particular relevance to disorder, as Skogan (1990) has found a negative relationship between the presence of high levels of disorder and collective co-operation amongst residents. Skogan suggests that disorder in the community may undermine the morale of the local residents and the perceived effectiveness of taking positive action (see Chapter 1).

(4) Prior shared history

People are sometimes encouraged to react when they can recall previous occasions where residents had responded collectively to tackle a local problem. Typically this applied to long-term residents who had formed lasting associations with others in their area. The problem need not even concern

crime or disorder, nor have occurred in recent years. In Bricknell for instance, a small group of residents rectified a noise problem at a local pub following a changeover in management. For one couple this episode increased their confidence that their neighbours would like themselves take action if a local problem with graffiti escalated. Similarly, in Newland Park the residents proudly recalled how they had grouped together in order to resolve a parking problem. Although this had occurred some time ago it still reinforced a belief that people in the area would 'do something' should the need arise in the future. So if residents have a 'shared history' this can be a sufficient enough prompt to encourage people to react, and in turn may help to reduce local levels of crime and disorder.

(5) Shared consensus

When there is a consensus as to what constitutes inappropriate behaviour in a community this can prompt people to react. There was evidence of this in Newland Park as well as in the Old Estate situated in Bricknell. The residents of the Old Estate were proud of their local schools and many were personally attached to them as their children were often former pupils or current pupils. Due to this shared interest in the schools the residents were notably willing to react to a hypothetical incident that concerned the vandalism of a primary school. If the residents decide to respond to other acts of vandalism, this may have a favourable impact upon levels of this kind of disorder in the area.

The findings of this research suggest that future studies about the effects of community cohesiveness upon reactions to crime and disorder need to extend beyond the traditional boundaries of cohesive ties. We know that resident networks are considered to be fundamental to the ability of residents to effectively tackle crime levels (see Chapter 1). As a result networks have been used as an indicator of social disorganisation (see Sampson and Groves, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999). Indeed, the systemic theory of control is testament to the importance assigned to local networks in determining the ability of the residents to exert control over crime in their community. However, it is clear that the social processes that occur within communities can be complex and diverse in nature. It has been seen that other components of community cohesiveness may affect local levels of crime and disorder, such as:

- (1) the existence of temporary residents;
- (2) relations between different community groups;
- (3) perceptions of how others will react;
- (4) prior shared history; and
- (5) consensus or shared values as to inappropriate behaviour.

The fact that different dimensions of cohesiveness were found to exist in the fieldwork areas would appear to be supportive of the need to consider the 'specific dynamics' which operate in different communities (Walklate and Evans, 1999). As a result this research like earlier work has reason to question whether the theory of social disorganisation can adequately portray the neighbourhood dynamics which help enable communities to function (see for instance Bottoms and Wiles, 1997; Veysey and Messner, 1999). Social disorganisation theorists may therefore benefit from re-examining how they measure the concept of cohesion when conducting tests to establish how social conditions can affect community crime rates.

iv) The tolerance threshold of collective reactions

It has been seen that the preparedness of residents to react to criminal incidents can vary according to place of residence. As a result there are likely to be variations in the 'critical point' at which residents from different communities decide to react collectively to local crime and disorder problems. This 'critical point' or tolerance 'threshold' for residents is similar to the individual 'threshold' which was earlier discussed (see Chapter 5), the only difference is that here it applies in aggregate. Consequently, the tolerance 'threshold' at the community level is reached when the residents are not prepared to accept any more increases in crime or the existence of a particular type of crime in their neighbourhood. The idea of the threshold stemmed from the concept of the tolerance quotient¹ as discussed by Lemert (1951). Lemert suggested that the concept may be useful to compare the reactions of

¹ The tolerance quotient is a 'ratio of actual criminal behaviour to public attitudes to that behaviour' (Lemert, 1951: 19). The quotient has not been applied due to the difficulty of expressing the fraction in numerical terms. The same unit of measurement needs to be applied to the amount of crime (objective measure), and to the tolerance of people to that crime (subjective measure).

residents from different communities to deviant behaviour. The tolerance 'threshold' is when:

[t]he people in the locality will begin to do something about the deviant behaviour. They will hold public meetings, urge authorities to take action, or perhaps organise themselves into an action group to eradicate the undesirable behaviour (Lemert, 1951: 57).

The notion of a tolerance 'threshold' constitutes one of the reasons why the concept of tolerance appears to be so complex (see Chapter 5). However, it may be possible to identify the tolerance 'threshold' of residents in different communities by examining the factors which have been found to affect the likelihood of taking action. This can be illustrated by reference to some of the communities studied in the fieldwork which have been characterised as: 'cohesive', 'affluent', or 'in decline'. Although collective action was not a very popular response to local problems with crime and disorder there were factors which prompted people to react in this way.

The tolerance threshold of residents of a cohesive community

In the residentially stable areas of Bricknell, the Old Estate and Bricknell Avenue, the residents were often cohesive especially at a localised level as many had formed friendship ties with their neighbours. However, if a local problem with crime and disorder were to arise the residents would probably choose to act alone rather than in conjunction with others. Interestingly, if these individual actions failed to tackle the problem or the situation deteriorated then the residents would probably turn to their neighbours or to a NW group. In a cohesive community people can effectively have a 'back-up' plan for they have the confidence that others will be willing to act as a group should the need arise. Consequently, the tolerance 'threshold' for collective action may be triggered when the residents perceive that their individual actions had been ineffective. In the Old Estate in Bricknell, the residents as we have seen were inclined to respond to problems that involved the local schools since many had personal sentiment for them. However, this did not necessarily mean they were prepared to react to all incidents concerning crime or disorder. Rather it was the nature of the problem that lowered their

tolerance 'threshold' and triggered them to react. Other local issues may even fail to elicit a response.

The tolerance threshold of residents of an affluent community

Newland Park as a locale of Newland was characterised as being particularly affluent, and was also cohesive and residentially stable. Whilst these factors were conducive to taking action the residents as a function of their affluence were unlikely to resort to collective action until all other options had been exhausted. Those who are affluent are often able to absorb the financial costs which arise from crime. As a result if residents of this area were the victims of property crime they would probably be able to repair or rectify the damage and make improvements to security without the need to raise the matter with other residents. Consequently, the tolerance 'threshold' for residents from a very affluent area to say an increase in house burglaries, may be somewhat higher than for residents who live in a more typical suburb such as Bricknell.

The tolerance threshold of residents in a community in decline

Newland (with the exception of Newland Park and Ella Street) appeared to bear the hallmarks of a community in decline. The divisive, atomising affect of crime and disorder upon communities as documented in Skogan's theory of community decline was evident in Newland (Skogan, 1986). Even if the residents were unhappy about the extent of crime and disorder in their community their intolerance to such problems had effectively been blunted by unfavourable social conditions. However, there may be occasions where the residents are prompted to react collectively even though their community is in decline. One such instance is when their expectations are exceeded. Residents from this area as we have seen would probably not react to the appearance of new graffiti on public property, businesses, and shops as this was already a feature of the area. Yet, if dwelling houses were targeted this may be unacceptable to the residents and if they then chose to collectively react this would constitute their tolerance 'threshold'.

By reference to the fieldwork communities it has been demonstrated how residents may differ in the extent to which they tolerate increases in the amount of local crime or disorder. The reasons for these differences can be due to the characteristics of the area. Residents from an affluent community may be more willing to accept a greater increase in the number of property incidents due to their ability to financial rectify the situation when compared to residents of other communities. What perhaps is acceptable to residents of a community in decline may be unacceptable to residents in more stable communities. Residents in a declining community may be triggered to react as a collective long after residents in healthier areas choose to take action. Hence, the tolerance 'threshold' of a community in decline may be somewhat different to a community which is say undergoing gentrification.

An obvious drawback of the tolerance 'threshold' is deciding which variables merit examination. This research has demonstrated that there are a multitude of variables which could determine the 'threshold' for collective action. Reactions as we have seen may be influenced by characteristics of communities and individuals. In addition, the factors which affect preparedness to react vary according to the nature and circumstances of the incident. Hence, the tolerance 'threshold' is likely to be sensitive to changes in the type of criminal behaviour in question. Another potential difficulty with the concept of the tolerance threshold, is the small-scale nature of many crime prevention activities. In the fieldwork communities collective actions were found to be far less common than informal security arrangements between 2 or 3 neighbours. If there are numerous arrangements of this nature in a community, this would create problems when trying to ascertain with any kind of precision the tolerance 'threshold' of the residents to crime and disorder. The task would probably be easier if large scale crime prevention groups were in existence, for these could be used as a measure of the residents' tolerance 'threshold'.

If it is possible to identify the point at which people are triggered to react as a group this will aid understanding of the impact of crime and disorder upon communities. It will also contribute to the study of how communities can affect levels of crime and disorder. If community decline theorists are more

informed about the tolerance thresholds for residents from different communities, this would help to determine how reactions can effect the characteristics of communities. Whilst these kind of issues are complex and challenging in nature they provide potential avenues for further research.

6.4. THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF CRIME AND DISORDER

The emotional impact of crime as a topic of enquiry has been traditionally dominated by research about fear of crime (as discussed in Chapter 2). It is well known that fears of victimisation can affect the reactions of people to crime and disorder. In recent years a body of research has highlighted the need to examine in more detail the emotional effects following crime victimisation. For instance, a number of studies have found that the emotion of anger is more common than that of being fearful (Ditton et al, 1999; and Mirrlees-Black, Mayhew and Percy, 1996). Whilst this research confirms the popularity of anger as an emotion in response to criminal incidents, other emotions also appear to warrant the attention that 'anger' has recently been afforded. For instance, the emotions of shock, surprise, concern, and helplessness, were expressed about each of the crime scenarios. Many more emotions were expressed but in contrast were dependent upon the nature and circumstances of the crime in question.

The findings also confirm that the occurrence of crime and disorder in the community is likely to have an emotional effect upon people regardless of their victimisation status. Hence, future research should examine the emotions of people who have not been direct victims as well as the emotions of victims. Furthermore, since this research confirms that the emotions people express can influence their preparedness to react to criminal incidents, more detailed research about the impact of emotions is warranted.

In view of these findings, especially those that link emotions to reactions to crime and disorder, the emotional impact of crime is perhaps more wide-reaching than is often assumed to be the case. To enhance our understanding about how emotions affect reactions further research should seek to identify

with more precision, first, which emotions are conducive to reacting and when, and second, which groups of individuals are likely to express these emotions and why. The same may apply at the areal level of analysis in order to predict with more accuracy the likelihood that residents from a particular community would react.

Whilst this research confirms that emotions can affect preparedness to react, the findings are at an embryonic stage. In most instances it was possible to identify which emotions are likely to be conducive to taking action and which are less conducive to taking action, but such a distinction was made on a generalised basis only. For example, the emotions of anger, concern, shock, and guilt, were often conducive to taking action, and each was found to be statistically related to the decision to react. Other emotions such as helplessness and surprise appeared to deter actions despite the absence of statistical relationships. However, little attention was paid to the context in which the emotions were expressed. When confronted with a criminal incident the emotions that people feel may relate to a variety of contexts: the incident itself, the victim, the offender, the time or place of the incident, and so on. Furthermore, only a limited number of scenarios were analysed in this research. For these reasons further research is warranted to ascertain how different emotions affect preparedness to react and when.

Second, there is a need to examine in more detail why people differ in their feelings about the same incident. This research has begun to explore why some people feel one emotion when others do not. Similarly, at an areal level there have been attempts to explicate why residents from one community feel different emotions to residents from another community. The findings confirm that emotions expressed about criminal incidents can be influenced by:

- (1) the demographic characteristics of individuals;
- (2) other individual characteristics, such as lifestyle and prior victimisation; and
- (3) place of residence in terms of community characteristics and social conditions.

However, only limited analyses was carried out in order to understand why these influences were found to affect emotions. For instance, explanations were forwarded for the areal differences in the emotions expressed by the Bricknell and Newland respondents, but these were by no means comprehensive. Although several statistical relationships between emotions and community characteristics were reported in the findings, other relationships were not. Likewise, the interview findings provided some indication as to why place of residence was likely to affect emotions, but the analysis was limited as the interviewees were not specifically asked for their emotions about the crime and disorder scenarios. Consequently, future analyses about connections between emotions and community characteristics are likely to be fruitful. The same may also be said about connections between emotions and social conditions of communities.

6.5. IMPLICATIONS FOR CRIMINOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY

There is evidence from our research to suggest that the personality of individuals may be an important factor in determining reactions to criminal incidents. We found that individuals vary considerably in their willingness to tackle problems which arise in their community. As a function of their personality some people were keen to expend their time and energy to respond to a criminal incident, whilst others were more reluctant to deal with the situation with which they are confronted and were instead inclined to let others 'do something'.

It may be the case that the personality type of an individual can determine their preparedness to react to criminal incidents, and even the kind of actions that are taken. Perhaps the emotions which individuals express about the criminal incidents are linked to their personality. If so, this would mean that personality could indirectly affect preparedness to react. These kind of issues raise new research questions about the concept of tolerance and intolerance to criminal incidents. If personality has an independent effect upon how people respond to crime this would mean that reactions to crime and disorder are not

always predictable and hence may be different from the predictions of the 'tolerance and crime' model. This possibility has already been touched upon in Chapter 5 when discussing the notion of a 'personal profile' as a means of predicting the reactions of individuals.

One of the difficulties in making such a prediction was having to anticipate how the personality type of individuals would influence their reactions. The main problem is with the 'subjective' nature of personality as this makes it hard to ascertain whether or not an individual is naturally inclined to react to criminal incidents. A potential solution to this problem may be found in the discipline of psychology. For instance, perhaps personality models devised by psychologists could provide a useful framework from which to examine whether the personality of individuals affects their reactions to crime and disorder. The idea of a linkage between psychological theory and criminological theory is by no means new. Historically there have been links between the disciplines of criminology and psychology. For instance, psychologists have posited that criminal behaviour is linked to the personality of individuals.

In sum, it has been suggested that there is some value in examining the ways in which the personality of individuals can influence their reactions to crime. Indeed, the evidence indicates that this 'personal factor' may be the key determinant which triggers the decision to act or not to act. Furthermore, the type of actions that people decide to take may even be an expression of their personality, so that a useful framework for further research in this area might be found in psychology.

Conclusions

This research has shown that tolerance is a complex concept. Tolerance may be construed in a variety of ways; as a continuum, or as a balance between competing factors. The way in which the tolerance of individuals and collectives is determined is not by any means straightforward. This has implications for how people respond to crime since tolerance has a vital role in determining reactions. We have seen that there are many nuances associated with the concept. Yet, despite the complexity of this concept, a model of 'tolerance and crime' has been devised, empirically tested, and then modified. This model and associated findings should inform future research about tolerance and reactions to crime. It is hoped that my 'tolerance and crime' model will act as a source of inspiration for others to continue in the quest to understand the reactions of people to crime and disorder within a local context.

This thesis has contributed to our understanding about reactions to crime more generally. It has been seen, first, that communities can affect local crime rates due to the reactions of the residents, and second, that crime and disorder can affect communities in terms of the impact upon the reactions of the residents. Hence, the reactions of residents can have an effect on crime and also be a consequence of crime.

An interesting proposition for future research regarding reactions would be to determine with more accuracy how predictable reactions to crime and disorder are. This study has found that in some instances it is possible to predict how people are likely to react, although there are other situations where it is far more difficult to forecast a reaction. Whilst this would be a challenging undertaking, it may be of use to other areas of criminology, such as crime prevention. Forecasting the reactions of people to crime could help identify those most at risk. There may be certain population groups who are unlikely to react to crime (as a function of their tolerance), but who are also most at risk of becoming a victim of crime. If this is the case then it may be

worth targeting these groups in order to increase their awareness about how to reduce the risks of crime.

Another line of criminological enquiry concerns crime prevention activities within our local communities. Collective crime prevention efforts may be far less common than is often considered to be the case. This may be regardless of the type of community. In high-crime areas and low-crime areas people prefer to act independently in response to crime and disorder rather than in conjunction with others. Furthermore, the findings may be indicative of a trend towards small-scale crime prevention measures that are very localised. People like to rely upon the goodwill of their neighbours rather than have to turn to local schemes or Resident Associations. As a result collective efforts to tackle crime are predominantly at a street level rather than at an areal level.

Furthermore, and rather more speculatively, the findings of this research have implications for the discipline of psychology. Personality theories devised by psychologists may provide a suitable framework from which to examine how the personality of individuals may affect their reactions to crime. Hence, psychological theory may help in the development of criminological theory. Indeed, future research about the role of personality in determining reactions could in turn change our understanding about the concept of tolerance to crime and disorder. Clearly, there are benefits to be gained from adopting a multi-disciplinary focus.

Finally, it has been seen that crime may in some instances have a unifying effect upon residents of a community. This is supportive of the work by Durkheim (1933, 1938), who argued that crime may have a positive as well as a negative impact upon social life. This is due to the fact that prevailing social conditions within communities can affect reactions to criminal incidents. If actions at an individual level fail to have the desired effect, people were often then prepared to turn to their neighbours and sometimes to local crime prevention groups for help. Indeed, when faced with a spate of burglaries in their street it was not unusual for people to re-activate security arrangements they had with their neighbours. Furthermore, people like to confer with others about how best to respond to an incident. Often they talk to members

of their own household, but equally it could be other members of the community. In these ways crime can bring people together, and this in turn is beneficial to cohesiveness and community solidarity. In sum, crime and disorder problems may have positive as well as negative effects for the community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Interview Schedule

Standard Interview for Local Residents:

Section A - About You and Your Neighbourhood

1. How long have you lived in this area?
2. Do you have any family living locally?
3. Do you have you any friends living locally?
4. Would you say your street is a friendly street in which people talk to one another?
5. As a resident what would you say are the 3 best things about living around here? On the other hand, what do you feel are the 3 worst things about living around here?
6. a). Would you say that the area where you live has in the past couple of years: changed for the better/changed for the worse/stayed the same/don't know.
b). Why do you feel this is the case?

Section B - Dealing with Crime

(One or two scenarios randomly selected)

Scenario A

Your local primary school has been broken into and paint has been sprayed into the classrooms. This is not the first time it has happened. You suspect that a group of boys, around the ages of 12 - 15, who are known in the area as 'trouble' or 'bad news' are responsible?

1. What would you do about this?

If the respondent chose to react:

2. Why have you chosen that action?
3. What alternative actions did you consider?
4. Why did you choose not to do something else?

If the respondent chose not to react:

2. Why have you chosen not to act?
3. What alternative options did you consider?

4. Why are other options not acceptable, or not worthwhile doing?
5. What would other people do?
6. Would it make any difference if you knew the group of boys who were responsible?
7. How would you react, if you knew the group of lads who vandalised the school were of ages between 16 to 20?

Scenario B

Speeding in a stolen car has become a problem in your neighbourhood, and it looks set to continue. There is a lot of noise, and squealing of the tyres, especially at night. No-one has yet been hurt, but there is a clear danger to people on the street.

1. What would you do about it?

If the respondent chose to react:

2. Why have you chosen that action?
3. What alternative actions did you consider?
4. Why did you choose not to do something else?

If the respondent chose not to react, the following would be asked:

2. Why have you chosen not to act?
3. What alternative options did you consider?
4. Why are other options not acceptable, or not worthwhile doing?
5. What would other people do about it?

6. What, if a child was 'knocked down' when a car dangerously driven, swerved out of control? Would you react any differently?

Scenario C

Some of the houses on your street have recently been burgled.

1. What would you do about it?

If the respondent chose to react:

2. Why have you chosen that action?
3. What alternative actions did you consider?
4. Why did you choose not to do something else?

If the respondent chose not to react:

2. Why have you chosen not to act?
3. What alternative options did you consider?
4. Why are other options not acceptable, or not worthwhile doing?
5. What would the police do?
6. What would other people do about it?

Scenario D

A friend of yours was injured in a brawl outside a local pub. Your friend was not to blame in any way.

1. What would you do about it?

If the respondent chose to react:

2. Why have you chosen that action?
3. What alternative actions did you consider?
4. Why did you choose not to do something else?

If the respondent chose not to react:

2. Why have you chosen not to act?
3. What alternative options did you consider?
4. Why are other options not acceptable, or not worthwhile doing?

5. What would other people do about this?

6. If your friend did something to provoke the 'fight,' would you react any differently?

Scenario E

Graffiti is appearing in your neighbourhood on public property such as walls, fences, and in the park. Some local shops and businesses have also been targeted.

1. What would you do?

If the respondent chose to react:

2. Why have you chosen that action?
3. What alternative actions did you consider?
4. Why did you choose not to do something else?

If the respondent chose not to react:

2. Why have you chosen not to act?
3. What alternative options did you consider?
4. Why are the other options not acceptable, or not worthwhile doing?

5. What would others do about this?

6. Several residential properties on your street, have also been the target of graffiti. Would you react any differently?

Section C - About Crime near your home

7. a). Compared with the rest of the country, roughly how much crime would you say there is in this area?
b). Are there any particular crime problems in this area?
c). Why do you think this crime/crimes is a problem in your area?
8. How do you hear about crime that occurs locally?
9. a). What's been done to reduce crime locally?
b). Do these efforts involve local people?
c). How successful are these attempts in fighting local crime?
d). What more should be done and who should do it?
e). Is there anything you could do to help?
f). Is there a local N.W. Group? If so, are you a member?
10. In the last 12 months have you been a victim of:
a). burglary/car crime/assault/mugging or vandalism of your property.
If yes, how many times?
b). In the last 12 months have you been a victim of any other type of crime?
If yes, which crime/s?
c). How, if at all, has your personal experience of crime affected your views about crime?
11. In the last year have any of your close friends or family been a victim of:
a). burglary/car crime/assault/mugging or vandalism of their property.
b). In the last year have any of your close friends or family been a victim of any other type of crime?
12. a). Do you know anyone who has in the last 12 months committed a crime, other than a minor driving offence?
b). If yes, do you know more than one person who in the last 12 months has committed a crime?

Section D - Your Lifestyle

13. a). How many times in the last 7 days did you go out in the evening?
b). What did you do on each of the occasions, and who was this with?
c). Were they locally based, and how did you travel to these activities?
14. a). Are you involved in any clubs, associations, groups, classes, sports/leisure activities, or voluntary work?
b). How often do you meet and how involved are you in this/these activities?
c). Were they locally based, and how did you travel there?

Section E - Some details about You and Your Household

15. What age group do you belong to?
15-30/31-45/46-60/61-75/over 75
16. What is your marital status?
Single/married/living with partner/separated/widowed/divorced
17. How many people including yourself live in your household?
No. of adults over the age of 18
No. of children under the age of 18
18. Is your home:
Owned outright or with a mortgage
Rented from the council/housing association/private landlord
Tied Accommodation
19. What is your occupation? Are you:
Wage earning/salaried/retired/unemployed/student/housewife/
other unwaged?
20. How old were you when you completed your full-time education at
school or college?
16 or under/17-19/20 or over/still in education
21. Do you or your household have access to any of the following?
Motor car or van/motor bike or scooter/pedal cycle/none of these
22. How would you briefly describe the area where you live?
23. Is there anything else you would like to add?
24. Do you know of any friends/family in the Bricknell/Newland area who
might be willing to do this?

Appendix B:

Questionnaire about Crime in Newland and Bricknell

Section A - About You and Your Neighbourhood

1. How long have you lived in Newland/Bricknell?

(Please tick one box)

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Less than 1 year | <input type="checkbox"/> | Over 1 year, less than 2 years | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Over 2 years, less than 5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> | Over 5 years, less than 10 years | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Over 10 years | <input type="checkbox"/> | Can't remember | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Do you have any family living in the Newland or Bricknell area?

(Please tick one box)

- Yes No

3. Have you any friends you talk to regularly living around here?

(Please tick one box)

- Yes No

4. Thinking of the 4 closest houses/flats to you, in how many of these houses do you know people well enough to talk to? (Please tick one box)

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 house/flat | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 houses/flats | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 3 houses/flats | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 houses/flats | <input type="checkbox"/> | None <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Within the last day have you done any of the following:

(Please tick yes or no on each line)

- | | Yes | No |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Read a national paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Read a local paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Watched national news on television | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Watched local news on television | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Listened to national radio station | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Listened to local radio station | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. In the last week, how often have you gone out and for what reason?

(Please tick one of the four boxes on each line)

- | | once | twice | 3+times | never |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Visit family/friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to pub/licensed premises | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to cafe/restaurant | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to club/dance/party | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to church/place of worship | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to evening class | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Watched or took part in sport | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to meeting of club/committee | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to cinema/theatre | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went to child centred activity | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Went out for a walk/to the park | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

.....

7. Please rate the area where you live on the following scales.
(Please circle one number on each line)

For example: 1 = very peaceful, 2 = quite peaceful, 3 = neither peaceful nor noisy,
4 = quite noisy, 5 = very noisy.

a). Your area is generally:

peaceful	1	2	3	4	noisy	5
attractive	1	2	3	4	unattractive	5
tidy	1	2	3	4	untidy	5
quiet	1	2	3	4	busy	5

b). Buildings & houses are:

well maintained	1	2	3	4	poorly maintained	5
-----------------	---	---	---	---	-------------------	---

c). Streets and walkways are:

well lit	1	2	3	4	poorly lit	5
----------	---	---	---	---	------------	---

d). Neighbours are:

friendly	1	2	3	4	unfriendly	5
----------	---	---	---	---	------------	---

e). People in your area have:

a strong sense of 'community'	1	2	3	4	no sense of 'community'	5
----------------------------------	---	---	---	---	----------------------------	---

f). You feel as though:

you 'belong' in the area	1	2	3	4	you're an 'outsider' to the area	5
-----------------------------	---	---	---	---	-------------------------------------	---

8. Would you say that the area where you live has in the past couple of years:
(Please tick one box)

Changed for the better	<input type="checkbox"/>
Changed for the worse	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stayed the same	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. a). Please write in below what you feel are the 3 best things about living around here

b). Please write below what you feel are the 3 worst things of living around here

Section B - Dealing with Crime

10. Suppose that speeding in stolen cars becomes a problem in your neighbourhood, and there is a lot of noise and squealing of the tyres, especially at night.

a. What would you feel? (Please tick as many as necessary)

- Surprised
- Angry
- Shocked
- Worried that you may get hurt
- Worried that someone you know may get hurt
- Helpless
- Concerned
- Other (Please Specify)

b. What would you do? (Please tick one box)

- Do nothing Do something
If something, please write below what you would do
.....

11. Suppose that some of the houses on a street like yours have recently been burgled.

a. What would you feel? (Please tick as many boxes as necessary)

- Surprised
- Angry
- Shocked
- Worried that you may get burgled
- Worried that someone you know may get burgled
- Helpless
- Concerned
- Other (Please Specify)

b. What would you do? (Please tick one box)

- Do nothing Do something
If something, please write below what you would do
.....

c. What do you think the police can do?

(Please tick as many boxes as necessary)

- Put more police 'on the beat' around the area
- Put more police 'on the beat' close to where
the burglaries occurred
- Catch the burglars
- Provide information on how to reduce the risk
of burglary
- Nothing
- Any other action (Please specify)
.....

12. Suppose that the local school has been vandalised, and you knew that one of the offenders was the child of a neighbour.

a. What would you feel? (Please tick as many boxes as necessary)

- Surprised
- Angry
- Shocked
- Worried about how your neighbour would react
- Guilty if you did not do anything about it
- Helpless
- Concerned
- Other (Please Specify)

b. What would you do? (Please tick one box)

- Do nothing Do something
If something, please write below what you would do
.....

13. Suppose that a friend was attacked and injured outside a local pub.

a. What would you feel? (Please tick as many boxes as necessary)

- Surprised
- Angry
- Shocked
- Think it may be your friend's fault
- Worried that you may get hurt
- Worried that someone you know may get hurt
- Helpless
- Concerned
- Other (Please Specify)

b. What would you do? (Please tick one box)

- Do nothing Do something
If something, please write below what you would do
.....

14. Suppose that offensive and rude graffiti start appearing in your area.

a. What would you feel? (Please tick as many boxes as necessary)

- Surprised
- Angry
- Shocked
- Worried that your property may be next
- Afraid of what might happen next in your area
- Helpless
- Concerned
- Other (Please Specify)

b. What would you do? (Please tick one box)

- Do nothing Do something
If something, please write below what you would do
.....

Section C - About Crime Near Your Home

15. Compared with the rest of the country, how much crime would you say there is in this area? Would you say there is:
(Please tick one box)

- A lot more
- A little more
- About the same
- A little less
- A lot less
- Don't know

16. Who do you think is responsible for most of the crime in your area?
(Please tick one box)

- Young people from the area
- Young people from outside
- Adults from the area
- Adults from outside
- A mixture of both adults and young people
- Don't know

17. Please indicate below what you think are the two major causes of crime in your local community.

18. Where are you most likely to hear about crime that occurs locally?
(Please tick all those that apply)

- Neighbours
- Family
- Friends
- Colleagues at work
- When out and about in your area
- Through social activities
- Local children
- Newspapers, television, radio
- Other (please specify)

.....

19. How much do you worry about certain things in the area where you live?
(Please show how worried you are by ticking one of the four boxes on each line)

	very	quite	not very	not at all
Vandalism to buildings, cars etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Graffiti on buildings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Driving of stolen cars	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fights or 'beatings up'	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Violent attacks on people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Disorderly behaviour like drunkenness etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harassment such as shouting and verbal abuse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rubbish being dumped in the street, paths etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inappropriate behaviour by local residents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Groups of young people hanging around	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. a). How safe did you feel when last out alone in your neighbourhood during the day?

(Please tick one box)

Very safe Quite safe
Not very safe Not at all safe

b). Do you ever go out alone in your neighbourhood after dark?

(Please tick one box)

Yes No

c). If yes, how safe do you usually feel?

(Please tick one box)

Very safe Quite safe
Not very safe Not at all safe

21. How concerned are you about the possibility of certain things happening to you or someone you live with?

(Show how concerned you are by ticking one of the four boxes on each line)

	very	quite	not very	not at all
Being burgled	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Having a car stolen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Having your car vandalised/something stolen from it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being attacked/beaten up by someone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Having your property damaged/vandalised	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being insulted or bothered by neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being bothered by people influenced by drink or drugs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being threatened by young people acting in a disorderly way	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being bothered by unsupervised young children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being sexually assaulted	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being sexually harassed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being subject to verbal/physical abuse or anti-social behaviour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being troubled by people hanging around on the streets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Please tell us about anything that has happened to you and your property in the last year.

a). Crimes against you

b). Crimes against your property

Section D - Tackling Crime in your area

23. Thinking about crime in your area what two things would do most to reduce crime?
(Please tick two boxes)

- Increasing punishment for offenders
- Getting people off drugs
- Providing more facilities/social activities for young people
- Having more police on the beat
- Improving local job prospects
- Making parents responsible for their children's actions
- Supporting Neighbourhood Watch Schemes
- Other (Please specify)

.....

24. a) Do you know of any crime prevention schemes in your area?

- No - I do not know of any local schemes to prevent crime
- Yes - I am aware of the following local scheme

b). Please write details of the scheme and how effective it is.

Section E - Some Details about You and Your Household.

25. Are you male or female?
(Please tick one box)

- Male
- Female

26. What age group do you belong to?
(Please tick one box)

- 15 - 30
- 31 - 45
- 46 - 60
- 61 - 75
- over 75

27. What is your marital status?
(Please tick one box)

- Single
- Married/living with partner
- Widowed

28. How many people including yourself live in your household?
Please write number on each line (if none please put 0)

- Number of Adults aged 18 or over
- Number of Children under the age of 18

29. Is your home?
(Please tick one box)

- Owned outright or with a mortgage
- Rented from a Housing Association
- Tied Accommodation
- Other (please specify)
- Rented from the Council
- Rented from a Private Landlord

30. What is your occupation?

(Please tick one box)

- Student
- Unemployed
- Wage earning (hourly rate)
- Salaried (monthly pay)
- Self Employed
- Retired
- Housewife
- Other unwaged

31. How old were you when you completed your full-time education at school or college?

(Please tick one box)

- 16 or under
- 17 - 19
- 20 or over
- Still in education

32. Do you or your household have access to any of the following forms of transport?

(Please tick as many boxes as necessary)

- Car
- Motor bike or scooter
- Van
- Pedal cycle
- None of these

Appendix C:

Additional Tables

Table 1: Reactions to burglary scenario

Type of Action	Description of Action	% of total actions (n = 124)	Frequency
Police	Contact the police	30	37
Other Personal	Contact the council	1	1
	Vigilante action to catch the offenders	2	2
	Improve or review security	38	47
	Be more vigilant/keep a watch out	14	17
	Move house	1	1
Community	Community action involving others	3	4
	Contact or set up a N.W. group	10	12
	Contact a Residents Association	1	1
	Support or help the victim	2	2
	Total	102	124

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

Table 2: Reactions to car crime scenario

Type of Action	Description of Action	% of total actions (n = 122)	Frequency
Police	Contact the police	70	85
Other Personal	Contact the council	8	10
	Vigilante action to catch the offenders	2	2
	Take down details (licence no/car type etc)	6	7
	Be more vigilant/keep a watch out	3	4
	Contact Age Concern	1	1
	Contact MP	2	2
	Leave car in another area	1	1
Community	Community action involving others	3	4
	Contact a N.W. Group	5	6
	Total	101	122

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

Table 3: Reactions to graffiti scenario

Type of Action	Description of Action	% of total actions (n = 84)	Frequency
Police	Contact the police	38	32
Other Personal	Contact the council	13	11
	Vigilante action by speaking to offender	4	3
	Keep a watch out for culprits	18	15
	Move house	1	1
	Contact MP	1	1
	Remove graffiti	7	6
Community	Community action involving others	10	8
	Contact a N.W. group	7	6
	Contact schools & youth clubs	1	1
	Total	100	84

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

Table 4: Reactions to vandalism scenario

Type of Action	Description of Action	% of total actions (n = 113)	Frequency
Police	Contact the police	30	34
Other Personal	Report	4	5
	Vigilante action to catch the offenders	4	4
Community	Approach the parent/neighbour	38	43
	Depends on the parent/neighbour	11	12
	Contact a N.W. group	1	1
	Approach the School	12	13
	Ask a friend	1	1
	Total	101	113

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

Table 5: Reactions to violence scenario

Type of Action	Description of Action	% of total actions (n = 75)	Frequency
Police	Contact the police	39	29
Other Personal	Vigilante action to catch the offenders	7	5
	Find out details about the attack	3	2
	It depends on the situation	7	5
	Contact the local paper	1	1
	Contact the landlord	7	5
	Avoid pub	5	4
	Take precautions when out in public places	9	7
Community	Contact a N.W. group	1	1
	Help or support friend	21	16
	Total	100	75

Note: Percentages may not add up due to rounding

Table 6: Emotions about the scenarios by gender

Emotion	Scenario	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
		Women (n = 85)	Men (n = 44)	
Anger	Burglary	60	66	.51211
	Car crime	78	77	.96149
	Graffiti	73	71	.76532
	Violence	69	73	.69534
	Vandalism	54	50	.65699
Concerned	Burglary	71	46	.00530
	Car crime	71	48	.01088
	Graffiti	53	43	.29326
	Vandalism	48	39	.29881
	Violence	60	57	.72767
Helplessness	Burglary	24	14	.18422
	Car crime	28	25	.69522
	Graffiti	19	11	.27658
	Vandalism	13	11	.79664
	Violence	22	21	.80417
Shock	Burglary	15	14	.80144
	Car crime	12	9	.64347
	Graffiti	24	23	.91857
	Vandalism	33	23	.22764
	Violence	49	39	.24417
Surprise	Burglary	6	0	.10082
	Car crime	12	18	.31868
	Graffiti	18	21	.69767
	Violence	22	21	.80417
	Vandalism	25	34	.25991
Afraid of what may happen next if graffiti is a local problem	Graffiti	52	36	.09640
Feel guilty if did nothing about vandalism	Vandalism	60	27	.00042
Worry about reaction of neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism	Vandalism	29	27	.79899
Blame friend for brawl	Violence	6	7	.83451

Table 7: Emotions about the scenarios by age group

Emotion	Scenario	% who expressed emotion		
		18-30 (n = 27)	31-60 (n = 70)	61+ (n = 32)
Anger	Burglary	67	60	63
	Car crime	67	76	91
	Graffiti	70	71	75
	Vandalism	52	46	69
	Violence	85	69	63
Concerned	Burglary	74	59	59
	Car crime	70	63	56
	Graffiti	48	53	44
	Vandalism	48	47	38
	Violence	56	61	56
Shock	Burglary	11	11	25
	Car crime	7	13	9
	Graffiti	22	17	38
	Vandalism	30	31	25
	Violence	59	39	50
Surprise	Burglary	7	3	3
	Car crime	15	14	13
	Graffiti	15	21	16
	Vandalism	30	33	16
	Violence	26	24	13
Worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim	Burglary	93	77	63
	Car crime	56	23	25
	Graffiti	67	47	44
	Violence	52	30	28
Worried someone you know may be a victim	Burglary	70	41	38
	Car crime	67	43	47
	Violence	52	46	34
Afraid of what may happen next if graffiti is a local problem	Graffiti	56	40	53
Worry about reaction of neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism	Vandalism	44	24	25
Feel guilty if did nothing about vandalism	Vandalism	56	53	34
Blame friend for brawl	Violence	11	6	3

Table 8: Emotions about the scenarios by tenure

Emotion	Scenario	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
		Owner (n = 92)	Renter (n = 37)	
Concerned	Burglary	61	65	.67240
	Car crime	65	57	.36858
	Graffiti	53	41	.19125
	Vandalism	49	35	.15481
	Violence	62	51	.26817
Anger	Burglary	69	46	.01709
	Car crime	82	68	.08596
	Graffiti	79	54	.00377
	Vandalism	54	49	.55762
	Violence	72	68	.63829
Helplessness	Burglary	20	22	.79230
	Car crime	26	30	.67387
	Graffiti	19	11	.28602
	Vandalism	12	14	.80828
	Violence	21	24	.64725
Shock	Burglary	12	22	.16123
	Car crime	11	11	.99226
	Graffiti	26	16	.23005
	Vandalism	35	16	.03642
	Violence	49	38	.25345
Surprise	Burglary	3	5	.56819
	Car crime	16	8	.22433
	Graffiti	22	11	.14914
	Vandalism	34	14	.02081
	Violence	28	5	.00440
Worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim	Burglary	76	78	.78053
	Car crime	23	49	.00387
	Graffiti	57	35	.02800
	Violence	30	43	.16517
Worried someone you know may be a victim	Burglary	49	41	.38854
	Car crime	49	49	.97832
	Violence	46	41	.59698
Afraid of what may happen next if graffiti is a local problem	Graffiti	49	41	.38854
Worry about reaction of neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism	Vandalism	26	35	.30410
Feel guilty if did nothing about vandalism	Vandalism	49	49	.97832
Blame friend for brawl	Violence	4	11	.16866

Table 9: Emotions about the scenarios by family status

Emotion	Scenario	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
		Family (n = 29)	Non-family (n = 100)	
Concerned	Burglary	59	63	.66879
	Car crime	55	65	.33505
	Graffiti	38	53	.15301
	Vandalism	52	43	.40568
	Violence	59	59	.97084
Anger	Burglary	55	64	.38848
	Car crime	72	79	.45443
	Graffiti	86	68	.05428
	Vandalism	52	53	.90356
	Violence	76	69	.47539
Helplessness	Burglary	14	22	.33205
	Car crime	24	28	.68047
	Graffiti	10	18	.32553
	Vandalism	7	14	.30688
	Violence	21	22	.88021
Shock	Burglary	7	17	.17646
	Car crime	10	11	.92045
	Graffiti	21	24	.71025
	Vandalism	31	29	.83241
	Violence	31	50	.07107
Surprise	Burglary	3	4	.89220
	Car crime	10	15	.52413
	Graffiti	28	16	.15805
	Vandalism	35	26	.36989
	Violence	28	20	.38292
Worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim	Burglary	69	79	.26009
	Car crime	28	31	.72451
	Graffiti	55	49	.55832
	Violence	28	36	.40007
Worried someone you know may be a victim	Burglary	45	47	.83639
	Car crime	66	44	.04125
	Violence	52	42	.35319
Afraid of what may happen next if graffiti is a local problem	Graffiti	41	48	.52912
Worry about reaction of neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism	Vandalism	21	31	.27976
Feel guilty if did nothing about vandalism	Vandalism	52	48	.72390
Blame friend for brawl	Violence	3	7	.48504

Table 10: Emotions about the scenarios by transport status

Emotion	Scenario	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
		Access to private transport (n = 98)	No access to private transport (n = 31)	
Anger	Burglary	66	48	.07286
	Car crime	82	65	.04662
	Graffiti	77	58	.04573
	Vandalism	52	55	.78565
	Violence	71	68	.69471
Concerned	Burglary	61	65	.74206
	Car crime	66	52	.13962
	Graffiti	50	48	.87560
	Vandalism	46	42	.69761
	Violence	57	65	.46705
Helplessness	Burglary	21	16	.52146
	Car crime	26	32	.46144
	Graffiti	17	13	.55913
	Vandalism	13	10	.59734
	Violence	20	26	.52511
Shock	Burglary	12	23	.15697
	Car crime	11	10	.80927
	Graffiti	24	23	.91868
	Vandalism	34	16	.06180
	Violence	47	42	.62599
Surprise	Burglary	4	3	.82964
	Car crime	14	13	.84647
	Graffiti	21	10	.14280
	Vandalism	33	13	.03262
	Violence	26	10	.06235
Worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim	Burglary	76	81	.55529
	Car crime	27	42	.10357
	Graffiti	54	39	.13570
	Violence	34	36	.85298
Worried someone you know may be a victim	Burglary	46	48	.81018
	Car crime	49	48	.95413
	Violence	45	42	.77220
Afraid what might happen next	Graffiti	48	42	.55783
Worry about reaction of neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism	Vandalism	29	29	.96056
Feel guilty if did nothing about vandalism	Vandalism	51	42	.37778
Blame friend for brawl	Violence	7	3	.43061

Table 11: Emotions about the scenarios by area of residence

Emotion	Scenario	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
		Newland (n = 60)	Bricknell (n = 69)	
Anger	Burglary	52	71	.02393
	Car crime	72	83	.13757
	Graffiti	65	78	.09396
	Vandalism	40	64	.00700
	Violence	68	73	.60774
Concerned	Burglary	70	55	.08144
	Car crime	67	59	.39572
	Graffiti	55	45	.25376
	Vandalism	52	39	.15340
	Violence	67	52	.09516
Helplessness	Burglary	27	15	.08558
	Car crime	33	22	.13962
	Graffiti	18	15	.55563
	Vandalism	15	10	.40404
	Violence	22	22	.99205
Shock	Burglary	18	12	.28136
	Car crime	13	9	.39830
	Graffiti	25	22	.66192
	Vandalism	33	26	.36783
	Violence	48	44	.58088
Surprise	Burglary	2	6	.22541
	Car crime	12	16	.48456
	Graffiti	20	17	.70412
	Vandalism	27	29	.76962
	Violence	22	22	.99205
Worried about the likelihood of becoming a victim	Burglary	90	65	.00089
	Car crime	37	25	.13787
	Graffiti	52	49	.78643
	Violence	48	22	.00148
Worried someone you know may be a victim	Burglary	58	36	.01206
	Car crime	50	48	.80539
	Violence	55	35	.02109
Afraid what might happen next	Graffiti	47	46	.97374
Worry about reaction of neighbour whose child was one of the culprits of the vandalism	Vandalism	33	25	.27607
Feel guilty if did nothing about vandalism	Vandalism	55	44	.19163
Blame friend for brawl	Violence	10	3	.09531

Table 12: Key demographic variables by decision to react

Scenario	Demographic	Sig T	P value of F
Burglary	Owner occupier	.8709	0.8247
	Age 18-45	.3158	
	Couple	.8181	
	Men	.5628	
Car crime	Owner occupier	.0513	0.1900
	Age 18-45	.6330	
	Couple	.5981	
	Men	.0905	
Graffiti	Owner occupier	.1182	0.0798
	Age 18-45	.0299	
	Couple	.9441	
	Men	.6291	
Vandalism	Owner occupier	.4860	0.3643
	Age 18-45	.3874	
	Couple	.6727	
	Men	.0872	
Violence	Owner occupier	.7544	0.5618
	Age 18-45	.4396	
	Couple	.9885	
	Men	.1362	

Table 13: Willingness to react according to student status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Student (n = 11)	Others (n = 118)	
Burglary	82	78	.76692
Car crime	55	77	.09773
Graffiti	18	51	.03809
Vandalism	64	75	.39147
Violence	36	49	.41682

Table 14: Willingness to react according to earning status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Earning (n = 66)	Others (n = 63)	
Burglary	77	79	.77323
Car crime	79	71	.33334
Graffiti	47	49	.79937
Vandalism	79	70	.24437
Violence	50	46	.65204

Table 15: Willingness to react according to retired status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Retired (n = 34)	Others (n = 95)	
Burglary	71	81	.20401
Car crime	71	77	.46871
Graffiti	50	47	.79212
Vandalism	68	77	.29164
Violence	32	54	.03265

Table 16: Willingness to react according to housewife/unemployed status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Housewife (n = 18)	Others (n = 111)	
Burglary	94	76	.07317
Car crime	83	74	.38870
Graffiti	67	45	.08854
Vandalism	78	74	.72474
Violence	78	43	.00652

Table 17: Willingness to react according to family status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Family (n = 29)	Non-family (n = 100)	
Burglary	79	78	.88021
Car crime	76	75	.92460
Graffiti	45	49	.69214
Vandalism	79	73	.49288
Violence	52	47	.65393

Table 18: Willingness to react according to marital status

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Couples (n = 77)	Single persons (n = 52)	
Burglary	79	77	.75616
Car crime	75	75	.96659
Graffiti	49	46	.72149
Vandalism	77	71	.48493
Violence	48	48	.99778

Table 19: Willingness to react according to household composition

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	2 adult household (n = 68)	Other households (n = 61)	
Burglary	85	71	.04174
Car crime	79	71	.24153
Graffiti	54	41	.12750
Vandalism	78	71	.33297
Violence	53	43	.24157

Table 20: Willingness to react according to perceptions of how the area has changed

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Belief area has declined (n = 48)	Belief area has stayed the same or is better (n = 81)	
Burglary	79	78	.85326
Car crime	77	74	.70207
Graffiti	58	42	.07227
Vandalism	81	70	.17102
Violence	48	48	.97971

Table 21: Emotions expressed about the burglary scenario according to fears

Emotion	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
	Fearful (n = 42)	Less fearful (n = 87)	
Concerned	79	54	.00710
Worried someone you know may get burgled	62	39	.01487
Worried that you may get burgled	88	71	.03398
Shocked	24	10	.04317
Helpless	29	16	.09779
Angry	60	63	.68538

Table 22: Willingness to react according to length of residence

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	5 or more years (n = 79)	Less than 5 years (n = 50)	
Burglary	77	80	.70855
Car crime	79	70	.27720
Graffiti	57	34	.01099
Vandalism	79	68	.18377
Violence	61	48	.99105

Table 23: Emotions about the vandalism scenario by residential ties

Emotion	% who expressed emotion		Sig (p =)
	Residential ties (n = 54)	No residential ties (n = 75)	
Surprise	32	25	.44247
Concern	52	40	.18189
Shock	33	27	.41253
Helpless	13	12	.86997
Worry about reaction of neighbour	19	36	.03033
Angry	57	49	.36486
Guilty if did nothing	44	52	.39704

Table 24: Willingness to react according to lifestyle - structured activities

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	2+ structured activities weekly (n = 70)	1 or none structured activities weekly (n = 59)	
Burglary	81	75	.34695
Car crime	77	73	.57664
Graffiti	54	41	.12330
Vandalism	74	75	.96994
Violence	54	41	.12330

Table 25: Willingness to react according to lifestyle - unstructured activities

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	3+ unstructured activities weekly (n = 38)	2 or less unstructured activities weekly (n = 91)	
Burglary	82	77	.55872
Car crime	74	76	.79753
Graffiti	45	50	.62522
Vandalism	79	73	.44618
Violence	55	45	.29012

Table 26: Willingness to react according to exposure - occupation

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	Earning/student (n = 77)	Others (n = 52)	
Burglary	78	79	.90061
Car crime	75	75	.96659
Graffiti	43	56	.14992
Vandalism	77	71	.48493
Violence	48	48	.99778

Table 27: Willingness to react according to exposure - household size

Scenario	% who would react		Sig (p =)
	1 adult household (n = 37)	2+ adult household (n = 92)	
Burglary	76	79	.64725
Car crime	76	75	.93595
Graffiti	46	49	.76032
Vandalism	68	77	.25806
Violence	43	50	.48725

Table 28: Willingness to react according to selected emotions

Scenario	Emotion	Sig T	P value of F
Burglary	Angry	.4610	0.2664
	Worry you burgled	.2913	
	Worry someone will be burgled	.8852	
	Concerned	.4043	
	Helpless*	.0445	
Car crime	Angry	.0001	0.0030
	Worry you may get hurt	.9933	
	Worry someone you know may get hurt	.2650	
	Concerned	.1225	
	Helpless*	.9996	
Graffiti	Angry*	.6794	0.1019
	Shocked	.8443	
	Worry you may become victim	.6129	
	Worried about what next in area	.9689	
	Concerned	.0086	
Vandalism	Angry	.1361	0.0004
	Guilty	.0021	
	Concerned	.0304	
	Shocked	.2747	
	Worry about reaction of neighbour*	.0964	
	Surprised*	.2889	
Violence	Angry	.3030	0.8331
	Shocked	.6566	
	Worry you could get hurt	.6652	
	Worry someone you know may get hurt	.4617	
	Concerned	.4611	
	Surprised*	.7774	
	Helpless*	.5084	

Note: * These variables do not have a ratio division of 70:30 that is preferred for testing dichotomous variables as discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4).