Transport for London

A problem-oriented policing approach to tackling youth crime and anti-social behavior on London's buses

Submission for Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing 2008
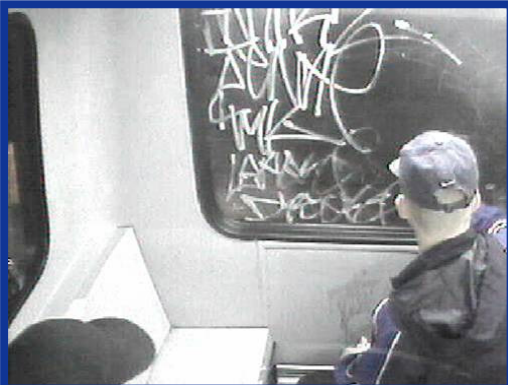
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SUMMARY

In 2006, there was increasing political, media and public attention focussed on youth crime and anti-social behavior on London's iconic bus network. A policy decision made by then Mayor of London in 2005 to introduce free bus travel concessions for young people was highly criticised for what was described as 'soaring youth crime', 'uncontrollable yobs terrorising buses' and 'free travel bus louts.'

Despite the political attention (both local and national) and often sensationalised media reports that misrepresented the situation analysis identified an increasing problem with youth behavior on the bus network which coincided with the introduction of free travel for young people. Scanning and analysis of the problem identified a number of environmental and situational factors which produced opportunities for youths to commit crime and disorder and evade detection.Efforts by Transport for London (TfL) and London's Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) to address crime and anti-social behavior on the bus network at the time appeared to be having limited impact in addressing the problem and reassuring the travelling public. TfL and the police were under immense pressure to do more to tackle the youth-related problems on the bus network. It was clear that a new response was needed to address the challenges of a significant number of young people traveling on the bus network.

TfL and the MPS adopted a comprehensive problem-solving approach to deal with identified problems of rising youth related violent crime and anti-social behavior on London's buses. A program of integrated activities was developed which are continually evolving in response to feedback and evaluation:

- Enforcement of the law and transport regulations to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour;
- Education including work with school, marketing, media and public awareness to influence behaviour and change perception;
- Engagement with partners and the local community to develop solutions and make journeys safer or engaging with passengers and staff to fully understand their concerns; and
- Environmental measures to reduce opportunities for crime and anti-social behaviour.

The introduction of MPS Safer Transport Teams provided a dedicated local problem-solving resource capable of addressing local crime and priorities and perception issues by working in partnership with the local community. This, combined with a number of TfL led interventions, has been extremely successful in reducing youth-related violence and anti-social behaviour. Crime on the bus network allegedly involving one or more under 16 suspects in 2007/8 was 24% lower than in 2006/7 when it peaked. The rate of youth crime per million bus passenger journeys was 24 in 2005/6 and 23 in 2006/7 (a 4% improvement). The rate of youth crime fell to 16 in 2007/8 (a 33% improvement on 2007/8).

SCANNING

On 1 September 2005, the Mayor of London[i] introduced free travel concessions for young people under the age of 16[ii] on London's buses. The Mayor saw the free travel concession as a vital investment in London's future, making London accessible for thousands of families by improving young people's quality of life through enhanced access to education, sport and leisure[iii]. Furthermore, the introduction of the concession was expected to influence future travel usage, promote the use of public transit and ease congestion on London's roads. A year later the free travel concession was extended to 16 and 17 year olds in full time education.

The introduction of the free travel concession for young people resulted in a significant increase in ridership on the London's Buses. Over six million journeys are made on London's buses every weekday; approximately 1.7 billion journeys were made in 2005/6. The introduction of the under 16 concession saw ridership of under 16s increase by approximately 40% in the two years from the introduction of the scheme. In 2006/7 under 18s were making 1,100,000 journeys a day on the bus network (of which 800,000 were under 16). This accounted for approximately 17% of total ridership on the bus network.

Carrying such a large volume of young people on the public transport system brought with it a number of challenges for Transport for London[iv] (TfL), the organization responsible for running London's bus system, and its transit police. The youth problems experienced on London's bus services were not uncommon to many other cities in the United Kingdom and abroad, many of which are still struggling with these issues.

In London the free travel policy for young people was blamed for exacerbating these problems. The introduction of free travel for under 16s followed by free travel for 16 and 17 year olds in full-time education was a major culture change in the provision of public transport in London. The impact of the policy was being monitored closely by supporters and critics alike.

TfL and the Metropolitan Police Service[v] (MPS) had been relatively successful in maintaining a safe and well controlled environment on the bus network prior to the introduction of free travel. However, both organizations appeared to casual observers to be ill equipped to deal with issues related to a significant number of young people traveling on the bus network and in particular the political and media backlash.

Since 2003 TfL and the MPS had monitored bus related crime, anti-social behavior (ASB) and capacity levels across the network to identify and respond to emerging trends and issues. Various intelligence sources were also monitored to assess the impact of this initiative on the network including reports from bus operating companies[vi], drivers and TfL operational staff and police intelligence reports. Anecdotal evidence combined with an early increase in reported crime and ASB incidents indicated that the introduction of free travel for young people was having and adverse effect on the travelling public, the bus network (infrastructure and service reliability) and passenger perception.

There has been a general growth in bus-related crime since 2003 corresponding with a TfL/MPS push for better reporting of crime on the network, increasing confidence in the policing of the system and increasing passenger numbers. The growth had been fairly constant until the late part of 2005 when there was an increase in the rate of growth which coincided with the introduction of free travel for

under 16s. This increase related to both youth offending and victimization and had occurred alongside a significant increase in the number of young people travelling on the network. There was also increasing evidence of an underlying issue of ASB.

Public perception of youth crime and ASB was a serious issue for TfL. Market research including public opinion surveys identified that there was a growing perception that low level disorder and ASB had increased as a result of the free travel policy and wasn't be adequately addressed. TfL was receiving frequent complaints from local councillors, members of parliament and members of the public criticising the scheme and demanding TfL and the police dealt with what they described as unacceptable youth crime and ASB issues on their local bus services.

Public perception was fuelled by a wave of sensationalised and negative media reports which highlighted these issues and called for the free travel concession to be scrapped. By late 2006 both national and local political attention was focussed on this issue and passengers were increasingly citing ASB as a barrier to using the system. Young people were being demonised and the problems were causing disruptions to bus services. TfL and the police were under increasing pressure to do more about actual and perceived levels of youth-related crime and ASB.

ANALYSIS

TfL and the MPS carried out comprehensive analysis to identify, understand and assess the impact of these problems on the bus network. The problem analysis triangle was used to guide the analysis which identified patterns in the three key elements – offender, victim/target and place/location. The analysis enabled TfL to look at the problem in a new and structured way and tailor the response accordingly.

A number of different data sources were used including bus-related crime data (allegations and recorded crime), intelligence reports from bus operating companies and operational staff, driver incident reports for anti-social behavior (DIRs), police intelligence reports, perception surveys, passenger numbers and fare evasion and ticket irregularity data. Information was also sought from sources that had not been considered in previous analysis including demographics, bus passenger capacity levels, travel patterns, school issues and community groups. Environmental audits and observations were also carried out by the Police and TfL's Crime Prevention Officers.

The analysis confirmed that there was an increasing issue of youth-related crime (predatory crimes and conflicts - robbery and violence against the person offences[vii] [VAP]) and ASB (particularly disturbances and criminal damage) following the introduction of free travel concessions in September 2005. The analysis confirmed that young people were primarily both perpetrators and victims of these violent crimes but that ASB had a much wider impact on staff, passengers and the bus infrastructure.

Spatial analysis identified that the youth related problems were not uniform across London. The scale, nature and impact of the youth-related issues varied considerably between different local hotspot areas of London. The temporal analysis revealed a distinct pattern of incidents between 15: 00 and 17:00 and was closely linked to when young people were returning from school using the bus service.

Violent Crime (robbery and VAP)

In the first year that the free travel for under 16s was introduced violence against the person and robbery offences accounted for over 50% (2,782) of crimes involving one or more under 16 suspects. Analysis of VAP offences revealed that less serious violent crime (actual bodily harm and common assault) was more prevalent than serious violent crime. The perpetrators were predominantly White

European and Afro-Caribbean male youths. The offences had a wide spatial distribution across London and peaked between 15:00 and 17:00 during the weekdays which were concurrent with school finishing times. A further supporting factor in the peaks being largely attributable to school children is the decline in offences during the 12 week period July to September, where children are on school holidays for half of this period. The victims were predominantly White European youths (gender split relatively even).
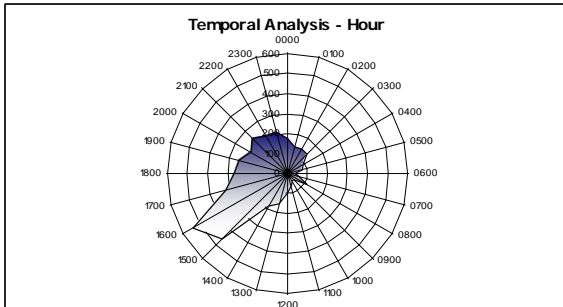
Robbery offences (similarly to VAP offences) had a significant peak in offending at 15:00 which was linked to return from school journeys and falls sharply after 17:00. The analysis showed that perpetrators were typically male youths and that young people were disproportionately more likely to be a victim of personal robbery on the bus network, than older passengers (little variation by either gender or ethnicity). Crimes involving one or more under 16 victims accounted for 40% of all robbery crimes on the bus network (with known victim details) in the year following the introduction of free under 16s.

Anti-social behavior (including criminal damage)

The underlying issue of ASB was more difficult to define and measure as there was no standard measure of ASB on the bus network or in the UK as a whole. For this reason media and political interest was focused on Driver Incident Reports (DIRs)[viii] as an indicator of levels of ASB. Analysis of the DIRs identified issues ranging from inconsiderate behavior and low level ASB such as rowdiness, swearing and playing loud music to more serious and intentional including threatening and insulting behavior, harassment, intimidation and criminal damage which if left unaddressed was likely to lead to more serious criminality. Temporal analysis by hour revealed that a large proportion of all offending occurred around school closing times. Similarly to the youth crime problems the nature and extent of the problems were not uniform across London. Local hotspots and hot routes were identified in close proximity to schools and other youth congregation areas such as stations and malls.
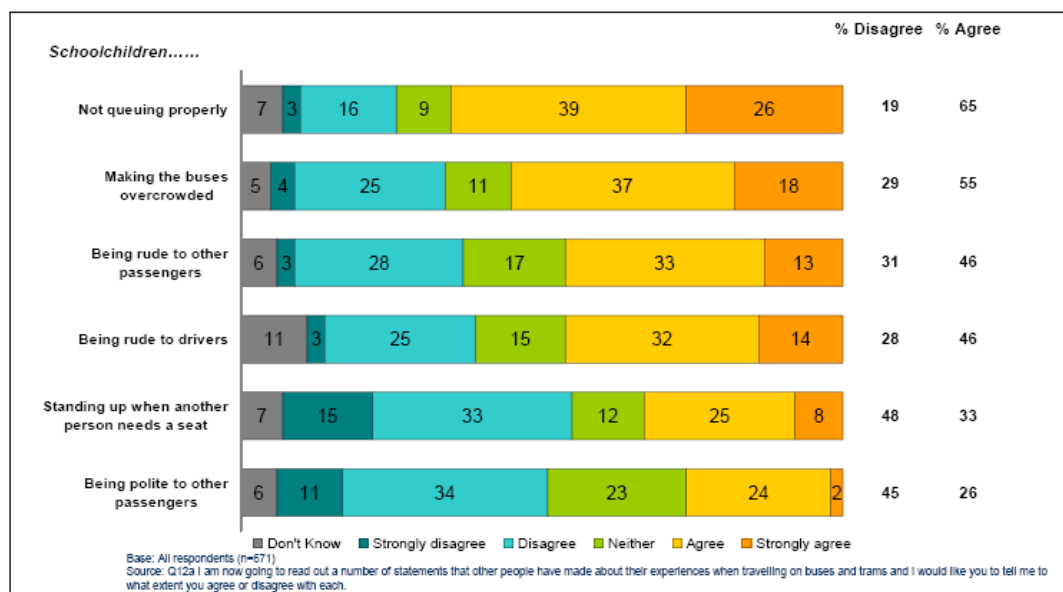
Analysis of crime and DIRs highlighted that criminal damage, specifically graffiti and etching, was a significant and increasing problem. The cost to TfL and the bus operating companies was immense in terms of both restorative works and in the creation of an environment where passengers and staff felt unsafe, and which encouraged further degradation.

The data sets showed similar spatial and temporal patterns for criminal damage. The crime data showed that in the year following the introduction of free travel, under 16 suspects were linked to over 45% criminal damage incidents (this was higher than any other offence type). Perpetrators were predominantly White European youths. Offending was skewed towards outer London Boroughs. The analysis also confirmed that the increase in incident levels was partly driven by the proactive work being carried out to tackle criminal damage on the network and improve reporting. This growth in reporting was further contributing to the perceived 'uncontrollable' youth crime problem.

Further analysis showed that there was a closer correlation between the areas vulnerable to anti-social behavior and poor perceptions of safety and security, than between recorded crime and poor perception.

Market research showed that youth behavior was a priority concern for passengers (including other young people) and transport staff who were forced to endure the behavior. The bus network became a meeting place for youths who sometimes ignored the impact their behavior had on those around them. Youths were also intimidating and threatening to others especially to the most vulnerable members of society many of whom were dependent on using the bus service. Research showed that a significant number of adults chose not to travel during after school hours or restricted their travel patterns to avoid youths because of fear of this behavior. Large groups of youths (who are often perceived to be synonymous with youth offending) are cited as the top reason for passengers feeling unsafe on buses during the day. Customer complaints received by TfL were focused on youth-related crime and ASB. Complaints commonly described issues of robbery, vandalism, violence and general unruly behavior involving young people.

Market research undertaken in 2006 identified some negativity about children on buses from other bus users. Some passengers felt uneasy around groups of rowdy teenagers and few drivers were seen to take action to control the situation. Some bus users felt staff attitudes made things worse. The main concerns identified in this research were children not queuing properly, making the buses overcrowded and being rude to others (either passengers or the driver).

Schoolchildren......	Don't Know	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree	% Disagree	% Agree
Not queuing properly	7	3	16	9	39	26	19	65
Making the buses overcrowded	5	4	25	11	37	18	29	55
Being rude to other passengers	6	3	28	17	33	13	31	46
Being rude to drivers	11	3	25	15	32	14	28	46
Standing up when another person needs a seat	7	15	33	12	25	8	48	33
Being polite to other passengers	6	11	34	23	24	2	45	26

Base: All respondents (n=571)
Source: Q12a I am now going to read out a number of statements that other people have made about their experiences when travelling on buses and trams and I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each.

The perception of bus drivers was that youth behavior had worsened since the introduction of free travel and this issue was their major concern (42% reported a dramatic increase in anti-social behavior by under 16s). They felt unsupported at school closing times and believed that there was a general need to educate and inform passengers (especially teenagers) about acceptable behavior on buses, at bus stops and the consequences of abusing bus drivers.

Young people also felt unsafe and identified the bus network as one of the locations they felt most vulnerable. They feared being bullied and robbed by other young people. A survey by the national

government in early 2007 showed that overall, the perception by London schoolchildren of safety on public transport was worse than the national average and it was predominantly outer London Boroughs that were above the national average score.

A number of contributory factors were identified as part of the scanning and analysis stage. The key factors included:

▪ The introduction of the free bus travel concession resulted in a significant increase in the number of young people traveling on the bus network and increased the number of both potential victims and perpetrators.

▪ Some routes to and from school were generating opportunities for crime and disorder because of the large volume of youths often from different schools converging at the same time.

▪ The anonymity of students as they traveled from school provided opportunities for them to misbehave and avoid detection. Buses were seen by young people as a less risky environment for them to misbehave in as they were less known than they would be in a school or local neighborhood environment and meant that there was less chance of getting caught.

▪ Young people aged 14 and 15 were required to hold a valid oyster photocard to and validate it on each journey to qualify for free bus travel. Young people under 13 did not require a photocard. This caused many problems for drivers trying to judge a young person's age - challenges about age often resulted in disputes. Many drivers were becoming increasingly reluctant to enforce the requirement resulting in an erosion of control which was noticeable to youths and other passengers).

▪ The free travel scheme was governed by a Behavior Code. Swearing or using offensive language, behaving offensively, bullying or threatening others, drinking alcohol and smoking are clearly outlined as breaches of the code of conduct. Proven breaches can result in the concession being withdrawn from individuals. For this penalty to be effective drivers needed to enforce the requirements for 14 and 15 year olds to hold and validate oyster photocards when making their journeys which was not happening.

▪ The presence of groups was intimidating for other passengers and staff, especially vulnerable groups. Sessions with young people highlighted the fact that many of them are unaware of the effects of their behavior on others. They were largely unaware of the rules and what was expected of them when using the bus system despite signing up to a behavior code as a requirement of the free travel concession. They were also largely unaware of the associated safety risks of their behavior for themselves and other users.

▪ Changing crime patterns and proactive policing (around such issues as criminal damage) was further exacerbating the growth in crime associated with U16s.

The initial response to dealing with youth-related issues on the London bus network was to step up enforcement using a broad brush approach to detect and apprehend offenders. This offender based strategy did little to address the other elements of the problem analysis triangle. The scanning and analysis stages showed this approach was ineffective in tackling the problem of rising youth-related crime (offending and victimization), ASB and diminishing public confidence.

The scanning and analysis stages also identified the limitations of the traditional response policing and city wide approach to reducing levels of youth crime and ASB. A multi-faceted and more community focused, localized approach was needed to change the conditions that gave rise to the youth-related

priority issues on London's bus network.

RESPONSE

TfL, in partnership with the MPS, considered a number of possible responses to the identified issue including zero tolerance policing and enforcement, scrapping the free travel concession for young people and introduction of additional school bus routes. Responses were considered in terms of their effectiveness and sustainability, the potential impact to address the contributory factors identified through scanning and analysis, cost, community and political acceptability, impact on modal shift/bus patronage. None of these responses were considered to be appropriate.

To provide a focus for the response to these issues TfL's School Travel Oversight Group (STOG), a forum for overseeing school travel issues, formulated a response plan identifying a range of response interventions. A number of key stakeholders including TfL's Crime Prevention managers and School Liaison teams were represented on STOG and were and involved in the development in the comprehensive plan.

To ensure lasting success the response plan involved a program of integrated responses to address each element of the problem analysis triangle. It was based on situational crime prevention principles to reduce the opportunities for youth-related crime and ASB created by large volumes of young people and other passengers coming together in a fast paced and confined transit environment. Many of the response activities identified addressed more than one problem while others were employed to tackle specific issues. Efforts to address public perception were also integral to the response. Elements of the response continue to evolve in response to feedback and evaluation.

The key objectives of the response were to:

- Reduce levels of youth offending specifically (violence against the person and robbery)
- Reduce youth-related ASB and criminal damage (specifically graffiti/etching)

Secondary objectives included:
- Improve perception of security on the bus network (including public and political perception)

Baseline measures and evaluation processes were developed to monitor the impact of the response activities. Methods were put in place to disseminate best practice.

A key element of the joint TfL and MPS response was the introduction of a framework for local problem-solving. MPS Safer Transport Teams (STTs)[ix], involving 440 uniformed officers, were introduced in 21 outer London Boroughs (shaded in blue on the map below) which were those boroughs that analysis had showed were experiencing real and growing youth crime and ASB problems. The teams were introduced to provide a dedicated problem-solving resource that was capable of addressing local crime and disorder priorities and perception issues on the transport system. These teams in conjunction with the local community identified local crime and disorder priorities within a pan-London strategic and analytical framework provided by TfL. This allowed local problem solving and partnership to take place within a clear framework that identified youth crime issues as a priority for London as a whole.
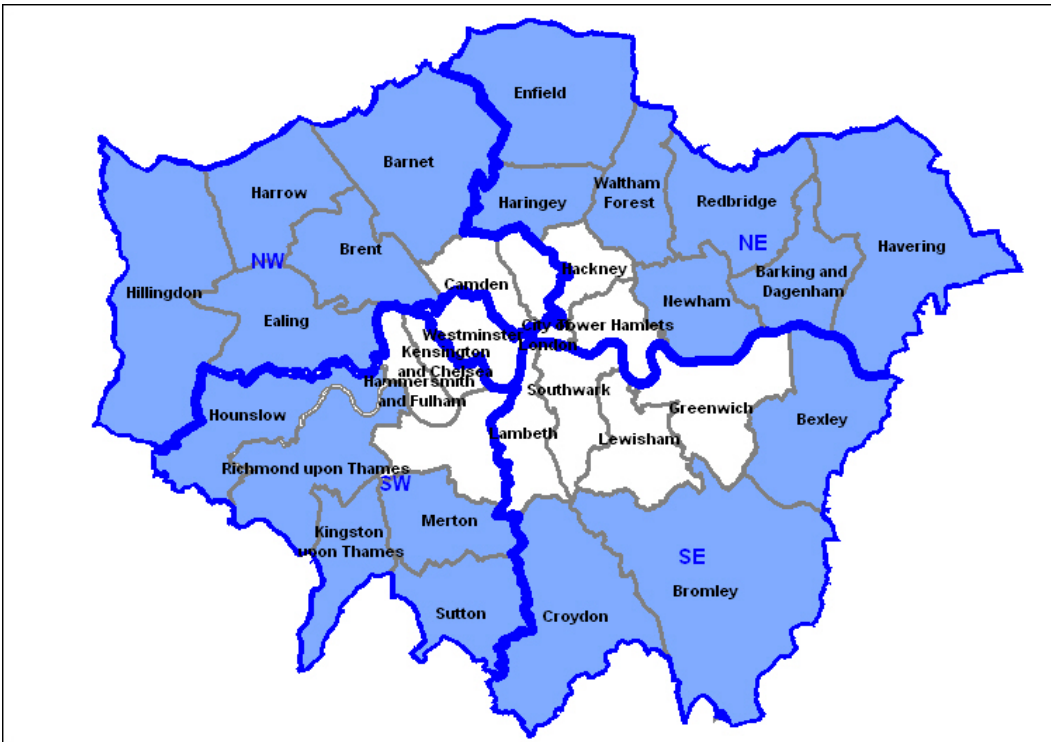
STTs used and continue to use innovative approaches to both identify and respond to local youth-related crime and ASB issues in partnership with local communities, transport operators and other key stakeholders.

This policing effort has been complimented by a number of TfL-led crime reduction and prevention activities which formed part of the STOG response plan. The key elements of the response plan are described under the five situation crime prevention strategies: increasing effort, increasing risk, reducing rewards, reducing provocations and removing excuses. A number of the interventions are based on more than one situational crime prevention technique.

Increasing effort

▪ An increasing focus on using the behavior code for young people using the free travel concession with a structured set of sanctions including permanent withdrawal of the free travel concession depending on the level of misbehavior. This withdrawal process was linked to police action through the judicial system but is not dependent on the criminalisation of young people as withdrawal can take place for identified low level disorder issues.

▪ Environmental assessments were carried out by TfL and the MPS to determine what type, construction and positioning of bus shelters and windows was appropriate in local areas. This included the use of material which is resistant to scratch graffiti and provides excellent visibility for passengers and bus drivers and is easy to clean. More 'vandal-resistant' material was used in other locations or bus routes with persistent problems. This work also included actions to improve the surrounding environment to these stops.[x]

▪ The STOG forum introduced a sub-group which identified specific schools that had perceived ASB issues and this sub-group undertook focused problem solving activities with local STTs. These interventions were non-police focused and included increased bus capacity and alternative exit/travel routes for schools to minimise opportunity for crime and disorder.

Increasing risk

▪ The MPS Transport Operational Command Unit, set up in 2002 to provide dedicated policing on the bus network, continued to undertake regular high visibility patrols and targeted operations in hotspot locations. This increasingly focused on youth crime issues and criminal damage.

▪ The introduction of STTs in early 2007 provided dedicated, visible, accessible and familiar local policing teams. STTs helped to establish stronger links with local neighbourhood policing teams and the transport and local communities. The teams are a fixed local based resource, with local knowledge and have strong links with local stakeholders and partners. STTs were committed to engaging youth in structured and positive interactions and to building relationships with youths. A key priority for STTs was to develop interventions to prevent youth offending and victimization.

▪ TfL's Revenue Protection Inspectors, who have a key role in dealing with fare evasion, ASB and enforcing the TfL's Behavior Code were deployed to areas identified through driver intelligence. Proactive revenue operations often run in conjunction with local STTs and other police units helped to limit the opportunities for those individuals who had their entitlement withdrawn to travel without paying.

▪ On bus CCTV (up to 12 cameras on every bus) was used increasingly aggressively to help target, deter and detect offenders of criminal damage and violent crime. TfL and the MPS tapped into local STTs and local neighbourhood policing teams, bus operating companies, schools and the local media to identify suspects. STTs regularly used flashcards with the pictures of suspects of on-bus criminal damage and other crimes as part of their on bus patrols.

▪ School engagement was and continues to be a key element of the response. TfL and the STTs worked actively to strengthen linkages with schools. Local teachers are often present to help manage the behavior of students at stations, bus stops and routes to and from school.

▪ TfL and the STTs worked closely with local Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships[xi] and Youth Offending Teams[xii] to develop individual action plans for those identified as being responsible for ASB and criminality on buses.

▪ TfL created simple to use 'Youth Data Forms' to capture intelligence from drivers on youth / school related issues in response to drivers' concerns about groups of schoolchildren refusing to validate their oyster cards. This information was then mapped in conjunction with other intelligence sources and used to support deployment and problem solving. In addition, school uniform and graffiti tag intelligence databases were enhanced to help identify perpetrators and/or problem schools.

Reducing rewards

▪ TfL and many of the bus operating companies introduced systematic cleaning and rapid removal and repair of damaged infrastructure. TfL undertook a major review of the quality standards in all and contracts with bus operators, including driving standards, dealing with incidents, customer service and vehicle presentation and introduced an incentivised scheme to reward bus operating companies for exceptional efforts in these areas.

▪ Young people were reminded to conceal and secure their valuables. Crime prevention messages were

highlighted through poster campaigns and TfL/STT presentations to schools. Ad hoc education opportunities were seized on a daily basis as STT and TOCU officers observed behavior that could potentially make students more vulnerable to victimization. This ranged from officers reminding students of the rules to advising students of the risk of theft/robbery of mobile phones.

Reducing provocations

▪ The introduction of the ZIP oyster photocard scheme for all 11-15s also aimed to avoid disputes with bus drivers over a young person's age and requirement for oyster photocard. The new scheme is much simpler for drivers and Revenue inspectors to enforce.

▪ TfL and the bus operating companies made a number of improvements to the transit logistics to reduce provocations and increase effort including station layouts, bus stop locations and ensuring bus schedules are matched with school demand. School exits and waiting areas were reviewed and created/changed where possible. Many of these changes were initiated by school specific STOG problem-solving interventions or local STT activities.

▪ Driver training was enhanced as part of the ongoing development of vocational qualification which included a specific focus on dealing with youth behavior and ASB.

Removing excuses

▪ TfL introduced a safety and citizenship programme of school visits to educate children from the age of 10 upwards about travelling on the transport network. The sessions focused on safety and security issues including crime prevention advice, emphasising the dangers and repercussions of crime and anti-social behavior on the network, highlighting the impact of young people's behavior on other passengers. The safety and citizenship team, often with the support of STTs, carried out specific work with schools where bad behavior on buses was highlighted as a problem. The team are highly experienced in speaking to disaffected and challenging teens and work alongside operational staff volunteers where possible. Over 95% of London's primary schools took part in the last academic year.

▪ TfL's Behavior code for the free bus travel concession was publicised widely including posters on buses, at bus stops and at schools.

▪ TfL produced a Together for London Considerate Travel campaign in response to feedback from young people and other passengers which was launched in early 2008. The campaign aims to address inconsiderate and disrespectful behavior that affects staff and the travelling experience of others by promoting positive and tolerant behavior on the public transport system. The campaign is expected to lead to a greater degree of awareness, understanding and ultimately a change in behavioral norms. The campaign carries the Together for London pledge – 'A little thought from each of us. A big difference for all of us.'
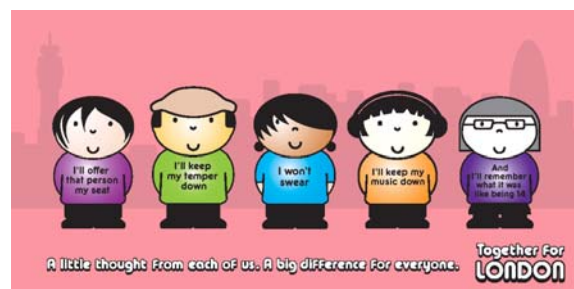
The response, grounded in partnership working, problem solving and community engagement, provided a framework that allowed TfL and partners to tackle issues at a local level but provided a pan-London impact. The multi-agency approach mobilized TfL and London wide resources to provide a more extensive and effective continuum of services.

ASSESSMENT

Critical to the success of the response has been the ongoing monitoring and evaluation of response interventions against the objectives to both inform and improve the response. The response was developed and implemented under the scrutiny of politicians, the media and the public. Assessments of results and actions by TfL and MPS to address youth crime and ASB featured regularly in political debates and in London's media.

The response interventions have been successful in achieving its primary objectives - reducing the levels of youth crime and ASB. However, the evaluation also showed that the response strategy has contributed to reductions in overall levels of bus-related crime. Official MPS figures for 2007/8 bus-related crime show a reduction of 15% reduction (6,000 fewer offences) compared to 2005/6 when bus-crime peaked. Criminal damage fell by 23% (1,778 offences), robbery fell by 19% (1,031 offences) and VAP offences fell by 2% (158 offences). The rate of crime per million bus passenger journey has fallen from 22 to 15.

These reductions should be viewed in the context of smaller but significant city wide reduction in crime and a major growth in passengers travelling. In 2007/8 London saw a 17% increase in passenger journeys (in total 2.176 billion journeys were made on the bus network). In crime terms London saw an overall reduction in recorded crime of 6.3% (57,998 offences). Robbery fell by 19% (8,540 offences) and VAP fell by 4.8% (8,747 offences).

Crime on the bus network allegedly involving one or more under 16 suspects in 2007/8 was 24% lower (1,431 offences) than in 2006/7 when it peaked. Robbery fell by 31% (465 incidents), VAP fell by 3% (40 incidents) and criminal damage fell by 31% (649 incidents). The rate of youth crime per million bus passenger journeys was 24 in 2005/6 and 23 in 2006/7. The rate of crime fell to 16 in 2007/8.

The chart below show the reduction in bus-related crime involving one or more under 16 suspects following implementation of the response strategy.

Bus-related crime involving under 16 suspects
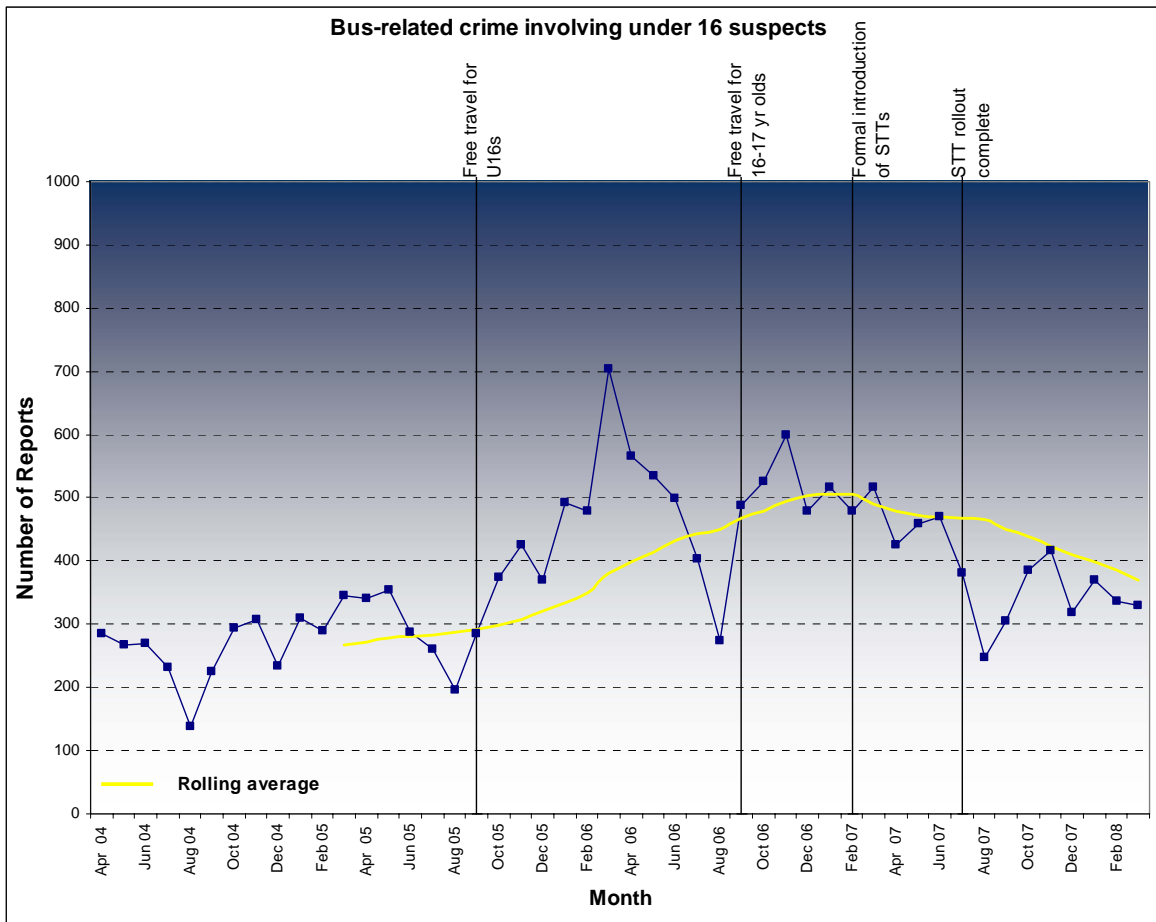
Improvements have also been noticeable in levels of ASB although TfL recognises that there is more work to be done to measure ASB effectively, improve the behavior of young people and other passengers on the bus network. DIRs for ASB, particularly criminal damage have fallen. The number of DIRs fell by 6% (2,938 incidents) between 1/09/2007 and 30/04/08) compared to the same period the previous year. Criminal damage incidents fell by 27% (1,583 incidents). The chart below shows the trend of DIRs over recent years. This is despite TfL's aggressive push for better reporting of incidents on the bus network. To overcome some of these issues TfL is currently working with partners to develop an index based measure for ASB on the transport network.

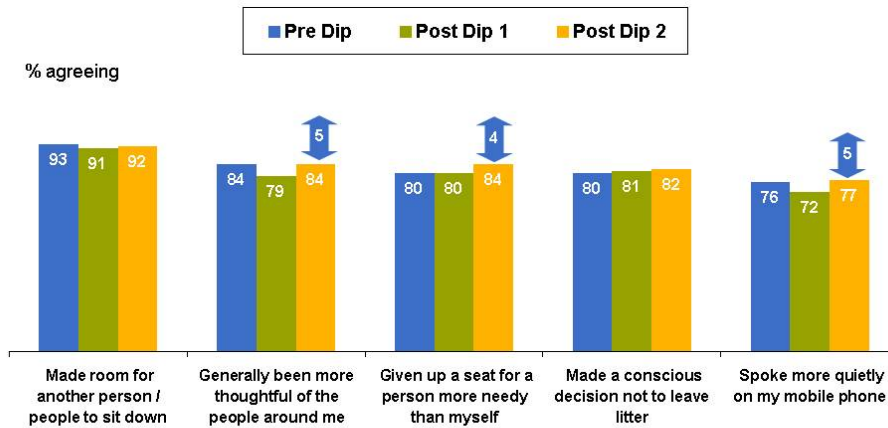**Driver Incident Reports for Anti-social Behaviour**
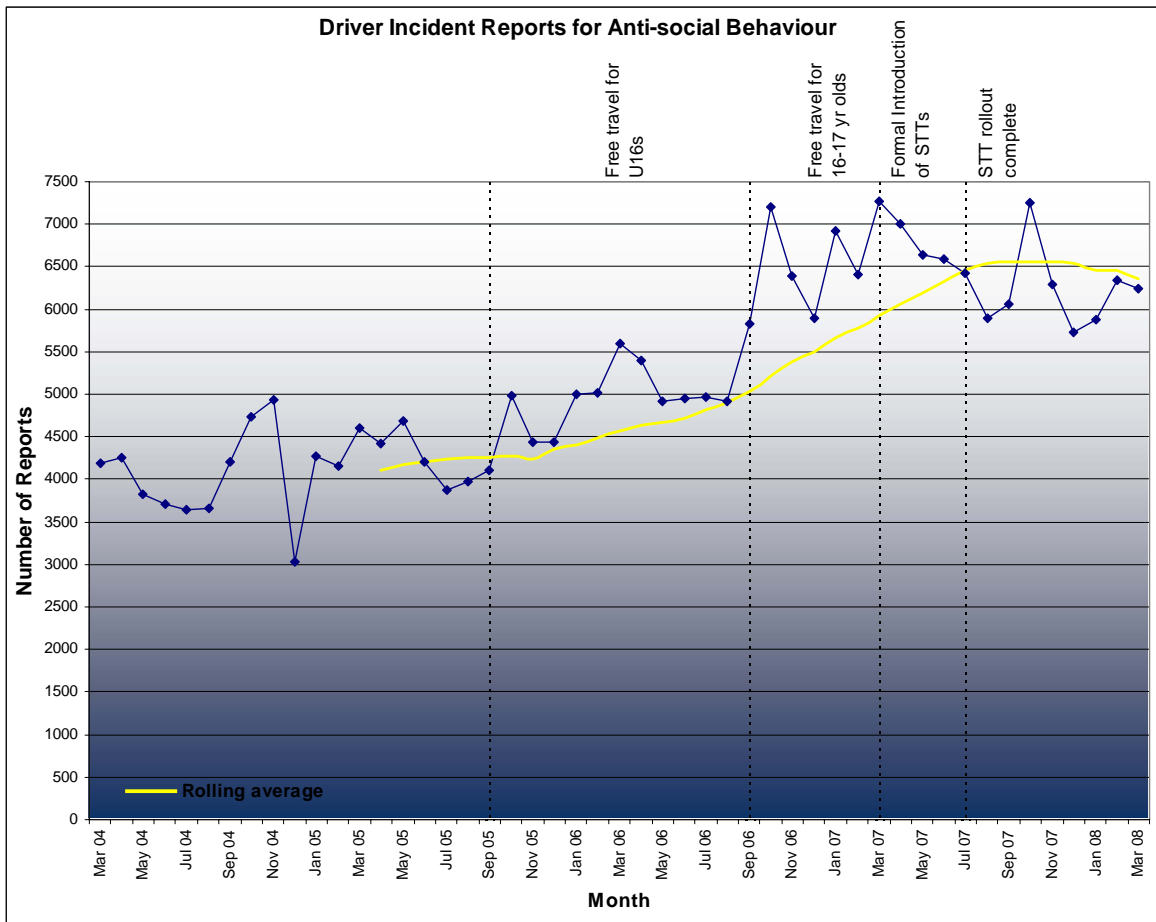
Mystery Traveller Survey scores provided further evidence that the graffiti problem had improved. Buses were monitored by mystery surveyors, posing as passengers, who would board buses and note the condition of their interior and exterior. The results showed a 12% improvement in Mystery Traveller Survey scores for etching on buses in August 2007 compared with January 2005 (65 to 73) and 6% improvement in Mystery Traveller Survey scores for graffiti on buses in August 2007 compared with January 2005 (77 to 82). Passenger research also confirmed this as it showed a downward trend in passenger perception of graffiti.

Market research and public perception surveys forms a valuable part of the ongoing evaluation of many parts of the response.

The Together for London campaign has been independently evaluated by a research company prior to the launch of the campaign and during and post the first phase of the campaign[xiii]. The research found that endorsement of the campaign messages was high especially amongst those claiming to commit one or more negative behaviors. Most encouragingly, there has been a significant increase in claimed positive behaviours, and in understanding the impact of respondents' own behaviors and tolerance of others. The research also found that the campaign was more effective with the 18-34 age group which was also a key target audience. Lessons from the first phase will be incorporated in the next campaign burst.

Trends in positive actions
Significant improvements in positive actions taken out

■ Pre Dip ■ Post Dip 1 ■ Post Dip 2

% agreeing

	Made room for another person / people to sit down	Generally been more thoughtful of the people around me	Given up a seat for a person more needy than myself	Made a conscious decision not to leave litter	Spoke more quietly on my mobile phone
Pre Dip	93	84	80	80	76
Post Dip 1	91	79	80	81	72
Post Dip 2	92	84	84	82	77

RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL

Significantly higher than Post Dip 1

Transport for London

One of the most important methods of evaluation for the project as a whole was the establishment of the Joint Transport Action Group (JTAG) process for STTs. Chaired jointly by a senior manager from TfL and the MPS, the JTAG meeting brings together key stakeholders with an interest in and responsibility for safety on public transport to review activity on a sub regional basis in a Compstat style meeting (London is broken into 5 sub-regions). The meetings focuses on the issues affecting the entire transport system in a geographically specific area and is the primary forum for discussing and ratifying STT priorities for each borough in the area, monitoring and assessing performance against local priorities and reviewing STT problem-solving plans. It also monitors the effectiveness of interventions, the supporting problem solving process and clearly hands out actions and responsibility for delivering on the actions. A key benefit of JTAG is the sharing of information and best practice problem-solving between in relation to crime, antisocial behavior and perception issues. Regional JTAGs take place on a 12 weekly basis.

TfL and the MPS have and continue to monitor potential displacement of the problems to other areas of the community and/or other types of crime and ASB on the bus network. There is no evidence from TfL, police or partners of significant displacement to other crime problems despite under 16 bus patronage continuing to rise. Any local emerging problems are identified quickly and problem-solving plans are put in place.

TfL and the MPS encountered a number of difficulties in the development and implementation of the response interventions. The most challenging were the political and media pressure for a quick resolution; changing a major city initiative; providing useful and timely intelligence at a local level; inconsistent support or push back from schools, supporting and encouraging local problem solving that also contributed to city wide objectives, and skepticism and resistance from some transport staff (including bus drivers).

A new ZIP oyster photocard was introduced for all young people aged over 11 wishing to qualify for free bus travel in early 2008. Full implementation of the scheme was delayed by six months and now becomes mandatory in June 2008. A revised schedule of sanctions for breaches of the behavior code will come into force in 2008 as part of the introduction of the 11-15 Oyster photo card scheme and

conditions

Before the response was implemented an action plan was also developed to help monitor and review progress against the response strategy and work plans. A planned and gradual rollout of some of the interventions, particularly the rollout of STTs provided TfL and the MPS opportunity to modify the response as issues were identified. Project boards were set up to help mange the implementation of key activities such as STTs and the Together for London campaign under the overall programmed control of TfL's Community Safety and Policing Directorate.

Evaluation is a key part of all of the TfL's community safety activities and the outcomes of this project will continue to be evaluated and the responses shaped to meet future demands. Despite these positive results, TfL and the MPS recognize there is more to do too further reduce bus-related crime and to address the behavior issues that still affect the network.

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[i] The Mayor of London has a range of specific powers and duties in order to promote economic and social development and environmental improvement in London. It is also the responsibility of the Mayor to set the annual budget for the four functional bodies in the Greater London Authority which includes the Metropolitan Police Authority and Transport for London.

[ii] Referred to as under 16s or young people throughout submission.

[iii] A requirement of the scheme was that all 14 and 15 year old children in London who wished to travel free on the bus network had to apply for a combined photo/smart card. The application process also included sign up to code of conduct for travelling on the network (also known as the TfL Behaviour Code).

[iv] TfL is the integrated body responsible for the capital's transport system. Its role is to implement the Mayor's Transport Strategy for London and manage the transport services across the capital for which the Mayor has responsibility. TfL manages London's buses, London Underground, the Docklands Light Railway, the London Overground Service and London Trams. It also runs London River Services, Victoria Coach Station and London's Transport Museum.

[v] The MPS the largest of the police services that operate in greater London (the others include the City of London Police and the British Transport Police) and is responsible for policing the bus network. It employs 31,141 officers, 13,661 police staff and 2,106 Police Community Support Officers, and covers an area of 620 square miles and a population of 7.2 million.

[vi] London' bus services are operated by a number of bus operating companies which work under contract to TfL's subsidiary, London Buses.

[vii] VAP includes a range of offences including murder, harassment, common assault, actual bodily harm and grievous bodily harm.

[viii] A DIR is a call from a driver of a London Bus to London's 24 hour bus control center via the on-bus radio system. Drivers use DIRs to request a response or to report an incident or issue. DIRs for anti-social behavior fall range in severity from minor passenger disputes, rowdy behavior to more serious incidents including fighting and threatening behavior. TfL/MPS actively encourage reporting of all incidents as a valuable source of intelligence which is used to inform police deployment decisions and TfL's community safety activities.

ix The teams consist of two police sergeants, one police constable and 18 police community support officers (PCSOs) and enhanced core policing on the bus network. PCSOs do not have the same powers as sworn police officers and have no arrest powers so their activities focus on alternative methods of dealing with problems.

x One example of this type of problem solving activity made such an impact it won the Safer Travel problem solving award at the 2008 MPS/Safer London Problem Solving awards.
xi CDRPs are local, borough based partnerships made up of authorities with a statutory responsibility to work with other local agencies to develop an implement strategies to tackle crime and disorder.

xii Youth Offending Teams work with youth offenders. The teams bring together representatives from the police, probation services, health, education, social services and voluntary sector agencies.

xiii The primary objectives of the research were to measure any improvements in people's perceptions of ASB and to assess levels of awareness, understanding, relevance, appeal and impact of individual executions to determine which are the most effective.

AGENCY AND OFFICER INFORMATION

TfL is highly committed to tackling and reducing crime and disorder on the transport network. With work co-ordinated through the Community safety, Enforcement and Policing Directorate (CSEP) TfL now commits over £120 million a year to policing services. CSEP delivers policing and enforcement services across TfL's operational businesses by funding and working in partnership with the Metropolitan Police Service and the British Transport Police.

CSEP applies a problem solving approach based on the principles of SARA and the crime analysis triangle to combat crime and disorder on the transport network. Staff involved in the project (managers, project managers and analysts) have received training in the problem solving approaches to reduce crime and the opportunities to commit crime. In addition, staff regularly attend courses and seminars on problem oriented policing / problem solving throughout the UK and the US.

This approach is also adopted by the MPS. The MPS has a dedicated Problem Solving Unit which has identified best practice and designed a simple but effective problem solving process which is compliant with the national Intelligence Model and links to the National neighbourhood policing rollout. STTs have an excellent understanding of problem solving principles and ensure that SARA is applied to problems on the bus network. Furthermore, The MPS Problem Solving Process and Training Programme were recipients of the Tilley Award 2003. The Unit provides coaching, advice and support and has developed a number of guides, templates and checklists for officers.

Many elements of the response strategy were already funded and the initiative drew these separate funding streams together into a coherent package. Transport for London has provided funding for the provision of services, research, enforcement and promotional costs.