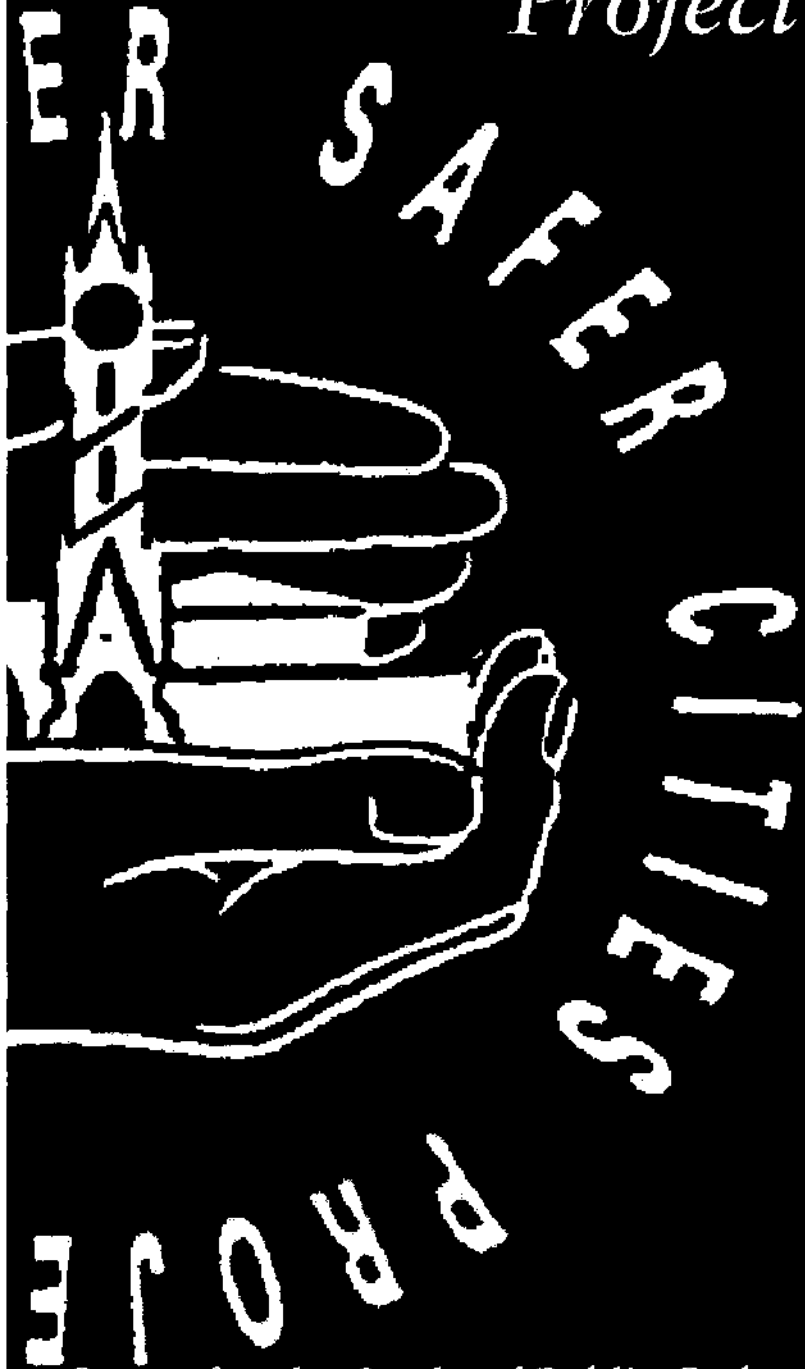


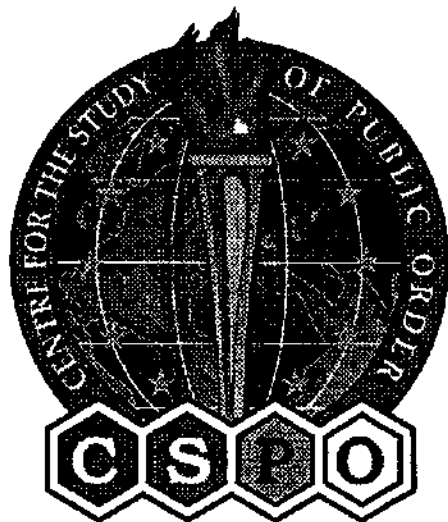


*The New Parks  
Crime Reduction  
Project*



Centre for the Study of Public Order  
UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

# THE NEW PARKS CRIME REDUCTION PROJECT



Centre for the Study of Public Order  
University of Leicester

# THE NEW PARKS CRIME REDUCTION PROJECT

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'<sup>1</sup> 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:

Eyres Monsell		New Parks	
1. Neighbourhood Watch Co-ordinator	13000	1. Project coordinator	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		
Total:	65000	Total:	60000

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. The police figures for 1992 indicate that 64.7% of detected crimes on the New Parks estate were committed by people aged between 14 and 21 years of age.

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 significantly higher than comparable estates (see table 1).

**Table 1 Recorded Crime by Estate 1992**

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

### **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'<sup>1</sup> 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' 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 Monseli 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'<sup>1</sup>. 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 causa\* 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"<sup>1</sup> 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 coordinating 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, in Beaumont Leys police station and on the estate.

It was felt that these qualitative interviews, particularly with the burglars were critical for developing a more 'intensive' 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 New Parks estate comprises of some 4100 dwellings with a population of 10,152 people according to the 1991 census. It is a large estate on the outskirts of the City which was built in the 1950s and is mostly semi-detached houses, with some houses in the Newfoundpool area being terraced.

The 'drop' survey which was carried out on the estate between November and December 1992 was distributed to 1750 households and 907 responses were received. In the second survey a total of 839 responses were received of which 52.7% involved the same respondents on both occasions. In the first survey the respondents were almost evenly divided between male (48.7%) and female (51.3%). They tended to be weighted towards the older age groups with almost 70% of replies coming from residents aged over 40 years (table 2). In New Parks as a whole this group comprises only 45.5% of the population.

Table 2 Respondents by Age

Age	1992 Survey	1991 Census
Under 21	2.0	28.6
21-39	28.9	14.6
40-64	33.8	22.5
Over 65	35.3	23.4

The relatively low response of the under 21 year olds was due to the fact that the questionnaires were sent to households, making it unlikely that the younger members of the household would complete the survey. This lack of responses from younger people was compensated for by detailed qualitative interviews which were carried out with a number of young people from the estate.

The vast majority of respondents identified themselves as white (96.2%), with 2.7% Asian and 1.1% black. This corresponds almost identically with the ethnic breakdown on the estate given by the 1991 census.

In terms of employment just over 40% of the sample were in employment at the time of the survey. Almost a quarter were unemployed, which is twice the national average and over a third were retired (table 3).

**Table 3 Respondents by Employment Status**

<b>Employment Status</b>	<b>1992 Survey</b>	<b>1991 Census</b>
Employed	35.8	51.0
Self-employed	<b>4.9</b>	3.75
Unemployed	21.0	<b>7.0</b>
Retired	36.1	31.0
Other	<b>22</b>	<b>7.5</b>

Of those unemployed over three quarters had been out of work for over a year while just over half had been out of work for over three years. Of those residents who are employed approximately half described themselves as manual workers, while 16.7% identified themselves as professional (table 4).

**Table 4 Respondents by Occupation**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Managers	<b>23</b>	<b>6.9</b>
Professional	<b>56</b>	16.7
Clerical	<b>73</b>	21.8
Skilled Manual	100	29.9
Unskilled manual	<b>83</b>	24.8

Over a third of respondents indicated that they had members of their household aged 65 or over, while almost 1 in 5 (18.6%) of respondents were single parents of whom 74.1% were female.

Over half of the respondents were council tenants (50.2%) with just under half (45.5%) being owner occupiers. Most of the respondents lived in houses rather than flats or bungalows (table 5).

**Table 5 Accommodation by Home Type**

<b>Type of abode</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Flat/maisonette	<b>128</b>	<b>14.4</b>
1 - 2 bedroom house	139	15.7
3 - 4 bedroom house	576	64.9
Bungalow	<b>44</b>	<b>5.0</b>

Over 60% of respondents have lived on the estate for over ten years, with over 80% being resident on the estate for more than two years. This indicates that this is a relatively stable estate in terms of population. This level of stability is normally associated with a relatively low

level of crime and with the establishment and maintenance of informal control mechanisms. The fact that only 4% of respondents said that they wanted to leave the estate, and that this was closely linked to the size of the accommodation, indicates that either residents feel generally satisfied with life on the estate, or alternatively that they believe that the possibilities of finding similar accommodation elsewhere are negligible.

#### 4. THE EXPERIENCE OF BURGLARY

Respondents were asked about incidences 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 132 households in the survey who reported that they had been the victim of a break-in or an attempted break-in. Of these 40 households experienced an attempted burglary only. During 1993, the survey showed 90 households being the victim of a break-in, or an attempted break-in. Of these, 39 were attempted only.

**Table 6 Number of Households Experiencing a Break-in or an Attempted Break-in 1992 - 1993**

	1992			1993		
	Survey	Booster	Total	Survey	Booster	Total
Attempted	40	4	44	39	3	42
Break-in	92	56	148	51	7	58
Total	132	60	192	90	10	100

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' whereas for the victim there is obviously a considerable difference between the experience of an attempted or an actual break-in. Equally significantly in terms of crime prevention an attempted burglary can be seen as a success. These distinctions are therefore important for evaluating burglary reduction initiatives, particularly where there is a focus on repeat victimisation.

According to police records there was a significant decrease in the number of households experiencing a burglary during 1993. As table 7 demonstrates in 1991 and 1992 the number of households experiencing a burglary was 175 and 173 respectively. In 1993 the number decreased to 139. However, in the first five months of 1994 the number of burglaries recorded begins to increase dramatically. Interestingly the number of attempted burglaries increases significantly during 1993 and 1994. Table 7 also indicates the number of households experiencing a repeat victimisation within a twelve month period. These figures, however, are not directly comparable since the figures for 1991 cover a period of less than

twelve months and the figures for 1993 only cover those dwellings which have experienced a repeat victimisation since the initiative was started in January of that year.

**Table 7 Number of Households Experiencing a Burglary, Attempted Burglary or a Repeat Burglary 1991 -1994**

	Jan - Dec 1991	Jan - Dec 1992	Jan - Dec 1993	Jan - May 1994
Burglary	175	173	139	81
Attempted Burglary	18	17	25	19
Repeat Burglary	8	26	13	10

Police figures for this period show that the total amount of recorded burglary for New Parks was 239 in 1991, 226 in 1992 and it decreased to 181 in 1993. Thus, there was a 20% decrease in the incidence of burglary following the introduction of the scheme.

The increase in the recorded level of burglaries on the estate is conditioned by the willingness of victims to report incidents to the police. This in turn can be influenced by the number of victims who have household insurance. The responses to the questionnaire indicated that there was a slight decrease in the willingness of people to report incidents to the police; while the number of respondents who said that they had household insurance increased from 73.5% in 1992 to 76.2% in 1993.

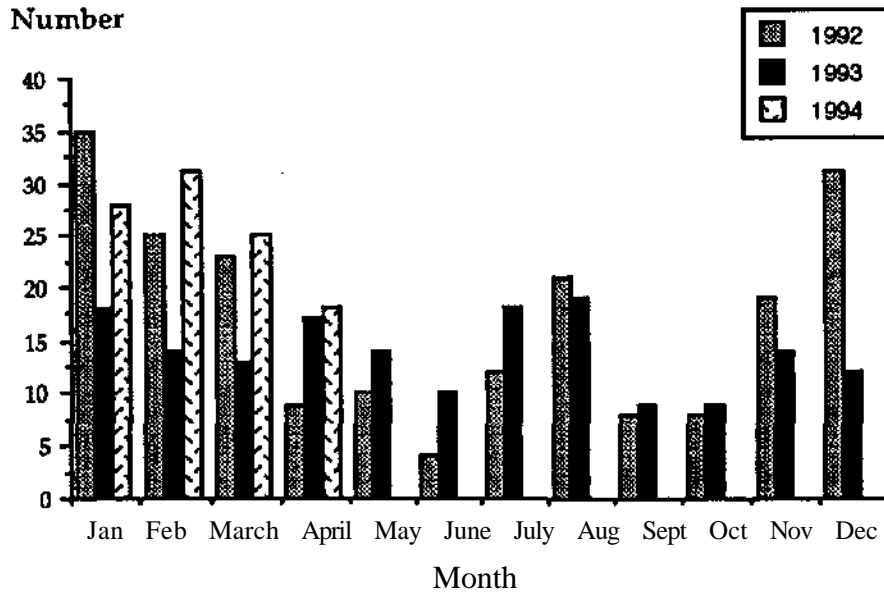
Also of importance in contextualising these burglary figures are changes within the subdivision and patterns of burglary in surrounding areas. Table 8 below shows that for 1993 there was a general decrease in recorded burglaries in nearby estates, with the exception of Western Parks and Braunstone.

**Table 8 Recorded Burglary Rates for Surrounding Estates in Leicester 1991 -1994**

	Jan - Dec 1991	Jan - Dec 1992	Jan - Dec 1993	Jan - May 1994
Mowmacre	230	324	214	91
Anstey	61	78	65	20
Beaumont Leys	301	472	292	197
Braunstone	287	348	598	134
Abbey Rise	128	174	145	42
New Parks	239	226	181	103
Western Parks	155	135	146	59
Glenfield	116	117	95	41

Of the burglaries which did occur on New Parks during 1992 and 1993 there was an uneven distribution over the year with the peak period being between November and March with a steady decline during the summer period. In 1993 a similar distribution was recorded as is evident in figure 1 below. However, the burglary rate during the first five months of 1994 returned to the 1992 level. If this trend continues it would give a recorded burglary figure for the whole of 1994 which would be in the region of 270-300.

**Figure 1 Police Data Showing Recorded Burglaries by Month 1992 -1994**



The reported burglaries were carried out at different times of the day. Approximately half were carried out during the evening and the night-time. During the day they tended to be most prevalent around lunch time.

**Table 9 Burglary by Time of Day**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
0.01 - 6.00	28.7	26.7
6.01 -12.00	41.5	16.6
12.01 -18.00	21.2	26.7
6.01 -24.00	<b>85</b>	30.0

It should be noted however that in a significant percentage of cases respondents were unable to give an exact time since either the burglary was committed during the day when they were out at work or while they were away on holiday or out for the weekend.



The mode of entry which was reported to be most common in 1992 was via the back door (31.7%) or the back ground floor window (48.6%). In 1993 these two areas were still the most vulnerable, although access was gained via the front door more frequently.

**Table 10 Burglary in the Home by Place of Entry**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Upper floor front window	1.4	1.4
Ground floor front window	4.2	2.8
Front door	9.9	20.0
Side of house	2.1	2.8
Upper floor back window	2.1	1.4
Rear ground floor window	48.6	38.5
Back door	31.7	32.8

Police reports confirmed these findings suggesting that the back door and the rear ground floor window remained the most common points of entry.

The method of gaining entry was reported to be normally with a screwdriver or a crowbar. In a number of instances the occupier's spade or fork from the garden shed or back garden was used to force open the back door or window. A convicted burglar who was interviewed confirmed these findings, stating that:

I always have a screwdriver with me. but sometimes if that doesn't work you'd use a spade or something lying about.

The items stolen were predominately electrical goods in the form of videos, stereos and televisions. Jewellery, cheque cards and cash were also reported as amongst the losses arising from burglaries. As table 11 indicates there was a slight change in the type of goods stolen.

**Table 11 Type of Goods Reported Stolen in Burglaries**

Type of Goods	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Electrical Goods	35.8	45.9
Jewellery	10.4	5.4
Cash	4.5	10.8
Tools and Equipment	15	0.0
Combination	40.3	24.3
Other	7.5	13.5

The replacement value of goods stolen from each dwelling varied from between £20 and £1800 with the average value in 1992 of £610. In 1993 this increased to £740.

When asked in 1992 if the victims knew the identity of the burglar approximately a quarter of them said that they did; while about a half believed that the burglar lived on the estate. Interestingly the number of respondents who claimed to know the identity of the burglar decreased from 27% to 16.6% from 1992 to 1993. These figures suggest that the burglaries which were carried out on the estate may have involved more 'outsiders' or at least people living a greater distance from their victims.

**Table 12 Victims Knowledge of Offenders**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Able to give a description	20	12
Knew identity of offender	27	16.6
Believe offender lives on the estate	49	35

Reported burglaries were not distributed evenly across the estate. In fact, there are some parts of the estate which are virtually burglary free. For the purposes of the survey, the estate was divided into three sections. As can be seen from the map overleaf, there was a concentration of burglaries in Newfoundpool. In some parts of the estate which experienced high levels of burglary it was found that some of these streets already had Neighbourhood Watch schemes in operation.

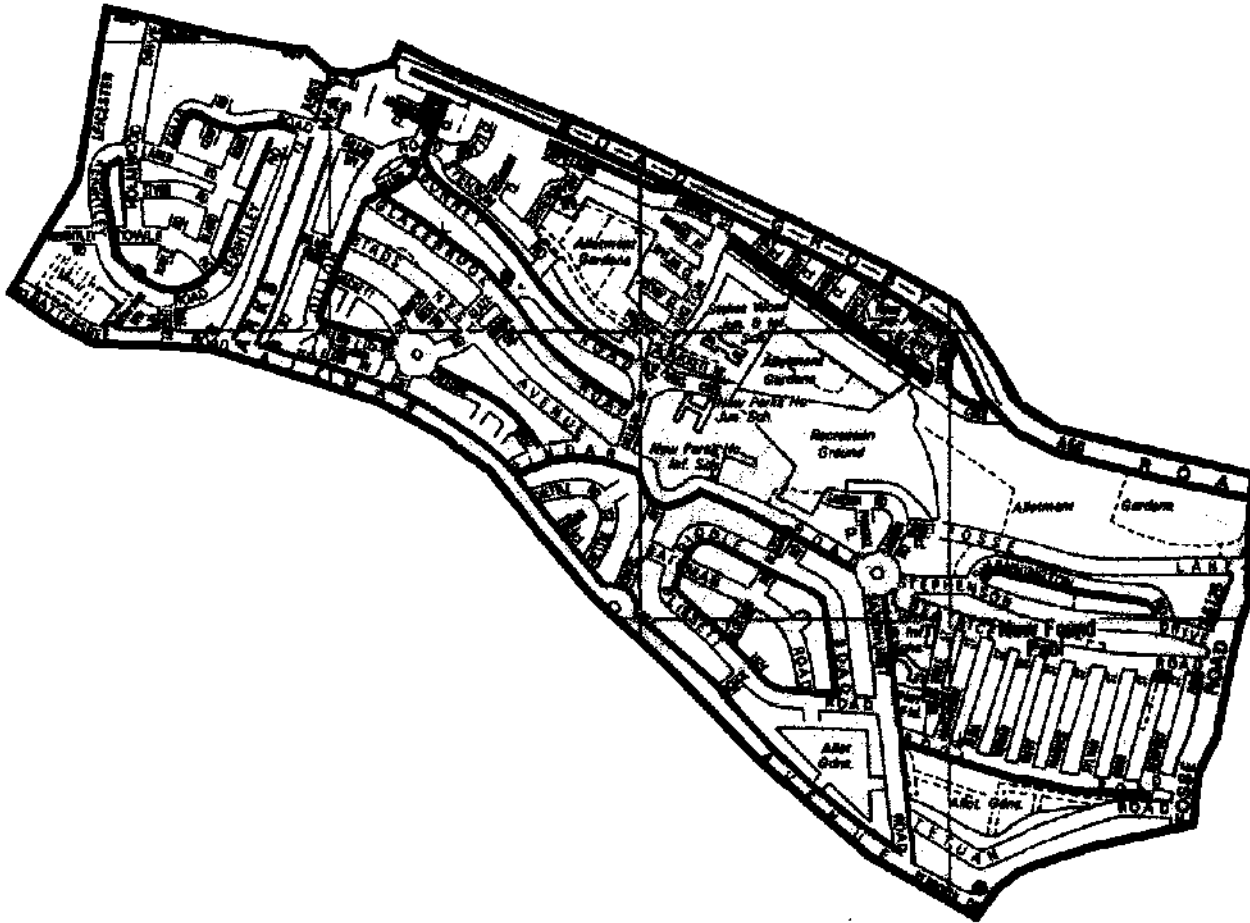
New Parks is not an homogenous estate and within its extensive area there are some significant demographic and social differences. Probably the most evident of these differences involves the Newfoundpool area, which incorporates a different population mix and a different type of housing.

Although comprising of some fourteen streets the Newfoundpool area exhibits a distinctly different physical appearance in that the houses are terraced rather than semi-detached. The majority of these houses are owner occupied (80.5%); whilst the majority of the houses on the rest of the estate are council owned (61.8%). Residents in Newfoundpool are considerably younger on average than the rest of New Parks with 45% being aged between 21 - 39.

In the Newfoundpool area, the 1992 survey indicated that 15.6% of houses had been burgled, or had an attempted burglary, within the previous 12 months. This compares to a burglary victimisation rate for the estate as a whole of 4.4%. Significantly however just as there were particular streets within the overall estate in which burglary appeared to be concentrated there were similarly a concentration of burglary in certain parts of Newfoundpool (e.g. Pool Road and Alma Street). In 1993, the level of burglary in Newfoundpool decreased to 11.4%.

FIGURE 2

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



KEY

High level of Burglary 1993

High level of Burglary 1992

Areas of Neighbourhood Watch

The mode of entry for burglaries amongst the terraced houses were similar to those recorded in the semi-detached dwellings (i.e. back doors and windows), although the houses in Newfoundpool had generally higher levels of household security devices.

**Table 13 Burglary Rates in Newfoundpool**

	Jan - Dec 1991	Jan - Dec 1992	Jan - Dec 1993	Jan - May 1994
Number of burglaries	47	41	37	12
No. of households experiencing burglary & attempted burglary	50	39	31	11

A survey carried out in January 1993 by the project co-ordinator found that most of the houses in Newfoundpool had relatively elaborate security systems and that many of those houses which had been burgled during the previous two year period had fitted security systems before the free locking scheme came into operation. Consequently, the take up rate for the free fitting of security devices was relatively low amongst the residents of Newfoundpool despite their experiences of burglary. In **fact**, by January **1994** only 14 houses in the Newfoundpool area had taken advantage of the scheme.

### **Neighbourhood Watch**

A central element in the crime reduction initiative was the development of Neighbourhood Watch schemes, particularly in those areas experiencing the highest levels of crime and burglary.

With this objective in mind it was seen as an important part of this 'action research' project to assist in the identification of those streets and households which were interested in establishing Neighbourhood Watch schemes.

Respondents were asked general questions relating to community cohesion on the estate. They were asked how well they knew their next door neighbour and whether or not their neighbours had been burgled over the previous year. In 1992 an encouraging 52.8% replied that they knew their neighbours well, while only 15.8% replied that they hardly knew their next door neighbours at all. In relation to their knowledge of burglaries amongst their neighbours we were interested in the number of 'don't knows'<sup>1</sup> since this implied a lack of interest and awareness. This response was given in 28.1% of cases.

Interestingly in the second sweep of the survey 54.4% of respondents said that they knew their next door neighbours well; while 26.8% said that they did not know if their next door

neighbour had been burgled over the previous twelve months. These responses suggest that over the period of the scheme that there was a slight improvement in neighbourliness on the estate. It was found that residents in Newfoundpool tended to have lived in the area for a shorter period on average than those on the remainder of New Parks with under half having lived there for over ten years.

**Table 14 Length of Residency on Estate for Newfoundpool**

	%
Less than 6 months	3
6 months - 1 year	3.6
1 -3 years	12.4
3-10 years	33.1
Over 10 years	47.9

In the first survey respondents were asked about their awareness of Neighbourhood Watch. Over a third (37.5%) said that they were aware of a Neighbourhood Watch scheme in their area, but only 21.5% were actually members of a scheme. However, despite the low percentage of respondents actually belonging to a scheme just over 40% had thought about joining one.

The responses to the survey indicated that there were 35 streets in which at least four residents were interested in joining a scheme. In some streets there were as many as 25 people who expressed an interest in joining a scheme as table 15 shows.

It can be seen from these findings that in some of the streets on the estate there was a substantial interest expressed in joining a scheme. What is **critical** to the crime prevention initiative and its emphasis upon developing Neighbourhood Watch as a way of reducing the risk of victimisation in high crime areas is that Pool Road, Keightley Road and Towle Road all have residents who expressed an interest in setting up a scheme.

Prior to the instigation of the crime reduction initiative there were six Neighbourhood Watch schemes operating on the estate. As table 16 overleaf indicates there was a general decrease in the number of burglaries reported in these streets between 1991 and 1994, with a peak in 1992. The number of burglaries reported during 1993 shows a promising decrease on the previous year, although the figures for the first five months of 1994 shows an upturn in the number of burglaries. Following the instigation of the burglary reduction initiative only one new scheme in Caledine Road was set up.

**Table 15 Streets on the Estate in Which Residents Expressed an Interest in Joining a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme in 1992**

<b>No. of households interested in joining Neighbourhood Watch</b>	
Aikman Avenue	25
Alma Street	5
Amhurst Close	5
Bateman Road	9
Battersbee Road	5
Beatrice Road	8
Biddle Road	12
Birdsnest Avenue	9
Bland Road	4
Blissett Road	10
Bonney Road	11
Caledine Road	5
C'nettle Road	8
Cray burn House	16
Deansburn House	7
Dilbn Road	4
Emburn House	10
Glazebrook Road	7
Groby Road	11
Hackett Road	5
Hawthorne Street	9
Hodgson Close	4
Kay Road	5
Keightley Road	13
Kemp Road	5
Pool Road	14
Rowan Street	5
Sampson Road	5
Sandhurst Road	4
Stephenson Drive	9
Stokes Drive	8
Swannington Road	10
Sylvan Street	6
Tetuan Road	6
Towle Road	5

**Table 16 Streets with a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme and the Number of Burglaries per Year-**

	Jan - Dec	Jan - Dec	Jan - Dec	Jan - May
	1991	1992	1993	1994
Stokes Drive	2	10	5	2
Garland Crescent	0	5	3	0
Copeland Avenue	10	4	2	2
<b>New Parks Boulevard</b>	6	11	4	2
Bortney Rd/Amhurst Close	4	5	5	1
Catedine Road	2	2	3	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>9</b>

There were a number of streets which reported a consistently high level of burglary. It was important for the crime prevention initiative to identify these streets and to develop Neighbourhood Watch or other methods of crime prevention in these locations to try to reduce the number of burglaries.

**Table 17 Streets with a High Incidence of Burglary**

	Jan - Dec	Jan - Dec	Jan - Dec	Jan - May
	19 9J	1992	1993	1994
Aikman Avenue	11	11	13	4
Beatrice Road	10	4	5	2
Biddle Road	3	7	6	1
Birdsnest Avenue	3	1	4	10
Blissett Road	4	8	9	1
Darlington Road	4	3	7	3
<b>Dillon Road</b>	9	5	5	4
Glazebrook Road	3	8	6	3
Groby Road	13	6	3	1
Keightley Road	7	6	5	11
Kemp Road	4	5	3	4
Pindar Road	7	5	4	2
Pool Road	7	15	5	2
Sandhurst Road	9	7	5	1
Stephenson Drive	6	7	7	4
Swannington Road	4	5	10	2
<b>Tetuan Road</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>

As table 17 indicates there is no clear consistent pattern of increases or decreases on these streets following the implementation of the initiative, although it is noticeable that two

streets in Newfoundpool - Beatrice Road and Pool Road - both experienced a general reduction in burglaries over the previous years, while the number of burglaries increased in Tetuan Road after 1992. This suggests that there may have been some geographical displacements of burglary in relation to the Newfoundpool area.

It is important with respect to Neighbourhood Watch to distinguish between 'active'<sup>1</sup> and 'passive' schemes. It was evident from the responses to the questionnaire and subsequent interviews that a number of Neighbourhood Watch schemes on the estate were little more than 'stickers on windows'. As one resident stated:

Although I am a member of Neighbourhood Watch [and have a sticker] I don't know how it operates or who's in it.

Similar responses were given by other residents, one 65 year old female expressed her frustration in trying to set up a Neighbourhood Watch group:

I live in the flats on Aikman Avenue and I had reason to call in the police, and they asked me to join this. I thought that this is a good idea and suggested that we had five people at the front and back of the blocks, and I got some names. The policeman came back and said that this was a good idea but couldn't be done...

Some residents also reported difficulties in mobilising their neighbours. There were reports of apathy and the following comment was not untypical:

Sadly we don't live in a perfect world, and neighbour relations are not always what they should be. That's why I wouldn't join Neighbourhood Watch.

### **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 social groups. As table 18 shows, there was a significant difference in the level of burglary experienced by residents living in different types of housing.

**Table 18 Experience of Burglary and Attempted Burglary by Housing Type 1992 - 1993**

	1992 (%)		1993 (%)	
	Owner Occupier	Council Tenant	Owner Occupier	Council Tenant
Burglary	54.3	45.7	42.9	57.1
Attempted Burglary	56.5	43.5	47.4	52.6

The figures for the period 1992 - 1993 indicate a significant reduction in the number of burglaries and attempted burglaries against owner occupiers. There appears to have been a shift in the targeting of burglaries away from the probably more attractive and better protected owner occupier dwellings to the more vulnerable council tenants. This finding



underlines the conclusion reached in the previous section that burglaries in the Newfoundland area decreased significantly after January 1993.

As can be seen in table 19 below younger households are disproportionately burgled. This is probably because these households are more likely to possess the type of goods which burglars desire and are also more likely to be employed and away from the house more often.

**Table 19 Age of Burglary Victims 1992 -1993**

Age	1992 (%)		1993 (%)	
	Burglary Victims	Non-burglary victims	Burglary Victims	Non-burglary victims
Under 21	2.8	2.1	0.0	1.2
21-39	38.3	28.5	40.4	27.3
40-64	34.4	34.0	23.2	33.4
Over 65	24.4	35.4	36.4	38.1

The amount of time which residents had spent on the estate also appeared to be an important determinant. Those who had been living on the estate for less than 3 years were more likely to be burgled.

**Table 20 Period of Time Burglary Victims Have Lived on the Estate**

	1992 (%)		1993 (%)	
	Burglary victims	Non-burglary victims	Burglary victims	Non-burglary victims
Less than 6 months	1.1	3.1	2.0	1.7
6 months -1 year	3.9	3.3	4.1	3.8
1 - 3 years	9.9	8.4	12.2	9.4
3- 10 years	27.6	21.8	25.5	23.3
More than 10 years	57.5	63.4	56.1	61.8

These findings suggest that, in line with other victimisation surveys, crimes like burglary are patterned and concentrated disproportionately amongst different sections of the community. This compounding of victimisation has provided the basis for the growing interest in repeat and multiple victimisation. It was on the premise that a relatively small percentage of the population experience a disproportionate amount of victimisation that the interest in repeat and multiple victimisation was originally constructed. This approach which provided the basic rationale of the Kirkholt project has subsequently been demonstrated in other areas of victimisation (Farrell and Pease 1993; Sampson and Phillips 1992).

The rationale for examining repeat victimisation in relation to burglary was that offenders would familiarise themselves with the premises once they had carried out a burglary and

would return, either because they felt confident of gained access and making their escape, or alternatively they would return to steal goods which they were unable to take on the first occasion. Thus Potvi et al. (1991) found that once a premises had been burgled it was likely to be re-burgled within a relatively short period of time.

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 reduction strategy which was implemented on the New Parks estate. As was suggested above the application of this approach was interesting in that the New Parks crime reduction initiative was in some respects closer to that adopted in Kirkholt than most other 'replications'; while the 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 role of the effectiveness of a strategy centred directly around repeat and multiple victimisation was possible.

### **Repeat and Multiple Victimisation**

Before examining the elements of repeat and multiple victimisation on the New Parks 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 there is a significant difference in 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 to 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 a principal objective is to understand the *relation* between the two. A critical issue underlying this survey was the degree to which a reduction in burglary 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 period and after the schemes' implementation.

In terms of repeat victimisation the number of dwellings which experienced more than one burglary during 1992 was 26. The number of dwellings experiencing a repeat victimisation during 1993 fell to 13. In all this reduction in the level of repeat victimisation accounts for just over a third of the overall reduction in burglaries over the period of the initiative. During the first five months of 1994 however, 6 dwellings which had been burgled in 1993, and therefore should have had the benefit of the free household security package were revictimised. Also, there were 4 dwellings which, during the first five months of 1994 experienced more than one burglary which had not been burgled over the previous two year period.

The implication of these findings are unclear. At first glance they appear to lend some support for the reduction in burglary during 1993 to be a function of the decrease in the number of households experiencing more than one burglary. However, this impression is qualified by the 1994 figures which show that there were 10 dwellings which experienced a repeat victimisation during the first five months of the year.

In the two year period prior to the initiative there were 34 households which experienced a repeat victimisation, while in the 17 months since the initiative was introduced there have been 23 households experiencing a repeat burglary. If this distribution is continued until the end of 1994 there would be a significantly higher number of households experiencing a repeated burglary in the two years following the initiative than in the two years prior to the initiative. In these terms it is difficult to see how the reduction in both the prevalence and incidence of burglary in 1993 was solely attributable to the target hardening of victimised dwellings.

The contention that the reduction during 1993 was due entirely to the target hardening of victimised dwellings appears unlikely for a number of reasons. First, there were 15 dwellings which had locks fitted which were victims of burglary more than once in 1993. Although there are no comprehensive records available of the precise dates on which locks were fitted the available evidence suggests that those dwellings which were revictimised were victimised after they had locks fitted. Secondly, not all houses which were eligible took advantage of the scheme or were informed about it. During the period of January 1993 to January 1994 a total 298 dwellings had security packages fitted out of which only 60 dwellings were the victims of burglary.

Thirdly, the number of repeats during the first five months of 1994 indicates that the security packages which were fitted were not completely effective in deterring burglars.

Fourthly, the burglars who were interviewed stated clearly that the security packages which were installed were not much of a deterrent and did not make too much difference to the way they targeted dwellings or carried out burglaries.

The period of time between burglaries followed a slightly different pattern to that which was identified in the Kirkholt project. As figure 3 indicates there were only 12 repeats within a two month period during 1991 - 2. That is, approximately a quarter of repeat burglaries occurred within an eight week period after the initial burglary. After this initial peak repeated burglaries were fairly evenly distributed over the remaining period with another peak around the six to seven month period.

The period of time between repeats was also calculated for 1993 and up to the end of May 1994. During this period there were 35 repeats and the distribution was as figure 4 shows. As the figures below indicate there was a noticeably different pattern of distribution in terms of the period between repeats in 1991 - 2 and 1993 - 4. Although approximately a third of repeats occurred within a two month period after the initial break-in during 1993 - 4 the period of time between repeats most closely approximates that found in Kirkholt with half occurring within a four week period.

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

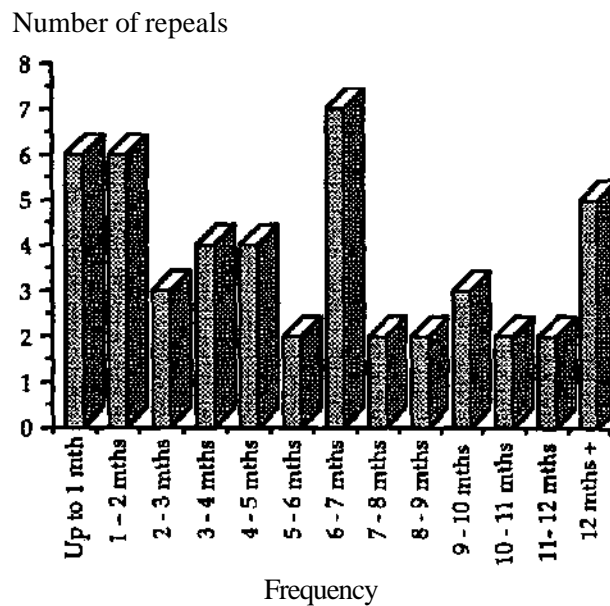
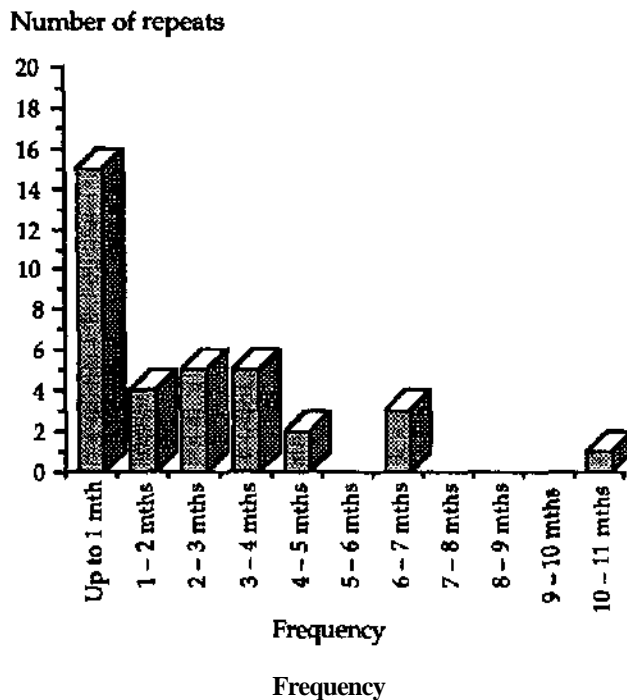


Figure 4 Period Between Burglaries Jan 1993 - May 1994



If it is the case that the target hardening of selective dwellings can account at best for a percentage of the decrease in burglaries on the New Parks estate during 1993 then we are left with the task of providing alternative explanations for this decrease. The simultaneous decrease on surrounding estates over this period may provide a clue, since the developments on New Parks did not appear to be isolated and other nearby estates which were not the beneficiaries of the crime reduction initiative experienced similar reductions.

These developments point to a reduction either in the number of burglars operating in the area over the period or to a reduction in the number of burglaries each person carried out. The latter appears an unlikely explanation, while the former does not adequately explain the simultaneous reduction on the surrounding estates. Although it is the case that one or two people giving up burglary can have a significant impact on the burglary figures in a given period the overall reduction in the area would need a number of people to give up burglary on nearby estates at the same time.

This is an improbable explanation and what appears more likely is that the clear up and arrest rate for burglary in this police division was higher in 1993 than other divisions in Leicester. As table 21 overleaf shows, the clear up rate for burglary in the Beaumont Leys division was relatively high in 1993. Also, the local police carried out an extensive anti-burglary campaign in January 1993 which resulted in a number of arrests and which may have deterred some prospective burglars.

**Table 21 Police Clear Up Rates by Division 1991 -1993**

	1991 (%)	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Beaumont Leys	25.7	31.9	29.7
Central	18.2	<b>30</b>	<b>18.2</b>
Wigston	18.2	25.2	<b>15.4</b>

In order to investigate the relationship between burglary victimisation and the experience of repeat and multiple victimisation the survey included questions relating to the general level of victimisation amongst residents. As table 22 shows those who were the victims of burglary had a higher overall level of victimisation than non-burglary victims.

**Table 22 Multiple Victimisation on the Estate 1992 -1993**

	1992 (* )		1993 (%)	
	Non-burglary victims	Burglary Victims	Non-burglary victims	Burglary Victims
Damage/andalism to home	12.6	27.4	15.9	20.2
Motor vehicle stolen from estate	<b>6.8</b>	10.3	<b>3.7</b>	7.1
Theft from motor vehicle	<b>13</b>	21.3	10.2	24.7
Pedal cycle stolen	<b>5.1</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>4.5</b>	14
Mugged/robbed on estate	<b>0.8</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>0.4</b>	1.0
Assaulted on estate	1.2	<b>5.2</b>	1.2	4.1
Insulted/annoyed on estate	10.3	20.7	11.5	17.8
Offered drugs on estate	<b>1.4</b>	2.1	<b>1.3</b>	1.0
Sexually harassed on estate	<b>1.3</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>0.7</b>	2.0
Sexually assaulted on estate	<b>0.4</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>0.1</b>	0.0
Racially harassed on estate	<b>0.6</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>1.0</b>	3.1
Racially attacked on estate	<b>0.4</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>0.4</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 viaimisation surveys of this type and clearly the responses given in the questionnaire will be conditioned by which member of the household completes it.

The relationship between repeat and multiple viaimisation formed an important part of the evaluation process, since it was assumed that if repeat victimisation decreased - particularly in cases where this was a function of reduced vulnerability - that multiple victimisation amongst at least some of the population would decrease.

As table 22 above indicates there was a slight reduction in some categories of crime experienced by burglary victims during 1993, particularly damage and vandalism to the home, but in general the level of multiple victimisation remained fairly stable over the period in question.

One issue which in many ways represents the Achilles heel of crime prevention measures is displacement. The evidence which has been presented above indicates a low level of displacement of burglary during 1993 within the estate. There was, however, some evidence from the interviews with burglars of displacement to some surrounding areas, notably Beaumont Leys, Braunstone and Mowmacre (see table 8 on page 15). There is further evidence of a shift from owner occupied dwellings to council tenants and a general decrease in burglary in the Newfoundpool area. The burglary levels of surrounding estates, as has been noted, also decreased with the exception of Western Parks and Braunstone.

In conjunction with this qualitative data a number of interviews were carried out with people who had been arrested or convicted for burglary.

#### Burglars On Burglary

A number of interviews were carried out with people who had been involved, or were currently involved in carrying out burglaries in the area. These interviews were carried out with the help of the local police, in the local pubs (The Rocket and The Good Neighbour), and in Glen Parva Young Offenders Institution. All the people interviewed were male and 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 and the realities of displacement.

#### *a) Targeting Dwellings*

Targets are chosen on the basis of accessibility and a lack of visible security. Most of the respondents seemed to prefer houses where there was no one in and to select targets relatively close to where they live. As one 19 year old explained:

I only break into houses near where I live, 'cos I haven't got a car so I have to carry everything home.

The presence of dogs appeared to be a major deterrent, being mentioned by all of those interviewed. The only other consistent deterrent mentioned by the majority was if there was a light on in the house, "you don't go in if there might be someone in, no way." Others expressed an ambivalent view of Neighbourhood Watch. One interviewee stated that "Neighbourhood Watch makes no difference whatsoever" while another 20 year old respondent who felt that locks were an ineffective deterrent stated that "the greatest deterrent to me is a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme, 'cos nosy parkers are looking out of their windows all the time." No-one interviewed mentioned locks being a deterrent at all. One 19 year old claimed that to prevent his house being burgled, he would "get a dog. Everything else is rubbish 'cos you just smash the window." Another said that:

The only thing that would prevent me would be if there was definitely someone in. Or a dog. Otherwise nothing. Locks and that are a waste of money. There's no lock that you can't get past. Deadlocks are hard but then you just go through the patio doors or window.

Most of the burglars who were interviewed said that they went after jewellery, cash, videos, television and hi-fi systems. None of the respondents had a car which obviously limited the amount which could be stolen.

#### *b) Modus Operand!*

Virtually all of the interviewees carried out their burglaries in similar ways. They looked around for a suitable empty house, often "walkfing] past a couple of times the day before to check it out" and then going "round the back of the house with a screwdriver and force open the bottom window. Sometimes the whole frame comes out 'cos the windows are crap".

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 in cash; 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 definitive incentives to returning to houses which have been burgled in the recent past. As one 20 year old explained:

if I can't get it all that time, say I haven't got a car or something, then I will go back in a week or something and get the rest.



#### *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 crime 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.

Thus in terms of displacement there was little evidence of it within the estate as a result of the crime prevention initiative, although there may have been some displacement to surrounding areas. Some of those interviewed stated that they also carried out burglaries on the Braunstone and Beaumont Leys estates. The lack of transport however, in a number of cases limited displacement. One 20 year old explained that:

I do houses near where I live, 'cos I know more people. I need my mates to help me, keep lookout that sort of thing.

There was also some evidence of these young people moving into other kinds of criminal activity particularly car crime. All those interviewed were involved in a variety of criminal activities and there was some evidence of changing emphasis of in offending patterns.

Interestingly all those interviewed were involved with a significant level of drug taking. They took "draw, trips, whizz and E" on a regular, sometimes daily, basis. This activity was seen as fairly normal and unproblematic and a number admitted spending as much as half of their takings in drug use.

The majority of those interviewed had a chequered career of criminal involvement, 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: "If I don't get a job there's nothing else I can do is there?"

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.
- That they aim to steal 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 the 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 during 1993 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.

### **Predatory and Personal Crime**

The survey included questions about the general experience of crime in order to investigate the relationship between burglary and other forms of crime, and also to gain a broader picture of the crime profile of the estate. One of the most commonly reported crimes was car crime. In 1992 there were 59 instances of theft of a vehicle and 134 instances of theft from a vehicle (see table 23). In relation to personal crime 31 people reported being a victim of some form of personal attack and 114 people reported being annoyed or insulted by strangers. 14 respondents said that they had been offered drugs, but since the sample involved predominately older people this figure will tend to underestimate the amount of drug dealing. The more detailed interviews with young people suggested a fairly widespread use of drugs on the estate. Table 24 shows the extent of crimes against the person on the estate.

**Table 23 Predatory Crime on the Estate 1992 -1993**

Type of aim*	1992 (%)					1993 (%)				
	M	Once	Twice	Three times	Four+	M	Once	Twice	Three times	Four+
Theft of car	92.4	6.0	1.4	0.2	0.0	95.2	4.4	0.2	0.2	0.0
Theft from car	85.3	12.1	1.6	0.9	0.2	87.6	10.4	1.0	1.0	0.0
Theft of bicycle	93.9	5.2	0.7	0.2	0.0	94.3	5.3	0.2	0.2	0.0

Reports of sexual assault and harassment were relatively high, particularly given that this was a self complete questionnaire. Similarly the number of racial attacks was high given the low number of ethnic minorities in the sample. In general the recorded level of criminal victimisation over the twelve month period remained relatively stable (see table 24).

**Table 24 Personal Crime on the Estate 1992 -1993**

Type of crime	1992 (%)					1993 (%)				
	NI	Once	Twice	Three times	Four*	1*	Once	Twice	Three times	Four*
Mugged/robbed	98.7	1.2	0.1	0.0	<b>0.0</b>	98.9	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Assaulted	97.9	1.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	97.7	2.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
Insulted/annoyed	87.4	10.6	0.4	0.3	1.2	86.8	11.4	1.0	0.8	0.0
Offered drugs	98.5	<b>1.1</b>	0.2	0.0	0.2	98.4	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
Sexual attacks	99.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	99.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
Sexual harassment	98.7	1.1	0.1	<b>0.0</b>	0.1	99.0	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0
Racial attacks	99.3	0.4	0.2	<b>0.0</b>	0.0	99.6	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
Racial harassment	98.7	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	98.8	1.1	0.0	0.1	0.0

Respondents were also asked about their fear of crime and this was compared to the actual level of victimisation for each group.

## 5. FEAR OF CRIME AND CRIME REPORTING

Fear of crime has come to be identified by some researchers as significant as the experience of victimisation itself. The interest in fear of crime has become particularly associated with women and the elderly. Given the high proportion of elderly females living on New Parks, the questionnaire was designed to investigate the level of anxiety about crime amongst the different age groups and between males and females. The questions in this section mirrored the range of questions covered in the section on victimisation in order to gain information on the relation between actual and perceived risk of victimisation. Also respondents were asked about avoidance behaviour and their perception of 'high risk' areas of the estate.

The results of the 1992 survey indicated that just over a third of respondents stated that they felt 'very worried' about being burgled. In 1993 this percentage increased to 39.7% which indicates that the crime reduction initiative and accompanying publicity did little to allay the fears of burglary amongst a significant percentage of the residents.

**Table 25 Fear of Burglary and Damage/Vandalism to Home 1992 - 1993**

	1992 (%)				1993 (%)			
	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very
Burglary	12.8	9.6	43.1	34.4	4.8	7.9	47.5	39.7
Damage/Vandalism	16.8	17.1	35.9	30.2	11.8	15.9	41.1	31.2

In 1993 the fear of predatory crime had significantly lessened. The largest percentage of respondents worried about theft of a vehicle or theft from a vehicle. When viewed by occupation, theft of a vehicle, as might be expected, was higher amongst the employed (70.9%) and lowest amongst the retired (52.6%) (see table 26).

**Table 26 Fear of Predatory Crimes 1992 - 1993**

	1992 (%)				1993 (%)			
	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very	Not at all	A little	Fairly	Very
Graffiti	30.0	23.9	26.4	19.7	26.2	29.1	28.4	16.3
Theft of car	27.4	9.5	26.9	36.2	23.9	11.1	28.9	36.1
Theft from car	27.7	8.6	27.0	36.7	24.3	11.8	28.1	35.9
Theft of bicycle	52.2	10.9	18.4	18.5	50.4	13.4	20.7	15.5

Table 26 indicates a decreased concern with offences like vandalism and graffiti and a heightened concern with car crimes. There appears to be slightly less concern amongst residents with the range of personal crimes, although the concern with groups of youths remains the same.

**Table 27 Fear of Personal Crimes 1992 -1993**

	1992 (%)				1993 (%)			
	Not at all	A little	FaHy	Vfety	Not at all	A little	FaHy	Vfety
Mugged/robbed	21.6	16.9	33.5	28.1	17.3	21.9	36.2	24.7
Assaulted	23.9	17.4	33.8	25.0	19.9	24.0	33.9	22.1
Insulted/annoyed	28.5	20.7	29.9	20.9	24.1	26.0	29.6	20.4
Drug activities	42.8	19.9	19.1	18.2	44.0	19.7	20.2	16.1
Groups of youths	15.6	11.9	32.4	40.0	12.8	13.3	33.3	40.6
Sexual assault	47.4	19.2	19.8	13.5	45.4	21.5	22.2	10.9
Sexual harassment	50.3	20.5	17.2	11.9	48.0	23.5	19.5	9.0
Racial assault	69.5	13.8	10.0	6.7	66.0	20.0	8.7	5.2
Racial harassment	66.0	15.3	11.3	7.5	65.0	20.8	8.2	6.0

Female respondents expressed a particular concern with sexual attacks and fear of sexual harassment. The fear of racial harassment or attack was very high considering the small percentage of people from ethnic minorities living on the estate.

Over one third (39.6%) of the respondents indicated that they were afraid of particular parts of the estate. Approximately a quarter (24.2%) said that they felt unsafe everywhere on the estate. A similar percentage said that they were afraid on side streets or areas with poor lighting, while 16.5% identified Aikman Avenue in particular as a place where they felt afraid.

**Table 28 Areas Where Residents Felt Most Unsafe**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Everywhere	24.2	28.7
Aikman Avenue	16.5	17.3
Bonney Road	3.3	12.0
Stephenson Drive	3.3	<b>11.4</b>
Shopping Area	2.6	12.4
Park Area	2.6	3.4
Keightley Road/Battersbee Road	3.6	6.9
Bloxham Road	1.8	3.4
Bateman Road	1.5	4.5

There was a significant increase in the number of people who felt unsafe around the estate in general between 1992 and 1993. Apart from Aikman Avenue residents said that they felt unsafe in Stephenson Drive and in Bonney Road and in the shopping area. From the

questionnaires it was evident that over 25% of the population said that they avoided -certain areas, while approximately half (52.6%) said **they** avoided going out alone.

Overall the change in the level of the residents concern about crime appeared to have changed little over the period of the crime prevention initiative despite the decrease in the level of burglaries during 1993.

The section of the questionnaire on crime reporting was only, of course, applicable to those people who had been a victim of crime. Of the 246 people who had been victims during 1992, 80.5% said that they had reported the incidents to the police. Of those who did not report to the police the reasons given were that they thought that the police would not be interested or that they thought nothing could be done. Other respondents said that they had not reported the incident to the police because of fear Of reprisals.

The percentage of people who reported their burglary to the police was very high, with 96.7% reporting burglaries to the police in 1992, and 95.9% reporting them in 1993, although it should be noted that this figure included the booster sample. This is because people are normally required to report burglaries in order to make an insurance claim. However the slight decline in the level of reporting may be due to a lower level of household insurance on the estate.

In terms of satisfaction with the police 65% indicated in 1992 that they were satisfied with the police's response. Of those who were not satisfied 21.4% said that it was because the police were slow to respond, 25% said that they thought that the police were not really interested in the case, while a further 25% said that the police did not act on information given and finally 14.3% said that they had not received enough follow-up information (see table 29).

**Table 29 Reasons why Victims were not Satisfied with Police Conduct**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Slow response	21.4	15.5
Police not interested	25.0	18.7
Only fingerprinted	7.1	2.6
Not acted on information given	25.0	25.0
No follow up information given	14.3	25.0
Rude and unhelpful	3.6	8.7
No personal contact	3.6	4.4

In the survey a number of respondents offered comments about their satisfaction, or otherwise, with the police. Most of these comments related to the delays in responding to reported burglaries. As one 29 year old woman stated:

The police took far too long to respond. It took seven days for the finger print people to come.

In other cases residents complained that they were given no follow-up information and were not kept informed about the progress of the case. As one 40 year old male put it:

You report it and you hardly hear much more of it. They could have let me know whether they caught the person and what happened to him - whether he went to court or not.

There were also a number of replies which referred to fears of reprisals and the unwillingness of neighbours to give evidence or to become involved in investigations. As one woman in her thirties stated:

The man was to be taken to court but my neighbour was too scared to appear, so the charges were dropped. He broke in at least once before but I never recovered any monies or goods.

Most people said that they relied primarily on the police and only 20% said that they contacted other agencies to report crime. Of those who reported their case to other organisations just over half found them useful. The other agencies who were contacted included the Tenants Association and Victim Support.

## 6. FACILITIES ON THE ESTATE

The survey involved questions which asked residents about their relationship to and satisfaction with agencies and services provided on the estate. They were asked in particular about facilities for the young. They were also asked about their relationship to and use of the Tenants Association and the Community Centre.

The vast majority of respondents in 1992 (68.5%) of all age groups felt that the facilities for young children on the estate were inadequate. In 1993 this figure had decreased slightly to 56.8%. In terms of improving facilities for young children, play areas with supervision were favoured by most respondents (table 30).

Table 30 Suggested Improvements of Facilities for Children

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Play area with supervision	71.3	72.4
Youth centre	8.8	21.6
Sports facilities	4.8	4.9
Places to go at night/holidays	4.2	1.0
Other	10.8	0.0

For young people the available facilities were also considered less than adequate. When asked how facilities might be improved the following response was given (table 31).

Table 31 Suggested Improvements of Facilities for Young People

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
More youth clubs/organised events	56.8	67.6
Coffee shop/meeting place	12.3	11.6
Sports facilities	5.8	15
Play areas	4.1	0.0
Educational/work-based schemes	0.0	5.7
Games room/disco	3.7	0.0
Other	17.3	0.0

Most respondents favoured more youth clubs on the estate. Others suggested that there should be more organised activities on the estate for young people and more sports facilities. However, of the respondents who said that their children did not use the youth club, some (3.8%) said because it was too rough, whilst others (3.1%) said their children went elsewhere. A further 3.1% said it was too far to go and some said because of the limited access for girls.



Similarly, a relatively small percentage (13.2%) of respondents said that they used the Tenants Association. The reasons given for not using this facility included those who said that they did not know about it (32%) and those who said that it was open at times which were not convenient to them (table 32).

**Table 32 Reasons for not Using the Tenants Association**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Don't know about it	32.0	40.2
Don't need it	13.3	31.2
No time	10.3	0.0
Not a tenant	9.0	7.1
Ill/old/disabled/can't get out	8.5	7.6
Not interested/ineffective	11.5	10.2
At work when open	3.9	0.0
Too political	1.4	0.0
Too far away	1.1	3.7
Dislike people there	0.7	0.0
Other	2.5	0.0
Don't know	5.7	0.0

Although 86.8% of respondents said that they did not use the Tenants Association, 49.7% said that they thought it was an important part of the community.

As with the Tenants Association, the use of the Community Centre by residents on the estate was relatively low. 81.9% of respondents said that they did not use the Community Centre, although 57.5% said that they thought that it was also an important part of the community.

In general it transpired that there was a feeling that the facilities on the estate for all sections of the population were less than adequate and that those few facilities which are available were not used as much as they could be.

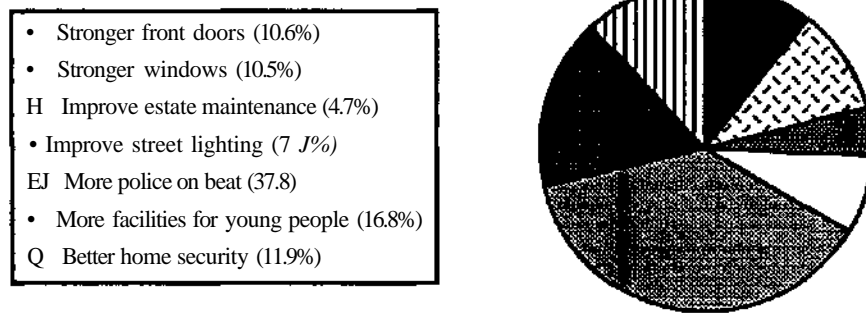
## 7. CRIME PREVENTION

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 in 1992 stated that they identified parents (40%), followed by the police, the local authority and then the public. In 1993 this changed with parents seen as responsible by almost 60%, followed by police (18%) then the public and the local authority.

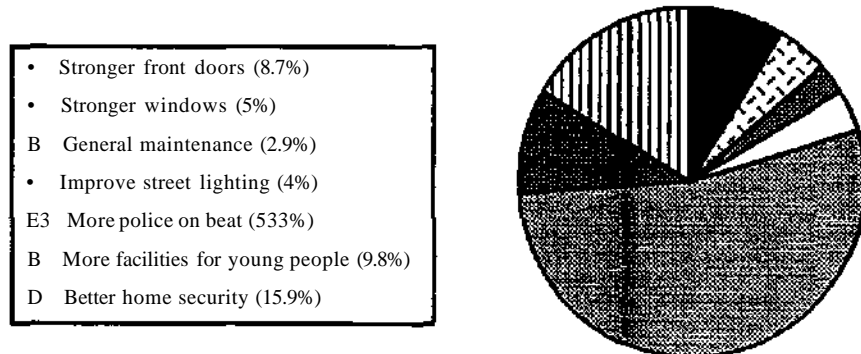
Respondents were then asked to rank on a seven point scale security measures, from 'most important' to 'least important'. Interestingly, the most favoured response was putting more police on the beat (figure 5).

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



These responses remained largely unchanged in 1993 (see figure 6).

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



Respondents were asked if there was anything which had been missed out in listing things which could be done to improve public security. These responses were not prompted.

**Table 33 Suggestions for Improving Public Security**

	1992 (%)	1993 (%)
Tougher sanctions	24.4	19.6
Increased police presence	17.4	22.3
More parental responsibility	16.3	18.0
More/better Neighbourhood Watch	7.0	3.7
Higher/more fences	7.0	16.3
Improved school education	3.5	0.0
Not move 'bad' families into area	3.5	0.0
Rebuild community spirit	3.5	11.3
More police/public co-operation	2.3	0.0
Well lit/better parking facilities	2.3	0.0
Employment for young people	0.0	5.0
'Sleeping policemen'Traffic control	2.3	0.0
Other	10.5	3.8

In relation to security respondents were asked what they thought would be most effective in reducing the likelihood of their homes being broken into. Most favoured the use of door locks and chains and checking that doors and windows were securely locked before going out.

**Table 34 Type of Security Measure Used**

	1992(%)	1993 (%)
Burglar alarm	20.2	21.8
Window locks	63.3	66.7
Door locks/chains	86.9	86.3
Security marking of property	42.8	38.3
Locking doors when out	98.2	97.1
Locking window when out	89.3	85.7
Music/TV on when out	44.8	38.5
Lights on when out	84.0	81.6
Owning a dog	33.7	28.3
Ask neighbours to watch house	75.8	70.5

In general, there was support among the residents for a wide range of measures to prevent and reduce crime. The responses indicated that while parents were seen as playing a key role in terms of crime prevention there was considerable support for a greater police presence on the estate together with better home security. Most residents indicated that they were conscious of crime prevention measures and that they took precautions against the possibility of burglary.

## 8. THE COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Alongside the self complete questionnaire which was completed by 839 residents in 1993 a number of face to face interviews were carried out with members of the local community. The aim of conducting these interviews was to gather information about the residents' experiences of crime and community safety. In particular residents were asked about their knowledge and assessment of the crime prevention initiative which had been carried out on the estate.

Approximately seventy five interviews were carried out in November/December 1992 (see Interim Report) and a similar number were carried out 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 variety of locations including the streets, local pubs, the leisure centre and local schools. In conducting these semi-structured interviews the aim was to elicit responses regarding residents' assessments of the general quality of life on the estate and the changes, if any, which had taken place over the previous twelve months, particularly in relation to crime, facilities, policing and the fear of crime.

### *a) Crime*

The in-depth interviews which were carried out revealed a considerable distance between the older residents on the estate and young people. Numerous examples were offered by the older residents of young people involved in various forms of crime. The crimes which concerned them most and which they thought were most prevalent on the estate were burglary, car crime, drugs and vandalism. There was particular concern expressed about the large numbers of young people 'hanging around'<sup>1</sup> at night. As one 45 year old female resident stated:

Gangs of youths loiter late at night outside the co-op on Aikman Avenue. This has been going on for years. The language they shout at you is really obscene.

A number of factors are seen as being responsible for crime, including poor parenting, inadequate schooling, laziness, government policies and unemployment. Characteristically, one 50 year old male managed to incorporate most of these 'causes' into his explanation of rising crime:

To prevent crime there should be discipline in the school and the home...It's the creation of the Government's lack of thought - no work gives idle hands mischief. City boys and girls today don't want to work. Poverty breeds crime, in whatever walk of life one is.

One young male disagreed with this, saying:

I think its [crime] got better. More people have settled down. I used to nick but me and the lads who did, we've alt got jobs and girlfriends now. The onfy people who say its got worse are the old people.

*b) Facilities*

In the discussion on crime continual reference was made to the facilities on New Parks, particularly for young people. As a 25 year old female stated:

A lot of crime on Newfoundpool is due to facilities in New Parks closing. Youths have nothing to do but roam the streets.

On a more positive note one female resident stated that:

My son is not old enough to use the local youth club. But during the summer holidays trie Pool Road Centre proved invaluable to me as there was a number of activities my son could Join in at minimal cost which was very good.

By and large, however, most respondents felt that the facilities on the estate were very poor and that many of the problems which occurred were a product of these meagre facilities. Most of the young people complained of being bored because there was nothing for them to do.

A number of young people said they used the boys dub while some of the older ones said they went down the pub. Those who did not use the youth club daimed that it did not offer enough and was mostly used by the younger age group. Some interviewees said that they went elsewhere for their entertainment. One fifteen year old girl reported that:

The youth centre on New Parks is boring. Only the first years go there. I don't hang around on New Parks. I hang around with friends on Mowmacre.

An older boy who was interviewed simultaneously added that "youth clubs should be better" and that "there should be more discos."

An interview with a youth worker at the New Parks youth centre revealed some of the problems of running the centre and of dealing with some of the young people who attend the centre. He stated that:

About two or three months ago, none of these lads were here. There were about five or six other older lads. Horrible lot. They were in trouble with the police, always stealing, thieving, nicking cars, they were just trouble. The other kids were too scared to come here. When we finally said 'no more' and banned them they hung around outside at nights and at dinnertime - because they'd left school and were on the dole or something. After a week the centre got broken into, they stole keyboards, guitars, video and TV used for the kids. We knew it was them but there was nothing we could do, we could prove nothing and the police wouldn't take it any further. After a few weeks Linda put the word around the school that these boys had gone, and gradually the kids started to filter back.

There was evidence that some of the older teenagers were involved in 'taxing' the younger people and that both young males and females felt anxious about being on certain parts of the estate alone.

A number of respondents said that they used the swimming pool and other leisure facilities on the estate. There are, however, few activities offered by the local schools out of school time except for football. There was a widespread feeling that the school could provide more in the way of evening and weekend activities.

Very little changed on New Parks over the period of the initiative in relation to the improvement of facilities on the estate. A number of interviewees were critical of the council who they felt provided only minimum services for the estate and generally neglected the area.

#### *c) Policing*

Although the majority of respondents in the survey had expressed a reasonable level of satisfaction with the police, the more detailed face to face interviews brought out more critical responses. The majority of residents complained of the lack of police visibility around the estate and of their speed in responding to calls. One fifteen year old claimed:

They come after you're burgled and ask if you're ok, and then they buzz off again. Nothing happens. You only see the police when they chase stolen cars. No one is bothered about the police on this estate.

The recurring theme of the interviews was that the police were not visible, that they were generally ineffective and that their relationship with young people was fairly distant. Other young people who were interviewed, some of whom had come into contact with the police personally a number of times felt that the police were not understanding enough and were too quick to pick on them.

In contrast the views of many of the older residents on the estate were that the police are too soft and should be firmer, even with younger children. One 40 year old male resident suggested that:

There should be more foot patrols and bikes for the police. They should be able to arrest children on the spot and take them to station - even for swearing at the police or other people. Find them and kxx them up.

It was felt that a greater police presence on the streets would allow them to deal more directly with the 'trouble makers'. The most common concern was with public order issues around the estate and a more visible police presence was seen to be the answer.

Other residents complained about lack of police effectiveness. A number of accounts were given by residents contacting the police and not receiving a very quick or effective response.

Typically:

I have rung the police on several occasions when I have seen 'louts' attempting to break into cars (trying doors etc.) and damage being done to buildings, but by the time you give them your name, address, age, ethnic origin, home number, sex. etc. the message is too late. It always takes at least 30 to 45 minutes for them to come, and when they arrive they invariably come straight to the house where the telephone message came from letting all and sundry know who rang the police, which invariably means 'aggro' and usually a brick (late at night) through the window, or a six inch nail down the side of any car parked outside. I leave my car up the street now, and no longer ring the police. They are too busy anyway with their usual pastime - harassing motorists!

Although the police have attempted to increase their visibility on the estate residents still expressed a concern about what they felt was low police presence and despite the argument that police on the beat are unlikely to actually catch burglars, the burglars who were interviewed said that more police patrols would be a deterrent.

#### *d) Fear of Crime*

In the questionnaire which was completed by the residents a significant percentage stated that they felt afraid in certain parts of the estate and almost half said that there were certain parts of the estate which they avoided whenever possible. Aikman Avenue and the area around the shops and outside the pub were identified as areas which many people avoided when possible.

Interestingly, although many of the respondents who said they were afraid of certain areas were the more elderly residents, there was also a significant percentage of younger residents who also expressed concern about intimidation on certain streets.

A major factor in determining the level of anxiety experienced by residents was the sight of groups of young people "hanging around" the estate. There were numerous reports of offensive behaviour and their activities were seen as being influenced by the use of drugs and/or alcohol.

Also as one resident explained:

I am afraid on the streets, and of the groups of youths from next door and drunkards from Newfoundpoot Working Men's Club who cannot even find the holes to put the keys in their cars. I cannot go out at night if I want to return whilst the Workings Men's Club is open. I am unable to park near my home; and the police make no attempt to cure the problems caused by the Working Men's Club.

The qualitative data suggested that there was not a great deal of change in the residents sense of security, except those who had security devices fitted in their houses. However, as one 40 year old female resident put it:

Although it has been two years since I was burgled I still feel uneasy, even though I have security locks, an alarm and I have even bought a dog. I still can't get over that horrible day.

One mother of two children, however, did express some relief in having locks fitted in her home, and she did experience a reduced level of anxiety about crime. She stated:

I have recently had window locks and door locks fitted. I feel much safer now. When I put my two kids to bed at night I feel that they and myself are safe, as the only way I would get burgled again is if they smashed the window. So I do sleep a lot better at night.

*e) Responses to the Crime Prevention Initiative*

Respondents were asked to express their views on the 'Safer Cites\* Initiative. There were mixed feelings about the effectiveness of the scheme from those who were aware of it. Five people said that they thought crime had got worse on the estate over the last year, eight said that it had remained much the same, while only two people thought it had improved.

There were a number of respondents who had heard of the free lock fitting scheme but did not take advantage of it. One woman stated that:

Someone told me about it, but it wasn't clearly spelt out by the woman who told me. Nobody official had told me about it. That's why I've none fitted.

One respondent who did have locks fitted although she had not been a victim of burglary recently said:

I've got them because there's so much burglary. I found out because the police came to the over 60s club. I had to wait a fortnight, and feel a lot safer, but I'm thinking of getting a dog as well.

The comments reflect some of the different attitudes amongst the residents on the estate. The lock fitting scheme seemed to have given some reassurance to the more elderly residents and made them feel safer in their own homes.

In sum, the main points which emerge from these face to face interviews are:

- That young people are seen to be responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime on the estate.
- That boredom, unemployment, lack of facilities and a lack of discipline both at home and at school are seen as the reasons why people turn to crime.



- That there should be a greater police presence on the estate and more police on the beat.
- Certain parts of the estate are felt to unsafe.
- Residents, particularly the elderly, felt safer in their homes with the fitting of the security package, but not on the streets.

## 9. THE AGENCY RESPONSE

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

The agencies directly involved in the New Parks Crime Reduction group were the police, the tenants association, the probation service, the community centre, and the housing association. Representatives of "Safer Cities" sat in on the meetings as did members of the evaluation team. Meetings were organised monthly and were normally well attended.

Obviously a number of people in this group endorsed the package of measures which were included in the current initiative. However few people interviewed mentioned the security devices which were to be fitted in selected dwellings as a major part of the crime reduction scheme. Instead they stressed broader social measures such as the development of clubs and facilities for young people, working with young people, their parents and the schools. As one member of the group put it:

The most desirable outcome for me goes beyond the lock fitting scheme, which is the most tangible part of the programme. I would like to concentrate on who is offending, and why.

The implementation of the current initiative is almost certainly going to be conditioned by the level of inter-agency co-operation and by the level of co-ordination which the members of the crime reduction unit are able to provide. At the start of the initiative it was apparent that although there were good relations between certain agencies and individuals involved, that there were also gaps and tensions, particularly concerning the aims and objectives of the groups and individual members. As one respondent suggested:

The biggest problem that the group has is that they are not really sure exactly what it is they are trying to achieve.

As well as objectives not being clear, the nature of the group is transient as highlighted by one respondent who noted that "several key people in the group are moving." Moreover, pressures associated with work and constraints of resources have produced problems for a number of agencies. As one respondent highlighted:

There are problems involving schools and the education department. They're overwhelmed with work in their own right which makes any approach difficult.

Also, several people felt that the group would have benefited from a broader range of community representatives, especially from those under the age of thirty.

One of the major problems of any inter-agency group is co-ordination. During the period of the crime prevention scheme there were a number of changes in key personnel. This resulted in problems of continuity and of maintaining momentum of the initiative. As one project worker said:

Such a huge change in personnel is difficult for staff to adjust to. The lack of continuity has caused the group and project to lose its sense of direction and makes an objective assessment of the scheme difficult.

Towards the end of 1993 the group became increasingly disparate as the project neared its end. There were problems in arranging for the fitting of security packages to burgled houses and in co-ordinating the project generally. Since there was little likelihood of continued funding paid employees were beginning to 'exit' themselves from the project before it was completed.

To some extent the organisational problems which developed were reflected in the problems of implementing the initiative. During 1993 there were 139 houses burgled and 298 security packages fitted. In many cases these were fitted within two weeks of being notified. However, in some cases residents did not take advantage of the scheme.

Similarly, the number of other measures such as Neighbourhood Watch and youth work on the estate were noticeably undeveloped with only one new scheme set up in 1993. It is however, remarkable that the burglary rate went down during 1993 despite these organisational difficulties and problems of implementation.

## 10. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As a twelve month crime prevention initiative the outcomes of this project up to the end of 1993 were generally positive. As a burglary reduction project it has succeeded in reducing the numbers of burglaries from 226 in 1992 to 181 in 1993. The number of dwellings burgled also decreased from 173 in 1992 to 139 in 1993. The welcome reduction in the incidence and prevalence of burglary during 1993 was, however, reversed in the first five months of 1994. During this period alone there were 103 burglaries recorded. Thus if the crime prevention initiative had some effect on burglary rates on the estate it is clear from the most recent figures that these benefits were short-lived. There has, however, been a significant increase in the number of attempted burglaries which have been recorded during 1993 and 1994 and this could be seen as a form of success.

The main achievements of this project include the fitting of 298 security packages, over a 12 month period and setting up one new Neighbourhood Watch scheme. The question which arises is the relationship between the lock-fitting scheme, Neighbourhood Watch and the decrease in burglary, particularly since many of the locks were fitted in dwellings which were not actually the victims of burglary while in some cases where burglaries had occurred they were not fitted at all.

There was little evidence of burglary victims receiving support in the form of Neighbourhood or House Watch, and the forms of 'cocooning' which were held to be effective in the Kirkholt project, for example, were conspicuously absent in this case. Correspondingly there was little change in the level of victimisation on the estate as a whole.

It would also be difficult to attribute the decrease to environmental improvements over the period of the initiative. There was little in the way of improvements in the physical amenities on the estate in 1993 and for the majority of the residents there was little difference in their quality of life.

In fact there was a widespread feeling among residents on the estate that it had been starved of funding and many held the council responsible for what they saw as a lack of interest, while others laid the blame at the door of the government.

In contrast to the 'sister' Safer Cities scheme which was implemented simultaneously on the Eyres Monsell estate, the New Parks initiative was much less involved in developing social crime prevention. Paradoxically, however the burglary rate went down more on the New Parks estate. The level of multiple victimisation, however, did not change to any significant degree on New Parks during 1993.

To the extent that the initiative constituted a 'replication' of the Kirkholt project the changes which occurred cast some light on 'what worked'<sup>1</sup> in Rochdale. The similarities between New Parks and Kirkholt are however limited and it is only possible given the problems of implementation and co-ordination in this case to draw some tentative conclusions.

### **Replicating Kirkholt?**

A major element in both the New Parks and the Eyres Monsell initiative was to reduce burglary by reducing the level of repeat victimisation. As in Kirkholt the aim was to provide rapid protection for the victims of burglary in order to reduce the probability of them becoming victimised again.

According to the recorded burglary figures there were 34 cases of repeat victimisation in the two year period from January 1991 to December 1992. Approximately one in four dwellings which were burgled in 1991 and 1992 were re-burgled over that period. The assumption was that if these repeats could be minimised the burglary rate could decrease by as much as 25%. The 15% drop in burglaries in 1993 suggests that this objective was realised to some degree.

This contention is given support by the fact that the level of repeat victimisation went down during 1993 such that the number of dwellings revictimised after the start of the initiative in January 1993 was 13 up to December of that year. This indicates that there was a slight reduction in repeat victimisations after the commencement of the project in relation to the previous years. But this reduction would not account for the overall reduction over the year. Moreover, there is some inconsistency between the timing and location of the lock fitting scheme, and the decline in the number of repeats.

As the monthly graph for burglaries indicates the decline in the number of burglaries occurred during the early months of the year before the lock fitting scheme was properly underway. Also, a number of the houses which suffered repeat victimisation already had extensive systems and/or were members of Neighbourhood Watch schemes, while a percentage of residents who were burgled did not take up the offer of free locks. In brief, it is difficult to attribute the overall decrease in 1993 to the improved security in victimised dwellings although it probably accounted for some percentage of the reduction.

It was also evident that the frequency of repeated victimisation on New Parks was significantly different than that reported on Kirkholt. Only 20% occurred within a 4 week period after the initial burglary and the remainder were evenly spread over a longer period. In the majority of cases in fact the repeats appeared to be unrelated to the initial incident.

There were mixed views expressed by the burglars interviewed about the benefit of returning to the same house. There were some cases in which burglars did return or at least passed information onto acquaintances, but the period of time between repeats does not indicate a clear rationale for returning to the original dwelling within weeks. One burglar, however, stated that he went back when the occupiers had "got some new stuff on insurance."

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 New Parks it was only 4.8%. From this much more moderate starting point it was always improbable that there would be a dramatic change in the level of burglary.

Indicatively, there was little change in the level of multiple victimisation. The overall recorded level of crime remained fairly constant between 1992 and 1993. The number of people on the estate reporting more than five victimisations over the previous twelve months remained much the same over the period.

In sum, the experience in New Parks gives qualified support for the repeat victimisation strategy in that the number of repeats during the period of the initiative went down. How much of this decrease was due to the crime prevention initiative is uncertain. If it was attributable to this initiative it would appear to have an indirect rather than a direct relation.

One important difference between the Kirkholt project and that carried out on New Parks was that prior to setting up the Kirkholt project a number of interviews were carried out with burglars on the estate in order to gather details of the selection of targets and to determine methods of entry. Such pre-emptive strategies were unfortunately absent from this project with the result that a detailed understanding of the level of security necessary to deter or deflect potential burglars was not available.

Another significant departure from the Kirkholt project was a lack of co-ordination and systematic feedback into the initiative. In many ways the project was very disparate and it is probably quite remarkable that a reduction in the level of burglary was achieved on the estate given the managerial and co-ordinating problems which arose.

The question which remains if the reduction in the level of burglary during 1993 was not wholly attributable to the reduction of repeat victimisation is; 'what worked on New Parks?'<sup>1</sup> In answering this question there are two important considerations which are relevant. The first is that during 1993, as has been noted above, the burglary rate on a number of surrounding estates also went down. The second is that in the first five months of 1994 there was a substantial increase in the number of burglaries and the number of repeats.

These considerations suggest that the explanation of the reduction of burglaries on the New Parks estate during 1993 was attributable to other processes. There are three causal factors which it is suggested contributed to this outcome. The first is the publicity which accompanied the initiative and the distribution of questionnaires to every fourth house on two occasions which seems to have informed both residents and burglars that something was being done and appears, according to the interviews carried out with burglars, to have encouraged them to offend elsewhere or to change the nature of their offending.

Secondly, there was evidence of a reduction in the number of burglaries committed in Newfoundpool during 1993. This area accounted for a disproportionate number of burglaries in 1992 and the further target hardening during 1993 by the residents themselves of these already relatively well-protected houses may have prevented a number of burglaries on this part of the estate.

Thirdly and probably most importantly the reduction in burglary on the estate appears to be linked to the police clear up rate and arrest rate during 1993. In the beginning of the year the police in Beaumont Leys mounted a substantial anti-burglary initiative and this division was effective in arresting a considerable number of offenders and in a percentage of cases imprisoning predominately young people who were involved in burglary. From interviews carried out with burglars in Beaumont Leys police station and Glen Parva Young Offenders Institution a number of those interviewed admitted that they were carrying out burglaries on a weekly or a fortnightly basis.

Drawing on the quantitative and qualitative data which has been collected in relation to the evaluation of this initiative it is possible to summarise the findings in the following way:

#### *Summary of Main Findings*

1. The number of recorded burglaries fell from 226 in 1992 to 181 in 1993.
2. The number of households experiencing a burglary decreased from 173 in 1992 to 139 in 1993.
3. The number of dwellings experiencing a repeat burglary fell from 26 in 1992 to 13 in 1993.
4. The reduction in repeat victimisation accounts for just over a third of the reduction in the recorded level of burglary during 1993.
5. The number of burglaries recorded and the number of repeat burglaries increased significantly during the first five months of 1994.

6. There was a decrease in the level of recorded burglaries on nearby estates during 1993.
8. Most burglaries occurred between November and March each year with a general decline in the summer months.
9. There was no discernible part of the day in which burglaries were carried out. They were spread throughout the day, the evening and during the night.
11. Items stolen were predominately electrical goods in the form of videos, stereos and televisions.
12. The average replacement value of goods stolen from each dwelling was £610 in 1992 and £740 in 1993.
13. Approximately a quarter of victims said that they knew the identity of the offender.
14. Almost half of the victims believed that the offender lived on the estate.
15. Burglary was found to be unevenly distributed around the estate with particular streets and areas subject to a disproportionate number of burglaries.
16. The rate of burglary victimisation was found to be 3 times higher in Newfoundpool than on the rest of the estate, with a burglary rate of 15.6% in 1992. This decreased to 11.4% in 1993.
17. There was a reduction in the number of burglaries experienced by owner occupiers in 1993.
18. There was found to be a fairly stable population on the estate with almost half the residents having lived there for ten years or longer.
19. A considerable number of residents expressed an interest in 1992 in joining a Neighbourhood Watch scheme.
20. There were six Neighbourhood Watch schemes in operation on the estate prior to 1993.
21. There was a decrease in the number of burglaries reported in those streets with Neighbourhood Watch schemes between 1992 and 1994.
22. One new Neighbourhood Watch scheme was set up following the introduction of the crime prevention initiative in Catedine Road.
23. There were a number of streets which reported a consistently high level of burglary both before and after the introduction of the crime prevention initiative.



24. There were organisational problems reported in establishing Neighbourhood Watch schemes.
25. Younger residents were found to be the victims of burglary more often than older residents.
26. Those living on the estate for less than three years were more likely to be victims of burglary than longer standing residents.
28. During the first five months of 1994, six dwellings which had been burgled during 1993 were re-burgled.
29. Of the 21 dwellings which experienced repeat burglaries in 1993 and 1994 15 had been fitted with security packages.
30. Four dwellings which had not been burgled in the previous two year period experienced a repeat burglary in the first five months of 1994.
31. The period of time between repeat burglaries was spread more evenly in 1992 than in the Kirkholt project with only a quarter occurring in the first two months.
32. There was a peak in the period of time between repeat burglaries around the six month period.
33. The clear up rate for the police division covering New Parks (Beaumont Leys) was almost 30% in 1993. This was higher than that recorded in other Leicester police divisions over this period.
34. People who were victims of burglary tended to experience a higher than average level of victimisation in general.
35. There was little evidence of displacement of burglaries away from target hardened dwellings to other houses on the estate.
36. There was evidence of displacement of crime to some surrounding estates including Braunstone, Beaumont Leys and Mowmacre.
37. There was evidence of displacement into other kinds of criminal activity, particularly car crime.
38. Burglars preferred houses in general which were empty and which were accessible with good escape possibilities.

39. Most burglars tended to confine their activities to a limited geographical area but there were some cases where people said that they travelled to other areas in Leicester.
40. Burglars tended to prefer to break into houses when residents were out.
41. The crime prevention measure which burglars identified as being most effective was the presence of dogs.
42. The majority of burglars claimed that the lock fitting scheme did not deter them from breaking into selected premises.
43. The most common point of entry was via the rear of the house and particularly through the back groundfloor window.
44. While a number of burglars said that they often returned to a dwelling which they had previously burgled others felt that this was too risky.
46. All burglars interviewed were involved in a significant level of drug taking normally cannabis, ecstasy and acid.
47. The reasons given by burglars for engaging in burglary was a combination of the need for money and boredom.
48. The vast majority of burglars have established outlets for goods stolen who pay in cash.
49. The level of car crime which was reported in 1992 was relatively high and it increased in 1993.
50. There were a significant number of reports of people being insulted or annoyed around the estate.
51. There was little change in the level of criminal victimisations recorded on the estate between 1992 and 1993.
52. Fear of being burgled was one of the major concerns of residents.
53. Fear of crime in relation to predatory crime increased slightly between 1992 and 1993.
54. Although there was a slight decrease in the concern with personal crimes between 1992 and 1993 there was a continued concern with youths hanging around.
55. The areas where residents felt most unsafe were Aikman Avenue, Bonney Road, and Stephenson Drive, and outside the shops and the pub.

56. Approximately half the residents on the estate said that they avoided going out alone whenever possible.
57. The level of reporting crime in general and burglary in particular was relatively high.
58. Over half the respondents in 1993 favoured putting more police on the beat in order to reduce crime and increase public safety.
59. Over 60% of residents in 1992 had window locks. This increased to 66.7% in 1993.
60. In the assessment of residents, burglary, car crime and vandalism were seen as the major problems.
63. The facilities on the estate were felt to be generally inadequate, particularly for young people.
64. Although most people said that they were generally satisfied with the police there were complaints about delays in responding to calls and the lack of information supplied to victims.
65. There were mixed views amongst residents about the effectiveness of the scheme.
66. The inter-agency steering group met regularly and meetings were generally well attended.
67. The co-ordination of the initiative suffered from changes in personnel, although the members felt that some success had been achieved in relation to burglary during 1993.

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## APPENDIX A

### MEMBERS OF THE NEW PARKS CRIME REDUCTION GROUP

Pat Thornber	Chair
Doreen Beazeley	New Parks Parents Group
Karen Berry	Triangle
Dave Frank	Police
Don Connolly	New Parks T.A.
Doris Connolly	New Parks T.A.
Stephen Davies	Triangle
Pam Small	Leisure Services
Mark Jones	Project Worker
Trevor West	Probation
Monica Sewcharan	Leicester Safer Cities
Geoff Gibbs	Leicester Safer Cities
Colin Thompson	Aikman Flats T.A.
Margaret Thompson	Aikman Flats T.A.
Graham Tipler	Education
Helen Trotter	Housing
Mike Watson	Housing