



*The Eyres Monsell  
Crime Reduction  
Project*



Centre for the Study of Public Order  
UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

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University of Leicester

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Roger Matthews  
Julie Trickey



Centre for the Study of Public Order  
University of Leicester

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Roger Matthews and Julie Trickey  
Centre for the Study of Public Order

October 1994

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This final report summarises the findings of the research carried out on the Eyres Monsell and New Parks estates in November 1992 and November 1993. This was a two phase research project designed to evaluate a crime reduction programme which was implemented on both estates.

The impetus for this programme arose from a growing concern about crime amongst residents and the agencies involved. Burglary in particular, was identified as a growing problem and this initiative was directed primarily at reducing the level of burglary on both estates.

This initiative was supported and funded through the Leicester 'Safer Cities Project' whose stated objectives are to reduce crime, lessen the fear of crime and increase community safety throughout the City (Leicester Safer Cities, 1993). The two estates were selected on the basis that they did not qualify for support under the Urban Programme.

The costs involved in setting up and implementing the initiative were a total of £65,021 on the Eyres Monsell estate and £60,000 on New Parks. The costs involved included:

<b>Eyres Monsell</b>		<b>New Parks</b>	
1. Neighbourhood Watch Coordinator	13000	1. Project co-ordinator	24500
2. Youth Section	24000	2. Summer Play Scheme	6500
3. School 'Passport' Scheme	4000	3. School Watch Scheme	500
4. Security Goods	21000	4. Security Goods	28500
5. Publicity	3000		
<b>Total:</b>	<b>65000</b>	<b>Total:</b>	<b>60000</b>

This expenditure covered the period from September 1992 to December 1993. Subsequently £17,000 has been made available to the Eyres Monsell Crime Reduction Group and £9,000 to the New Parks Crime Reduction for 1994/5. The purpose of this extended funding is to continue the employment of the youth workers on the Eyres Monsell estate, and to provide a part-time detached youth worker for the New Parks estate.

On each estate a crime reduction group was established and these groups directed and co-ordinated the initiative. The composition of these groups varied between the estates, but they were comprised mainly of community representatives as well as those who were involved in implementing the programmes (see Appendix A). The emphasis amongst the organising groups was slightly different, but they both began from the premise that crime has a disruptive effect on the local community and that much of the recent growth in the

level of reported crime is perpetrated by some of the young people living in or around the estates, and that this in turn is associated with a heightened sense of anxiety amongst residents, particularly the elderly.

Compared to other estates in Leicester the recorded crime rate and burglary rates on both estates is relatively high. During the period January to December 1992 both New Parks and Eyres Monsell experienced an overall recorded crime level which was generally higher than comparable estates, with Eyres Monsell indicating a relatively high level of both domestic and commercial burglary (see table 1).

**Table 1 Recorded Crime by Estate 1992**

Category of Crime	Saffron Lane	Eyres Monsell	Fairfield	Gilmorton	Mow mac re	New Parks
Burglary/House	183	231	67	123	324	<b>239</b>
Burglary/Other	134	213	126	71	59	91
T.W.O.C.	114	232	44	80	144	<b>148</b>
T.F.M.V.	97	163	51	56	145	212
Criminal Damage	255	100	49	39	228	<b>264</b>
Theft (all)	82	118	42	40	179	202
Theft of cycle	39	78	22	20	41	74
Other crime	102	100	46	33	50	<b>88</b>
Total Crime	1006	1235	447	462	1170	<b>1318</b>

(T.W.O.C. = Taking [vehicle] without owners consent; T.F.M.V. = Theft from motor vehicle)

These figures provide some indication of the relative distribution of crime on a number of police beats in the county including some of which that adjoin these estates. They do not provide an indication of the number of incidents per thousand of the population in each area, and there are significant variations in the size and populations on each of these beats. A further limitation of these figures is that they are dependant upon the level of reporting in each area which may be variable. One of the aims of this survey is to examine the reporting patterns of people on the Eyres Monsell and New Parks estates and thereby to provide some indication of the differences between actual victimisation and recorded crime levels. It should be noted also that the Eyres Monsell estate does not cover all of beat 43 and therefore the figures for crime on the estate itself will be slightly less than those shown on table 1.

#### The Crime Reduction Programme

According to police figures the rate of domestic burglaries on each estate was considerably lower during 1992 than those recorded on similar areas identified nationally in the British

Crime Survey with Eyres Monsell experiencing a burglary rate of 4.4% and New Parks a rate of 4.8% compared to a 7.4% recorded for equivalent 'high risk' estates (Hough and Mayhew 1985; Mayhew et al. 1993).

The 1992 British Crime Survey reported a sharp rise in the level of burglaries which have been recorded nationally since 1987. Interestingly, recent research has suggested that this increase may be a result of the same households being increasingly victimised rather than a spread in the number of victims. That is, there has been an increase in the incidence rather than the prevalence of burglary (Mayhew et al. 1993).

It is the increase in the incidence of burglary, particularly in 'high crime'<sup>1</sup> areas which has been the cause of much recent interest. This interest has been fuelled by the growing recognition on one hand that burglary tends to be unevenly distributed and that this very concentration of household burglaries provides the possibility for targeted interventions which appear to be effective in reducing levels of burglary on the other. Amongst recent initiatives the Kirkholt project in Rochdale has provided a major point of reference for those interested in developing burglary reduction strategies. The general approach on the Eyres Monsell and New Parks estates has been deeply influenced by the policies developed in Kirkholt (Forrester et al. 1988; 1990).

Following the success attributed to the Kirkholt initiative, in which burglaries on the estate were reduced by 75%, there have been a number of attempts to find out if the strategies implemented in Kirkholt could be effective in other situations (Tilley 1993).

In many respects the initiatives developed on the Eyres Monsell and New Parks estates were not an attempt at a strict replication of the Kirkholt project. Instead, what occurred was that a similar combination of physical and social crime prevention measures were developed to address the issue of burglary on these estates. These elements included:

- a) Target hardening in the form of a lock fitting scheme
- b) The development of Neighbourhood Watch type schemes
- c) **The development of a multi-agency group to co-ordinate and direct intervention**
- d) **The development of social measures designed to reduce offending particularly amongst juveniles**
- e) **The dissemination of information to residents in the form of newsletters and meetings**

A number of the elements of this approach such as target hardening and Neighbourhood Watch have become established features of crime prevention initiatives. What was distinctive about the strategy which was implemented was that it centred around an attempt to

reduce the level of repeat victimisation and it was this core element which linked it directly to the Kirkholt project. — •

The significance of this focus on repeat victimisation allowed the possibility of targeting households which had previously been the victims of burglary. For as the authors of the Kirkholt report put it:

It has been demonstrated that once a house is burgled it is more likely to be burgled again. This is in our view of fundamental importance for a burglary prevention strategy and should be of particular interest to insurance companies, town planners and housing departments, it has been demonstrated that a strategy based on prevention of repeat burglaries is viable and makes good sense. Such offences represent a significant proportion of all domestic burglary nationally. The strategy is attractive in offering protection to the most vulnerable. (Forrester et al. 1988; 25)

Based on the premise that the best predictor of a household being victimised by burglary was a previous burglary, the central aim of the approach adopted on the Eyres Monsell and New Parks estates was to reduce repeat victimisation by decreasing the vulnerability of households which had been previously burgled. The Kirkholt research also showed that there was a tendency for households to be revictimised within a relatively short period of time; normally less than six weeks after the initial break-in. Thus it was an important feature of the strategy that security devices were installed in households immediately after a burglary was committed. In the longer term the aim was to encourage the establishment of Neighbourhood Watch schemes in those areas where burglaries were prevalent. In this way the vulnerability of those most at risk of victimisation could be reduced and the overall levels of burglary on the estates could be reduced.

Although the focus on repeat victimisation appears to offer a promising strategy for targeting the more vulnerable dwellings on the estate it should be noted that other projects which have been based on the Kirkholt strategy of reducing repeat victimisations have produced mixed results. In St Annes and The Meadows in Nottingham and in Tower Hamlets, which all involved the target hardening of victims, the success of the projects were limited. In these three locations the available data provides evidence of a lower rate of burglaries for those dwellings which were target hardened and a reduction of level of repeats. However:

The evidence of any effect on the overall burglary rates is mixed. There may have been a slight impact on some of them. Where the evidence for a general effect is most persuasive is in Nottingham, The Meadows, the presence of a van prominently painted to make its purpose clear, may have played a significant part in alerting potential burglars to the fact that official efforts were being made to respond actively to the problem, and this may have contributed to general deterrence. In contrast in Nottingham, St Annes a low key operation spread over a large geographical area did not have the same deterrent effect. In Tower Hamlets the overall burglary rates showed a mixed pattern. For one of the areas covered by the scheme, that for which we have the most data, burglary rates overall fell slightly more than in the police division in which it is located. However, other shorter term data relating to all areas covered shows a slightly greater increase in burglary than in the police divisions in which the scheme is located. (Tilley and Webb, 1994: 18).

In the St Annes area of Nottingham the burglary rate increased over the two year period over which the initiative was being implemented from 571 cases in 1989 to 991 cases in 1991, although the authors of the report point out this was a lesser increase than that recorded in the rest of the sub-division (Gregson et al. 1992).

A review of recent burglary prevention projects draws attention to the problems and variations in styles of implementation in the different locations and the impact they can have on outcomes. It also points to the role of different contexts in influencing the effectiveness of these kind of initiatives. In general it raises issues relating to the tasks of evaluation, of the need for careful monitoring and analyses of these initiatives if they are to have any general relevance. All too often, as recent assessments of burglary prevention strategies demonstrate, little systematic evaluation has been carried out and it therefore becomes virtually impossible to properly assess the benefits, or otherwise, of these projects (Tilley, 1993).

### **The Task of Evaluation**

The multi-faceted nature of many recent crime prevention programmes has made the task of evaluation more difficult. In particular, the adoption of an inter-agency approach which aims to address the issue at a number of different levels introduces a complexity into the process which may be difficult to disentangle. The diverse nature of the intervention can create difficulties in evaluating the effectiveness of particular components within the intervention. Similarly, the success, or otherwise, of the programme may be the result not only of the cumulative impact of the particular parts, but may also be a consequence of the interaction of the various elements. Thus as multi-agency approaches have become more widely adopted evaluators are increasingly being required to develop more elaborate methodologies to properly assess these initiatives.

The complex nature of interventions create problems in determining exactly what works. As the authors of the Kirkholt study candidly state:

[In other words] we are unable to draw out which of the specific measures implemented in the project has been instrumental in reducing the incidence of burglary dwelling on Kirkholt. We cannot contend that for instance this project would have been less successful without the establishment of Home Watch. (Forrester et al., 1990: 43)

These problems are compounded by the need to distinguish the relative effects of 'internal' and 'external'<sup>1</sup> factors. Thus in a recent discussion of the effectiveness of the Kirkholt project the Safe Neighbourhood Unit suggests that extensive environmental improvements which took place on the Kirkholt estate at the same time as the burglary reduction initiative may have contributed significantly to the outcome.

To some extent the situation of Eyres Monsell and New Parks is significant in this respect since there were relatively few general environmental improvements which occurred on these estates during the period of study. The changes which did occur are, therefore, more directly attributable to the burglary reduction strategy which was implemented.

The inability of the authors of the Kirkholt report, however, to distinguish between necessary and contingent causes both detracts from the generalisability of the study and simultaneously increases the requirement to attempt to establish such distinctions in subsequent studies.

To some extent the inconclusive nature of the Kirkholt study may be a function of the over-reliance on quantitative methodology. The level of empirical testing which was employed, although carefully disaggregated, was such that it did not allow for clear causal explanations. This is primarily because the interactions between objects are recorded as aggregates which involve formal regularities and correlations rather than causal connections (Sayer 1992).

In a slightly different vein Nick Tilley (1993) has drawn attention to the significance of theory and context in constructing and evaluating experiments. Although this approach seeks to identify underlying causes and generative mechanisms it is not clear exactly how these causal connections are to be identified from an examination of the interplay between 'mechanisms, triggers and contexts'. In this principally deductive and linear model we are still left with the problem of assessing the possible effects of counteracting tendencies or the interaction of different processes.

This is not, however, the place to enter the complex debates on the problem of method or the complexities of evaluation. We have entered this caveat briefly only to make two simple points. First, that within what is without doubt the most well known demonstrative project to emerge from the Safer Cities programme there are problems of evaluation which remain unresolved. Secondly, that in what is almost certainly the most influential recent contribution to the analysis of crime prevention initiatives, there is little guidance of how to overcome the uncertainties of 'open air' situations, variations in implementation, or how to differentiate between contingent and necessary causes.

In order to address these complex issues and to attempt to identify the causal relations involved on each estate a number of data sources were employed. These involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative data which were designed to capture both the subjective and objective dimensions of the crime reduction programme.

## **2. SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

As indicated, the evaluation of a project of this type necessarily requires a number of sources of information. In this way it is possible to evaluate the various strands of the initiative and to assess its different dimensions. The primary source of information was a longitudinal panel survey carried out with a sample of residents on each estate.

### **Longitudinal Panel Survey**

This 'before' and 'after' survey was carried out with a sample of residents. Its aim was to provide quantitative data on crime and related issues amongst a randomly selected population.

This survey took the form of a 'drop' questionnaire, backed up by assisted interviews. The nature of this type of questionnaire afforded the inclusion of a significant percentage of residents in the survey. This survey was repeated after a twelve month period. In the second sweep of the survey approximately half of the households which had completed the first survey also completed and returned the questionnaire. Thus, within the sample was a 'panel' sample whose responses could be compared over time. The twelve month period between the two surveys was felt to be enough time to allow the initiative to be fully implemented and to simultaneously minimise the educational effects of the first round of the survey.

The main aim of the survey was to gather information on the experience of crime and the fear of crime. At the same time it provided one method of assessing the displacement of burglary within the estates, as well as allowing for the collection of data relating to the nature of burglaries on the estates and of repeat victimisation.

The questionnaire was of a self-complete type and therefore was designed to be easy to complete and relatively short. A draft questionnaire was circulated amongst the co-ordinating groups on both estates and was modified to incorporate their comments and suggestions. The questionnaire was divided into six main sections in order to obtain the desired information. These were:

- General demographic information
- Details of victimisation over the previous twelve months
- Fear of crime
- Relations and satisfaction with agencies and service delivered
- Evaluation of facilities in the community - particularly for young people
- Awareness of crime prevention measures, including Neighbourhood Watch

A sample of one in four houses was selected. This was supplemented on each estate by a booster sample which included all the dwellings which according to police records had been the victims of burglary over the previous twelve month period. This resulted in a total of 1250 questionnaires being distributed on the Eyres Monsell and 1750 on the New Parks estate. This produced a 50% response rate on Eyres Monsell and a 52% response rate on New Parks on the first sweep. These response rates were slightly lower than anticipated but this was a consequence of the size of the estates, and the difficulties of catching people in, particularly around the Christmas period. Reminders were sent to selected addresses, together in some cases with replacement questionnaires and a stamped addressed envelope, in order to maximise the response rate. In the second sweep of the survey the initial response fell to just over 30% on both estates. Respondents seemed reluctant to fill out the questionnaire a second time and as a result a 'prize draw' competition was introduced in which all those returning questionnaires were entered into a competition to win £75 worth of household security. As a result of this inducement the response rate on the estates went up to 48% on the Eyres Monsell and 50% on New Parks. This quantitative data was supplemented by more detailed qualitative interviews.

#### Qualitative Data

In order to supplement the quantitative data and to provide more in-depth information about attitudes and experiences of residents a number of semi-structured face to face interviews were carried out. These interviews aimed to gather more detailed information on attitudes towards crime and offenders, as well as towards the police and other agencies.

The interviews were carried out in a number of settings including the community centre, the local schools, people's houses or places of work, and some were carried out on the streets and around the estates.

Although there was some variation between the two estates these in-depth interviews were carried out mainly among the young people and the elderly. This was for two reasons. Firstly, the former group were unlikely to feature in the quantitative data and secondly, that both these groups had been identified by the relevant agencies on both estates as a focus of concern. On each estate approximately thirty interviews were carried out with each of these groups. In addition interviews were carried out with local residents who it was felt would have an informed understanding of crime-related problems on the estate. These included shopkeepers, youth workers, members of the Tenants Association, school-teachers and the like. Also, interviews were carried out with members of the crime reduction groups on the respective estates to examine both their perception of the problem as well as their views on the development of inter-agency co-operation. Towards the end of the project it became

apparent that if answers were to be given to some of the central questions concerning the effectiveness of the initiative, the level of displacement and the changing patterns of burglary, it would be necessary to conduct interviews with people involved in carrying out burglaries. Identifying burglars proved difficult and the relevant agencies who might have assisted in contacting these offenders were generally slow and unhelpful. A number of interviews were conducted with burglars in Glen Parva Young Offenders Institution and in the youth club on the estate. Assistance was also given from a detached youth worker on the Saffron Lane estate.

It was felt that these qualitative interviews, particularly with the burglars were critical for developing a more "intensive"<sup>1</sup> causal understanding of the processes involved and compensating for the limitations of the more 'extensive' quantitative data (Sayer 1992). This data was in turn supplemented by information provided by the local police.

### **Police Statistics**

Police statistics provide a useful source of data, particularly in relation to burglary. This is principally because the level of reporting of burglary tends to be relatively high since this is a requirement for insurance claims. Police statistics also provide some indication of the fluctuations in burglaries throughout the year as well as information on the distribution of burglaries in each area.

Police records also provide, as we have seen above, useful information on the crime levels of surrounding areas. This allows us to examine to some extent the levels of geographical displacement as well as allowing us to locate changing crime patterns on the selected estates within a broader social and geographical context. This task is also facilitated by the information available from the local authority, particularly the housing department.

### **Local Authority Data**

The local authority generates a whole range of information some of which is useful for an evaluation of this type. Firstly, the local authority in conjunction with the housing department provides useful demographic data for the selected estates. Secondly, the local authority has sponsored a number of research initiatives some of which are relevant to this initiative and which can provide a useful point of reference.

Within the estates themselves there are also three other sources of information which can provide a valuable input to the survey. These include the minutes of the crime reduction group, the assessments by those employed through the initiative and finally the observations of the interviewers working on the respective estates.

### **Meetings of the Crime Reduction Groups**

These meetings provide useful information on attitudes, priorities and perceptions of the problems to be addressed. As a forum for discussing issues arising in relation to the initiative it provides a unique arena in which the complexities and difficulties of mobilising intervention are made apparent. It is also a forum in which the various agencies concerned come into formal contact and where issues of co-ordination and co-operation are addressed. The level of attendance and participation as well as the attitudes expressed in these meetings can provide an important barometer of the development of the programme at different times.

### **Employees Self-Evaluation**

As part of the crime reduction programme a number of people have been employed to perform certain duties. As part of the evaluation each of these employees has been asked to provide a set of objectives for themselves and to write an annual report on their work. This form of self-evaluation can provide some useful insights into the operation of some of the key personnel involved in the initiative.

### **Interviewers Observations**

In the course of distributing and collecting the 'drop' questionnaire as well as the time spent conducting in-depth interviews, the interviewers have spent a considerable amount of time around the estates. During this period they have been asked to make notes on observations and experiences while conducting interviews. These reports provide an important source of information on the general feeling on the estate, the level of incivilities and nature of social relations amongst residents.

In drawing upon these different sources of information the aim is to collect quantitative and qualitative information. The aim is not to privilege any particular data source but rather to draw upon these various sources in order to properly evaluate the diverse strands of this inter-agency crime reduction initiative.

### 3. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The Eyres Monsell estate is located on the south side of the city close to the city boundary. It comprises of approximately 3500 dwellings of which the vast majority are semi-detached houses built during the 1940's and 1950's. The estate covers 0.7 of a square mile and has a total population of just over 9000 people. It is served by four schools, one community centre and four youth clubs.

The sample of the first 'drop' questionnaire involved 636 respondents. In this section a summary of the basic demographic profile is given. This data was collected under a number of headings and it was possible to compare the profile of respondents with the ward profile from the 1991 census.

The respondents of the household survey carried out in 1992 were fairly evenly divided between males and females (46.9% males and 53.1% females). The age range of respondents, as might be expected, was weighted towards the older residents with 70% being over 40. This compares to 46% of the residents being over 40 according to the 1991 census (see table 2).

**Table 2 Respondents by Age**

Age	1992 SURVEY		1991 CENSUS	
	Number	%	Number	%
Under 21	9	14	2468	27.2
21 -39	181	28.6	1402	26.4
40-64	210	33.2	2038	22.4
Over 65	233	36.8	2207	24.3

Of the respondents asked about their ethnic origin, 97% identified themselves as white from the United Kingdom. Only 0.2 % of the sample were Asian born in the UK. There were no more responses from any other ethnic group. This profile is very similar to the 1991 census data which identified 98.1% of the population on the estate as white. In terms of employment, table 3 shows that 42.5% of respondents were in employment; while 34.3% were retired. Almost a quarter were unemployed (22.2%) which is twice the national average of 10.6% for December 1992. Of those unemployed 78.4% had been out of work for over a year and 48% for over three years.

**Table 3 Employment Status of Respondents**

Occupation	1992 SURVEY		1991 CENSUS	
	Number	%	Number	%
Employed	235	38.9	3177	45.1
Self-employed	22	3.6	207	2.9
Unemployed/Sick	134	22.2	892	12.7
Retired	207	34.3	1907	27.1
Other	6	1.0	853	12.1

The employment characteristics of respondents corresponds very closely with the 1991 census data, although as might be expected the survey data reports a slightly higher number of retired people. Within the sample the majority of the employed respondents (73.8%) identified themselves as either skilled or unskilled manual workers with 14.7% identifying themselves as being amongst the professional or managerial groups.

Just over a quarter of the households surveyed (29.1%) indicated that they had children under 10, while one in six of these respondents were identified as single parents of whom 84.3% were female.

Over half (55%) of respondents were council tenants, while 42.2% were owner occupiers. This distribution is very similar to the census returns which indicate that 58% of the residents on the estate are council tenants with 37.6% of residents being owner occupiers. Respondents were asked to identify the type of dwelling, since this information was pertinent to the issue of burglary (see table 4).

**Table 4 Accommodation by Type of Dwelling**

Type of Abode	Number	%
Flat/Maisonette	78	12.5
1/2 Bedroom House	161	25.8
3 /4 Bedroom House	350	56.2
Bungalow	34	5.5

The survey indicated that the majority of respondents (82%) lived in houses with 12.5% in flats or maisonettes and a further 5.5% living in bungalows. In analysing the mode of entry in cases of burglary and assessing vulnerability this demographic data was useful.

The estate, which was built in 1940's, is by comparison a very stable estate. Over 70% of respondents have lived on the estate for over 10 years (table 5).

**Table 5 Period of Residence on the Estate**

<u>Period</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 6 months	12	1.9
6 - 12 months	13	2.1
1 - 3 years	47	7.5
3 - 10 years	113	18.0
<u>Over 10 years</u>	<u>444</u>	<u>706</u>

Interestingly, only 3.9% of respondents indicated that they were on the transfer list and about half of this group wanted to move because they felt that their present accommodation was too big or too small. A small percentage of this group gave problems with neighbours as their main reason for wanting to move.

This high level of stability amongst residents is significant in that it suggests a continuity of informal contacts operating within the estate and a certain degree of satisfaction amongst those who are able to move. Research indicates that where populations are stable the level of crime and incivilities tends to be relatively low and the possibilities for organising community responses are good (Skogan, 1990).

#### 4. THE EXPERIENCE OF BURGLARY

Respondents were asked about incidents of victimisation over the previous twelve months, These questions covered a wide range of crimes but focused specifically on household burglaries.

During 1992 there were 63 dwellings in the household survey who gave affirmative responses to the question of having homes broken into or an attempted break-in over the previous twelve months. Of these 25 households experienced attempted break-ins only. In 1993 there were 62 households in the survey which reported a break-in or an attempted break-in. Of these, 28 were attempts. The police figures for 1993 show a total recorded amount of household burglary on the estate of 4.4% which is considerably less than that indicated in the random survey. This discrepancy arises because of the high number of attempted break-ins which were reported in the survey compared to those reported to the police. Table 6 below shows the breakdown of burglaries and attempted burglaries for 1992 and 1993.

**Table 6 Number of Burglaries and Attempted Burglaries Reported in Household Survey**

	1992			1993		
	Survey	Booster	Total	Survey	Booster	Total
Attempted	25	7	32	23	0	28
Break-in	38	33	71	34	12	46
Total	63	40	103	62	12	74

At this point it is necessary to make two important distinctions in relation to the presentation of the figures. The first is a need to distinguish between the number of burglaries recorded on the estate and the number of households which have experienced one or more burglaries. In criminological language this involves a distinction between the incidence (total number of burglaries) and the prevalence (total number of victims) of burglary. The second distinction is between break-ins and attempted break-ins. This is an important distinction since the police tend to collapse these figures under the category of 'burglary'<sup>1</sup> whereas for the victim there is obviously a considerable difference between the experience of an attempted or an actual break-in. These distinctions are therefore important for evaluating burglary reduction initiatives, particularly where there is a focus on repeat victimisation.

Although the household survey found little change in the level of burglary on the estate these responses do not provide a totally reliable measure since the numbers involved are relatively small. The police data, however, shows a slight increase in the number of recorded

burglaries between 1992 and 1993. Also, they show a substantial increase in the number of recorded burglaries during the first four months of 1994 with a total of 134 burglaries recorded during this period.

The total number of households victimised by burglary on the estate increased from 144 in 1992 to 159 in 1993. Thus there was according to police figures a 10.4% increase in the incidence of burglary over the period following the implementation of the crime prevention initiative.

**Figure 1 Police Data on Burglaries by Month 1992-1994**

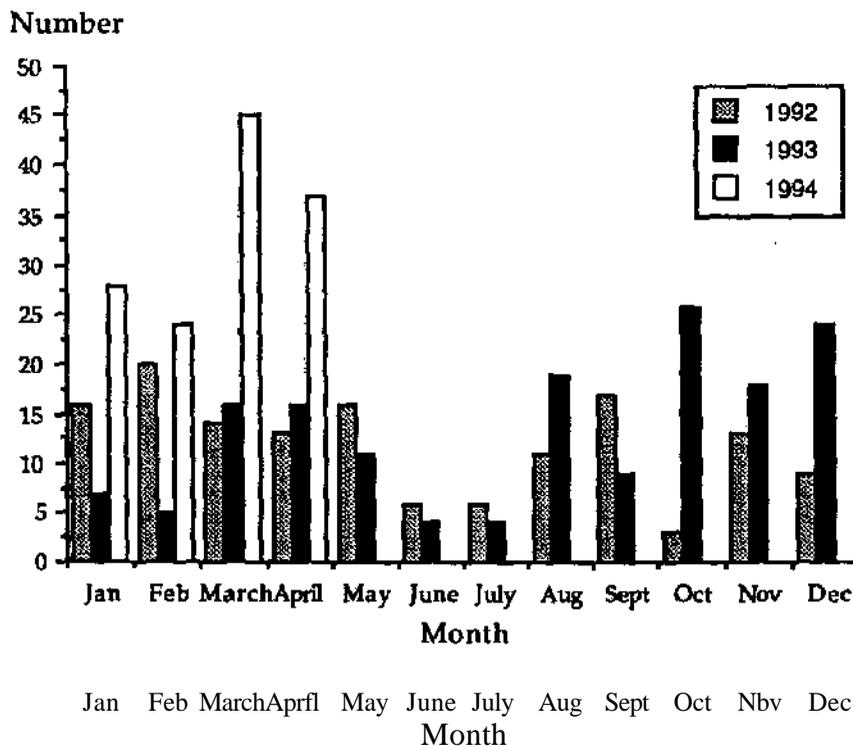


figure 1 shows a considerable fluctuation in the number of burglaries recorded throughout the year. Although there is evidence of a general decline of burglaries in the summer months in 1992 and 1993, the fluctuation over the rest of the year is probably a function of the number of active burglars operating in the area. The dramatic increase in recorded burglaries in the first four months of 1994 does not appear to follow any clear seasonal pattern and therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the overall burglary figures for 1994 will be considerably higher than that recorded in 1993.

Although the recorded increase is significant and provides a guide to the changing incidence of burglaries on the estate, this figure however will be conditioned by the level of reporting. This in turn will probably be influenced by the number of residents with household insurance. The responses to the questionnaire however indicated that there was little change in the willingness of victims to report burglaries or in the numbers of households with insurance.

An important aspect of this increase in the number of households experiencing burglaries is how this compares to burglary levels in surrounding areas and on similar estates in Leicester. As table 7 indicates there were increases in the level of recorded burglaries in Gilmorton and Saffron Lane between 1992 and 1993 of 27.6% and 45.3% respectively. It should be noted, however, that these figures relate to the number of burglaries rather than the number of households victimised. That is, it says nothing about the relation between the incidence and prevalence of burglary on the estate. According to police figures the incidence of burglary on the Eyres Monsell has risen by 10.4% while the prevalence has increased by 23.4%. This is in line with general increases in the area but is significantly lower than that recorded on the Saffron Lane estate.

**Table 7 Number of Burglaries in Surrounding Estates**

	1991	1992	1993	1994
Eyres Monsell	181	231	286	218
Gilmorton	106	123	157	52
Aylestone	139	179	162	98
Fairfield	<b>55</b>	<b>67</b>	66	43
Saffron Lane	155	183	266	69

Changes in the number of burglaries and attempted burglaries reported will be conditioned by the clear up rate for burglary and the arrest and prosecution rate for offenders who are caught. Burglars who were interviewed stated that they carried out burglaries every one or two weeks and therefore deterring or detaining even one or two active burglars can make a significant difference to the burglary rate on the estate. Indicatively, the clear up rate for the Eyres Monsell beat went down during 1993, while the clear up rate for the Saffron Lane estate dropped even more dramatically from almost 20% in 1992 to 7.5% in 1993, as table 8 indicates.

**Table 8 Clear Up Rate for Burglaries in Surrounding Estates**

	1991 (%)	1992 (%)	1993 (%)	1994 (%)
Eyres Monsell	18.2	14.7	12.6	<b>6.0</b>
Gilmorton	34.3	40.5	39.5	13.5
Aylestone	13.7	34.6	14.2	<b>7.1</b>
Fairfield	14.8	14.1	16.7	11.6
Saffron Lane	9.4	19.4	<b>7.5</b>	10.1

The reported burglaries were carried out at different times of the day and night. Approximately a third (39.5%) were between 4pm and midnight, 18.6% between midnight and 8am and 41.8% between 8am and 4pm. Many of the respondents were however.

unable to give specific times for the burglaries and were only able to indicate whether it had been carried out during the evening when they were out, during the day when they were at work or at the weekend when they were out.

The mode of entry which was reported to be most common in the 1992 survey was by the back door. As table 9 indicates although the rear of the house remained the most vulnerable area there was a noticeable shift in emphasis towards the rear groundfloor window (as shown to residents on a diagram) as being the most common point of entry. This shift was also apparent in the police reports for that period.

**Table 9 Burglary in the Home by Place of Entry**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Front ground floor window	19.7	5.8
Front door	15.2	11.5
Side of the house	3.0	3.3
Rear ground floor window	25.8	50.7
Back door	36.4	28.7

Significantly there was a noticeable shift in the use of tools to force entry. Whereas 28.8% of respondents in 1992 said that entry was gained by the use of tools this increased to 40.8% in 1993. The main tools which respondents identified were crowbars and screwdrivers which were used to force open windows or doors or to break the glass and gain entry. The items stolen included predominately electrical goods in the form of videos, stereos and televisions. Jewellery, cheque cards and cash were also reported as losses arising from burglaries. As table 10 indicates electrical goods remained the most likely items to be stolen over the two years.

**Table 10 Type of Goods Reported Stolen in Burglaries**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Electrical goods	39.5	31.6
Jewellery	16.3	10.5
Cash	4.6	18.4
Tools and Equipment	9.3	2.6
Combination	30.2	36.8

The replacement value of goods stolen from each dwelling varied between £10 and £3400 with the average value of items stolen on each burglary being £580 in 1992, and increasing to £800 in 1993.

In a number of cases respondents were able to give a description or had some detailed knowledge of the identity of the offender.-A considerable percentage of respondents believed that the offender lived on the estate.

**Table 11 Victims Knowledge of Offenders**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Able to give a description	20.5	12.3
Knew identity of offender	34.5	24.6
Believe offender lives on the estate	65.6	47.9

To the extent that descriptions are accurate and that the victims are willing to reveal the identity of offenders these findings indicate that the victims of burglary on this estate are a valuable source of information.

Apart from those who claimed to know the offenders, a significant percentage of respondents felt that a great deal of the crime which was being carried out was by other residents on the estate, and that many of these were young people living in neighbouring streets. These residents were not always forthcoming about information which they claimed to have either because of fear of recriminations or because they thought that little could be done about the people involved.

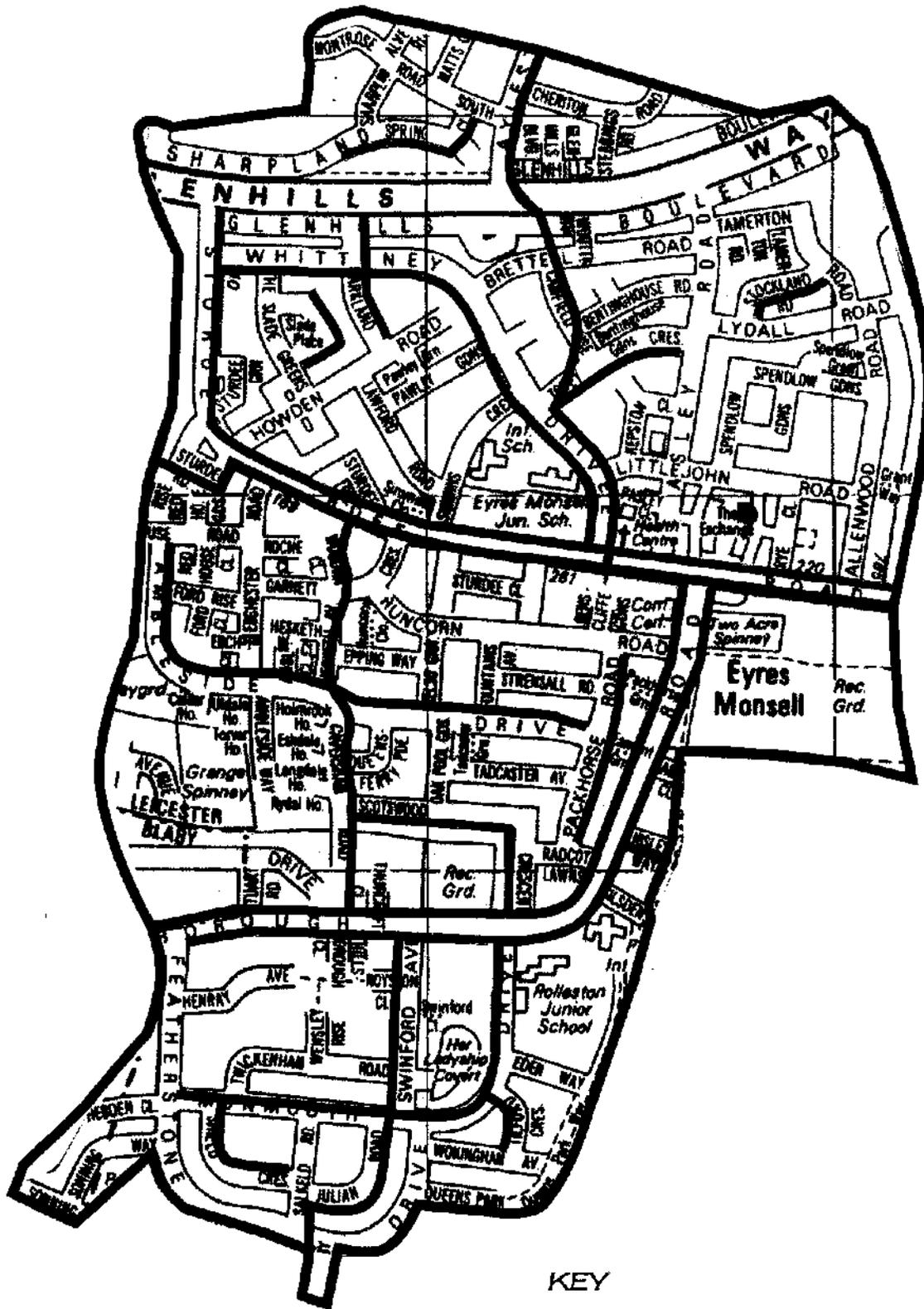
Research on burglary indicates that the radius of offending is usually limited to a mile or less. Thus it is not surprising given the size of the Eyres Monsell estate that a large number of people involved in burglaries are reported to be local.

Research on burglary has also repeatedly shown that burglaries tend to be concentrated in particular areas and amongst certain groups. Thus as part of the research design the estate was divided into six sections. It was found that burglaries tended to be concentrated in certain streets, and that while there were various 'hot spots' there were simultaneously other parts of the estate that were virtually free of burglary. The implication of this finding is that even on estates which are designated 'high crime' or 'high risk'<sup>1</sup> areas that the direct experience of burglary, and other crimes for that matter, by certain groups of residents may be negligible.

As figure 2 indicates the streets which were most affected by burglaries in 1992 were Sturdee Road, Scotswood Crescent, Hillsborough Road, Swinford Avenue and Monmouth Drive. These streets still suffered high levels of burglary in 1993. Also evident from the

FIGURE 2

Map indicating streets with high burglary rates, and/or Neighbourhood Watch schemes



KEY

- High level of Burglary 1992
- High level of Burglary 1993
- NW Established after Jan 1993
- NW Established prior Jan 1993

map is that those areas where Neighbourhood Watch schemes were in operation the level of burglaries tended to be relatively low.

The lack of correspondence between the existence of Neighbourhood Watch and burglaries may have been a function however of the tendency that Neighbourhood Watch schemes are most in evidence where they are needed least (Rosenbaum 1986). Alternatively it may well have been that the existence of these schemes served to deflect burglars away from certain streets.

### Neighbourhood Watch

What was evident from the first sweep of the survey was that there was an untapped demand for establishing Neighbourhood Watch schemes around the estate.

In the first questionnaire respondents were asked about their experience and interest in Neighbourhood Watch. They were also asked questions relating to the community cohesion on the estate. Respondents were asked about how well they knew their next door neighbours and whether or not their neighbours had been burgled over the past twelve months. An encouraging 58.7% replied that they knew their neighbours very well, while only 14.3% said that they hardly knew their next door neighbours. In relation to their knowledge of burglaries amongst their neighbours the response which was felt to be significant was the number of 'don't knows'. This response was given by 27.4% of respondents.

Interestingly in the second sweep of the survey 58.6% of respondents said that they knew their next door neighbours very well; while 22.5% stated that they did not know whether or not their next door neighbours had been burgled over the previous twelve months. This change indicates that over the period of the scheme there was a slight increase in neighbourliness on the estate.

In the first survey respondents were asked about their awareness of Neighbourhood Watch. Over a third (38%) said that they were aware of a Neighbourhood Watch scheme in their area, but only 28% of respondents were actually members of a scheme. However, despite the relatively low percentage of respondents belonging to a Neighbourhood Watch scheme, almost half (44.6%) had thought about joining one. It was seen as an important part of this 'action research'<sup>1</sup> project to supply the details of those streets who expressed an interest in either joining or establishing a scheme to the Neighbourhood Watch co-ordinator on the project. In all there were twenty two streets in which at least four residents expressed an interest in starting or joining a Neighbourhood Watch scheme as table 12 shows.

**Table 12 Streets on the Estate In Which Residents Expressed an Interest in Joining a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme in 1992.**

<b>Section 1</b>	<b>Number of households interested in Joining a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme</b>
Featherstone Drive	15
Hebden Close	5
Henray Avenue	6
Hillsborough Road	12
Twickenham Road	4
<b>Section 2</b>	
Eden Way	4
Monmouth Drive	7
<b>Section 3</b>	
Ambleside Drive	4
Packhorse Green	9
Strensall Road	4
Sturdee Close	4
<b>Section 4</b>	
Garrwtt Crescent	6
<b>Section 5</b>	
Glenhills Boulevard	9
Howden Road	4
Montrose Road South	4
Pawley Gardens	4
Sharptand	7
Simmins Crescent	4
Sturdee Road	11
Whitteney Drive	4
<b>Section 6</b>	
Allen wood Road	4
Little John Road	4

Of particular interest was the fact that a significant number of people living in Hillsborough Road, Sturdee Road and Glenhills Boulevard, which were all identified as having high level of burglaries, were interested in joining schemes.

During 1993, six new schemes were set up, and another scheme has since been established in the first quarter of 1994. These seven schemes involved 220 houses in total.

As table 13 below indicates there were nine Neighbourhood Watch schemes operating prior to 1993. On these streets there was a variable change in the level of burglary between 1992 and 1994 with some streets experiencing decreases in burglary while others experienced slight increases.

**Table 13 Number of Burglaries in Streets with Neighbourhood Watch Schemes Established Prior to 1993**

	Number of Burglaries		
	1992	1993	1994
Cheriton Road	2	1	1
Ford Close/Ford Rise	1	1	2
Hillsborough Road	6	6	7
Markland	1	0	0
Stockland Road	1	0	0
Whittenev Drive	6	8	1
Spring Close	0	0	0
Slade Place	0	0	0
Ibsley Way	0	0	0

Since 1993 seven new Neighbourhood Watch schemes have been established, of which five were located inside the boundary of the scheme. As table 14 below shows these new schemes did not have any noticeable effect upon the burglaries, although it should be pointed out that the burglaries which may have occurred may have in some cases been in those sections of the street which were outside the Neighbourhood Watch area.

**Table 14 Number of Burglaries in Streets with Neighbourhood Watch Schemes Established after January 1993**

	Number of Burglaries		
	1992	1993	1994
Tovey Crescent	2	0	0
Ambleside Drive (x2)	3	3	7
Royston Close	2	2	1
Hebden Close	0	0	0

It is evident from the above table that the newly established schemes did not make any noticeable impact on the level of burglary, and that the schemes which were set up after January 1993 were in streets which were not necessarily experiencing high levels of burglary prior to that date. The information which was gathered did show that there were a number of 'hot-spots' in which burglary levels remained high and which might well benefit from an

intervention which would reduce their vulnerability. These streets consistently account for a significant percentage of the burglary on the estate as table 15 demonstrates.

**Table 15 List of Streets Experiencing Relatively High Levels of Burglary 1992 -1994**

	Number of Burglaries		
	1992	1993	1994
Monmouth Drive	6	15	10
Scotswood Crescent	5	6	8
Rydal House	4	9	10
Shield Crescent	5	4	2
Sturdee Road	11	5	5

It is important with respect to Neighbourhood Watch to distinguish between 'active' and 'passive' schemes. It was evident from the responses to the questionnaire and subsequent interviews that a number of the Neighbourhood Watch schemes in operation on the estate were little more than 'stickers in windows'. The Neighbourhood Watch co-ordinator has indicated that of the 22 schemes on the estate, 8 are semi-active or inactive, One 40 year old man reported that:

Since I joined Neighbourhood Watch all that has happened is that three signs have been put on local lamp posts.

Some residents expressed reservations about the effectiveness of even those Neighbourhood Watch schemes which were relatively 'active\*'. As one resident stated:

I am not sure about its effectiveness. Burglaries still happen, even in the area where Neighbourhood Watch exists.

Some residents also reported difficulties in mobilising their neighbours. There were reports of apathy and that 'no one cares' what happens to other people's property. One resident suggested that "Neighbourhood Watch was a futile attempt by the authorities to avoid the responsibility for crime control."

Another 65 year old female resident put it:

Yes I am very interested in Neighbourhood Watch. I went to all my neighbours and had all the papers from the poke. Never heard from them any more. I rang them about six times so I gave up.

### The Social Distribution of Burglary

Related to the geographical concentration of burglary it was also found to be concentrated in certain types of households and amongst certain groups of residents. It was found that council tenants were more likely than owner occupiers to experience burglary.

**Table 16 Victimization Rate by Tenancy 1992 -1993**

	1992 (%)		1993 (%)	
	Owner Occupier	Council Tenant	Owner Occupier	Council Tenant
Burglary	47.8	52.2	28.2	71.7
Attempted Burglary	55.1	44.9	<b>48.1</b>	51.8

Age was also a significant variable in relation to victimisation (see table 17). The most vulnerable age group were found to be those between 21 -39 who although consisting only 23.7% of the population on the estate accounts for 47.2% of the victims of burglary.

**Table 17 Age of Victims of Burglary and Attempted Burglary 1992 -1993**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)	% of the population on the estate
	Burglary victims	Burglary victims	
Under 21	<b>0.9</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>1.5</b>
21 -39	39.3	47.2	23.7
40-64	29.9	25.0	31.8
65 and over	29.9	26.4	42.9

Also the length of time which people had spent on the estate was a significant variable with those who had been resident for less than three years accounting for 22% of burglaries in 1993 and constituting 11.3% of the population as table 18 demonstrates.

**Table 18 Period of Residency on the Estate and Experience of Burglary and Attempted Burglary 1992-1993**

Period of time resident on the estate	1992 (%)	1993 (%)	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
	Burglary victims	Burglary victims	Random population	Random Population
Less than 6 months	<b>3.8</b>	2.7	<b>1.8</b>	1.3
6 mths - 1 year	2.9	1.3	<b>2.4</b>	<b>1.6</b>
1 - 3 years	<b>9.6</b>	18.0	7.9	<b>8.4</b>
3 - 10 years	20.2	19.4	17.9	16.7
Over 10 years	63.5	58.3	70.0	71.9

These findings suggest, in line with other victimisation surveys, that crime is patterned and concentrated amongst certain sections of the community. This patterning *and*-concentration of victimisation has provided the basis for the focus on repeat and multiple victimisation. It is on the premise that a relatively small section of the population experience a disproportionate level of victimisation that the research on repeat and multiple victimisation was constructed initially. This approach, which provided the basis for the Kirkholt initiative, has subsequently been demonstrated in relation to other types of victimisation (Farrell and Pease 1993; Sampson and Phillips 1992).

The rationale for examining repeat victimisation in relation to burglary was that offenders would know their way into and around the premises, that they would see certain goods which they would want to go back for, and would expect that goods such as videos and stereos would normally be replaced in predictable periods of time. Thus Polvi et al. (1991) found that once a premises had been burgled it was likely to be re-burgled within a month and half of these would be re-burgled within seven days.

These findings suggested that if security measures or forms of victim support could be mobilised quickly in response to known burglaries a considerable amount of burglary could be stopped or at least deflected. This premise formed an essential part of the burglary prevention initiative which was implemented on the Eyres Monsell estate. As was suggested above the application of this approach to this estate was interesting in that it approximated the basic elements of the Kirkholt project more closely than most other 'replications' while two ingredients which it has been suggested played a major role in the success of Kirkholt - the environmental improvements on the estate and the removal of coin meters - were not in evidence in this initiative. Thus an evaluation of the effectiveness of a strategy centred directly around repeat and multiple victimisation became possible.

### Repeat **and** Multiple Victimisation

Before examining the elements of repeat and multiple victimisation on the Eyres Monsell estate it is necessary to distinguish between these terms since the authors of the Kirkholt report and a number of subsequent commentators have conflated the two. It is important to distinguish between them because it is a very different experience being the victim of one particular crime on a number of occasions and being the victim of a range of crimes. Thus it is clearly possible to be a repeated victim of burglary, for example, without experiencing other forms of victimisation. Thus as Graham Farrell has suggested:

A multiple victim may experience many different types of crime. In addition, and not in contradiction, there is the suggestion of repeat victimisation by the same type of crime.

These two phenomena might be termed inter-crime and intra-crime, or across crime-type or within crime-type multiple victimisation. (Farrell 1992)

Having begun to usefully differentiate between these two forms of victimisation Farrell unfortunately slips back into using the same term - multiple victimisation - to cover both. Maintaining the distinction is important since it is important to understand the *relation* between the two experiences. A critical issue underlying this survey was the degree to which a reduction in one form of victimisation affected other forms of victimisation.

Before addressing this question however it is necessary to examine the significance of repeat as well as multiple victimisation of crime. Drawing on both police records and survey data it was possible to compile detailed information on the number of repeat burglaries during the year of the schemes' implementation.

During 1991 and 1992 the number of households experiencing more than one burglary was 33, which is just under 15% of the total number of recorded burglaries for that period. These households involved 67 burglaries over this period in total and the implication is that if these households were 'responsible' for approximately a third of the burglaries on the estate and these dwellings could be made "burglary proof, the level of burglary on the estate could be significantly reduced.

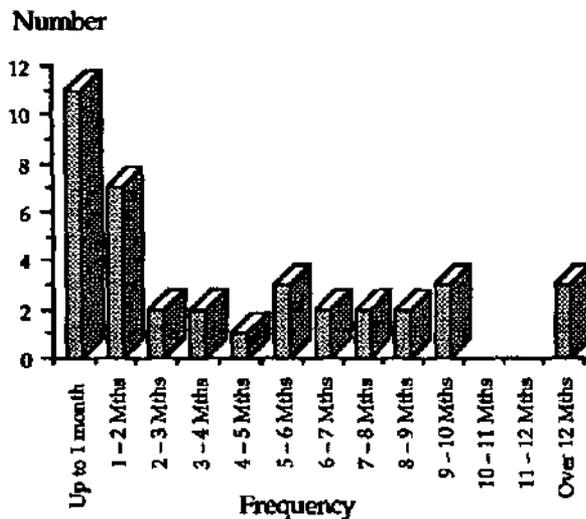
In terms of repeat victimisation the number of dwellings which were revictimised in 1993 was 14. This was a slight decrease on the previous two years, but the benefits which were gained from this reduction have to be weighed against the rapid increase in repeat victimisation during the first four months of 1994. During this period 13 dwellings which were victimised had been victimised during 1993 and therefore should have had the benefit of the free household security system. Further there were 8 dwellings which in the first four months of 1994 experienced a repeat victimisation which had not been burgled over the previous two year period.

The implications of these findings are that the lock fitting scheme together with the other measures which were in operation reduced the level of repeat victimisation slightly but the level of burglary on the estate increased overall. To what extent the reduction of repeat burglaries was a result of the lock fitting scheme is not certain. It would seem that the household security element of the initiative probably played a limited part in this development. First, because there were delays in the fitting of locks and not all houses who were eligible took advantage of the scheme or were informed about it. Secondly, the number of repeats in the first four months of 1994 which should have been the beneficiaries of the lock fitting scheme suggests a limited effectiveness. Thirdly, the burglars who were interviewed stated clearly that the security systems which were installed were no real deterrent and made little difference to the way in which they targeted dwellings or carried

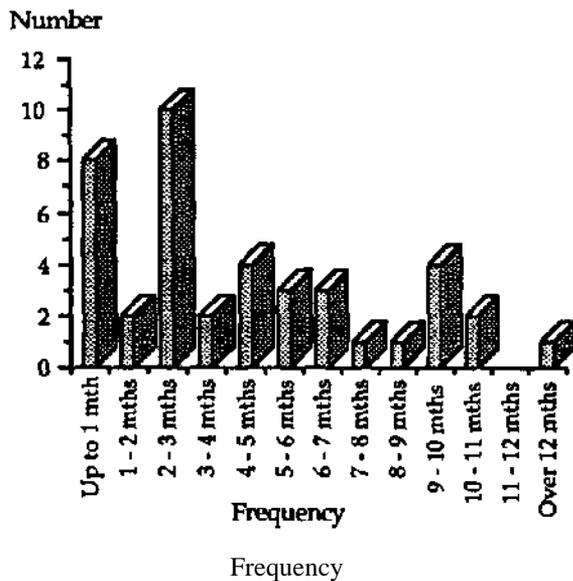
out burglaries. In cases where security systems were installed and burglaries were subsequently carried out burglars either forced doors or simply smashed the glass in the rear window and gained entry.

The period of time between these burglaries follows a similar pattern to that identified in the Kirkholt project. As figure 3 indicates there were eighteen repeats within two months and then there was a fairly even distribution with a slight peak around the five to six and the nine to ten month period.

**Figure 3 Period Between Burglaries 1991 -1992**



**Figure 4 Period Between Burglaries 1993 -1994**



In order to investigate the relationship between the victimisation of burglary and the experience of repeat and multiple victimisation the survey included questions relating to the general level of victimisation amongst residents. As table 19 indicates those who were the

victims of burglary experienced a higher level of victimisation than those who were not burgled.

**Table 19 Repeat and Multiple Victimisation 1992 -1993**

	1992		1993	
	Victims	Burglary	Victims	Burglary
	(%)	Victim (%)	(%)	Victim (%)
Damage/Vandalism to home	16.1	34.6	17.6	38.0
Motor vehicle stolen from estate	5.9	13.1	<b>6.1</b>	9.5
Theft from motor vehicle on estate	10.2	15.0	<b>11.0</b>	18.7
Pedal cycle stolen from estate	6.4	11.2	<b>3.8</b>	14.3
Mugged/Robbed on estate	0.9	0.0	<b>0.7</b>	3.2
Insulted/Annoyed on estate	7.2	14.9	10.1	19.0
Assaulted on estate	1.3	<b>6.5</b>	<b>1.9</b>	1.6
Offered drugs on estate	1.1	<b>4.6</b>	<b>1.6</b>	3.2
Sexual harassment on estate	0.8	<b>3.7</b>	<b>0.5</b>	0.0
Sexual attack on estate	0.4	0.0	<b>0.2</b>	1.6
Racial harassment on estate	0.6	<b>2.8</b>	<b>0.3</b>	0.0
Racial attack on estate	0.2	0.0	<b>0.5</b>	0.0

It should be noted at this point in outlining the level of multiple victimisation there is a discrepancy between 'households' and 'individuals'. This 'slippage' is a feature of all victimisation surveys of this type and clearly the responses given in the questionnaire will be conditioned by which member of the household completes it.

This relationship between repeat and multiple victimisation was re-examined for 1993 and it was found that over the period of the initiative there was little difference in the range of crimes experienced by burglary victims. The important point is that repeat victimisation may have gone down for burglary but multiple victimisation remained fairly stable.

Finally in this section all respondents were asked about their experiences of crime in general. Again there was an interest in repeat victimisation of the crimes concerned.

As table 20 indicates there was little change from the survey responses in the level of victimisation experienced on the estate during 1993. Crimes involving theft from a car or taking a car went up on average but the level of other crimes reported remained roughly the same as in the previous twelve month period.

Table 20 Percentage of Respondents who had Experience of Crime

Type of crime	1992 (%)			1993 (%)		
	Once	Twice	Three or more	Once	Twice	Three or more
Theft of car	6.3	0.6	0.2	5.7	0.3	0.6
Theft from car	8.2	1.9	0.5	9.6	0.4	1.3
Theft of bicycle	6.6	0.6	0.0	4.3	0.1	0.3
Mugged/robbed	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
Assaulted	1.9	0.2	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0
Insulted	7.2	0.5	0.5	10.4	0.4	0.3
Offered drugs	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.1	0.1
Sexual assaults	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Sexual harassment	1.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0
Racial attacks	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Racial harassment	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1

### Burglars On Burglary

A number of interviews were carried out with people who had been involved, or were currently involved, in carrying out burglaries on the estate. These interviews were carried out in the local youth club, around the estate, the local pubs (The Invincible and The Glen), and in Glen Parva Young Offenders Institution. All the people interviewed were male and were between the ages of 15 and 21.

These interviews were felt to be an important supplement to the quantitative data which was collected on burglaries, since the responses offered the potentiality of finding out why certain dwellings were targeted, the rationale of repeat victimisations, the responses to the crime prevention initiative as well as the realities of displacement.

#### *a) Targeting Dwellings*

Targets are chosen on the basis of accessibility and a lack of visible security, although burglar alarms do not seem to provide much of a deterrent since as one respondent put it; "They go off all the time, like car alarms, so no-one bothers, and half of them don't work".

Most of the respondents seemed to prefer houses where there was no one in and to select targets relatively close to where they live. The presence of dogs appeared to be a major deterrent while others expressed an ambivalent view of Neighbourhood Watch. Some of those interviewed felt that it was a real deterrent and it increased their chances of being caught, whilst others thought that it made no difference whatsoever.

Most of the burglars who were interviewed said that they went after jewellery, cash, videos, television and hi-fi systems. All but one of the respondents did not have a car which obviously limited the amount which could be stolen although one mentioned that he (or his accomplice) sometimes stole a car to carry out burglaries.

*b) Modus Operandi*

Virtually all of the interviewees carried out their burglaries in similar ways. They looked around for a suitable empty house, often knocking on the door first or walking past the house two or three times to check whether there was anyone in and then going round the back of the house with a screwdriver and forcing open the bottom window, or going "through the back door, prising it open with a screwdriver. Otherwise you do the windows but that can be noisy." Another interviewee who was 19 and lived in Eyres Monsell was less concerned about the noise and said that he normally broke in through the window and; "Just smashed it with a hammer or something,"

Interestingly, all the respondents said that they had organised outlets for their stolen goods. Most had a particular "handler" who took all the goods which were stolen and paid immediately; while a few sold goods in the local pub or to friends.

*c) Repeat Victimisation*

Interviewees were asked whether they ever re-burgled houses or burgled houses which they knew had been burgled previously by friends or acquaintances. Some of the respondents replied that they were a little nervous about going back to the same house but others seemed to think that there are definite incentives in returning to houses which have been burgled in the recent past. As one 20 year old who had been convicted on five counts of burglary stated:

Sometimes my mates might break-in somewhere and get a bit of jewellery, and then the rumour would get around as to what's in a certain house. Sometimes people even tell you when people are out and what's in there. Normally, I go back after about a week, you know what's there then. Or sometimes you don't get it all first time.

*d) Displacement*

It was clear from the interviews which were carried out with burglars that the locks and bolts which had been fitted as part of the aime prevention initiative had made little real difference to the selection of targets because the back windows remained a relatively easy point of entry with a screwdriver, hammer or crowbar.

Two respondents mentioned Neighbourhood Watch but surprisingly given the statistical chances of being caught in the act a number of respondents made reference to the perceived increase in police presence on the estate. As one 16 year old explained:

I go off to the Saffron Lane for two reasons - one is that the houses are easy, secondly because the Monsell has got loads of police. There's none at Oadby or the Saff.

Approximately half of the burglars interviewed said that they also carried out burglaries on other estates such as Saffron Lane. Thus in terms of displacement there was little evidence of it occurring within the estate as a result of the crime prevention initiative, but there was some indication of displacement to surrounding areas.

There was also some evidence of these young people moving into other kinds of criminal activity or away from burglaries. Most appeared to be involved in a variety of criminal activities particularly car crime and there may have been a shift in emphasis away from burglaries in general for some offenders and towards car crime.

Interestingly all those interviewed were involved with a significant level of drug taking. This activity was seen as fairly normal and unproblematic and a number admitted spending as much as half of their takings on drug use.

All of those interviewed had a chequered history of criminal involvement and poor work and school records. They indicated that in general they did not enjoy carrying out burglaries but needed the money. As one 19 year old who was serving 17 months for seven counts of burglary put it: "I just did it to get the money, for clothes, tabs and stuff."

When asked why they thought people became involved in burglaries the responses suggested that it is "people who live here: people who are bored."

Thus in terms of this sample of young people who admitted or who had been convicted of burglaries on the estate a number of critical points emerge:

- They all live on or near the estate.
- Most are not affected directly by the crime prevention initiative on the estate.
- They aim to steal mainly jewellery, cash, videos, televisions or hi-fis.
- That locks and bolts have little deterrent value because the rear windows remain vulnerable.
- That Neighbourhood Watch and heightened police presence do have some effect on selection of targets.
- That most burglars have established outlets for stolen goods who pay in cash.
- Most young people involved in burglary were also involved in other types of crime.

- That there was some evidence of motives for re-burgling the same dwelling.
- There was little evidence of internal displacement on the estate but there was some evidence of external displacement of burglaries.
- There was a strong relationship between burglaries and drug use. This also tended to be linked to boredom, lack of money and poor school and employment records.

## 5. FEAR OF CRIME AND CRIME REPORTING

The fear of crime is particularly difficult to measure since people's anxieties about crime tend to be linked to a range of economic, social and other considerations. It remains, however, an important concept because people's concerns about crime can have a significant effect upon their quality of life irrespective of their actual level of victimisation.

In order to gauge the fear of crime amongst different groups on the estate a number of measures were devised to elicit both people's perception of risk and the range of precautions which they took to minimise possible victimisation.

Respondents were asked to what extent they worried about various crimes. Table 21 shows that 47% of respondents said that they were very worried about burglary in 1992. This decreased slightly to 44.6% in 1993. There was also a considerable amount of anxiety expressed about damage or vandalism in relation to burglary.

**Table 21 Fear of Burglary 1992 -1993**

Crime	1992 (%)				1993 (%)			
	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very
Break-in	6.8	6.3	39.9	47.0	6.2	6.4	42.8	44.6
Damage/ Vandalism	14.5	16.6	35.5	33.3	12.4	13.7	40.3	33.7

In relation to various predatory and personal crimes including theft from and of a car and theft of a bicycle similarly there was very little change over the period of investigation as table 22 shows.

**Table 22 Fear of Predatory Crime 1992 -1993**

Crime	1992 (%)				1993 (%)			
	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very
Theft of a car	28.2	7.9	24.7	39.1	28.4	6.9	24.4	40.4
Theft from a car	29.6	8.1	23.8	38.5	29.5	8.3	24.2	38.0
Theft of a bicycle	44.9	15.3	19.1	20.7	50.4	13.4	20.7	15.5

Fear of personal crimes on the estate, however, changed very little over the period that the crime prevention strategy was implemented. Significantly the concern with groups of youths 'hanging around' the estate remained stable over the period. This remained the dominant concern for many residents and suggests that this problem would have to be substantially reduced if residents fears and anxieties about crime were to be allayed.

**Table 23 Fear of Personal Crime 1992 -1993**

dime	1992 (%)				1993 (%)			
	Not at all	A little	afaty	Vay	Not at all	A little	Fairy	Very
Mugged/robbed	18.4	20.9	30.7	30.0	18.5	18.5	34.5	28.4
Assaulted	20.2	20.4	30.6	28.8	20.8	19.9	32.4	26.9
Insulted/annoyed	26.5	21.8	28.1	23.6	24.5	24.3	27.9	23.3
Drug activities	41.1	17.7	20.0	21.1	41.7	17.2	23.2	17.8
Groups of youths	8.8	13.2	32.6	45.4	9.1	11.6	34.0	45.3
Sexual assaults	42.0	20.6	19.7	17.6	44.3	20.0	19.8	15.9
Sexual harassment	43.9	23.1	17.0	16.0	47.8	21.3	18.0	13.0
Racial attacks	70.0	14.7	6.3	9.0	68.9	15.2	10.1	5.8
Racial harassment	67.1	15.0	8.3	9.6	68.8	15.6	9.9	5.8

Respondents were asked about the parts of the estate on which they felt most unsafe. Although the responses varied slightly between 1992 and 1993 the areas which were consistently referred to were the areas around the shops and pubs (The Invincible and The Glen) and The Exchange. Other areas which were identified were the Rupert estate and Swinford Avenue.

**Table 24 Areas Where Respondents Feel Most Unsafe 1992 -1993**

Area	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
The Exchange	49	53
Outside pubs and shops	35	61
Swinford Avenue	24	18
Rupert Estate	12	18
Ambleside Drive	11	8
Hillsborough Rd.	11	18
Queensferry Parade	11	0

Apart from these specified areas, 14.5% of respondents in the 1992 survey replied that they felt afraid on all parts of the estate. Female respondents were on average 10% more afraid of particular areas than males in the same age groups. Those who answered that they were afraid of particular areas were then asked if they actually avoided these areas. Surprisingly it was the younger respondents who in general avoided certain areas and females in particular were more likely to employ avoidance strategies.

In the 1993 survey 62.5% of females said that they avoided certain areas, with a high percentage (71%) of females also stating that they avoided going out alone. This

corresponds with the 1992 survey in which 70% of females avoided certain areas and 73% of females avoiding going out alone.

Respondents indicated that there was a considerable degree of anxiety about crime on the estate in 1992. Clearly there are a number of specific areas which residents avoided. Some of the more elderly respondents expressed concern about incivilities as well as crime, while some indicated that environmental improvements could contribute to an improved sense of community safety.

Respondents were asked whether or not they reported incidents to the police. This section was only applicable to those respondents who had been a victim of crime over the past twelve months. The level of reporting remained relatively high during 1992 and 1993 and indicates a significant level of involvement of the police with community activity on the estate. Apart from the police, a small number of respondents also reported incidents to the Tenants Association, and in some cases directly to their insurance company.

Significantly, 87.4% of those who had been victims of burglary in 1992 reported it to the police. In 1993 the percentage decreased to 84.2%. The reasons given for not reporting were that it was felt that the police would not be interested or that residents felt that there was nothing that could be done.

Of these respondents in 1992 65% indicated that they were reasonably satisfied with the police response. In 1993 this figure increased slightly to 66.7%. Of those not satisfied with the police response, reasons given included that the police were too slow to respond, a feeling that the police were not interested, and that information given to the police was not acted upon. One elderly respondent stated that:

The only time we reported a burglary in progress, we were held responsible for not physically stopping the crime. It caused a lot of ill feeling.

Another respondent added that there were some people on the estate who were frightened of intimidation if they reported anything to the police.

Apart from burglaries, respondents were asked about police performance for all crimes. In these responses residents stated that they were most concerned with being informed of the progress of the case (70%), and that in a significant number of cases (63.9%) the police had failed to provide an adequate update of the developments.

Apart from the police approximately 15% of victims had been in contact with victim support and were in general satisfied with the response which they received.

## 6. FACILITIES ON THE ESTATE

The survey asked questions about the residents' experience and satisfaction with the agencies they came into contact with on the estate and the services they received. These responses were carefully monitored since these experiences can directly affect residents' sense of well being in general, as well as their overall quality of life.

In particular the survey asked questions about the adequacy, or otherwise, of facilities for young people including the provision of youth clubs. Also, respondents were asked about their use of the Tenants Association and the Community Centre.

Facilities for young children on the estate were according to the majority of respondents in 1992 (55%) less than adequate. Respondents were asked what things could be done to improve facilities for young children (table 25). There was overwhelming support for the development of play areas with supervision. These responses were largely restated in 1993.

**Table 25 Suggested Improvements of Facilities for Children**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Play areas with supervision	63.2	70.3
Sports facilities	10.0	10.9
Place to go at night/holidays	8.6	3.6
Play group	4.3	0.0
More road crossings	1.4	0.0
Don't Know	12.4	15.3

Similar questions were asked to respondents about facilities for young people. Only 18.8% stated that they thought that the existing facilities were adequate. When asked how they thought facilities might be improved they gave the answers listed in table 26 overleaf. These responses indicate a growing demand for youth clubs on the estate and probably reflect the ongoing concern amongst the majority of residents with 'gangs of youth hanging around the estate' and a belief that a large percentage of crime carried out on the estate involved young people.

Residents were asked whether or not their children used the youth club. Of those who had children in the appropriate age group 30% said that their children did use the youth club. Of the 70% who did not, the reasons given were that they thought that the clubs were too rough or that they simply did not like their children to go out at night. Between 1992 and 1993, however, the number of young people using the youth club generally increased.

Table 26 Suggested Improvements of Facilities for Young People

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
More youth clubs	32.2	52.8
Organised events/activities	19.4	25.2
Coffee shop/meeting place	13.9	11.7
Sports facilities	13.3	2.5
Anything to get them off the streets	8.3	2.5
Games room/disco	4.4	2.5
Play areas	3.9	3.0
Other	4.6	0.0

In relation to the Tenants Association only 28.6% of residents in 1992 said that they made use of it, while a further 23% stated that they did not know that there was one. A further 18% said that they had no use for it. Just under 10% of residents said that they thought that the Tenants Association was ineffective and of little use. Paradoxically, however, a large percentage of respondents who said that they did not use the Tenants Association said that they thought that it was an important part of the community. In the 1993 survey the percentage of respondents who said that they used the Tenants Association increased to 34.1%.

Similar questions were asked about the use of the Community Centre. 78.5% of respondents in 1992 said that they did not use it. However as with the Tenants Association, 65.1% said that they thought that the Community Centre was an important part of the community. There was no reported increase however in the use of the Community Centre in 1993.

These responses suggest that the facilities on the estate are less than adequate and that those facilities which are available are not used by the majority of residents. This would indicate that some consideration should be given to the possibility of improving existing services for all sections of the community and considering ways of stimulating interest in and use of the facilities which are available.

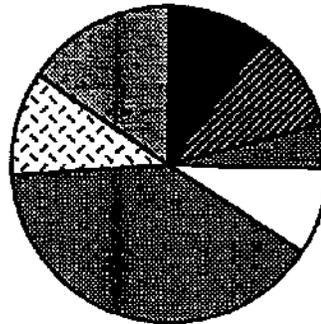
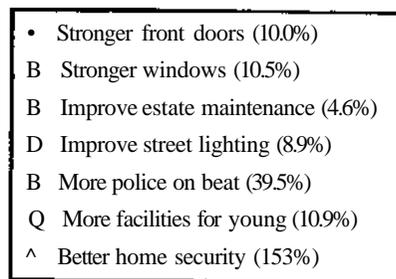
## 7. CRIME PREVENTION

This section of the questionnaire dealt with different aspects of crime prevention. Its aim was to elicit information about the agencies which residents felt were most directly responsible for crime prevention. It also asked questions about the use of security measures and strategies for improving public safety.

In terms of the body primarily responsible for preventing crime, respondents stated in 1992 that they identified parents (40%), followed by the police (20%), the local authority and then the public. In 1993 these responses changed with parents held responsible by 67.1%, with the police following with 16.8%, the local authority 8.4% and the public 7.7%.

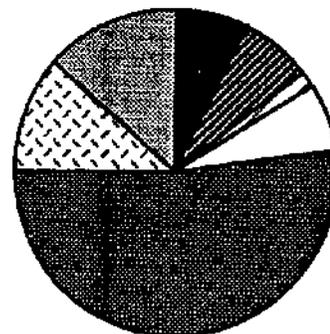
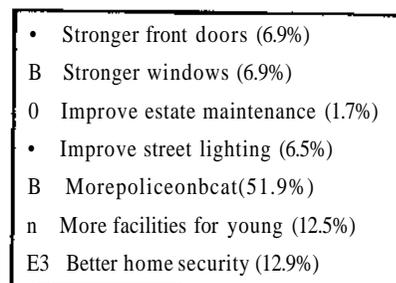
Respondents were then asked to rank on a seven point scale security measures which they felt would improve public safety from 'most important' to 'least important'<sup>1</sup>. The most favoured response was putting more police on the beat (figure 5).

**Figure 5 Measures Thought to be Most Important in Improving Public Safety on the Estate, 1992**



Interestingly, in the second sweep of the survey in 1993 the percentage of people favouring more police on the beat increased further to just over 50% while support for improved household security decreased.

**Figure 6 Measures Thought to be Most Important in Improving Public Safety on the Estate, 1993**



Respondents were then asked if there was anything which had been missed out in listing things which could be done to improve public security and reduce crime. These responses were not prompted, and respondents were given space to express their views.

**Table 27 Other Suggestions for Improving Public Security**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Increased parental responsibility	17.0	21.9
Tougher sanctions	15.3	23.5
Neighbourhood Watch	11.9	10.1
Higher/more fences	6.8	13.0
Patrols to control kidstyoouths	5.0	0.0
Sleeping policemen/traffic control	3.4	6.0
More employment for youths	0.0	8.5
Increase 'community spirit'	0.0	3.1
Limit number of 'bad families' in area	3.4	3.1
Other	37.2	10.8

The responses which were generally favoured by residents on the estate were increased parental responsibility, tougher legal sanctions and environmental improvements.

Respondents were asked about the type of security measures which they possessed. The responses which were given indicate that there was an increased overall use of security measures during 1993 and particularly in the security marking of property as well as a small increase in window locks. These responses are not surprising since the housing department distributed property marking equipment in January 1993 and the Tenants Association fitted window locks as part of the crime prevention initiative.

**Table 28 Percentage and Type of Security Measures Used**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Burglar alarm	14.4	<b>14.9</b>
Window locks	60.7	67.9
Door locks/chains	98.7	97.1
Security marking of property	29.2	43.4
Locking doors when out	98.5	98.1
Locking windows when out	<b>91.5</b>	89.6
Music/TV on when out	40.0	36.5
Lights on when out	84.7	81.4
Owning a dog	34.2	29.8
Ask neighbours to watch house	67.1	70.5

## Social Crime Prevention

Apart from physical security measures the project involved some important social crime prevention methods. Some reference has been made to Neighbourhood Watch and its role in helping to provide support for actual and potential victims. The responses to the 1993 survey indicates that over half of the respondents (58.8%) were still thinking about joining a Neighbourhood Watch scheme. When asked why they had not as yet joined one, most replied that they were too old or not well enough to participate (see table 29).

**Table 29 Reasons for not Joining a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Too ill/old/disabled	25.6	25.3
Not heard of one	25.1	21.4
Ineffective/powerless	8.7	33.0
No time	7.5	0.0
Rarely in	5.6	0.0
Been no local interest in past	5.0	5.1
Fear of reprisals	3.8	0.6
Neighbours and 1 would report anything anyway	3.1	9.7
Look after number one	1.9	0.0
Don't trust neighbours	1.9	0.6
Other	3.8	4.4
Don't Know	8.1	0.0

The other important social crime prevention initiative which was part of the programme involved the development of youth services and a school passport scheme. A great deal of emphasis was placed by the members of the crime reduction group in developing facilities for young people on the estate. Thus a central element of the initiative was to encourage young people to engage in a range of leisure activities which would provide a more constructive use of young peoples' time.

The funding for the project paid for two part-time outreach youth workers who could help to develop projects linked to schools and their local agencies. A series of residential excursions were organised and the two youth clubs on the estate were opened in the evenings and a new club was started on Wednesday afternoons. A schools programme was also set up at lunch time and one after school which was very popular.

The increase in the range of these youth services on the estate however brought its own tensions and problems. In a self-evaluation of this aspect of the project the co-ordinator of youth services stated:

Between October and December (1993) the number of young people attending the evening youth club increased as did the problems of control and order. The CD player was stolen and the staff threatened by a minority group that spoilt the atmosphere for the rest of the group. The leaders decided to close over the Christmas period and re-opened in January, adopting a 'controlled membership'. The attendance has increased to 45 young people and the 'trouble makers' have not returned. The leaders feel that they are making progress bringing down the youth club burglaries.

Also in relation to young people the schools passport scheme was designed to reward children for good behaviour, and to try to promote a better attitude amongst young people on the estate. Parents were encouraged to take part in the scheme, by sending letters in which reported on their children's good behaviour at home. Stickers were given out weekly in assembly, and each child who was awarded a sticker was named by the headteacher and rewarded in front of the whole school.

There were however some problems and tensions in the scheme. First, the scheme was slow to get off the ground and did not come into operation until September 1993. Also teachers complained that the children's parents did not back them up when it came to matters of discipline. The major limitation of this scheme in terms of the crime prevention initiative was that it was likely to reward children who were already well behaved and unlikely to become involved in crime. This scheme was also unable to address the issues of bullying which were reported to be prevalent in the local school and thereby actively confront anti-social behaviour. Neither did it give any instruction to young people on how they might more usefully use their spare time. Many of them, no matter how well behaved they may have been in school, still spent much of their time hanging around the estate waiting for something to happen.

## **a. THE COMMUNITY RESPONSE**

Alongside the self-complete questionnaire, a number of qualitative interviews were carried out. These were designed to gather useful information about residents' experiences of crime and community safety. In particular they were asked about their knowledge and assessment of the changes which had occurred as a result of the crime prevention initiative.

Approximately seventy-five face to face interviews were carried out in November/December 1992 (see the Interim report), and a similar number a year later. The interviews were mainly carried out with a sample of elderly, middle-aged (25-45) and young people living on the estate. These interviews were carried out in a number of locations, including the streets, in the Tenants Association, in the local pubs, the youth clubs, and in local schools. In conducting these semi-structured interviews the aim was to elicit responses regarding the quality of life on the estate and the changes, if any, which had occurred over the last year, particularly with reference to crime, facilities, policing and fear of crime.

### *a) Crime*

Most of the older residents interviewed felt that burglary, car crime, drugs and vandalism were the most common crimes on the estate. Few people felt that crime had decreased over the previous year, although a significant percentage felt that it had remained at a similar level. A number of respondents, however, felt that the problem of crime had become steadily worse on the estate. One 40 year male, for example, said:

We filled in a questionnaire last year and since then crime and vandalism has increased twofold. Also car crime and joyriding - some nights this area is like a racetrack. The youths in stolen cars are using other youths on mopeds and motorbikes as lookouts for the police.

The above quotation reflects the widely held view that young people on the estate are responsible for most of the crime. There was a particular concern with vandalism and a number of respondents gave examples of vandalism on the estate which was in most cases linked to the activities of young people. As one resident put it:

There is a lot of vandalism on the estate - trees pulled down, graffiti, walls knocked down, hedges jumped. The kids today have no discipline at school or home. They have no respect for other people's property.

There was a considerable degree of concern about youth groups on the estate and this concern was not limited to the adult population. A number of the 14 and 15 year olds on the estate also made reference to 'yobs' and 'unruly teenagers'.

The younger adults on the estate (21-35 year olds) tended to have a more positive view of crime on the estate, and a number of respondents in this age group felt that the overall crime levels on the estate had been fairly stable over the past year.

There was considerable evidence of drug use by young people living on the estate. Even those aged 15 years or younger were engaged in a regular use of drugs - "trips and draw" - while others in the same age groups referred to weekend drinking on the street.

The teenagers who were interviewed, both male and female, felt that crime on the estate had gone up over the previous twelve months although one bemoaned the fact that "TWOCs have decreased, because everyone has gone inside for TWOCing." He added "it's really quietened down since last year...it is boring on this estate."

The majority of the teenagers interviewed felt that life on the estate was boring and that this was why they got involved in crime. In addition some felt that the type of young people who got into trouble with the police were those "without jobs and without dads"; while others blamed the "riff-raff elements" some of whom came from other areas. Virtually all the young people agreed that most of the crime carried out on the estate was committed by young people living in or around the estate.

Of the people questioned with regards to whether crime on the estate had increased over the period of the initiative, the overwhelming response was that it had got worse. As one elderly resident put it:

Crime has got worse over the last year. Living here is a nightmare especially for the old "uns like us. We live in terror.

In a similar vein a middle aged male resident stated:

Crime has got worse. On my road [Monmouth Drive] a lot of people have been burgled. There are more break-ins and more thugs. You can't walk the streets.

#### *b) Facilities*

In the discussions of crime on the estate continual reference was made by residents about the lack of facilities - particularly for young people. Words like 'poor'<sup>1</sup>, 'inadequate'<sup>1</sup> and 'awful' were regularly used to describe the level of facilities on the estate.

There were mixed opinions as to whether or not the facilities on the estate had improved or become worse over the previous year. A number of the older residents felt that the estate "had gone downhill a bit" and some held the council directly responsible for this development. On the other hand there were some residents who thought that facilities on

the estate had improved in some respects and this was attributed to the growing number of owner-occupiers.

For those who were dissatisfied with facilities there was reference made to the amount of litter and the poor street lighting on some parts of the estate. The majority of respondents felt that facilities for children and teenagers in particular were grossly inadequate. There was a broad consensus that this lack of provision for young people was directly related to the level of crime. There were calls for more sports and leisure facilities and more youth provision in general. Recently, the Tenants Association were approached by a group of teenagers who had organised a petition which they wished to be displayed in the Tenants Association. In this, they highlighted the lack of suitable facilities on the estate, and bemoaned the fact that as a consequence they had no option but to roam the streets. This was seen as unacceptable to them, as they realised they were both a cause of concern to residents, whilst also making themselves vulnerable to possible victimisation and harassment.

There was a great deal of support for the youth clubs on the estate from all sections of the community, although some of the teenage girls who were interviewed said that they did not use the youth club because "it is too rough, and the older people take it over and won't let us do what we want."

Most of the adult respondents felt that the Tenants Association, the Housing Office, and the Community Centre were important facilities on the estate, although not too many people said that they actually used them.

There was a general demand for more extensive facilities on the estate, although some residents qualified this demand by saying that if play facilities, for example, were provided, there was a high probability that they would be vandalised,

### *c) Policing*

Attitudes towards the police were mixed. There are plans to establish a base on the estate in the Tenants Association office, although so far this has not happened, and there were complaints of a general lack of police presence. A recurring theme in the interviews was a demand for more police on the beat; and that "if the police knew the problems on the estate that they would be here more."

The lack of a visible and regular police presence is seen by a number of residents as one of the main reasons why juveniles become involved in crime. As one 65 year old male resident put it:

I strongly feel it is a lack of policemen on the beat that is a lot of the cause of juvenile crime. Children roam the streets at night at all hours and get up to all sorts of mischief

and there is nobody around to check them. There is no-one around of authority to warn or deter them, only a Panda car when someone dials 999.

Some residents however complained about a lack of police responsiveness and effectiveness. A number of examples were given of residents reporting incidents and the police failing to respond quickly or effectively enough. As one resident reported:

I live across the road and on a number of occasions I have rung the police about possible break-ins that were happening. I was actually on the phone when children were kicking in a window. The police kept me waiting on the phone for a considerable time, and then finally said; 'If we have got anybody they will be along.'

Residents who were more sympathetic to the police pointed to the limits of the sanctions which were given to offenders, as they saw it. There was widespread feeling, particularly amongst the older residents, that young offenders were 'let off very lightly and that the police had their hands tied by the courts. A typical comment from one middle aged man stated that:

When offenders are caught, give punishment to fit the crime, not tell them to go home and be a good boy or girl. They just make a fool of the law and laugh at them. What chance have the police got? If they arrest anyone, they have to let them go; and they are straight back doing the same again.

Another resident made a similar point in relation to burglary:

The people who do the burglaries get nothing done to them. They get taken to the police station and let home again to do the same thing. Also with stolen cars. It is the victim who suffers.

Some of the older residents complained that the police are not sufficiently tough with young offenders; while some of the young people on the estate complained of police harassment and intimidation,

Many young people expressed hostility towards the police and some complained of being harassed by the police - particularly when in groups.

#### *d) Fear of Crime*

Older residents said that they felt generally unsafe around the estate at night. A number of areas and streets were identified as places where respondents felt particularly unsafe. These included Hillsborough Road, The Exchange and shopping area, Ambleside Drive and Queensferry Parade which were all singled out as crime 'hotspots'<sup>1</sup>.

A number of female respondents expressed concern about the possibility of becoming a victim in the near future. Some also referred to their anxieties about safety in their own homes in relation to burglary. A number of female residents made reference to the new locks

on the doors and windows and the effect that this had made to their personal sense of security.

For many of the older residents it was the sight of youth gangs 'hanging around' on the estate which fuelled fears. As noted above, a number of teenagers living on the estate were also frightened of teenage gangs.

As the qualitative data suggested there was not a great deal of change in the residents sense of security, except those who felt more secure as a result of having security devices fitted in their homes. But this only constituted a relatively small group. The key to reducing anxiety on the estate appeared to be bound up with reducing the number of teenagers visibly hanging around the estate by providing them with more constructive and interesting ways of passing their time.

The views expressed by residents about their anxieties related to crime were underlined by the comments and experiences of the interviewers. In the process of conducting the research two interviewers were intimidated and threatened by male teenagers.

#### *e) Views on the Crime Prevention Initiative*

A number of residents were asked about their knowledge of, and views on, the crime prevention initiative which had been implemented on the estate during 1993. The majority of those interviewed (75%) said that they had never heard of 'Safer Cities' although half said that they had heard of the "free lock fitting scheme<sup>1</sup> for burglary victims. Of those who had heard of crime reduction initiative the responses were generally favourable. As one respondent put it:

Yes, it has been a success. It has given people more confidence. It's a psychological thing really. People feel safer.

The responses given indicate some of the problems of social communication on the estate, since all residents had received newsletters and property marking equipment; while one in four had been sent a self complete questionnaire and a covering letter describing the project and the research.

In sum, the main points which emerge from interviews carried out with residents are:

- The level of crime on the estate is seen as generally remaining fairly stable over the past year, although certain activities like car crime and vandalism are believed to have increased.

- That young people are seen to be responsible for a great deal of crime on the estate.
- That most crime is carried out by people living on the estate.
- Boredom and lack of facilities and work opportunities are seen as the reasons for such a high level of crime on the estate.
- More facilities are required for all people on the estate, but particularly for children and teenagers.
- That there should be a greater police presence, and that there should be more police on the beat.
- Certain parts of the estate were seen as unsafe and better lighting and more police were seen as necessary in these areas.

## 9. THE AGENCY RESPONSE

A central feature of this crime prevention initiative was the adoption of an inter-agency approach. The advantages of this multi-faceted approach have been well documented and it was presented as one of the essential features of the Kirkholt project.

The agencies directly involved in the Eyres Monsell Crime Reduction Group were the youth service, housing, education department, community centre, the police, together with one resident on the estate. 'Safer Cities' representatives sat in on the meetings as did a member of the evaluation team.

Meetings were organised regularly and were well attended. There had been in the early stages differences of emphasis and opinion but by the end of the first year of the project these had been largely ironed out. As one member of the group commented at that time:

It's gone through some of the classic stages. It was hostile at the start - people came and wanted to change things. If we were starting again things might be done differently, but we had to go through the process.

This view was confirmed by a number of other respondents who were interviewed. One of the members stated that in addition to the desired reduction in crime on the estate, the "links with other agencies and improved communication" had already made the initiative worthwhile. There was a definite sense of achievement amongst the co-ordinating group and a willingness to work closer together which seems to be based upon the recognition that if crime and burglary, in particular, are to be reduced on the estate that the relevant agencies will have to work with each other, and that the task is too much for one agency alone to deal with.

However, one criticism made of the group by one of its members was that certain agencies were not represented on the committee. These included social services, ward councillors, voluntary organisations, the church and health visitors.

One cause of concern amongst the agencies was the duration and distribution of funding. The project had originally been set up for one years funding since it was stated 'Safer Cities' policy that all projects would only be funded for one year. However, some felt that this was too short a period to allow the benefits of the initiative to become evident. Other members complained about the distribution of funds and some agencies wanted more money spent on 'locks and bolts' while others wanted it spent on youth provision.

In terms of agency co-operation however, the project worked reasonably well. As one member of the group stated:

Overall its been hard work. The biggest problem was the short-term funding, we can't do anymore, and we hadn't even started yet. I would do this ail again.

Another member of the crime reduction group commented on the fact that there was not enough representation from the community itself, and that it was mostly professional people with professional interests. Although he thought that the initiative had produced some positive results and the steering group had done a good job, when asked what he had learnt from the scheme he replied that it was:

...difficult to keep people together from different agencies and keeping them focused. The problem is to get everyone pulling in the same direction.

Although the initiative did not reduce the level of burglary on the estate there was a feeling that it may have been effective in preventing burglary increasing to the extent that it had on some nearby estates, such as Saffron Lane. Some members felt that there was a need to remain realistic about what was achievable in this situation. This view was succinctly summarised by one agency representative who concluded that:

We can never stop crime completely but we can certainly slow it down and make life more comfortable for the community and more difficult for the offender. If we can slow down crime, even if we've only stopped one burglary, then we've achieved something. We'll never stop crime, but every attempted burglary is really a success on our part.

Further funding has been made available by the 'Safer Cities' project to employ youth workers for an extended period, who will be working with the local schools. The aim is to identify and work with young people "at risk' or involved in crime. A range of activities and programmes are to be arranged which are designed to promote good behaviour and raise self-esteem.

## 10. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As a twelve month crime prevention initiative the outcomes of this project have been positive without being particularly remarkable. As an essentially burglary reduction initiative it has succeeded in keeping the level of burglary *on* the estate relatively stable at a time when the burglary level in surrounding areas has been increasing. However, the rapid increase in the number of burglaries in the first four months of 1994 is a cause of considerable concern.

The main achievements of the initiative include the fitting of 415 security systems over a 17 month period (71 of those to victims of burglary), setting up 7 new Neighbourhood Watch schemes, a school watch and passport programme and extending the range of youth provision on the estate generally.

Also, during the period of the initiative the newsletters which were distributed to residents on the estate, the events which attracted publicity as well as the distribution of questionnaires to every fourth house on two occasions appears to have increased the sense of community spirit on the estate and conveyed the message to residents that something is being done about crime on the estate.

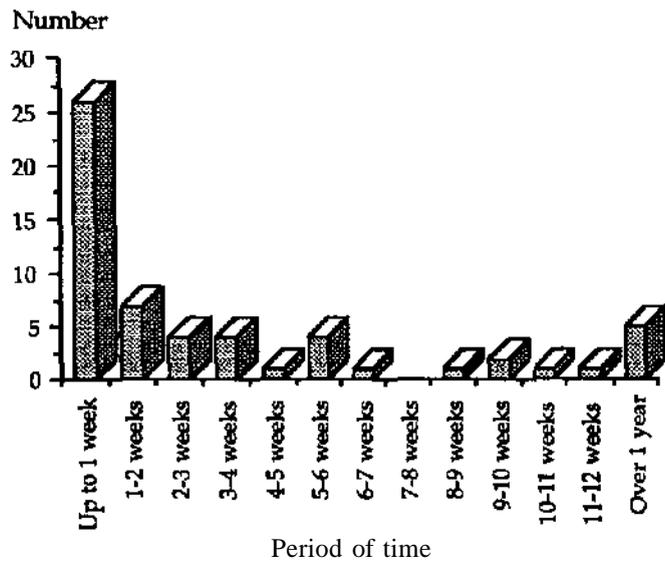
The combination of both physical and social measures together with the increased publicity and attention paid to these issues has no doubt served to reduce some residents anxieties about burglary, although there is indication that the overall quality of life on the estate for the majority of residents has not changed significantly over the period of the initiative.

There was a widespread feeling among residents that the estate had been starved of funding and many held the local authority responsible for the limited amenities, while others laid the blame at the door of the government. One fourteen year old male said:

We need a leisure centre like at Saffron Lane. All we've got is the ball courts and it's too cold in winter. The Government is like Scrooge on this estate.

In terms of the effectiveness of the initiative there were some delays in the implementation of certain key elements, particularly in the collection and fitting of security devices following a burglary (see figure 7), the establishment and operation of the school watch scheme and the delays in the distribution of marker pens. Most importantly it transpired that the fitting of locks and bolts did not really provide an effective security system since burglars were able to gain access relatively easily through back windows and through the flimsy back panel on most back doors. Thus the limited effectiveness of the initiative was not attributable as some members of the committee suggested to the lack of security devices fitted to houses. Rather, it was more to do with the limited protection which the available security packages offered to residents, and the availability of vulnerable alternative targets.

Figure 7 Period of Time Between Burglary and Lock Fitting



The limitations of the physical crime prevention measures were paralleled by the social crime prevention measures which were developed. Neighbourhood Watch which was seen as an essential ingredient in fact did not develop as much as was initially anticipated and crucially it did not develop fully in those streets with high crime and high burglary rates. A number of the Neighbourhood Watch schemes which were in operation were relatively 'passive' and consisted of 'stickers in windows'. Although some of the burglars who were interviewed said that they tried to avoid houses which had Neighbourhood Watch stickers in the window, there was little evidence that the instigation of new Neighbourhood Watch schemes had made a great deal of impact upon burglary or other forms of crime.

Similar findings were expressed by residents and members of the inter-agency group about 'school watch'<sup>1</sup> and the school passport scheme. This scheme was slow to get off the ground and although it involved 372 pupils (from the two primary schools), it made little impact upon the young people on the estate who were 'at risk' or involved in crime.

The youth provision on the estate expanded during the period of the initiative with the project funding paying for two part-time youth workers attached to Eyres Monsell Boys Club. The expanded provision of these boys clubs was probably the most constructive feature of the overall initiative and provided a valuable resource in a situation in which young people had limited access to recreational and leisure facilities.

There are, however, clearly limits to the impact which these 'boys' clubs could have on youth activities and offending on the estate. It was evident that these facilities would have to become part of a much wider range of youth provision if the problems associated with young people were to be effectively addressed.

To the extent that the initiative constituted a replication of the Kirkholt project, the changes which occurred cast some light on what worked on the Kirkholt estate. The similarities between the Eyres Monsell and Kirkholt are, however, limited and it is only possible to draw tentative conclusions.

### **Replicating Kirkholt?**

A major element in the Eyres Monsell initiative was the attempt to reduce burglary by reducing the level of repeat victimisation. As in the Kirkholt project the idea was to link this to the development of Neighbourhood Watch schemes and other social crime prevention measures through inter-agency collaboration. It should be noted that most of the other 'replications' based on Kirkholt have produced, as was pointed out in the introduction, mixed outcomes.

There seemed to be at least five critical ingredients which helped to produce the remarkable level of success which was recorded in Kirkholt which were largely absent from the Eyres Monsell estate. These include:

- a) The removal of an easily identifiable target in the form of coin meters
- b) A major refurbishment on the estate involving new doors, windows and security measures
- c) The development of effective support networks for victims
- d) The effective co-ordination of the project and the consistent input of action researchers
- e) An initial survey of the estate and interviews with burglars which provided some direction and essential information for the development of security measures

Repeat victimisation may be the key for constructing a targeted strategy but there are a number of elements which need to be properly developed if the potential of repeat and a multiple victimisation strategy are to be realised.

As we have noted above. Eyres Monsell did not have the benefit of the type of major environmental scheme which was implemented in Kirkholt. Nor was it possible to remove coin meters and other obvious targets in order to have an immediate impact on burglary. In this sense the success or failure of the Eyres Monsell Crime Reduction Initiative can be attributed largely to the combination of physical and social measures which were implemented linked to a strategy of repeat victimisation.

There was evidence of a significant level of repeat victimisation on the estate prior to the instigation of the project and clearly if this had been reduced it would have made a

substantial impact upon the level of burglary. However, there was only a small reduction in the number of repeats and there was also evidence, both in the quantitative and qualitative data, of both 'internal' and 'external' displacement. The relatively high increase in the level of recorded burglary in nearby Saffron Lane is to some extent attributable to the 'success' of the Eyres Monsell initiative.

A significant obstacle to the development of a crime reduction initiative of this type was the level of deprivation, isolation and apathy on the estate. Interviewees reported high degrees of despondency and cynicism amongst respondents about the desirability and possibility of effecting any significant change in the level of crime. One consequence of this attitude was that a number of respondents who had been burgled delayed or desisted from taking advantage of the free lock fitting scheme.

Apathy and acquiescence also seem to have played a part in the limited development of Neighbourhood Watch. Importantly, those houses and streets which consistently experienced high level of burglaries received little protection and their level of vulnerability was not noticeably reduced. Any future crime prevention initiative on this estate would necessarily need to focus on these areas.

There was a slight decrease in the level of repeat victimisation during 1993, although the overall number of burglaries increased on the estate. Most importantly the level of multiple victimisation did not change to any significant degree and there was little change in the degree of victimisation experienced by the most vulnerable group of residents.

Interviews with burglars were instructive. This qualitative data provided information which helped to provide some insight into 'what worked?' in terms of the initiative. They also provided information on the selection of targets, modus operandi, the distribution of stolen goods, the effectiveness of different crime prevention measures and the processes of displacement.

Some of the burglars who were interviewed admitted returning to certain dwellings shortly after carrying out the initial burglary, or passing information on to friends and acquaintances. However, there was also a significant percentage of burglars who said that they were very reticent about returning to a burgled dwelling, even if they knew that it contained items which they wanted to steal.

In sum the experience of the Eyres Monsell initiative gives qualified support to the Kirkholt approach, although there were substantial differences in the implementation of the burglary prevention measures. However, one important difference between the two projects was that Kirkholt began from a situation in which the burglary rate on the estate was in the region of 25%, while on the Eyres Monsell estate it was only 4.4%. From this, much more moderate.

starting point it was always improbable that there would be a dramatic shift in the level of burglary.

Although the form of implementation and outcomes do not provide a comprehensive enough basis on which to make a full assessment or develop a clear causal analysis one significant difference between the Kirkholt project and the Eyres Monsell crime prevention initiative was that prior to establishing the project, the Kirkholt team carried out interviews with a number of burglars operating on the estate and found out details of the selection of targets and the mode of entry which was employed. This allowed for the development of appropriate security and crime prevention methods. Such preventive strategies were unfortunately absent from the Eyres Monsell initiative with the result that some participants embraced the myopic belief that simply putting a few locks and bolts on a limited number of houses on the estate was going to make a significant difference to the level of burglary. The absence of this type of prior research resulted in the provision of limited security systems and little understanding of the motivations and organisation of actual and potential offenders.

Drawing upon the quantitative and qualitative data which has been collected it is possible to summarise the main findings of the report.

### **Summary of Main Findings**

1. The incidence (number of households victimised) of burglary increased on the estate from 144 in 1992 to 159 in 1993, an increase of 10.4%.
2. The prevalence (number of burglaries) increased from 231 in 1992 to 289 in 1993, an increase of 25%.
3. There has been a considerable increase in the number of burglaries carried out in the first four months of 1994. The number recorded during this period was 134.
4. The increase in the number of burglaries carried out on Eyres Monsell however, was not as great as the increase on some of the surrounding estates, one of which (Saffron Lane) experienced a 45.3% increase between 1992 and 1993.
5. There was significant evidence of repeat victimisation prior to the instigation of the project with 33 out of 144 households experiencing a repeated burglary during 1991 and 1992.

6. There was a slight reduction in the level of repeat victimisation during 1993. It decreased from an average of 16 households per year over the two previous years to 13 per year in 1993.
7. The number of households experiencing repeated burglaries, however, increased significantly in the first four months of 1994. There were 21 dwellings which were revictimised in this period.
8. Eight of the households which experienced repeated victimisation in the first quarter of 1994 had not been victims of burglary over the previous two years.
9. There was evidence of displacement to surrounding estates, particularly the Saffron Lane estate.
10. The household security measures which were installed in selected dwellings provided little deterrence for burglars who entered increasingly via the rear window which remained vulnerable.
11. Over the period of the initiative 415 security packages were fitted in total with 71 being fitted to victims of burglary.
12. Approximately half of the security packages were fitted within one week of being reported.
13. Entry to houses was gained mainly via the back door or window usually with a screwdriver, crowbar or similar implement.
14. Although there was some decrease in the level of repeat victimisation during 1993 there was no indication of a change in the levels of multiple victimisation.
15. Burglaries were not distributed evenly across the estate. Instead they tended to be concentrated in certain areas and amongst certain groups.
16. Those streets which were identified as experiencing a high level of burglary prior to the instigation of the project continued to do so after the initiative had been enacted.
17. The goods stolen were predominately electrical goods, jewellery and cash.
18. The average value of goods stolen estimated by victims was £580 in 1992 and £800 in 1993.
19. There was no monthly pattern to burglary, except that it tended to decrease in the summer months and increase in the period before Christmas.

20. There was no clear pattern about the time of day or night at which burglaries were carried out since many respondents were unable to be very precise about times.
21. In a significant percentage of cases the victim knew or could describe the offender.
22. Most offenders were believed to live on the estate.
23. There was a considerable amount of interest expressed in setting up Neighbourhood Watch schemes. In 1992 over half of the respondents said that they were thinking of joining a scheme.
24. The reasons given for not joining Neighbourhood Watch schemes were that the respondents were "too old/disabled" (25%) or that they felt that they were "ineffective" (33%).
25. There were seven new Neighbourhood Watch schemes established in 1993/4.
26. There was no indication that the establishment of new Neighbourhood Watch schemes had effected any change in the level of burglary in the streets concerned.
27. The relatively low impact of Neighbourhood Watch schemes may have been a function of the level of despondency and apathy which was evident on the estate amongst some groups.
28. There was a shift away from the victimisation of owner occupiers and towards council tenants between 1992 and 1993.
29. Younger residents on the estate were more likely to be victims of burglary than older people.
30. Those who had been resident on the estate for less than three years were more likely to be victims of burglary than longer standing residents.
31. Almost half of the repeat burglaries were carried out within eight weeks of the initial incident.
32. There was a considerable amount of car related crime in 1992 and this increased in 1993.
33. The crimes which were most reported in the survey beside car crime were being insulted or annoyed.
34. Dwellings were selected by offenders on the basis of their accessibility and vulnerability.

- 35- Most burglars preferred to break into houses which were empty.
36. The majority of offenders carried out their burglaries within a mile of their home.
37. A number of burglars who were interviewed said that they re-burgled houses or returned to houses burgled by acquaintances.
38. There was evidence of some mobility with offenders carrying out burglaries on nearby estates.
39. There was evidence of displacement in the form of switching from burglary to car crime.
40. There was consistent evidence that those people involved in burglaries were involved in a significant level of drug taking.
41. Boredom and shortage of money were given as the main reasons for engaging in burglary.
42. Most burglars tended to have established outlets for the goods stolen.
43. The clear up rate for burglary decreased from 14.7% in 1992 to 12.6% in 1993.
44. There was a high level of concern about crime amongst residents, particularly burglary, car crime and insulting behaviour.
45. There was very little change in the level of 'fear of crime'<sup>1</sup> expressed by residents as a whole during the period of the initiative.
46. There were particular parts of the estate on which residents said they felt unsafe - particularly in the area around the shops and the pubs.
47. Female respondents on average expressed a higher degree of fear of crime than males and engaged in avoidance strategies.
48. Over 75% of offences were reported to the police.
49. Over 80% of burglaries were reported to the police, although there was a slight decrease in the level of reporting in 1993.
50. Most respondents (65%) said that they were reasonably satisfied with the police response.
51. The main complaints directed to the police were that not enough was done to keep people informed about the progress of the case.

52. There was a widespread feeling amongst residents that the facilities on the estate were grossly inadequate.
53. There was a demand for more play areas with supervision and sports facilities to be made available for children on the estate.
54. There was a great deal of support for the expansion of facilities for young people and particularly for more youth dubs.
55. There was support for the Tenants Association and the Community Centre, although a significant percentage of residents said that they did not use these facilities.
56. The most popular measure for preventing crime on the estate was putting more police on the beat. Over half the residents supported this option in 1993.
57. Residents also wanted environmental improvements (lighting, fencing etc) on the estate to help reduce crime.
58. The majority of houses had basic household security in the form of window and door locks.
59. The school passport scheme, although slow to get off the ground, established a system of rewards for good behaviour for some young people in local schools.
61. There remained a considerable division on the estate between young people and older residents during the period of the initiative.
61. Young people were held to be responsible for the majority of crime, particularly burglary, on the estate by adult residents.
62. Young people who were interviewed felt that life on the estate was boring and that was the reason for crime.
63. There were calls amongst residents for firmer and more consistent sanctions to be directed at those who carried out crimes on the estate.
64. There was a good general level of inter-agency co-operation and there was a consensus that the initiative had produced some positive results and improved inter-agency communication.

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## APPENDIX A

### MEMBERS OF C.R.I.M.E.

(CRIME REDUCTION INITIATIVE ON THE EYRES MONSELL ESTATE)

Lesley Field	Chair
Den Corral!	Schools
John Cross	Police
Simon Flavell	Housing
Inspector Pete Jackson	Police
Clayton Lockhart	Schools
Ruby Snow	Resident
David Springett	Leicestershire Boys Club
Geoff Gibbs	Leicester Safer Cities
Monica Sewcharan	Leicester Safer Cities
Keith Wren	Neighbourhood Watch Co-ordinator