Public attitudes towards CCTV: results from the Pre-intervention Public Attitude Survey carried out in areas implementing CCTV

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Executive summary

- The report is based on the findings of public attitude surveys carried out prior to the installation of public CCTV systems in nine residential areas and one town and two city centres in a period that runs from January to August 2002. The surveys formed part of the Home Office national evaluation of CCTV. Over 4,000 people in residential areas and in town and city centres were interviewed.

- Thirty-two per cent of the residential sample reported suffering some instance of victimisation, most often theft of or from vehicles or harassment. While levels of reported property crime were marginally higher than those reported in the British Crime Survey, levels of reported harassment were no higher. In the urban centres of Shire Town[1], North City and South City the reported victimisation rates were 14 per cent, 15 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively.

- The level of fear of crime in the residential areas and town and city centres was similar to that found in other surveys. Twenty–one per cent of respondents in residential areas avoid particular areas in which they live during the day and 54 per cent avoid them at night. The proportion of those avoiding particular areas in town and city centres varies from 15 per cent to 35 per cent during the day and 33 per cent to 63 per cent at night. There were three main (overlapping) reasons for avoiding some areas: fear of physical attack; because of the people who gather there and because they perceive it as a rough area.

- Furthermore, 30 per cent of those who currently avoided areas during the day and 25 per cent of those who avoided areas at night said that they would visit places that they did not currently do so once CCTV was installed.

- Findings on the relationships between socio-demographic characteristics, victimisation, fear of crime and avoidance of particular areas largely supported those of earlier studies. In particular it was found that women were more likely to have a higher level of fear of crime, to experience harassment, and to avoid particular areas. Similarly, those who agreed that they would go into areas that they currently avoided following the installation of CCTV were mostly likely to have been female, to have been victimised, and to feel unsafe.

- Individuals appeared confused about the capabilities of CCTV. However, this did not deter them in their support for it and their perceptions as to what they thought CCTV could do. A high proportion of respondents in all areas (82% overall) stated that they were 'happy with' the installation of CCTV, and there were also high levels of expectation of its impact. Eighty per cent of respondents in residential areas believed that CCTV would reduce crime in their areas; 63 per cent that there would be a smaller number of young people hanging around; 69 per cent that people would report more incidents, and 56 per cent that the police would respond more quickly.

- Those who thought that they would go to new places in residential areas after installation of CCTV were more likely to think that CCTV would have an impact and were more likely to think that the cameras had a number of different features and capabilities (for example, the capacity to show colour images).

- About a sixth of residential respondents felt that CCTV would be an invasion of privacy. Males and those who did not perceive crime to be a problem were more likely than their counterparts to perceive CCTV as an invasion of privacy. This was unrelated to perceptions of CCTV's capabilities. Not surprisingly those who felt that CCTV would be an invasion of privacy were less likely to support its installation.

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[1] The names of all study areas have been anonymised to protect the identity of the projects being evaluated.

1. Introduction

Introduction

CCTV is now commonplace, indeed McCahill and Norris (2003) estimated that there are over four million public or privately owned cameras in the UK. Citizens are now under camera surveillance in such diverse locations as city centres and car parks, shops and shopping malls, in and around businesses, in schools, hospitals and other government buildings and increasingly in the streets where they live. The growth of CCTV has continued despite mixed research findings on whether it actually reduces crime (Phillips, 1999; Welsh and Farrington 2002). Claims of high levels of public support for the use of CCTV is based on stronger evidence (see, for example, Bennett and Gelsthorpe, 1996; Sarno *et al.,* 1999). Even on this subject, however, other studies (e.g. Ditton, 2000; Ditton and Short, 1999; see also Graham, 1998) have suggested that support may be exaggerated.

The mixed findings about CCTV's effects on crime levels and fear of crime can partly be explained by variations in the approaches used by research teams. Differences exist between studies in the methodologies they employed, the types of location they examined and stages of development and implementation at which the work was done. A general limitation of previous research is that it has largely neglected to establish clear criteria for judging whether or not CCTV systems are effective. In addition, these studies have often been context-specific, evaluating single systems in specific sets of circumstances without fully reporting what the contexts are. Drawing 'transferable lessons' from this research is thus very difficult. While the capacity of any CCTV system to reduce crime is in doubt, it is clear that to have a chance of being effective some key elements need to be in place. For example, the system must be designed with its purpose clearly in mind, it must be managed by a close partnership between departments who communicate well with each other, and it must use equipment that is technically up to the job it is being asked to perform (see Smith *et al.,* 2003). Before a CCTV system goes live the control room operators need to be clearly instructed about its objectives and how to achieve them, and there needs to be a strong working relationship with the police. The national evaluation on which this research is based will continue to add to the list of essential elements, establish their relative importance and the amount of attention that should be paid to each.

The research team at the University of Leicester is carrying out an evaluation of 89 sites in 14 CCTV projects set up across England in a range of different settings. The research involves a combination of methodologies and is best summarised as using a mixture of experimental design (exemplified by the 'before and after' public attitude surveys) and realistic evaluation (exemplified by an examination of a range of contexts and their impact on the effectiveness of CCTV systems; see Pawson and Tilley 1997).

The three overall aims of the evaluation are:

- to discern the level of effectiveness of CCTV in combating crime, disorder and fear of crime;

- to describe in more detail the impact of CCTV on fear of crime and individuals' behaviour; and

- to comment on the features of CCTV systems that make them effective or ineffective, facilitating the development of 'transferable lessons'.

The second aim is partly to be fulfilled by conducting pre- and post-implementation studies of public perceptions of crime levels, attitudes to CCTV and levels of personal and household victimisation in selected CCTV areas. The post-implementation studies are still in progress, but the 'before' studies are complete, and this paper reports the findings.

Specifically, this report has the following objectives:

- To provide a measure of the level of public support for CCTV prior to its installation.
- To provide benchmarks against which the 'after' survey data can be compared on a number of key variables including victimisation levels, fear of crime and the extent to which the public avoid particular places in those areas where CCTV will be installed.
- To identify groups with particular vulnerabilities to crime and fear of crime.
- To assess public views of CCTV particularly in residential areas. One of the perceived concerns about CCTV is that it represents an invasion of privacy and the research sought to test the hypothesis that such worries would be felt more by residents in their own neighbourhoods.
- To measure expectations of CCTV's effectiveness and to identify factors, whether demographic or experience-related, which affect expectation.

The structure of the report is as follows:

Chapter 1 describes the background to the research.

Chapter 2 reports initial results from the public attitude survey carried out in the town and city centres. It describes the context, socio-demographic characteristics, patterns of victimisation, fear of crime and the extent to which respondents perceive CCTV to be influencing avoidance behaviour in town and city centres, and includes levels of support for CCTV in these areas.

Chapter 3 describes the contexts, socio-demographic characteristics, patterns of victimisation, fear of crime and avoidance behaviour in residential areas.

Chapter 4 describes support for, perceptions about the capabilities of CCTV, and perceptions in the residential areas under evaluation.

Chapter 5 draws together conclusions based upon these findings, where possible raising hypotheses as to what could be anticipated at the post-implementation stage.

Background to the research

In theory, funding for public CCTV was available only in areas where there was an identified crime prevention need. Whilst bids for funding were generally predicated on claims that installation of CCTV will reduce crime and disorder, there were also political and financial reasons for local authorities to bid (Smith *et al.*, 2003). Local councils were reluctant to miss the opportunity to obtain money available for the installation of CCTV systems. It is clear that they were keen to be seen to be active in a particular area, in order to appease public opinion and address local political pressures. The public level of support for CCTV and the belief in its efficacy are central to these driving forces.

Crime and Disorder Partnerships rarely stated their aims and objectives in clearly defined crime-related terms (Smith *et al.,* 2003). However, a number of implicit broad aims could be identified. For example CCTV has been perceived as a measure to reduce victimisation, and consequently as a means of appeasing public concern about crime (Lovering 1995). Indeed, the need to reduce the 'fear of crime' has been the subject of public debate for some years and CCTV has come to be viewed as a viable solution. There have been a number of well publicised 'success stories' (for example, the James Bulger case), and even critics recognise that it has widespread public support (Davies 1996). Moreover, CCTV is being used as part of a regeneration strategy for an area and the mere presence of CCTV is viewed by some as an indication that communities are safe. These claims are not uncontentious (see Mulgan 1989; Ramsay 1989), but they do attract attention to CCTV as a crime prevention tool and underscore the need to fully understand the benefits it generates and the best means of achieving them.

The way in which CCTV actually influences a community is determined by a set of assumptions about CCTV and the way it works. It therefore falls upon research studies to test these assumptions by measuring levels of support, perceptions of how CCTV works, and the factors which may influence these.

Context of perceptions

These assumptions about CCTV must be assessed within the framework of the characteristics and experiences of the individuals who live in these areas. Previous studies that have measured the level of victimisation, fear of crime and avoidance specifically in areas covered by CCTV have done so in non-residential settings. However, a number of residential studies (see for example, the British Crime Survey, Simmons and Dodd 2003) have measured fear of crime and levels of reported victimisation in the general population.

'Fear of crime' is a difficult concept to define (Farrall *et al.*, 2000), and has been measured in a number of different ways. Some researchers have used the measure 'feelings of safety' (see Hale, 1996) which incorporates non-crime–related aspects such as, for instance, fear of the dark, and others have used 'worry about crime' (see Hale 1996; Furstenburg 1971), as well as distinguishing between a general concern about crime (as encompassed by worry) and an assessment of risk. Both 'worry about crime' and 'feelings of safety' have been used in previous studies examining support for CCTV. The British Crime Survey showed that less than one fifth of respondents worried about being a victim of a number of different crimes (Simmons and Dodd 2003). It also showed that 24 per cent of respondents felt 'very' or 'a bit unsafe' walking alone in their area after dark.

Previous studies have shown that perception of victimisation, fear of crime and the avoidance of particular areas are all influenced by socio-demographic factors (see, for example Simmons and Dodd 2003). Men are more likely to experience assaults (Mayhew *et al.,* 1993; Brown 1998), whereas women are more likely to report harassment (Bennett and Gelsthorpe 1996). Unsurprisingly, people feel less safe at night than during the day (Ditton 2000), and this effect is greater for women than men (Bennett and Gelshorpe 1996). Similarly, females are more *worried* about crime than males after dark (Ditton 2000).

Ditton (2000) also found that women in particular are much more likely to overestimate the risk of becoming a victim of mugging, and that women are more likely than men to avoid an area when they are alone. This corresponds with the observations of Brown (1998) who found that women's chosen methods of enhancing security are avoidance of particular areas. She found that 87 per cent of women said that they would avoid certain places at any time compared with 60 per cent of men. More specifically, 46 per cent of women said that they avoided going out to places after dark compared with 13 per cent of men. Ditton (2000) found that older respondents also tend to avoid areas more when they were alone.

However, the relationship between fear of crime and socio-demographic characteristics can depend on the measure of fear of crime being used. Older respondents have reported feeling *less safe* than younger respondents (Ditton 2000, Simmons and Dodd 2003), but no more likely to be *worried* about crime (Simmons and Dodd 2003).

There is nothing especially surprising here but the question is whether these individuals would be less fearful and behave more confidently after CCTV is installed. In Ditton's study 15 per cent of the respondent population reported that they would do so (Ditton 2000). Furthermore, there are similarities between the characteristics of those who avoid areas now and those who say that they would visit new areas if CCTV were installed. Females and older people are more likely to say that they would increase their usage of the city centre at night than males and younger people; indeed, CCTV appears more likely to affect night–time rather than daytime behaviour. Bennett and Gelsthorpe (1996) found that 22 per cent of the population said that they would use the city centre more in the dark if CCTV were installed, compared with eight per cent during the day. Overall, the evidence so far suggests that the installation of CCTV could influence the behaviour of sections of the public who are currently avoiding particular areas, especially at night.

Perceptions of CCTV

Studies that have measured levels of support for CCTV have shown mixed, if positive results. Honess and Charman (1992) found that 89 per cent of daytime respondents in town and city centre surveys welcomed CCTV installation. In contrast Bennett and Gelsthorpe (1996) found that 64 per cent of respondents supported CCTV. Ditton (2000) measured the proportion of

the population who 'did not mind' the installation of CCTV in their local area (giving respondents the opportunity to 'opt out' of active support) and found that a third of the population did mind. A general finding can be distilled from all these studies that at least two thirds of the general population are broadly supportive of CCTV in town and city centres.

However, support for CCTV is not the same across different demographic groups: female respondents are more supportive than males (Dixon *et al*., forthcoming; Honess and Charman, 1992), while older age groups have been found to be more supportive than those who are younger (Bennett and Gelsthorpe 1996). Surprisingly perhaps, no relationship has been found between 'worry about being a victim of crime' and support for CCTV (Honess and Charman, 1992).

Perceptions about CCTV are linked in some ways to beliefs about the impact it will have and this will vary across offences. Honess and Charman (1992) asked respondents whether they thought that CCTV was likely to be effective against different offences in various environments and found for example that 72 per cent of respondents to a street survey thought that it would make no difference to drunk and disorderly behaviour. Respondents were also more likely to state that CCTV could be effective in small unprotected places such as subways, but less so in the street unless a complex network of cameras was set up covering side roads and alleyways, where it is feared sexual assaults and muggings may take place.

Ditton (2000) presented respondents with a number of CCTV-related statements such as 'CCTV might stop the innocent from being wrongly accused' and 'CCTV won't reduce crime, it will drive it elsewhere'. Overall, respondents showed mixed responses towards these statements, with a large proportion stating that they 'did not know'. The findings of Honess and Charman (1992) were less ambiguous in that 72 per cent of their respondents thought that 'the cameras could be abused and used by the wrong people' and 38 per cent that operators 'could not be trusted to use them for the public good'. There were also concerns that pressures to demonstrate that the CCTV system is working may lead to cameras scrutinising particular groups such as young and scruffy people (see Norris and Armstrong 1999). A substantial minority, (11%) felt that CCTV cameras 'are really spy cameras and should be banned'.

CCTV thus raises a number of issues for civil liberties, particularly that of invasion of privacy. Bennett and Gelsthorpe (1996) found that 36 per cent of the population worried about erosion of civil liberties, and this is greater amongst those who are male and young (Bennett and Gelsthorpe 1996; Ditton 2000). More recently Dixon *et al*., (forthcoming) found concerns about privacy to be lower (17%). Unsurprisingly, those who were concerned about civil liberties were less likely support CCTV installation. However, concerns about privacy were influenced by the perceptions and experience of the individual: those who worried about crime (Honess and Charman 1992) or who felt less safe after dark (Bennett and Gelsthorpe 1996) were less concerned about the impact of CCTV on civil liberties.

Few studies have measured respondents' actual knowledge of how CCTV works, and the link between people's level of knowledge and support for CCTV. One study observed that, 'public acceptance is based on limited, and partly inaccurate knowledge of the functions and the capabilities of CCTV systems in public places' (Honess and Charman 1992). Moreover, there has been relatively little research on how precisely CCTV impacts on individuals. For example there is some evidence that CCTV in shops causes staff to be less vigilant (Beck and Willis 1995). Similarly Dixon *et al*., (forthcoming) have suggested that CCTV could result in lower levels of social responsibility.

Selection of the survey areas

The projects selected for evaluation were a sample from over 100 projects funded under the second round of the Home Office Crime Reduction Programme CCTV Initiative. These were selected as appropriate for evaluation by the Home Office as representing a range of the available projects, but with particular emphasis on those in residential areas. Surveys were carried out across England in the seven residential areas, the two city centre areas and in one

of the three town centre areas under evaluation where new, permanent cameras were being installed as part of the initiative. Two of the residential projects were split up into two discrete areas each with its own survey sample.[2] Hence, in total nine residential surveys were carried out. The boundaries of the survey areas were defined by the boundaries of the area being covered by the cameras.

Methodology

The methodology is discussed in detail in Appendix A. However, the following provides a brief summary of the main issues. In each target area the pre-intervention public attitude survey was carried out immediately prior to the installation of camera poles. All surveys were carried out between January 2002 and January 2003. In the residential areas, a 30–minute in-house structured questionnaire was administered to each subject. Participant households were selected randomly, and Kish grid methodology was used to select the individual household member to be interviewed. Those age of 16 and over were interviewed. With the exception of one pilot project, the same questionnaire was used in each area. In total 2,753 respondents were interviewed and the response rate varied between 59 per cent and 75 per cent across areas. In the town and city centres a similar but shorter questionnaire was used. Respondents were interviewed in the street. A stratified random sample was used with an equal proportion of respondents interviewed at the following times: weekday daytime; weekday evening; weekend daytime and weekend evening. In total 1,575 respondents were interviewed.

Reporting of results

The purpose of this report is to summarise the findings and no attempt is made here to compare and contrast respondents' views and experiences by area, save that where there are particularly interesting findings these have been highlighted.

Analysis of the different survey samples showed an acceptable degree of similarity between the residential surveys on most socio-economic and demographic characteristics (displayed in Tables B.2 to B.5, Appendix B). This similarity meant that the results from these could be meaningfully reported as a whole and levels of variation of the particular variable under consideration would be reported when necessary. Bivariate relationship tests were used to compare sub-groups. As the analysis is based on survey results, the variables studied are largely categorical, and the Pearson Chi-square test was used where possible. When the data did not meet the relevant assumptions for Chi-square in two-by-two cross–tabulations (namely the number of cases in one or more categories were too low), Fischer's exact test was applied. Significance was usually measured at the $p<.05$ level.

In contrast, the town and city centre samples showed radically different characteristics on a number of measures. In particular, one city centre sample showed three times the level of victimisation reported in the other two samples. Furthermore, as mentioned above, a different questionnaire was administered to the city centre and town centre samples. Therefore, the findings from each sample were reported separately.

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[2] The sample was chosen for the evaluation team to represent a cross-section of the different types of scheme, which also met a series of evaluation criteria (such as the potential quality of data).

2. Town and city centres

Introduction

The following chapter describes findings from the public attitude surveys carried out in two city centres (South City[3] and North City) and a town centre (Shire Town). It describes the three areas and the characteristics of the respondents. It shows that the majority of respondents in the city centres, and to a lesser extent in the town centre, visited the target area several times a week. It also outlines the rate of victimisation, levels of fear of crime, and the extent to which respondents avoid areas. It then measures the levels of support for CCTV and the extent of knowledge of the features and capabilities of CCTV cameras. Given that previous research on public attitudes to CCTV was conducted before the recent proliferation of cameras, these findings provide a new benchmark for assessing public views.

Characteristics of target areas

This section highlights the nature of each target area[4], as well as the level of crime and deprivation present in each location. It subsequently examines the socio-demographics of those surveyed, focusing upon gender, age, ethnicity, employment status and how often these individuals used the target areas. As the areas were relatively diverse, the results have not been amalgamated and each is discussed separately. The three areas were North City, South City and Shire Town.

North City attracts significant numbers of tourists and also had a large student population. The ward in which the cameras were to be installed is highly deprived, ranking approximately 150 out of 8,414 (National Statistics, 2000) and has a reputation as a high crime area. At the time North City submitted its bid for funding, the most prevalent crimes in the centre were theft of or from a motor vehicle and violence ([the North City] Crime and Disorder Audit 2001).

In South City, the area covered by cameras includes the city's main entertainment, cultural and commercial districts. These attractions regularly draw in a large number of visitors from neighbouring areas. There is a large student population. The ward in which the area falls ranks approximately 4,000 out of 8,414 in terms of deprivation (National Statistics 2000). The main crime problems include retail crime by day, and offences associated with people drinking on Friday and Saturday nights.

In Shire Town, an ex-mining community based in the Midlands, the main crime problems in the area are shop theft during the day and public disorder and assaults at night (unpublished CCTV bid document, [Local] District Council). Theft of and from vehicles is also a major problem particularly from car parks in the town centre. In terms of deprivation it is ranked 2,111 out of 8,414 wards (National Statistics 2000).

Respondents' profile

The surveys were conducted in two time periods: during the day (before 6 p.m.) and in the evening (after 6 p.m.)[5] given that the type of people using the target areas and their reason for doing so will vary. Table 2.1 details the age, gender and ethnic origin of the survey respondents in each of the target areas.

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[3] The names of all study areas have been anonymised to protect the identity of the projects being evaluated.
[4] The areas covered by the cameras and thus where the CCTV systems were installed are referred to as the 'target areas'.
[5] Reasons for the timings are found in Appendix A.

Table 2.1: ***Socio-demographic characteristics of town and city centre samples***

	North City (%, N)	South City (%, N)	Shire Town (%, N)	Total (%, N)
Gender				
Females	53.4 (316)	47.5 (304)	62.0 (274)	53.4 (894)
Ethnicity (%, n)				
Non-Whites	3.4 (20)	6.4 (41)	0.7 (3)	3.9 (64)
Age (%, n)				
16-24	33.3 (193)	37.4 (236)	33.2 (145)	34.8 (574)
25-44	36.0 (209)	44.5 (281)	35.0 (153)	39.0 (643)
45-64	21.2 (123)	15.2 (96)	21.3 (93)	18.9 (312)
65+	9.5 (55)	2.9 (18)	10.5 (46)	7.2 (119)
Number of respondents	**593**	**640**	**442**	**1675**

Females were over-represented in two of the three areas, especially in Shire Town where only a third of the daytime respondents were men. In all areas the proportion of males interviewed in the evening increased compared with the daytime.

The mean age of respondents was 35 and this was reasonably consistent across surveys, showing a range of 32 to 38. In North City and Shire Town, daytime respondents were on average approximately ten years older than evening respondents. In South City, day and evening respondents were approximately the same age (33 during the day compared with 31 at night).

The proportion of non-White respondents was below the national average (National Statistics 2001), in all of the in-street surveys, varying from one per cent in Shire Town to three per cent and six per cent in the city centres.

Nearly two-thirds of those interviewed were in employment, and nearly a fifth were students (See Table B.2, Appendix B). The proportion of students in the city centres was twice as high as that in Shire Town. The proportion of unemployed respondents was four per cent, which is equivalent to the average for England and Wales (National Statistics 2001).

Visits to target areas

Respondents' perceptions of CCTV could be influenced by their familiarity with the area Respondents were asked to indicate how often they passed through the target areas during daylight and after dark. Table 2.2 shows the responses obtained.

Table 2.2: Regularity of visits to the target areas

	North City		South City		Shire Town	
	Time of interview		**Time of interview**		**Time of interview**	
	Evening (%,n)	**Day (%,n)**	**Evening (%,n)**	**Day (%,n)**	**Evening (%,n)**	**Day (%,n)**
After dark						
Every night	36.1 (113)	8.2 (23)	24.6 (85)	15.6 (46)	21.2 (44)	6.0 (13)
2 – 6 times a week	26.5 (83)	15.7 (44)	46.2 (160)	30.6 (90)	33.7 (70)	15.6 (34)
Once a week	14.4 (45)	11.1 (31)	11.0 (38)	13.9 (41)	18.8 (39)	14.2 (31)
Once/twice a month	8.9 (28)	12.1 (34)	9.2 (32)	13.6 (40)	11.1 (23)	6.4 (14)
Less often /rarely	10.9 (34)	18.2 (51)	6.6 (23)	13.3 (39)	9.6 (20)	16.5 (36)
First time	2.6 (8)		2.3 (8)	0.3 (1)		
Never	0.6 (2)	34.6 (97)		12.6 (37)	5.8 (12)	41.3 (90)
N	**313**	**280**	**346**	**294**	**218**	**208**
During daylight						
Everyday	42.6 (133)	28.9 (81)	33.4 (113)	38.4 (113)	44.2 (92)	30.1 (66)
2 – 6 times a week	33.7 (150)	24.6 (69)	44.1 (149)	33.3 (98)	39.4 (82)	35.6 (78)
Once a week	7.4 (23)	19.3 (54)	10.4 (35)	10.2 (30)	9.6 (20)	18.7 (41)
Once/twice a month	8.7 (27)	15.4 (43)	6.2 (21)	10.5 (31)	3.8 (8)	8.7 (19)
Less often /rarely	5.1 (16)	10.0 (28)	5.0 (17)	7.5 (22)	2.9 (6)	6.8 (15)
First time	2.6 (8)	1.8 (5)	0.9 (3)			
N	**312**	**280**	**338**	**294**	**219**	**208**

In all areas the majority of respondents visited the town and city centre at least once a week. They therefore knew the area well and could talk authoritatively about it. In general, individuals interviewed during the day were significantly less likely to say that they would visit these areas after dark than those interviewed in the evening were to visit during the day. However, in all three areas a significant percentage of respondents interviewed during the day reported that they would never enter the area after dark. This avoidance behaviour was less prevalent in South City than elsewhere. Approximately 35 per cent of daytime respondents in North City and Shire Town stated that they entered the centre at least once a week after dark compared with nearly 60 per cent of respondents in South City. In all areas more than 75 per cent of those interviewed in the evening were regular visitors to the town or city. With the exception of North City daytime respondents (73%), over 82 per cent of each group indicated that they entered the city or town centre at least once a week in daylight. This could be explained by respondents' place of residence: those in the North City daytime sample were proportionally more likely to live outside the town compared with other samples.

Reason for visiting

Figure 2.1 shows the reason for visiting each area, combining both day and evening samples. Unsurprisingly, the most prominent reasons in all areas were shopping and working.

However, different proportions of respondents lived within the area. While nine per cent and 15 per cent of city centre respondents indicated they lived in the target area under investigation, over 18 per cent of interviewees in Shire Town did so .

Figure 2.1: Proportion of respondents mentioning different reasons for visiting the target area (%)
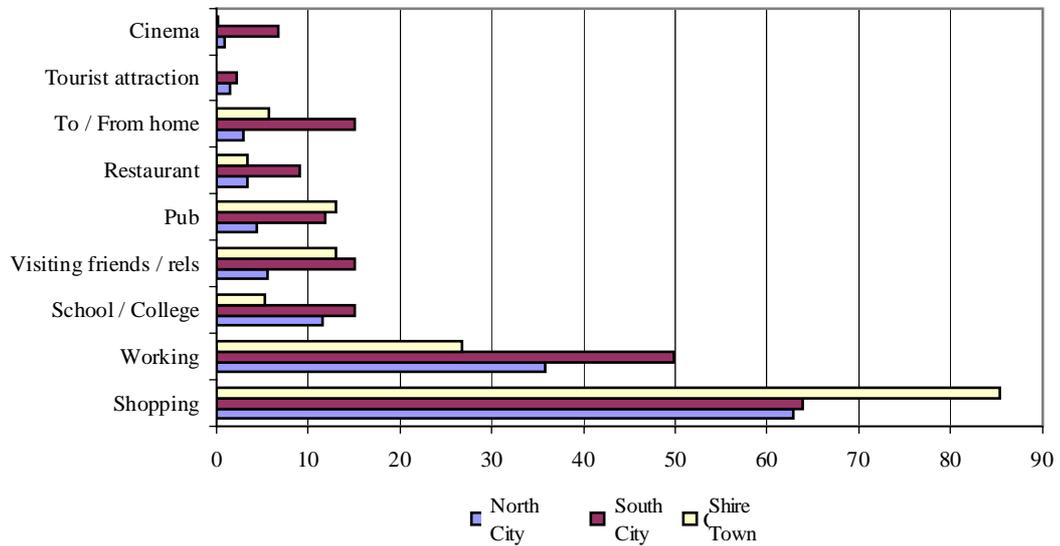
Reported victimisation

Table 2.3 details the experience of interviewees in relation to crime and anti-social behaviour within the town and city centres. Overall, 26 per cent of the combined sample reported being a victim of an incident within the twelve months prior to interview. The most common category of reported victimisation was 'harassment', which combines the responses of those who reported suffering any specific type of harassment such as being harassed by young people (see categories in Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Reported victimisation in the last twelve months in each area

Type of crime	North City (%,n)	South City (%,n)	Shire Town (%,n)
Property crime			
Car stolen/broken into[6]	7.3 (15)	14.9 (47)	0.5 (2)
Burgled[7]	1.4 (1)	10.5 (8)	4.7 (10)
Property damaged vandalised	2.9 (2)	14.5 (11)	5.3 (4)
Total Property crime	**3.0 (18)**	**9.5 (61)**	**3.6 (16)**
Personal crime			
Assaulted	1.5 (9)	6.3 (40)	0.9 (4)
Robbed	2.4 (14)	5.3 (34)	0.9 (4)
Harassed by groups of young people	3.2 (19)	7.4 (47)	5.5 (24)
Harassed by drunken, disorderly people	5.3 (31)	21.8 (139)	4.1 (18)
Harassed by people dealing with drugs	2.2 (13)	10.4 (66)	0.5 (2)
Harassed for ethnic, racial, religious reasons	0.5 (3)	3.3 (21)	5.2 (4)
Pestered, insulted or harassed	6.9 (41)	28.5 (182)	6.6 (29)
Any harassment	10.6 (63)	37.2 (238)	10.0 (44)
Total Personal Crime	**13.0 (77)**	**40.2 (257)**	**11.5 (51)**
Total victimised	**15.0 (89)**	**44.5 (285)**	**14.0 (62)**

Considerable variation in incident rates emerged between the sites. Respondents in South City were three times more likely to report being victimised than those in North City or Shire Town, who reported similar rates. This variation was consistent across all crime categories.

It should also be mentioned that there is substantial variation in the victimisation figures which implies that when looking at individual projects, only large changes in reported victimisation will be statistically significant. The vast differences in victimisation levels are difficult to explain. Although recorded levels of crime in most major crime categories are higher in South City than North City (Home Office Crime Statistics 2003) the difference is not great enough to account for this variation. Of the crimes reported, the greatest differences proportionally lie in robbery, where seven per 1,000 population have been victimised in South City compared with four in North City, and theft from a vehicle, where 31 per 1,000 population had been victimised in South City as compared with 17 in North City.

When victimisation rates were analysed against socio-demographic characteristics some interesting patterns emerged. These are displayed in Table 2.4.

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[6] Percentage of the subset of respondents who own a vehicle.
[7] Percentage of the subset of respondents who live in the target area.

Table 2.4: Reported victimisation by socio-demographic factors

	Respondents victimised in previous 12 months (%,n)		
	North City	**South City**	**Shire Town**
Gender			
Male	18.5 (51)	43.5 (146)	14.3 (24)
Female	12.0 (38)	45.7 (139)	13.9 (38)
	(*)		
Age			
16-24	18.1 (35)	46.6 (110)	17.9 (26)
25-44	16.3 (34)	44.5 (125)	14.4 (22)
45-64	13.8 (17)	44.8 (43)	11.8 (11)
65+	5.5 (3)	33.3 (6)	6.5 (3)
Ethnicity			
White	14.8 (84)	44.5 (265)	14.1 (61)
Non-White	15.0 (3)	48.8 (20)	33.3 (1)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Overall, males were significantly more likely to report being victimised within the last year than females; however the absolute differences in percentages was small (28% males compared with 24% female). This can be attributed to a statistically significant difference of six percentage points between genders in the North City sample. There were no significant differences between genders in the other two areas.

In all three areas the under 25s were the most likely to report being victimised within the past twelve months, while the over 65s were the least victimised. Although none of these individual differences were statistically significant, when the surveys were combined the age of respondent was highly significant in relation to victimisation. The greater level of reported victimisation of younger people supports the findings of earlier studies (Bennett and Gelsthorpe 1996). Unsurprisingly, the different age groups reported varying levels of victimisation. This could be explained by their activities. The over 65s were less likely to go into the town or city centres after dark, reducing the opportunities for victimisation. They were also less likely to visit pubs and clubs, which attract a high level of violence (researcher interviews). Seven per cent of respondents over 65 frequented the centre for this reason, compared with 48 per cent of the under 25 age group.

While there was no significant ethnicity effect in either of the city centres independently, the difference when all three surveys were considered together was significant and non-Whites were victimised more than Whites. Nevertheless, these conclusions should be considered with caution since the number of non-White respondents is low.

The survey measured the employment status of respondents (see Table B.2, Appendix B) but the absolute numbers within a number of categories were very low, limiting their value. However, 32 per cent of the 97 full-time students across the sample have been victimised and the victimisation rate in South City is three times as high as in other areas. Students appear to have been particular targets of crime in North City and South City, accounting for 29 per cent and 23 per cent of all victims in these areas. This supports qualitative evidence from interviews with key personnel.

Perceptions of crime and disorder

This section investigates the level of fear of crime in the CCTV areas as expressed by respondents. Two measures were used in this study to capture fear of crime, namely worry about crime and feelings of safety in the area.

Worry about crime

Respondents were asked the extent to which they worried becoming a victim of crime in the areas covered by the cameras. They were given a five-point scale, ranging from 'worry all the time' to 'never worry', on which to rate their feelings. For ease of interpretation the categories have been collapsed such that respondents who suggested they worried 'all the time' or 'often' were combined to form the group 'worried about being a victim of crime' in the areas covered by the CCTV. Table 2.5 provides details of those who worry about crime by time of interview for each of the three areas.

Table 2.5: Worry about being a victim of crime by area and time of interview

	North City (%,n)		South City (%,n)		Shire Town (%,n)	
Time of interview	**Evening**	**Day**	**Evening**	**Day**	**Evening**	**Day**
Worry about victimisation after dark	17.8 (55)	18.1 (33)	20.7 (71)	28.8 (74)	33.2 (65)	33.4 (43)
N	**308**	**183**	**343**	**257**	**196**	**129**
Worry about victimisation in daylight	5.8 (18)	9.8 (27)	7.5 (25)	11.0 (32)	9.2 (19)	8.2 (18)
N	**312**	**276**	**335**	**292**	**206**	**219**

Across all three surveys, the percentage of respondents who worried (all the time or often) about being a victim of crime varied from six per cent to 11 per cent in relation to daylight hours and 18 per cent to 33 per cent after dark. Daytime respondents in North City and South City were more likely to worry about crime than evening respondents, whereas in the evening respondents were more likely to have such worries.

Tables 2.6 and 2.7 below illustrate the differences between various categories of respondents and their worry about victimisation. Females worried about victimisation more than their male counterparts and the differences were statistically significant in all contexts, except with respect to daytime respondents in South City discussing victimisation after dark. This reflects the fact that male daytime respondents worried twice as much about victimisation as those interviewed in the evening whereas in the other two areas the proportion of males and females that worried about crime was relatively constant across the two interview periods. There were no significant differences in levels of worry about crime between age groups in any area.

Worry about crime and victimisation

Respondents' worry about crime was found to be associated with previous levels of victimisation, particularly among those interviewed in the evening. Further analysis of previous experience of victimisation in each area was conducted to see whether the type of crime suffered was linked to worry about future victimisation. Tables 2.6 and 2.7 show the relationships between levels of worry and victimisation for daytime and evening respondents.

In North City, a statistically significant relationship was found between particular types of victimisation and worry about crime within the evening sample. The strongest relationship was in relation to vehicle crime; there was a 22-percentage point difference in levels of worry between those who reported experiencing vehicle crime within the previous twelve months

and those who did not. Additionally, there was a five percentage point difference between those who reported either being pestered, insulted or harassed or harassed by people taking drugs, and those who did not.

Respondents in South City who worried about being victimised at any time of the day were statistically more likely to have suffered a range of personal crimes, while in the Shire Town sample those who were worried about crime were more likely to have been insulted or harassed by groups of young people, to have been harassed by drunken, disorderly people, robbed or to have been harassed by people dealing in drugs.

Table 2.6: Worry about victimisation after dark

Time of interview	North City		South City		Shire Town	
	Evening (%,n)	Day (%,n)	Evening (%,n)	Day (%,n)	Evening (%,n)	Day (%,n)
Gender						
Male	11.7 (19)	11.0 (9)	12.3 (23)	24.1(32)	18.3 (17)	17.0 (9)
Female	24.7 (36)	24.0 (24)	30.8 (48)	33.9 (42)	46.6 (48)	44.7(34)
	(**)	(*)			(**)	(**)
Previous victim						
Yes	29.6 (16)	37.0 (10)	27.1 (35)	36.6 (52)	52.6 (20)	57.9(11)
No	15.4 (39)	14.7 (23)	16.8 (36)	19.1 (22)	28.5 (45)	29.1(32)
	(*)	(*)	(**)	(**)	(**)	

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Table 2.7: Worry about victimisation in daylight

Time of interview	North City		South City		Shire Town	
	Evening (%,n)	Day (%,n)	Evening (%,n)	Day (%,n)	Evening (%,n)	Day (%,n)
Gender						
Male	5.0 (8)	5.4 (6)	5.5 (10)	10.8 (16)	6.5 (6)	1.4 (1)
Female	6.6 (10)	12.9 (21)	9.7 (15)	11.1 (16)	11.4 (13)	11.4 (17)
	(**)	(*)	(**)	(**)	(**)	(*)
Previous victim						
Yes	5.5 (3)	9.1 (3)	11.1 (14)	15.6 (24)	21.1 (8)	20.8 (5)
No	5.8 (15)	9.9 (24)	5.3 (11)	5.8 (8)	6.5 (11)	6.7 (13)
				(*)		(**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Feelings of safety

The survey assessed how safe individuals felt in the target areas. Slightly different questions were used in the town and city centres. In Shire Town, all respondents were asked how safe they felt in the areas in daylight and after dark. Almost 90 per cent reported feeling safe in daylight compared with 52 per cent who reported feeling safe after dark (see Table 2.8). One of the principal aims of the projects in the city centre sites was to ensure individuals feel safe whilst moving around the city centre area. In order to have a benchmark against which to test this specific objective once the cameras have been installed, city centre respondents were

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asked how safe they felt 'getting around' the area in daylight and after dark. Daytime respondents were asked about their feelings of safety in daylight while those interviewed in the evening were asked only about safety after dark. Table 2.8 indicates that a greater percentage of daytime respondents felt safe than those interviewed in the evening.

Table 2.8: Feelings of safety

	Feel safe (%,n)	Do not feel safe (%,n)
North City		
How safe do you feel getting around in daylight? (Daytime sample)	91.0 (273)	7.2 (20)
How safe do you feel getting around after dark? (Evening sample)	72.6 (225)	19.4 (60)
South City		
How safe do you feel getting around in daylight? (Daytime sample)	89.4 (261)	5.2 (15)
How safe do you feel getting around after dark? (Evening sample)	62.6 (216)	25.5 (88)
Shire Town		
How safe do you feel in daylight? (Total sample)	89.5 (394)	4.7 (21)
How safe do you feel after dark? (Total sample)	51.8 (169)	35.9 (117)

Table 2.9 shows that male respondents were more likely than females to report that they felt safe, and this outcome was more pronounced in relation to safety after dark. With respect to safety in daylight, the gender difference was significant only in the town centre, whilst the difference was statistically significant in all three areas for responses about safety after dark. Bennett and Gelsthorpe (1996) also found large differences in feelings of safety between men and women in the town centre after dark. No significant relationship between age and perceived levels of safety was found in any of the three areas.

Table 2.9: Gender and feelings of safety by time of interview

	Feel safe	
	Male (%,n)	Female (%,n)
North City		
Daylight (Daytime sample)	95.5 (106)	90.7 (146)
After dark (Evening sample)	83.4 (126)	73.9 (99) (*)
South City		
Daylight (Daytime sample)	96.4 (132)	92.8 (129)
After dark (Evening sample)	81.1 (137)	58.5 (79) (**)
Shire Town		
Daylight (Total sample)	98.1 (156)	93.0 (238) (*)
After dark (Total sample)	79.5 (105)	41.6 (64) (**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Table 2.10: Reported victimisation in each area and feelings of safety by time of interview

	Feel safe	
	Victimised (%,n)	Not victimised (%,n)
North City		
Daylight (Daytime sample)	83.9 (26)	93.8 (227)
After dark (Evening sample)	70.2 (33)	80.7 (192)
South City		
Daylight (Daytime sample)	92.4 (134)	96.9 (127)
After dark (Evening sample)	60.2 (68)	77.5 (148)
Shire Town		
Daylight (Total sample)	89.3 (50)	95.8 (344)
After dark (Total sample)	35.4 (17)	63.9 (152)

As Table 2.10 shows, those who reported being victimised within the previous twelve months were less likely to state that they felt safe, although this was more pronounced in Shire Town and after dark in South City.

Respondents' avoidance behaviour

Given the large proportion of respondents who perceived crime to be a problem in the target areas, this section examines the extent to which individuals avoid particular localities. Respondents were asked whether there were any specific areas that they avoided, both in daylight and after dark. A desirable impact of the CCTV systems would be to encourage both residents and visitors to reclaim these areas.

Avoidance of particular areas

Table 2.11 shows the levels of avoidance of particular areas during the day and after dark. In Shire Town all respondents were asked about avoidance behaviour during the day and after–dark, whereas in the city centre surveys, day time respondents were asked about avoidance of areas in daylight and evening respondents solely about avoidance behaviour after dark.

Table 2.11: Respondents avoiding a particular area within the CCTV area

	Avoidance in daylight (%,n)	Avoidance after dark (%,n)
North City	16 (45)	33 (104)
South City	35 (102)	58 (202)
Shire Town	15 (68)	63 (207)

In all three target areas a greater percentage of respondents avoided certain places after dark than in daylight, and this difference was most marked in Shire Town, and much less in North City. In South City over a third of the daytime sample avoided particular areas compared with 58 per cent of the evening sample. This was more than twice the level of the other two areas.

In all areas the main types of places avoided in daylight were back streets and smaller roads, 'other streets', and around the train station. After dark respondents were principally concerned about poorly lit areas, dark alleyways and 'other streets'. However, the actual number of respondents stating each option was relatively low as a large number of extremely diverse areas were mentioned.

The stated levels of avoidance were analysed with respect to a number of different factors, including the characteristics of the respondent and previous levels of victimisation. Predictably, female respondents were more likely to avoid certain areas than males, particularly after dark and when they were alone. In South City, 75 per cent of females avoided certain locations at night, compared with only 38 per cent of females in North City.

Table 2.12 highlights the relationship between age and avoidance behaviour in daylight and after dark. When these samples were combined, there were no statistically significant differences between the proportion of respondents from each age group who usually avoid areas. However, the individual samples revealed differences in aged-related avoidance behaviour. For example, those over 65 were more likely to avoid the centre of South City both after dark and during the day. This age group were the least likely to avoid Shire Town centre after dark.

Table 2.12: Avoidance behaviour within target area in daylight and after dark by age

	North City (Daytime sample) in daylight (%,n)	North City (Evening sample) after dark (%,n)	South City (Daytime sample) in daylight (%,n)	South City (Evening sample) after dark (%,n)	Shire Town (Total sample) in daylight (%,n)	Shire Town (Total sample) after dark (%,n)
16-24	20.9 (14)	35.7 (45)	29.9 (29)	57.6 (80)	15.2 (22)	67.2 (90)
25-44	16.7 (15)	31.9 (38)	30.1 (40)	55.4 (82)	19.0 (29)	66.9 (79)
45-64	16.9 (12)	28.8 (15)	50.0 (25)	67.4 (31)	12.9 (12)	57.1 (32)
65+	8.7 (4)	22.2 (2)	63.6 (7)	85.7 (6)	10.9 (5)	29.4 (5)
			(**)			(**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Table 2.13 illustrates the possible effect of victimisation within the previous year on the extent to which individuals avoid some parts of the target areas. Those who reported being victimised in the twelve months prior to the survey were more likely to avoid some areas both during the day and after dark than those who had not been victimised. In all areas there was a significant relationship between levels of avoidance after dark and victimisation. The higher level of victimisation in South City could explain why there is a greater level of avoidance in this place compared with the other groups. If CCTV can help reduce victimisation it can potentially help to reduce avoidance behaviour.

Table 2.13: Avoidance behaviour within the target area by victimisation

	Time of visit	Those avoiding an area who are victimised (%,n)	Those avoiding an area who are not victimised (%,n)
North City (Daytime sample)	In daylight	26.5 (9)	14.6 (36)
(Evening sample)	After dark	50.9 (28)	29.5 (76) (**)
South City (Daytime sample)	In daylight	45.2 (70)	23.0 (32) (**)
(Evening sample)	After dark	72.3 (94)	50.0 (108) (**)
Shire Town (Total sample)	In daylight	32.3 (20)	12.6 (48) (**)
(Total sample)	After dark	87.7 (50)	57.9 (157) (**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Views about CCTV

Having described the characteristics and behaviour of the respondents, their views about CCTV are now assessed. They were asked a number of questions including whether cameras were already operating in the target area, their beliefs about the capabilities of CCTV cameras and systems, and their attitudes towards the installation of cameras. Respondents were asked whether there was already a CCTV system operating in their area. The responses are shown in Table 2.14. A relatively large percentage did not know whether or not there was a system in place. There was a wide variation in the percentage of 'don't knows' between samples, with 16 per cent of North City daytime respondents falling into this group compared with just over half of the night–time respondents in Shire Town. North City and South City already had CCTV systems, but no such system existed in Shire Town.

Table 2.14: Awareness of the existing CCTV systems by time of interview

	North City day (%,n)	North City evening (%,n)	South City day (%,n)	South City evening (%,n)	Shire Town day (%,n)	Shire Town evening (%,n)
Yes	74.3 (208)	69.6 (218)	61.2 (180)	54.3 (188)	11.4 (25)	7.2 (15)
No	9.6 (27)	8.9 (28)	11.9 (35)	13.6 (47)	47.5 (104)	42.3 (88)
Don't Know	16.1 (45)	21.4 (67)	26.9 (79)	32.1 (111)	41.1 (90)	50.5 (105)
Total N	**280**	**313**	**294**	**346**	**219**	**208**

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Support for and perceived capabilities of CCTV system

Table 2.15 below shows the level of support for CCTV in the town and city centre samples. The cameras in South City and North City were being added to an existing system. Respondents in these areas were therefore asked how they felt about the installation of additional cameras, if they knew cameras were already in place, or how they felt about any cameras being erected if they did not know about any existing cameras. Shire Town respondents were simply asked how they felt about having cameras in the town centre.

Table 2.15: Attitudes towards CCTV

Feelings about new cameras	North City day (%n)	North City evening (%n)	North City total (%n)	South City day (%n)	South City evening (%n)	South City total (%n)	Shire Town day (%n)	Shire Town evening (%n)	Shire Town total (%n)
Unhappy	0 (0)	6.4 (6)	3.6 (6)	2.7 (3)	5.1 (8)	4.1 (11)	0.5 (1)	1.0 (2)	0.7 (3)
Neither	23.6 (17)	16.8 (16)	19.8 (33)	16.8 (19)	10.1 (16)	12.9 (35)	5.9 (13)	6.3 (13)	6.3 (28)
Happy	76.4 (55)	76.8 (73)	76.6 (128)	80.6 (91)	84.8 (134)	83.1 (225)	93.6 (205)	92.8 (193)	93.0 (411)[1]
Total N	**72**	**95**	**167**	**113**	**158**	**271**	**219**	**208**	**442**

Feelings about more cameras									
Unhappy	2.0 (4)	5.2 (11)	3.6 (15)	5.3 (9)	7.9 (14)	6.6 (23)			
Neither	13.9 (29)	15.2 (32)	14.6 (61)	15.8 (27)	20.2 (36)	18.1 (63)			
Happy	84.1 (175)	79.5 (167)	81.9 (342)	78.9 (135)	71.9 (128)	75.4 (263)			
Total N	**208**	**210**	**418**	**171**	**178**	**349**			

[1] Completion time was not available for 15 questionnaires; therefore this total was greater than the sum of daytime and evening questionnaires.

Overall there was a high level of support for the introduction of both new and additional cameras, with particularly high levels in Shire Town where approximately 94 per cent of all respondents indicated they would be happy to see cameras in the town centre. In all instances a greater percentage of evening respondents were unhappy with new or additional cameras compared with daytime respondents. Evening respondents were more likely to state that they were neither happy nor unhappy with cameras.

Respondents in North City and South City were required to indicate why they were happy or unhappy with the installation of CCTV in an open-ended question. Figure 2.2 displays the six most common reasons stated in each area[8]. In all four samples, the relatively vague response of 'making the respondent feel safer' was the most frequently given answer. In contrast, more specific answers describing how CCTV could work (e.g. to provide evidence, to provide surveillance and monitoring) were mentioned by no more than a fifth of the sample.

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[8] As the figure represents a multiple response question, and therefore the same individual could be included in up to six categories, the percentages are not additive.

Figure 2.2: Reasons for supporting CCTV
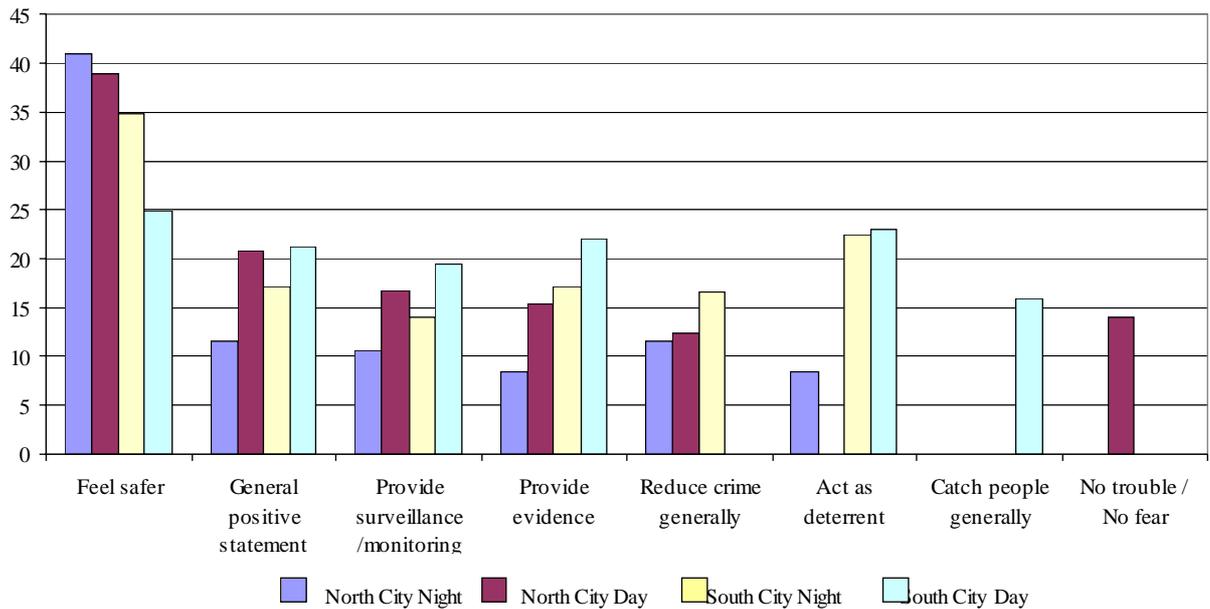
The extent to which respondents are informed about the capabilities of CCTV could impact upon their perceptions of how it works and whether it is likely to have an impact on crime and anti-social behaviour. To estimate the level of understanding about the capabilities of CCTV cameras all respondents were asked to state whether or not they agreed with a series of statements. These were designed to test individuals' knowledge of the clarity, quality and full manipulability of possible pictures, and included assertions such as, 'CCTV can zoom to extreme close-up', 'cameras can take pictures in the dark' and 'cameras can send an alarm signal when they are vandalised or the picture interrupted'. The results from all respondents were combined and individuals' responses are shown in Table 2.16.

Table 2.16: Respondents' beliefs about the capabilities of CCTV

CCTV can…	Yes (%,n)	No (%,n)	Don't know (%,n)
... be hidden	82.4 (1381)	6.6 (111)	10.9 (183)
... take pictures in the dark	79.5 (1332)	5.6 (93)	14.9 (250)
... take still photographs	77.7 (1301)	6.1 (103)	16.2 (271)
... zoom to extreme close-up view	66.1 (1107)	16.5 (277)	17.4 (291)
... be activated to track somebody moving in front of them	63.3 (1060)	9.9 (166)	26.8 (449)
... take colour pictures	57.9 (970)	18.7 (313)	23.4 (392)
... take very clear, good quality pictures	50.1 (839)	30.6 (512)	19.3 (324)
... send an alarm signal if vandalised or picture interrupted	48.5 (812)	15.0 (252)	36.5 (611)
… is watched all the time	38.0 (637)	38.6 (647)	23.3 (391)
... see through people's drawn curtains if lights are on inside	6.0 (100)	68.7 (1151)	25.3 (424)

With the exception of the final statement, the CCTV systems being evaluated could potentially exhibit all of the characteristics listed. The list has been ranked according to the percentage that agreed with each statement, and in general those at the top of the list are the less technically orientated attributes in comparison with those lower down the order. Additionally,

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as the percentage positively responding declines, a greater degree of ambiguity is evident; this is not very surprising, since it would be unrealistic to expect the general public to have a detailed knowledge of all the latest technological advances.

Fewer than four in ten did not think that CCTV was watched all the time, and this is probably true of the systems to be installed given the large number of cameras and ratio of monitors to operators.

Respondents in all areas supported the installation of CCTV, regardless of whether these were new or existing cameras systems. The most common reason given was that it would make respondents feel safer. Overall, respondents were clear about how they thought that CCTV would work.

Summary

The chapter described the experiences and perceptions of those using the one town and two city centres that have been identified by the Home Office as part of the national CCTV evaluation. The purpose of the surveys was to generate findings that can be used as a benchmark against which post-implementation survey findings can be compared. The chapter has described the characteristics of the samples, the patterns of visiting the areas, the amount of reported victimisation, fear of crime and the extent to which individuals currently avoid the areas in which CCTV was to be installed. It also provides a measure of the level of support for the new CCTV cameras prior to their installation. Overall, the areas varied. For example, South City respondents reported a level of victimisation three times as high as in the other two areas, and patterns of victimisation between them did not always follow easy to identify trends. Nevertheless, a review of the overall main findings listed below reflects what might have been expected given previous research outlined in the last chapter.

Levels of victimisation

- Twenty-six per cent of the sample reported being a victim of crime or anti-social behaviour in the previous twelve months and the rate of reported victimisation in South City was three times as high as in North City or Shire Town. In all areas the most prevalent form of reported victimisation was harassment.

- In all areas the under 25s were most likely to be victimised and over 65s the least.

- Male respondents were more likely to be victimised in North City, but no difference was found in other areas.

- In the city centres combined, non-White respondents were significantly more likely to report being victimised than White respondents. However the proportion of non-White respondents is small.

- There was evidence that students were disproportionately victimised, particularly in South City. However, there were small numbers of students in the sample as a whole.

Fear of crime

- Across the surveys, worry about crime after dark is between two and three times as high as worry about daytime victimisation. Overall, women worried more than men, although men interviewed during the day in South City reported higher levels of worry about being a victim. Across the surveys, those aged under 25 worried less about daytime victimisation (although this is not statistically significant) and more about crime in the evening (significant at .01) along with those older than 65.

- Worry about being a victim of crime and feelings of safety were associated with previous victimisation.

- Unsurprisingly, respondents felt much safer in the town centre and getting around the city centre in daylight compared to after dark.

Avoidance

- Respondents admitted they avoided certain areas, from 15-35 per cent said they did so during the day, 33 per cent to 63 per cent at night. The areas avoided were described as "not well lit", dark alleyways", "other streets". While South City's respondents showed high levels of avoidance behaviour in daylight (35%), North City was distinct for low avoidance behaviour after dark (33%).

- Those who had been victimised in the previous twelve months were most likely to avoid areas both during daylight and after dark.

- Levels of support for CCTV are high, although knowledge of how CCTV worked varied between individuals. While some respondents had a good idea of how CCTV would work, in general people's knowledge was not exhaustive.

3. Residential areas　　(1) Characteristics

Introduction

The widespread installation of CCTV cameras in residential areas is relatively new. Unsurprisingly, its impact on residents has received little attention to date. This chapter explores the characteristics, experiences and perceptions of respondents in the residential areas under evaluation in order to provide the context against which to interpret respondents' perceptions of CCTV. It will describe the areas in which the CCTV systems were installed. It will outline the characteristics, experiences and perceptions of those surveyed in all areas, reporting on their level of fear of crime, experience of victimisation and the extent to which they avoided particular areas on their estate.

Characteristics of target areas

The residential areas were spread throughout England. Each[9] is briefly described in Table B.1, Appendix A. All of the systems covered relatively small areas up to a maximum of two square miles, and most are targeted at small discrete areas often covering no more than a few streets. Two of the systems covered more than one geographically discrete area. The number of properties in the areas ranged from around 300 to 1600, with the exception of one very densely populated area containing approximately 4000 properties. Often the systems covered locally identified crime hotspots, although this was not always the case (Smith *et al.,* 2003).

These areas were readily identified as locally recognised crime hotspots such as residential streets or small shopping areas with a poor reputation. These hotspots had been identified by a variety of means. Two were identified in Crime and Disorder Audits. Most relied on police intelligence, anecdotal evidence from professionals and local reputation. Table 3.1 provides details of the housing types and tenure in the sample, as well as the corresponding figures for England as reported by the 2001 Census.

Table 3.1: Type of residence of sample population against England Census, housing tenure and type.

	Total (%,n)	England 2001 Census
Tenure		
Rented LA	40.4 (1108)	13.2
Rented HA	29.2　(802)	6.1
Privately rented	4.7　(130)	12.0
Owned	24.7　(702)	68.8
Type		
Flat	50.1 (1375)	18.6
Terraced house	36.3　(997)	25.8
Semi-det/det house	13.5　(371)	54.1
Approx. number of properties	**10,017**	

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[9] The names of all study areas have been anonymised to protect the identity of the projects being evaluated.

On average, 70 per cent of the sample lived in social housing, where social housing was that provided by the local authority by a housing association operating in lieu of the local authority, with a minimum of 53 per cent and a maximum of 89 per cent across areas (see Table B.3, Appendix B). This is high compared to the English average of less than 20 per cent. In eight of the nine areas, wards containing the target area have a higher level of 'social housing' than the surrounding area. The CCTV projects were commonly targeted at a particular type of residential accommodation especially flats.

Demographic characteristics of the sample population

Table 3.2 shows the age, gender and ethnic origin of the survey respondents in the survey areas.

Table 3.2: Socio-demographic breakdown of residential sample population

	Schemes Average (%,n)	England 2001 Census
Gender		
Females	57.6 (1585)	51.3
Ethnicity		
Non-Whites	22.9 (626)	9.0
Age (% of all adults aged over 15)		
16-24	13.3 (357)	15
25-44	42.7 (1147)	36
45-64	23.9 (642)	29
65+	20.1 (540)	23
Employment status of respondent		**Percentage of those aged 16-74, (Census 2001)**
Full–time	27.2 (744)	40.6
Part–time	11.5 (315)	15.0
Self–employed	1.7 (46)	0.7
Unemployed	9.5 (260)	3.4
Retired	22.1 (606)	13.6
Student	4.3 (118)	2.6
Domestic worker	16.7 (458)	6.5
Disabled	6.1 (168)	5.5
Other	0.8 (23)	3.1
Number of respondents	**2752**	**N/A**

Females were over-represented in seven of the nine areas while the age of respondents was relatively consistent across all surveys (see Table B.4, Appendix B). The mean age was 45, and within the individual surveys this ranged from 40 to 52. Although the percentage within each age group was similar to the national population (Census 2001, National Statistics 2003), some differences were evident. For instance, there was a greater proportion in the 25-44 age group than in the census population, and a lower proportion in the 45-64 age group.

Nearly one tenth of the respondents were unemployed, which is high compared with the national average of 3.6 per cent.

Of the three main socio-demographic measures, the greatest variance between the nine areas was found in ethnic origin (see Table B.4, Appendix B). In two areas the systems were installed in predominantly White areas where less than four per cent of the population is non-White. However, in other areas there was a large non-White population, (37% - 58%), two are located in a London borough where there is a high Black population, and the third in a predominantly Asian area of a city. On average, across all the target areas, 23 per cent of the residential sample was non-White, and this is considerably higher than the national average of nine per cent (National Statistics, 2001).

Having described the characteristics of both the residential areas and the respondents living in those areas, attention turns to characteristics which could be impacted upon by the installation of CCTV, in order to provide a benchmark against which to measure change in the future.

Quality of life

The reported quality of life of individuals living in the survey areas was mixed. Respondents were asked to rate their quality of life over the last year using a five-point scale from 'very bad' to 'very good'. The majority rated their quality of life fairly/very good (59%), with 19 per cent rating their quality of life fairly/very bad (See Table B.5, Appendix B). A third of the total sample said their residential area was 'not a pleasant place to live'.

Respondents were then asked to specify the kinds of good and bad things that had been affecting their quality of life in an open question. Only two types of responses were mentioned by more than ten per cent of the respondents: 'crime problems' (17%) and 'youths and anti-social behaviour' (12%). When a similar question required respondents to specify 'the bad things about living on the estate'; the two highest responses were also crime–related issues: criminal damage/vandalism (38%) and problems with youths (40%). A number of other commonly mentioned responses included the following: problem families (19%), poorly kept area (18%), drug problems (16%), poor facilities (12%) and young drivers/motorbikers (11%).

Despite the crime problems and anti-social behaviour, the areas experienced a reasonably highly level of social cohesion. The 'good things' people mentioned about the areas fell into three broad categories: local amenities (60%), community (40%) and feel of the area (26%).

Reported victimisation

Respondents were asked whether they had been a victim of crime and anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhoods during the twelve months preceding their interview. Table 3.3 illustrates the different incident types about which information was requested. The various 'harassment' categories represent the types of anti-social behaviour problems experienced by individuals and are those that the prospective CCTV systems might feasibly address. However, these categories were not mutually exclusive and for analytical ease they have been combined to form a generic measure of 'harassment'. The table also provides figures, where comparable, from the British Crime Survey 2001/02 (Simmons and Dodd 2003).

Table 3.3: Reported victimisation in the last twelve months

	Residential survey respondents victimised in the previous 12 months (%,n)	% of British Crime Survey respondents victimised in the previous 12 months
Property crime		
Car stolen/broken into[10]	17.7 (290)	11.0
Burgled	5.1 (140)	4.0
Property damaged vandalised	11.8 (324)	8.0
Total property crime	**22.2 (611)**	No comparison
Personal crime		
Attacked/harassed skin colour/ethnicity	1.5 (42)	No comparison
Harassed by groups of young people	8.1 (223)	No comparison
Harassed by drunken, disorderly people	2.8 (77)	No comparison
Harassed by people dealing with drugs	2.8 (77)	No comparison
Pestered/ insulted/ harassed	11.3 (312)	15.0 (BCS, 2000)
Any harassment total	16.2 (446)	No comparison
Assaulted	2.1 (58)	} 5.5
Robbed	2.4 (66)	
Total personal crime	**18.8 (517)**	
Total victimised	**32.4 (892)**	

Overall, 32 per cent of the sample reported suffering from at least one of the ten categories of crime or anti-social behaviour during the previous twelve months. A high proportion of respondents suffered from vehicle crime and vandalism to property. However, harassment was one of the most prevalent forms of victimisation mentioned, accounting for half of all the incidents reported. It is however, one of the most subjective forms of victimisation. Whilst there is no doubting the detrimental effect various forms of harassment can have on the lives and behaviour of residents, experiences of harassment are dependent on an individual's own perceptions and sensitivity.

The level of reported victimisation was relatively consistent across areas (see Table B.6, Appendix B). Only two areas showed a rate of less than 30 per cent. Both of these reported a lower level of criminal damage and harassment, but none of the differences were large.

Comparisons of total reported crime figures with the British Crime Survey can be seen from Table 3.3. These show that the reported experience of property crime was higher in the current study than that reported by the BCS, with the largest difference evident in relation to car crime. However, these differences were not as high as might have been expected given that the areas under evaluation were selected as high–crime areas.

Comparisons of reported personal victimisation with BCS figures can be made with only one of the individual crime categories: those who report being '*pestered, insulted, and harassed*'. A higher proportion of BCS respondents suffered this type of incident than in the current

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[10] This figure refers to the percentage of the subset of respondents who own a vehicle.

study: 15 per cent compared to 11 per cent. Direct comparisons of other personal crimes such as assault and robbery are ambiguous because of different definitions used in each survey, but there is broad indication of comparability.

Repeat victimisation

A high proportion of victims reported suffering repeatedly. Of those who had reported some form of victimisation in the previous year, 68 per cent had been victimised more than once. A significant proportion (12%) had been victimised eleven times or more. The rate of repeat victimisation varied across crime categories from 41 per cent for harassment to 21 per cent for property crime. In comparison two thirds (65%) of the BCS respondents reported being insulted, pestered or harassed twice or more.

There was a significant overlap in types of repeat victimisation. Approximately eight per cent of the sample reported suffering both personal and property crime. Thirty-five per cent of those who had suffered property crime also suffered some type of harassment, while 48 per cent of those who suffered harassment also had their property stolen or vandalised. This is consistent with previous studies; Mirlees-Black *et al.,* (1998) found that localities with an increased risk of personal crime are also at a higher risk of property crime.

Socio-demographic characteristics and victimisation

The level of reported victimisation was influenced by certain socio-demographic characteristics. Table 3.4 indicates the rate of victimisation across key social demographic factors for all crimes, property crimes and harassment.

Overall, a larger proportion of female respondents than males reported being victimised, but this was statistically significant only for experiences of harassment. The relationship was found in all areas except for Southcap Estate, where males were more likely to report being victims of crimes than females. This area has a national reputation for street crime, including gun and drug-related activities. For all crimes, the 25-44 age group were the most likely to report being victimised while the over 65s reported the least victimisation.

When ethnicity was considered, while Whites reported being victimised more than non-Whites, this was not significant. However, three of the areas had a much higher proportion of non-White respondents, and when these areas were analysed independently the differences between groups were significant in two areas. One had a high proportion of Black and the other a high proportion of Pakistani respondents. In these two areas White respondents were significantly more likely to report being the victims of harassment than non-White interviewees.

The relationship between socio-demographic characteristics and reported victimisation supports the findings of previous surveys. Bennett and Gelsthorpe (1996) found that females were more likely to report being victimised than males (31% compared to 22%), the only statistically significant difference being in terms of specific types of crime, such that females were more likely to report being insulted or bothered by people. Similarly, Bennett and Gelsthorpe found that young people reported significantly higher levels of victimisation than older people (32% compared to 17%), and that Whites also reported a higher level of victimisation than non-Whites (25% compared to 22%), although this difference was not significant.

Table 3.4: Reported victimisation by socio-demographic factors

Characteristic	Those victimised – any crime (%,n)	Those victimised – harassment (%,n)	Those victimised – property crime (%,n)
Gender			
Male	31.4 (366)	14.5 (169)	22.0 (257)
Female	33.2 (526)	17.5 (277)	22.3 (354)
		(*)	
Age			
16-24	31.7 (113)	16.5 (59)	20.4 (73)
25-44	38.8 (445)	20.8 (239)	27.8 (319)
45-64	33.6 (216)	15.4 (99)	22.4 (144)
65+	19.1 (103)	7.4 (40)	12.8 (69)
	(**)	(**)	(**)
Ethnicity			
White	33.2 (702)	17.0 (358)	22.8 (482)
non-White	29.6 (185)	13.9 (87)	20.0 (125)
Employment status of respondent			
Full–time	35.1 (261)	15.6 (116)	26.9 (200)
Part–time	32.4 (102)	15.9 (50)	24.1 (76)
Self–employed	52.2[11] (24)	26.1 (12)	43.5 (20)
Unemployed	34.6 (90)	20.4 (53)	19.2 (50)
Retired	20.5 (124)	8.7 (53)	13.7 (83)
Student	34.7 (41)	19.5 (23)	22.0 (26)
Domestic worker	36.0 (165)	20.7 (95)	21.6 (99)
Disabled	42.9 (72)	22.6 (38)	28.6 (48)
Other	34.8 (8)	17.4 (4)	26.1 (6)
	(**)	(**)	(**)
Tenure			
Rent LA	29.2 (323)	14.9 (165)	18.5 (205)
Rent HA	34.2 (274)	17.5 (140)	24.3 (195)
Rent privately	33.8 (44)	24.6 (32)	15.4 (20)
Owned	35.2 (238)	14.8 (100)	26.9 (182)
Other	48.0 (12)	32.0 (8)	36.0 (9)
	(**)	(**)	(**)

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[11] Although this appears to be a high percentage, the numbers concerned were too small for this percentage to be statistically reliable. However, this value does not impact upon the statistical significance found and reported for employment status.

Table 3.4: cont. Reported victimisation by socio-demographic factors

Length of residence					
< 1 year	26.1 (84)	14.9	(48)	14.6	(47)
1 or 2 years	35.5 (154)	18.4	(80)	22.8	(99)
3 or 4 years	34.6 (123)	19.7	(70)	25.0	(89)
5 years and over	32.4 (531)	15.1	(248)	22.9	(376)
	(*)			(**)	

* Significant at .05
** Significant at .01

Housing type and tenure, and length of residence

The tenure, type and length of residence in the property were all related to reported victimisation. Owner-occupiers were the most likely to report being victimised, but the least likely to report any type of harassment. Conversely, whilst a greater proportion of private renters reported being harassed, their likelihood of reporting a property crime was significantly lower than other categories. The latter findings supports that of the BCS (Budd and Sims, 2001), which reported that private renters were more likely to report being pestered, insulted, or harassed than owner–occupiers and social renters. Twenty four per cent of private renters reported harassment, while only 13 per cent of property owners suffered these problems.

Although the number of respondents occupying detached properties was relatively small, their likelihood of suffering any crime was considerably less than respondents in other categories, while households in end-terraced properties suffered the most property crime proportionally.

Perceptions of crime and disorder

One of the principal aims of CCTV projects is to reduce the fear of crime. It is therefore imperative to gain an understanding of this fear prior to cameras being introduced. Both 'worry about crime' and 'feelings of safety' have been used in measurements in the current study.

Worry about crime

Respondents were asked the extent to which they worried about themselves or other household members being victims of crime in the areas covered by the cameras. They were given a five-point scale, ranging from 'worry all the time' to 'never worry', on which to rate their feelings. Nineteen per cent of the sample said they never worried, while almost 12 per cent indicated they were constantly worried. The largest group were those who sometimes worried, which is the midpoint on the scale and accounts for 30 per cent of respondents.

For ease of interpretation the categories have been collapsed such that respondents who suggested they worried 'all the time' or 'often' were combined to form the group 'worried about being a victim of crime' in the areas covered by the CCTV. Table 3.5 indicates that around a third of the sample said they worried about crime, and this was fairly consistent across the nine target areas, varying between 27 per cent and 35 per cent (see Table B.6, Appendix B).

Similarly, Lewis and Salem (1986) found that 30 per cent of their residential sample reported fear of crime. The comparisons should be treated with caution, however. The study provides no information on precisely how this was measured or indeed the wording of the question. As there are a number of catalogued difficulties with the measurement of fear of crime (Hale 1996, Farrall 1997, Stanko 1987, Young 1988, etc.), it is difficult to make authoritative comparisons between studies.

Table 3.5. Worry about becoming a victim of crime by socio-demographic factors

|	Those worried about crime (%,n)
All (n=2451)	32.1 (786)
Gender	
Male	25.9 (276)
Female	36.8 (510) (**)
Age	
16-24	30.2 (98)
25-44	35.7 (357)
45-64	31.6 (186)
65+	25.9 (124) (**)
Ethnicity	
White	32.6 (595)
Non-White	30.8 (189)
Tenure	
Rent LA	35.9 (285)
Rent HA	31.7 (278)
Rent privately	27.9 (34)
Owned	28.6 (179) (*)
Length of residence	
< 1 year	21.1 (60)
1 or 2 years	32.0 (121)
3 or 4 years	37.7 (121)
5 years and over	33.0 (484) (**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

There is no surprise in finding that, overall, females worry more than males (Hale, 1996). However, this relationship is not shown in Southcap Estate where males are significantly more likely to be report harassment. Older respondents were the least likely to be concerned that they or a member of their household would become a victim of crime, and this age group was less likely to report being victimised. Previous levels of reported victimisation were related to worry about crime, as indicated in Figure 3.1. Overall, 50 per cent of those who had been the victim of any crime in the 12 months before interview worried about being victimised again, compared with 23 per cent of those who had no previous experience of victimisation. When broken down by crime type, a greater proportion of those who had already reported suffering harassment in the previous year (60%) were worried about becoming a victim than those who had reported a property crime (49%). In this study, therefore, personal crimes influenced respondents' fear of crime more than property crime. There was no statistically significant difference between White and non-White respondents and their worry about victimisation.

In housing terms, worry about crime is more common among those renting from the local authority.

Those who had recently moved into their property were the least worried group. This is consistent given that those who have recently moved in were least likely to report being victimised within the target area.

Figure 3.1: Worry about becoming a victim of crime by previous reported victimisation
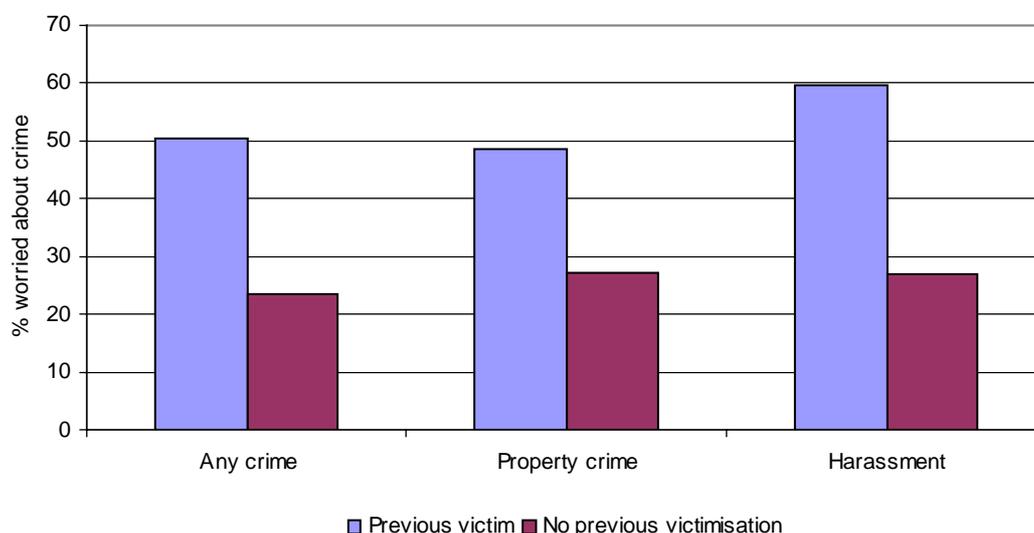
Feelings of safety

In addition to worry about victimisation, respondents were asked a series of three questions about feelings of safety. They were asked to state on a five-point scale how safe they felt living in their locality. Similarly, there were asked how safe they felt being alone in their home during the day, and again at night. Table 3.6 provides details of their response broken down by a range of individual and household characteristics.

Approximately 70 per cent of the combined sample reported feeling either very or fairly safe in and around the area in which they lived. However, in two of the target areas the proportion of respondents who felt safe was considerably lower (58% and 62%; see Table B.6, Appendix B). In both cases assault and robbery were more likely to be perceived as problems than in the other areas surveyed. Moreover, seven per cent of the respondents across categories *did not* feel safe in their own homes during the day. This is similar to the proportion in the British Crime Survey 2001 (Simmons and Dodd 2003) where six per cent reported feeling a bit or very unsafe. This could of course be attributed to a number of characteristics unassociated with crime.

Table 3.6: Feelings of safety by socio-demographic factors

	Feeling safe in the area (%,n)	Feeling safe alone during day (%,n)	Feeling safe alone during night (%,n)
All	69.7 (1911)	89.4 (2438)	79.3 (2151)
Gender			
Male	73.9 (858)	91.1 (1051)	84.9 (979)
Female	66.6 (1053) (**)	88.2 (1387) (*)	75.2 (1172) (**)
Ethnicity			
White	68.9 (1450)	88.9 (1860)	78.2 (2246)
non-White	72.7 (453)	91.0 (564)	83.4 (513) (*)
Tenure			
Rent LA	67.2 (537)	88.5 (703)	77.9 (613)
Rent HA	70.3 (777)	88.7 (973)	78.6 (857)
Rent privately	58.9 (76)	89.1 (114)	70.5 (91)
Owned	73.4 (495) (**)	91.8 (617)	84.0 (558) (**)
Length of residence			
< 1 year	73.7	90.5	83.3
1 or 2 years	67.4	87.4	76.2
3 or 4 years	65.4	85.8	74.3
5 years and over	70.5	90.5	80.5 (**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Socio-demographic characteristics

Once again men were more likely to report feeling safe and this was statistically significant on all questions asked. Again, this was true of all areas except Southcap Estate, where males suffered a significantly higher rate of harassment, which in turn is related to worry about crime. Differences based on ethnicity were not great, save that non-Whites felt safer alone at night. However, in two of the residential areas with a high proportion of Black or Asian respondents, White respondents reported feeling significantly less safe than non-White respondents. Those in privately rented accommodation felt less safe in the locality, and at home at night, and owner-occupiers were likely to feel the safest. Length of residence was not a good indicator of perceptions of safety. Contrary to earlier research (Simmons and Dodd, 2003) neither was age related to feelings of safety.

Reported victimisation

As Figure 3.2 shows, those who reported being victims of any crime in the preceding twelve months tended to feel less safe than those not reporting victimisation. Overall, 62 per cent of respondents reporting victimisation within the previous twelve months indicated that they felt safe compared with 86 per cent of those who did not do so.

Figure 3.2: Feelings of safety in the area by previous reported victimisation
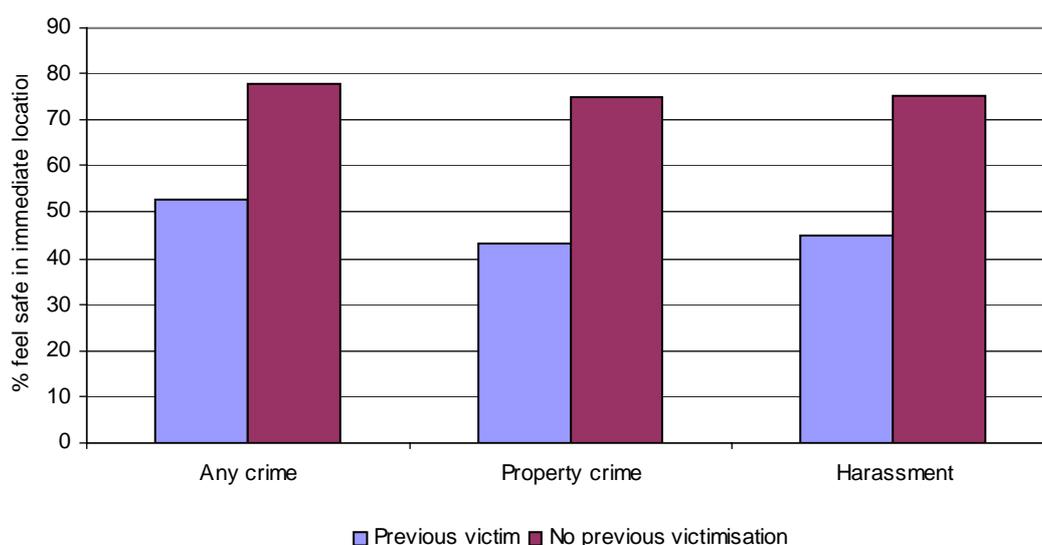
Respondents who rented their accommodation from a private landlord were the least likely to feel safe in either their immediate locality or alone in their own home at night. Private renters did not report suffering a higher level of victimisation compared to other tenure groups, but did report significantly (p<.05) higher levels of harassment. These support the findings of earlier studies (Budd and Sims 2001).

Perceptions of crime and disorder

Respondents were required to indicate how much of a problem particular crimes and anti-social events were in their locality. These are shown in Table 3.7. Similar figures have been inserted from the British Crime Survey where available (Simmons and Dodd 2003). Within the British Crime Survey, three aspects (groups of young people hanging around the streets; people damaging or vandalising property, people using or dealing in drugs) have been used as perceived measures of disorder in their area. It can be seen that the perceptions of these three characteristics as a problem are far higher in this study than those found in the British Crime Survey.

Table 3.7: Perception of problems

Perceived Problem	Those perceiving this to be a problem (%,n)	British Crime Survey Figures
Groups of young people hanging around the street	67% (1805)	33%
People stealing or breaking into cars	67% (1690)	N/C
People damaging or vandalising property	67% (1749)	35%
People using or dealing in drugs	55% (1193)	32%
People being burgled	50% (1215)	N/C
People being pestered, insulted or harassed	41% (1041)	N/C
People being robbed or mugged	41% (982)	N/C
People being assaulted	37% (901)	N/C
Drunken disorderly people	34% (843)	N/C
People being attacked or harassed because of their skin colour	22% (493)	8%

N/C: No comparison available.

Two-thirds of the respondents thought that groups of young people hanging around the street, people stealing or breaking into cars, and people damaging or vandalising property were a problem, and just over a half thought that people using or dealing in drugs was a problem.

Those living in flats were more likely to perceive the majority of these issues as a problem. In the sample as a whole, while White respondents were more likely to think that property–related crimes were a problem, non-White respondents perceived personal crimes and harassment as a problem.

There are a number of explanations for the high level of perceived problems. First, female respondents were more likely to perceive these aspects as a problem than males and they were over-represented in the survey sample. Second, these characteristics are reported most by those living in local authorities or housing associations (Budd and Sims 2001) and this is where a large proportion of the respondents in the current study were living. Moreover, the surveys were mostly conducted in relatively deprived areas.

Respondents' avoidance behaviour

At the same time as reducing the fear of crime, the installation of CCTV may also impact on residents' behaviour, and in particular it may allow certain 'no go areas' to be reclaimed by the local population. To establish whether there were any such areas prior to the introduction of the CCTV systems, respondents were asked: 'are there certain places on the estate you avoid'. The respondents were then asked to specify the location of these areas and a written description was obtained. Subsequently the respondents were presented with a map of the target area and again asked to indicate the areas they avoided; grid references of the areas highlighted were noted. These questions were repeated for both daylight hours and after dark.

In an attempt to gauge the effect CCTV might have on the behaviour of local residents, survey participants were also invited to specify if there were any locations they would start going to or stop going to following the installation of CCTV cameras.

Percentage avoiding particular areas

Table 3.8 indicates the proportion of respondents who avoided particular places within the target area and highlights that a considerably larger number avoided places after dark than in daylight. Overall, 21 per cent of respondents stated that they avoided specific areas in daylight, and this proportion varied across the nine target areas from a tenth to one third. All of the target areas had at least one location that was a 'no-go area' to some individuals at all times of the day and these exhibited a number of common and anticipated characteristics; particularly back alleys and parkland. Additionally, each CCTV area contained at least one discrete area consisting of a number of streets that had an especially poor reputation.

Table 3.8: Avoidance behaviour within target area by socio-demographic factors

Characteristic	Avoidance during daylight (%,n)	Avoidance after dark (%,n)
All	21.1 (582)	53.7 (1477)
Gender		
Male	17.6 (205)	42.2 (493)
Female	23.8 (377)	62.2 (984)
	(**)	(**)
Ethnicity		
White	21.8 (461)	55.0 (1160)
Non-White	19.2 (120)	49.5 (310)
		(*)
Victimisation experience		
Previous victim	30.3 (270)	69.6 (621)
No previous experience	16.8 (312)	46.1 (856)
	(**)	(**)
Worry about crime		
Yes	34.4 (270)	75.3 (592)
No	12.7 (211)	43.6 (726)
	(**)	(**)
Feel safe in local area		
Yes	14.0 (268)	43.9 (838)
No	43.0 (230)	82.1 (439)
	(**)	(**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Over half the sample avoided areas around their home after dark, although the proportions ranged from 28 per cent to 72 per cent across the target areas (see Table B.6, Appendix B). The lowest avoidance level was in a small residential area consisting of one block of flats, which would be difficult for residents to avoid. In contrast, the 72 per cent avoidance rate was recorded in an area that includes both a park of local notoriety, and a street that is renowned for drug problems and prostitution.

In order to assess how CCTV might change individuals' behaviour, the driving force behind this behaviour must be identified. Levels of avoidance of particular areas were examined in relation to a number of different factors such as the characteristics of the respondent, previous levels of victimisation and fear of crime.

Female respondents were more likely to avoid certain areas and this was particularly the case during the hours of darkness when 62 per cent of females compared with 42 per cent of males avoided certain areas. Again this relationship was found in all areas except for Southcap Estate, where males were more likely to avoid places at night than females, although this is not statistically significant. Although there was no statistically significant impact of age on avoidance behaviour, individuals under 24 were the least likely to avoid certain areas while the over 65s were the most likely. During daylight hours, no difference

was detectable between the White and non-White samples whereas after dark the difference between the two groups was statistically significant with the White respondents more inclined to avoid certain areas.

The impact of previous reported victimisation was very marked on the stated level of avoidance; those who reported being victimised within the previous twelve months were considerably more likely to avoid particular areas both in daylight and after dark. When examined by type of crime, those who reported suffering any type of harassment were more likely to avoid areas after dark than those who reported suffering a property crime (77% compared with 68%). This finding can be partially explained by the fact that females were more likely to report having suffered from any type of harassment and were more likely to avoid areas after dark.

Unsurprisingly, individuals who did not feel safe in their local area were the most likely to avoid areas, with 43 per cent and 82 per cent of those feeling unsafe avoiding certain areas in daylight and after dark respectively. Similarly, those who worried about crime were also more likely to avoid particular areas, although not to such an extent as those who felt unsafe. Interestingly, 44 per cent of respondents who *did not* worry about being a victim of crime still avoided particular areas after dark and 62 per cent of these were female. Although a relatively high proportion of those avoiding areas were in employment (38%) 28 per cent were fully retired.

Reasons for avoidance

Individuals who avoided certain areas in daylight or after dark were asked to explain why they did so. Each respondent was permitted to give numerous reasons but was also requested to specify the main factor that determined their behaviour; Figure 3.3 illustrates the main reasons most often reported and the percentage of those who report each reason.

Figure 3.3: Main reason for avoiding certain locations in daylight and after dark
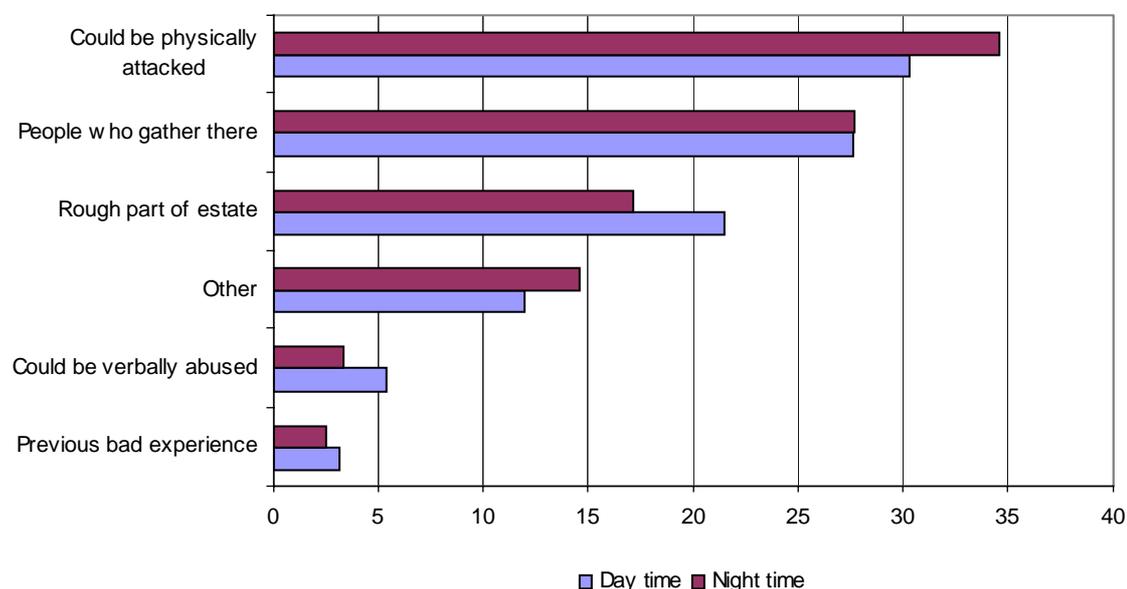
There was a strong relationship between the responses given in relation to avoidance in daylight and those who avoided areas after dark, and the fear of being physically attacked was the most commonly reported in both situations. Approximately 60 per cent of those who avoided certain areas either in daylight or after dark mentioned physical attack as one of their reasons. However, the risk of being attacked appears to be relatively low; five per cent of the sample report being assaulted or robbed. Understandably, individuals appear to take greater account of violent crime in their risk assessment as to whether or not they visit particular places (see Pain 2000). More importantly, respondents base this risk not on experience but on an internal fear of being attacked.

In Figure 3.3, the category 'people who gather there' includes five separate groups, including vandals and troublemakers, people using or dealing in drugs, young people, drunken disorderly people, and people who gather there generally. This category could be said to refer to those who have been identified as the 'criminal other' in criminological literature (Crawford 1995), that is those who tend to be outside the boundary of the local 'community'. These are also groups which could, theoretically, be influenced by the installation of CCTV.

Another main reason for avoiding particular areas was because the areas concerned were a 'rough part of the estate'. This is attributable to the area's reputation and is unlikely to be changed quickly.

Would the installation of CCTV change avoidance behaviour?

Changes in actual avoidance behaviour as a result of the installation of CCTV can be measured only once the responses from post-implementation surveys are available. However, the current survey does offer the opportunity of analysing residents' expected response to the installation of cameras in their area; this expected outcome can also be measured against the actual response at a later stage, giving an indication of whether individuals over- or under-estimate the impact CCTV will have on their behaviour patterns.

Each respondent was asked if they would go to places that they do not currently if CCTV were installed, and overall 15 per cent said they would. When only those who avoided certain locations in daylight were included, the expected rate of re–use was 30 per cent, compared with 25 per cent for those who currently avoid places after dark. Unsurprisingly, 95 per cent of those who avoided places during in daylight also avoided places after dark.

When the subgroups who currently avoided places were analysed it was found that those who agreed that they would go to new places if CCTV were installed were more likely to be aged over 65. They were also more likely report having been victimised. For avoidance both in daylight and after dark there is a difference of approximately ten percentage points between those who reported having been victimised and those who did not.

The level of fear of crime was higher amongst those who avoided areas and stated that they would visit new areas if CCTV were installed. Thirty per cent of those who worry about crime and who avoided areas in daylight stated that they would revisit areas compared with 23 per cent of those who did not worry.

Interestingly, males who avoided places after dark were more likely to say that they would visit new places if CCTV were installed. Twenty–nine per cent of this subgroup agreed with this statement compared with only 22 per cent of females who avoided areas in the dark.

Therefore, where females are more likely to worry about crime and to avoid areas as a matter of course, males could be marginally more likely to change their behaviour after dark once CCTV is installed. However, this should be treated with caution, as the subgroup is relatively small. Furthermore, this is an indicator of intention. Whether this happens in practice will emerge from the post-implementation survey.

In addition, a significant subset (one third) of the individuals in these residential areas who currently avoid areas and who report either experiencing fear of crime or victimisation look to the CCTV system to reduce the areas that they would need to avoid.

Summary

The chapter described the characteristics, perceptions and experiences of those who live in the areas in which CCTV is being installed. The areas were small in size, covering up to two square miles, and in all but one case comprised between 300 to 1600 properties, and were generally identified as needing CCTV because they were crime hotspots. The number of people living in social housing and who were unemployed was well above the national average, and the areas were relatively deprived. Despite this, crime levels were not very high, although harassment was a major problem and much higher than was the case nationally.

There are certainly a range of issues that need to be tackled and the communities were hopeful that CCTV could make a major contribution, and they provide a good benchmark against which CCTV can be judged once post implementation surveys are complete. The main findings are listed below.

Quality of life

- A third of the sample said their area was "not a pleasant place to live" and crime problems and problems with youths were most frequently mentioned as concerns in the area.

Victimisation

- Thirty-two per cent of the sample reported suffering at least one of ten categories of crime or anti-social behaviour and 68 per cent reported being victimised more than once. Harassment accounted for about half of all types of victimisation reported. Vandalism and vehicle crime were also prominent. While property crimes were higher than comparable BCS figures, this was not the case for rates of personal victimisation.

- Proportionally more females than males reported being victimised within the previous twelve months, but this was only statistically significant for harassment. Those aged 25-44 reported the most victimisation and those aged over 65 the least. For the areas with a large non-White population, Whites were significantly more likely than non-Whites to report being victims.

- Owner–occupiers were the most likely to report having been victimised and the least likely to report any type of harassment. Private renters by comparison were more likely to report having been harassed in some way and less likely to report suffering property crime.

Fear of crime

- Women worried about being a victim of crime more than men, and older people were less likely to worry than the young. In the three areas with large non-White populations, Whites were significantly more likely to worry. However, this could be attributed to the relatively high rate of reported victimisation amongst the White population.

- Previous experience of victimisation was central. Fifty per cent of those reporting victimisation within the previous twelve months compared to 23 per cent of those not reporting victimisation worried about crime and this was especially noticeable for those who reported harassment.

- About 30 per cent did not feel safe in their area when out and about and seven per cent did not feel safe in their homes.

- Men were more likely to report feeling safe than women.

- Where owner-occupiers felt the most safe, private renters felt the least.

- Those reporting being victimised were less likely to feel safe than the non-victimised.

- Groups of people hanging around and people damaging property were twice as likely to be mentioned as problems in the target areas than the levels reported in the BCS. Where Whites felt property crimes were a problem, non-Whites focused on personal crimes and harassment more often.

Avoidance of areas

- Over a fifth of respondents said they would avoid specific parts of their residential area in daylight and over a half after dark.

- Avoidance behaviour was more common for women, and after dark Whites were significantly more likely than non-Whites to avoid certain areas.

- Those reporting being victimised were more likely to avoid certain areas in daylight and after dark; so too were those who felt unsafe and to a lesser extent those who worried about crime. These were all statistically significant.

- The main reasons for avoidance were the fear of being attacked, because of people who gather there, because viewed as a rough part of the estate.

- Overall, 15 per cent said they would go to places they currently avoided once CCTV was installed. Of those who actually avoided places in daylight 30 per cent said that they would go to places once CCTV were installed. Of those who avoid places after dark, 25 per cent said that they would go to new places if CCTV were installed and more males than females stated that they will do so.

4. Residential areas   (2) Attitudes to CCTV

Chapter 3 described what impact CCTV could have on respondents' experience of crime, fear of crime, and patterns of avoiding particular residential areas. The following section describes residential respondents' attitudes towards CCTV, their perceptions of the impact of CCTV and their knowledge of how CCTV works, and the perceived capacity of CCTV to address specific crime-related issues. Where appropriate it will examine the extent to which these are influenced by personal experiences of crime and fear of crime.

Support for CCTV

One of the principal aims of the study was to measure the level of support for the installation of CCTV cameras in residential areas amongst those individuals with no prior knowledge and experience of CCTV in their area. Consequently, respondents who believed (rightly or wrongly) that CCTV cameras were already operating in their area were excluded from the following analysis. The remaining respondents were asked how they would feel if a new CCTV system were installed in the area, and their response was measured on a scale ranging from 'very happy' to 'very unhappy'. Eighty two per cent of the respondents reported being happy with CCTV being installed in their residential area, while just four per cent declared being unhappy and 14 per cent were neither happy nor unhappy.

Overall, the reported level of support for the installation of a new CCTV system was high, with almost 82 per cent of respondents either very happy (57.3%) or fairly happy (24.4%) with the prospect. This was consistent across all residential areas, as the proportion of respondents in support of CCTV varied from 77 per cent to 86 per cent (see Table B.6, Appendix B). There is no apparent relationship between the level of support and publicity about CCTV at about the time of the survey. There were relatively few individuals who suggested they would be unhappy if cameras were installed (just 4%), although considerably more expressed ambivalence towards the suggestion of a CCTV system in their locality (14%).

The levels of support recorded here are slightly lower than the general level of 90 per cent of support quoted by Ditton (2000) but considerably higher than the 64 per cent recorded by Bennett and Gelsthorpe (1996). The high level of support measured here might be explained by question order (Ditton 1999) since within this survey questions related to support for CCTV followed contextual questions about levels of crime in the area.[12] More feasibly, in order for CCTV bids to be successful, partnerships had to demonstrate public support for the proposed system. However, the rates of public support for similar systems to those found in the town and city centre samples, which ranged between 77 per cent and 83 per cent in the city centres and 96 per cent in the town centre (see above).

This high level of support and extremely low level of objection to CCTV has implications for statistical analysis. A statistically significant relationship was found between level of support for CCTV and reported victimisation ($p<.01$), and level of support for CCTV and feelings of safety ($p<.05$). As the subgroup of individuals not in support of CCTV is only 93, these statistically significant relationships between level of support for CCTV and other indicators represent very small absolute differences between the groups. Statistical differences between the groups may therefore not be very informative.

Those 93 respondents not in support of CCTV tend to be female (54%) and are likely to be middle-aged (65% are between 25 and 64); non-Whites represent a smaller proportion (18%) of this group than in the general sample. When compared with the socio-demographic characteristics of those happy with CCTV, the only aspect where there is an important difference is gender. The proportion of females who were happy with CCTV is seven percentage points higher than those who were not (61% compared with 54%).

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[12] The pre- and post-implementation surveys asked questions about fear of crime, victimisation and levels of avoidance first to ensure that no priming effect occurred and so that accurate measurements of these items were obtained.

How CCTV works

Next, the level of understanding about the capabilities of CCTV cameras was measured. Respondents were asked to state whether or not they agreed with the same series of statements as asked of the town and city centre survey respondents. To reiterate, these statements were designed to test their knowledge of the clarity, quality and full manipulability of possible pictures, and included assertions such as, 'CCTV can zoom to extreme close-up', 'cameras can take pictures in the dark' and 'cameras can send an alarm signal when they are vandalised or the picture interrupted'. Table 4.1 outlines the proportion of respondents who agreed and disagreed with each statement.

Table 4.1: Level of belief in CCTV's capabilities.

	Yes (%,n)	No (%,n)	Don't Know (%,n)
CCTV can…			
... zoom to extreme close-up view	62.2 (1546)	12.9 (322)	24.9 (619)
... take colour pictures	43.5 (1082)	23.4 (581)	33.1 (824)
... be hidden	66.3 (1649)	19.3 (479)	14.4 (359)
... take pictures in the dark	80.7 (2008)	5.3 (131)	14.0 (348)
... take still photographs	71.9 (1788)	5.7 (141)	22.4 (558)
... take real-time film	66.0 (1642)	3.9 (98)	30.0 (747)
... take very clear, good quality pictures	54.3 (1350)	24.8 (617)	20.9 (520)
... be activated to track somebody moving in front of them	61.8 (1538)	8.8 (218)	29.4 (731)
… is watched all the time	37.3 (927)	37.9 (942)	24.8 (618)
... send an alarm signal if vandalised or picture interrupted	47.0 (1169)	13.9 (346)	39.1 (972)
... see through people's drawn curtains if lights are on inside	9.9 (245)	69.4 (1725)	20.8 (517)

As mentioned previously, the CCTV systems under evaluation could potentially have all the characteristics listed, except 'CCTV can see through people's closed curtains'. This was inserted to test general awareness of the abilities of CCTV, and whether respondents were answering in an informed manner. Overall, respondents appeared not to be fooled by this question, with only ten per cent responding that they thought the cameras could see through closed curtains, although a further 21 per cent 'did not know'.

The extent of perceived knowledge of the capabilities of CCTV was mixed. When the total number of positive responses was calculated for each respondent, excluding the dummy response that CCTV could 'see through people's curtains if the light was on inside', 30 per cent of the respondents thought that the cameras had more than eight of the capabilities listed; conversely the same percentage thought that CCTV had none or one of these characteristics.

Knowledge that CCTV had a particular capability varied between 37 per cent and 81 per cent, but between 14 per cent and 39 per cent did not know whether or not CCTV had these characteristics.

Respondents were uncertain about the following aspects: that 'CCTV can take colour photographs' and 'CCTV can take very clear, good quality pictures', with less than 44 per cent and 54 per cent agreeing with these statements respectively. Conversely, between 20 per cent and 40 per cent of respondents were certain that CCTV did *not* take good quality or colour pictures with a further third of respondents indicating they 'did not know'. These are generally features of the most up–to–date systems that respondents would not necessarily

have seen in the media. Many members of the public will base their knowledge on what CCTV systems are capable of on footage shown on television.[13,14] In many cases this footage is from private systems, which are very often lacking in quality compared with public systems, producing black and white, blurry images. These could still be influencing the opinions of a significant proportion of the population and sending out a number of confusing messages as to the quality of CCTV footage. In particular, if offenders are confused as to what CCTV can do then they are less likely to comprehend it as a threat.

There was no relationship between the total number of positive responses to these statements (excluding the dummy response) and support for CCTV. Therefore, respondents support CCTV irrespective of what they believe it can do.

Civil liberties

Having examined respondents' knowledge of CCTV, this section will consider their opinions of it. The first issue is the perceived threat to civil liberties. Unlike the introduction of CCTV cameras in obviously public spaces, such as shopping areas or car parks, their installation in residential areas raises a number of questions as to how they are viewed by local residents who live in the area as opposed to visiting it for short periods of time.

Invasion of privacy

The extent to which CCTV is perceived to be an invasion of privacy may influence the degree to which residents support such systems. Around 17 per cent of all respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the introduction of CCTV would be an invasion of people's privacy, and this proportion varied between 12 per cent and 23 per cent across the nine target areas.

The figures are considerably lower than those previously reported for town and city centres. Honess and Charman (1992) reported that 36 per cent of their respective samples were concerned about invasion of privacy. In the decade following this paper, it is likely that public awareness and acceptance of CCTV has increased, both because of familiarity with cameras in towns and cities and the perceived success of CCTV in identifying some offenders (e.g., murderers of James Bulger and the Brixton nail bomber). This study's figures are similar to a study (Dixon et. al. unpublished), which found that 21 per cent were concerned with invasion of privacy in a town centre.

There are a number of possible explanations for the similarity, given that residential areas are not 'public space' in the same way as city centres. The areas in which the systems are installed tend to be highly localised. In most areas respondents have been consulted or informed about the proposed CCTV system prior to its installation. As was mentioned above, bids had to show evidence of this consultation process and to demonstrate support among residents. Of those supporting CCTV, 11 per cent felt that it was an invasion of privacy.

As in the case of support for CCTV, given that there is a low number of people expressing the view that CCTV invades privacy, similar arguments apply to the comparison of these groups with other variables. Statistical differences can be found, though they do not correspond to large numbers of people in the sample.

The belief that CCTV is an invasion of privacy is influenced by the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent. Previous studies have found that younger men are more likely to feel that CCTV is an invasion of privacy (Ditton 2000: p700) and this relationship holds for the current study. Nearly 19 per cent of male respondents expressed this view compared with 15 per cent of females. Within the current study females were over-represented in the sample and this may be one factor that accounts for the low overall concern about civil liberties within this sample population compared to the other studies cited above. The under 25s were the most likely to believe CCTV was an invasion of privacy

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[13] Programmes frequently show the worst images; these are the ones with which the police need the most help. This is less necessary when the images are good.
[14] Certainly this has influenced offenders' views (see Gill (2000); Gill and Loveday (2003).

(18.9%) and the over 65s the least likely (13.1%). The difference between the White/non-White ethnic groups was also statistically significant, with non-White respondents more likely to agree that CCTV was an invasion of privacy; 22 per cent compared with 15 per cent of the White sub-sample stated the same.

Although having been a victim of crime did not significantly alter individuals' views on CCTV and privacy, fear of crime and believing crime to be a problem in the area did impact on such perceptions, although these were also small differences in absolute terms (see Table 4.2). Specifically, those who thought crime was a problem were less likely to consider CCTV cameras an invasion of privacy. Again, therefore these individuals are presumably more willing to put up with the intrusion of cameras in order to reduce fear or to increase safety.

Table 4.2: Perceived invasion of privacy by reported victimisation and feelings of safety

Characteristic	(%,n)
All	6.6 (404)
Previous victim	
Yes	16.4 (130)
No	16.8 (274)
Worried about crime	
Yes	14.4 (112)
No	17.5 (284)
	17.6 (**)
Feel safe in area	
Yes	17.8 (296)
No	13.0 (63)
	(**)
Crime a problem in area	
Yes	15.3 (252)
No	20.1 (100)
	(**)

* Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Those who believed that CCTV is an invasion of privacy were compared with those who responded to the following statements: 'CCTV could be hidden', 'CCTV is watched all the time', and 'CCTV produces clear, good quality pictures'. No relationship was found between any of these factors. This suggests that the perception of CCTV as an invasion of privacy is not based on reasoning about how a CCTV system might be set up and work in practice.

A further potential civil liberties concern is the extent to which CCTV is used to target specific groups. When asked 'with CCTV on the estate, certain groups such as young and scruffy looking individuals, would be targeted', 42 per cent of the sample agreed.

Perceived impact of CCTV

Respondents were also asked about what they thought CCTV could potentially achieve. Respondents were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of claims

describing effects that CCTV might have.[15] Table 4.3 outlines the percentage of respondents who agreed with each claim.

Table 4.3: Level of agreement with stated impact of CCTV

	Those agreeing (%,n)
WITH CCTV...	
There would be a smaller number of young people hanging around	62.7 (1456)
Level of crime would get lower	79.9 (1893)
Crime will shift to other areas which is a good thing	32.0 (713)
Crime will shift to other areas which is a bad thing	47.9 (1050)
People would report more incidents	68.6 (1593)
Police would respond more quickly	56.1 (1258)
Area will look like a problem area	30.3 (727)

Respondents were positive that the CCTV system would address specific perceived problems. Sixty–three per cent on the estate believed that CCTV would reduce the number of young people on the street. Of those who believed 'young people hanging around' to be a problem, 67 per cent believed that CCTV would make a difference. Those individuals agreeing with this statement were no more likely to have been harassed by young than those who did not.

Approximately 80 per cent of the sample agreed that 'with CCTV on the estate, the level of crime would get lower'. This perception was correlated with the scale comparing perceived capabilities of CCTV. No relationship was found. This suggests that respondents' views were based on general beliefs about the impact of CCTV rather than a more reasoned or informed approach to considering its impact. This is perhaps not surprising.

Another effect that CCTV could have is to shift crime to another area, although recent research has questioned whether the amount of displacement is significant (Flight *et al.*, 2003). Around 32 per cent of the total sample believed the introduction of CCTV would result in crime shifting to another area and that this would be a good thing, while 48 per cent thought that crime would be shifted to another area and would be an undesirable outcome. A relatively large number of respondents (287, or 13%) agreed with both statements however, which restricts interpretation to suggesting simply that a large proportion of the sample believed that displacement is likely to occur.

Impact of CCTV on respondents' actions

Respondents were asked what impact they thought CCTV would have on individuals' actions. Overall, 68 per cent of the sample agreed with the statement 'with CCTV on the estate, people would report more incidents'. It has long been recognised that individuals in some residential areas are reluctant to report crime because they feel that nothing will happen as a result, they fear intimidation, or lack sufficient evidence (Hough and Mayhew 1983).

Individuals living in residential areas may be more disposed to reporting crime if they felt that CCTV would provide such evidence. In general, respondents who had higher expectations about the abilities of CCTV systems believed more incidents would be reported. For example, 71 per cent of those respondents who agreed that CCTV could zoom to extreme close–up views also thought more incidents would be reported, compared with 62 per cent of respondents who disagreed that close-up views were possible.

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[15] This was asked in all surveys except the pilot study.

Similarly, just over half of the respondents agreed that 'with CCTV on the estate, the police would respond more quickly' (56%), and there was a strong relationship between this belief and support for CCTV as shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Proportion of respondents who believed police would respond more quickly
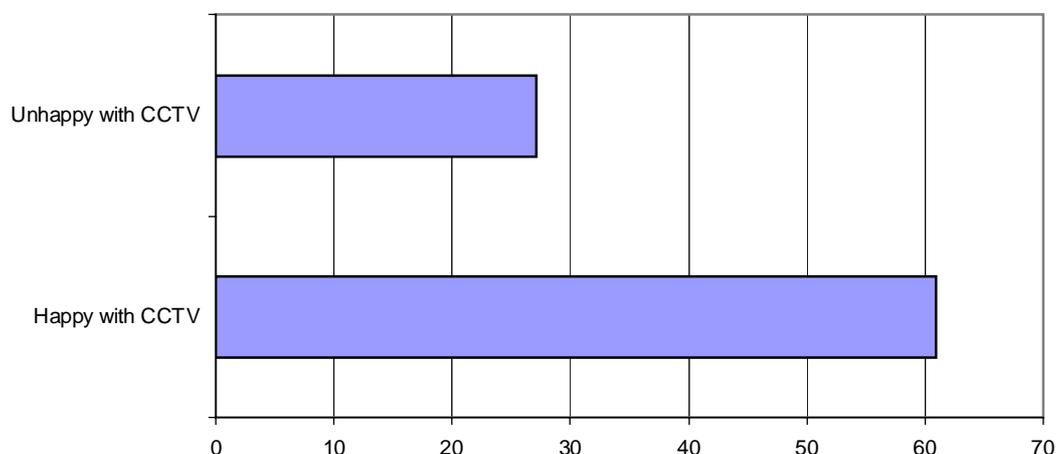
There was a significant and often large difference in the percentage of respondents agreeing with the statement and their views on the capabilities of CCTV systems; see Table 4.4. There are dangers here though; if the value of CCTV is judged by some in terms of a quicker police response and that expectation is not realised it could, at least in part, potentially lead to a fall in support for CCTV, a reduction in support for the police or both.

CCTV capabilities and respondents' behaviour

Finally, the relationship between perceptions about how CCTV will work and respondents' own perceived behaviour was investigated. In Chapter 3 above, it was reported that approximately a quarter of individuals who avoided certain locations would be inclined to re–use these areas after the installation of CCTV. For those individuals who avoided certain areas some significant differences in beliefs about CCTV capabilities and its impact were found in relation to their expected change in behaviour, (see Table 4.4). For example, 54 per cent of respondents who indicated they would not change their behaviour thought the police would respond more quickly following CCTV installation, whereas 74 per cent of those who stated that they would go to places they currently did not visit agreed the police would respond quickly. Overall, respondents who expected to re–use certain areas held higher expectations of the capabilities of CCTV and its impact.

Table 4.4: Change in behaviour by perceived CCTV capabilities and impact

	Revisit Particular Areas?	
	Yes (%,n)	**No (%,n)**
CCTV...		
Is watched all the time	64.0 (185)	45.7 (715) (**)
Can take very clear, good quality pictures	71.9 (220)	63.6 (1071) (**)
Can take colour pictures	68.3 (190)	60.9 (850) (*)
Can be hidden	83.0 (279)	76.7 (1313) (*)
With CCTV...		
Police would respond more quickly	74.4 (246)	53.8 (957) (**)
Less young people hanging around	79.6 (283)	61.3 (1103) (**)
People would report more incidents	85.3 (298)	67.8 (1228) (**)
Level of crime would get lower	94.4 (340)	79.1 (1466) (**)
Target certain groups	49.2 (169)	40.7 (743) (**)

*   Statistically significant at .05
** Statistically significant at .01

Security precautions

One way in which CCTV can impact on behaviour is in relation to the taking of security precautions. As noted earlier, there has been some evidence that CCTV has resulted in individuals taking less responsibility within stores (Beck and Willis 1995); it is also suggested that this is a possibility with the community. The extent to which respondents take security precautions before and after CCTV is installed provides a measure for this.

Apart from locking the front door, respondents were asked to specify how often they took security precautions when leaving their home.

Excluding those who said they never left their home (1.8% of respondents), 68 per cent indicated that they always, mostly or often took such measures, whilst over a quarter indicated that they never took extra security precautions. Moore and Trojanowicz (1988) found a relationship between fear of crime and taking security precautions. If CCTV reduced the fear of crime, then respondents may be less likely to take security precautions. Clearly, the second stage of surveys is needed before it is possible to assess the effect of CCTV on changes of this type of behaviour.

At this stage, it can be noted that the proportion of individuals who took extra measures increased significantly as the number of victimisations increased. Of those suffering one previous incident, 69 per cent took additional measures, whereas 83 per cent of those who had suffered 11 or more incidents took extra precautions. The difference between those previously victimised and those not was less noticeable than between those who felt safe in their locality and those that did not (see Table 4.5). Women and those who are older take more security measures.

However, some of the largest differences were found in relation to tenure and type of property occupied, where owner-occupiers and those living in semi- and detached properties were significantly *more likely* than other groups to adopt extra measures. Those living in semi- and detached properties were *less* likely to report victimisation and reported *lower* levels of fear of crime.

Table 4.5. Respondents taking extra security measures by socio-demographic, victimisation and feelings of safety factors

Characteristic	(%, n)
All	68.4 (1669)
Gender	
Male	65.6 (701)
Female	70.6 (968)
	(**)
Age	
16-24	60.4 (201)
25-44	67.7 (679)
45-64	68.4 (401)
65+	74.9 (340)
	(**)
Tenure	
Rent LA	65.9 (575)
Rent HA	64.8 (515)
Rent privately	60.7 (74)
Owned	78.1 (468)
	(**)
Housing type	
Ground floor flat	72.5 (322)
Above ground floor flat	64.3 (577)
Mid–terrace	63.5 (363)
End–terrace	64.2 (151)
Semi–detached	87.2 (245)
Detached	75.0 (27)
	76.0 (**)
Previous victim	
Yes	71.4 (1174)
No	67.0 (495)
	(**)
Feel safe	
Yes	64.9 (1084)
No	75.9 (372)
	75.10 (**)

*   statistically significant at .05
** statistically significant at .01

Summary

The chapter has described residents' attitudes towards CCTV and their beliefs about how CCTV works. It provides new insights into the views of those living in residential areas where CCTV is to be installed. The following aspects were found:

- Eighty-two per cent were happy or very happy with the installation of CCTV, which is similar to the level of support found in the town and city centre surveys.

- Those who had been victimised and who felt unsafe were significantly more likely to support CCTV although absolute differences were very small.

- Individuals appeared confused about the capabilities of CCTV. However, this did not deter them in their support for CCTV and their perceptions as to what they thought CCTV could do. Approximately 80 per cent of the sample agreed that with CCTV on the estate, the level of crime would get lower. Sixty-three per cent were positive CCTV would reduce the number of people hanging around; 80 per cent thought that crime would be reduced; 68 per cent believed people would report more incidents; 56 per cent that the police would respond more quickly as a result of the cameras being installed.

- Seventeen per cent felt CCTV was an invasion of privacy. This was felt more strongly by men, the young, while those who thought crime was a problem were the least likely to say the same.

- Sixty-eight per cent of respondents said that they took security precautions when they left the house, and this is most likely to follow an experience of victimisation.

5. Summary and conclusions

This report has presented a snapshot of people's experiences of crime and attitudes to CCTV in twelve areas where CCTV was about to be installed or an existing system was about to be extended. The areas included a town centre, two city centres and nine residential areas. The primary purpose of the survey was to provide a benchmark against which attitudes and experiences after the installation or extension can be compared. However, the findings are also of interest in their own right for two reasons. First, the residents' survey is the first major study of how people regard the prospect of CCTV in their own neighbourhoods and second, the in-street survey provides an early opportunity to ascertain public views following the rapid expansion of CCTV into almost all areas of public space in recent years.

Residential areas

Residents surveyed were more likely to live in social housing than the population as a whole, and the majority of the neighbourhoods surveyed were in the top ten per cent of deprived wards in England and Wales (National Statistics, 2001). Nevertheless, many respondents had positive things to say about where they lived, but substantial minorities (about a third of respondents) reported that their neighbourhood was 'not a very pleasant place to live', or that they did not feel safe in their area when out and about. Some (7%) do not even feel safe in their own homes. Residents reported problems with harassment (particularly tenants in social housing), youths, drug use and dealing, and people vandalising property. Fear of crime was strongly related to reported victimisation within the previous twelve months, so people seem to be identifying problems based on actual experiences.

Residents also reported acting on their fears, avoiding areas where they perceived a danger of being attacked, encountering groups of people gathering together, or which they regarded as 'rough'. If CCTV is to be regarded as a success it will be expected to reduce such avoidance behaviour particularly amongst men who, more that women, state that they would be more likely to visit areas they currently avoid if CCTV were installed.

Ultimately the success of CCTV, and the impact that it has, will be judged on the part it plays (and is seen to play) in tackling the problems reported by residents. This will not necessarily be the only judgement; there may be other aims for CCTV such as assisting the police with evidence. However, for members of the community the concerns they outlined in the survey were real ones, and they were hopeful that CCTV could play a role in helping to rectify them.

Within these areas, public support for CCTV is similar to those found in the town and city centres. A decade on from Honess and Charman (1992) little appears to have changed. Overall, the public remain unaware of the capabilities of CCTV, but their expectations of it having an impact on crime and anti–social behaviour remain high. A clear majority believed that CCTV would reduce the number of people hanging around; reduce crime; encourage people to report more incidents; and enable the police to respond more quickly to incidents. In other words, on some of the core issues they raised as being a problem in their area, and which affected the behaviour of many, they believed CCTV could provide at least a partial remedy.

The post–implementation surveys offer a chance to assess the perceived effectiveness of CCTV against these criteria. Clearly, the evaluation team will need to consider the extent to which CCTV was responsible for any change as opposed to a myriad of other activities (for instance SRB or New Deal for Communities funded projects) that are operating in the areas. The public will not always be so discerning in their assessment of the effectiveness of CCTV, not least because they may lack the knowledge.

It will also be important to assess any changes in negative attitudes towards CCTV. While only a small minority were unhappy about CCTV being installed, about a sixth were ambivalent. More specifically, 17 per cent were concerned that CCTV represented an

invasion of privacy. Whether these views are altered by experience is an interesting question that awaits an answer from the post-implementation surveys.

In short, the residents have identified problems that they believe CCTV can solve. Finding out whether these views are realistic, and whether they are realised will provide important insights into whether CCTV affects the quality of residents' lives in their own assessment. What is clear from other aspects of the evaluation not reported here is that there is a range of influences that contribute to a CCTV working effectively, and there is a need for realism about what can be expected from putting cameras on a pole or on a wall. The post-implementation survey findings offer an opportunity to understand the public's views, and ultimately it is they who need to be convinced.

Town and city centres

Perhaps one of the most striking findings from the research was that respondents in North City shared more similarities in attitudes to and experiences of crime with those in the small town of Shire Town than the other city centre, South City. Indeed, the latter was particularly distinct. While overall 26 per cent reported being a victim in the previous twelve months, respondents in South City were three times more likely to report being victimised than respondents in North City or Shire Town, and harassment emerged as a major problem.

Differences emerged between daytime and evening respondents, although the findings are fairly complicated and discernible patterns not always easy to identify. For example, while males were more victimised than females in North City, this was not the case in the other two locations; and while women worried more than men, men interviewed during the day in South City reported higher levels of worry about being a victim.

Across surveys, between eight and 11 per cent worry about crime in daylight hours, and 18-33 per cent after dark. Unsurprisingly, respondents felt much safer in the town centre and getting around the city centre in daylight compared to after dark. This corresponds to the findings of Ditton (2000). Respondents admitted they avoided certain areas, from 15-35 per cent saying they did so during the day, to 33 per cent - 63 per cent after dark. While South City was distinct in terms of high avoidance behaviour in daylight (35%) North City was distinct for low avoidance behaviour after dark (33%). Areas avoided included those described as 'not well lit' and 'dark alleyways' suggesting that, theoretically, CCTV and/or street lighting has the potential to change behaviour. However, the extent to which CCTV can do this will depend on where the cameras are installed. In the town and city centres it has been placed mostly on main arterial routes and this fact must be borne in mind when measuring the impact of the cameras on respondents' behaviour in the post-implementation survey.

Certainly levels of support for CCTV are high, although it was not clear that respondents were fully informed about how it functioned. This finding mirrors that for residential areas. The post-implementation survey will shed light on whether new CCTV provision will change these levels of support. As well as any changes in perception, the post-implementation survey will be interesting for what it tells us about changes in behaviour in response to new CCTV provision.

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Appendix A: Methodology

This report is based on the findings from twelve public attitude surveys; two in a city centre, one in a town centre and nine in residential areas. The findings from these surveys were taken from areas across England prior to CCTV being installed. Indeed, the aim of the surveys was to obtain a pre-measure, against which findings of post-implementation surveys could be benchmarked.

Timing of pre-intervention survey

The pre-intervention survey commenced before there were any obvious signs of camera installation (i.e. before the erection of CCTV poles) because the survey aimed to capture respondents' views about the potential installation of a CCTV system in the area. Respondents could adjust their answers to questions about support for CCTV if they thought that its future installation was inevitable, or if they mistook poles for live cameras and thus expressed opinions of a system they assumed was already operational. Of course, some respondents would be aware that a bid for a CCTV system had been submitted, for example from the local media or from consultation carried out by the local authority as part of the bid.

Type of surveys

Two types of public attitude survey were carried out. A town and city centre survey was carried out in-street (referred to as the 'town and city centre survey') while a house-to-house survey was administered within the residential areas and is referred to as the 'residential survey'. Both surveys were as similar as possible in terms of format, topics covered and question order. The town and city centre surveys were much shorter in length however, lasting around ten minutes, so as not to unduly delay respondents. There were also minor adjustments to some questions so as to tailor them to the specific circumstances of local areas. For example, the city centre systems aim to make people feel safer while in, moving around and getting into the city centre, by covering the arterial routes within and into the centre. The town centre systems are concerned with making people feel safer once they are within the target areas. Consequently, within the town and city centre surveys, the question referring to feelings of safety within the evaluation areas was phrased slightly differently. The town centre survey asks; 'In general, how safe do you feel *in* (name of town) town centre in daylight' but the city centre surveys ask; 'In general, how do you feel *getting around (name of city)* city centre during daylight'. In designing the questionnaire, considerable attention was paid to the order of questions, taking into account the main issues to be addressed by the survey. Its main purpose was to measure the change in a number of key factors such as fear of crime and levels of victimisation, both before and after the installation of CCTV. It was important to achieve as 'pure' a measure of these as possible prior to any mention of CCTV.

Survey administration

A reputable market research company (Marketing Sciences) carried out all surveys. The administration of each type of survey will be described below.

Town and city centre survey

To ensure that the town and city centre survey sample captured the range of crime issues experienced at different times, survey respondents were selected using a stratified sample taking into account four different times of day and week: weekday daytime, weekday night time, weekend night and weekend day. A quarter of the sample was taken from each of these time slots and a large enough sample (one hundred) obtained in each sub-group to ensure sufficient statistical power to make comparisons between them. 'Evening' was identified as any time after six o'clock. This time was selected as the survey aimed to measure

respondents' differences in behaviour and attitudes 'after dark' and 'in daylight' across a number of areas spread over several months, while ensuring that a sufficiently large sample could be obtained for each time period. Six o'clock represented an average time separating both periods of the day. The town and city centre surveys were carried out between September 2002 and January 2003. Initially it was intended to merge the findings from all surveys.

The city centre systems provide coverage over a wide area, and were add-ons to existing CCTV systems, therefore the *dosage,* as well as the area covered by CCTV, increased. It was important to ensure, first, that the entire area was surveyed equally, and secondly, that the sample was not biased by concentrating interviews around those cameras that were already in existence. Therefore the city centre target areas were divided into a number of same-sized discrete zones, in which interviewers spent equal amounts of time. Preparatory research by fieldworkers identified specific sites in each of the zones which were of particular interest to the study, and where there was a sufficient flow of pedestrians to maximise interviewing opportunities. Because people visit city centres for a number of different reasons, spreading the data collection across the target areas helped ensure that these different reasons were captured by the interviewing process.

Interviewers worked in pairs at each location with average shifts of four hours after dark, and six hours during the day, until the required sample size had been collected in each location and time-slot. Respondents (all over the age of 16) were selected on a '1 in n' basis (i.e. every n^{th} person passing was approached) and each interview lasted approximately ten minutes. This method means that, *within* each subsample, the socio-demographic characteristics of the user population are fairly represented. Because sub-samples were of equal size, the method potentially over-represents the characteristics of those interviewed during times when the town or city centre is not busy. For instance, it was found that young male respondents were more frequently interviewed after dark, and younger males have been reported to suffer a higher rate of certain types of victimisation than other sections of the population (Mayhew *et al.*, 1993; Brown, 1998). If fewer people used the town centre at night than during the day then levels of victimisation in the sample as a whole could be somewhat over-reported. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine this. Reported refusal rate ranged from ten per cent to 60 per cent. However, the mean reported refusal rate was 26 per cent.

The town and city centre survey was adapted according to the particular issues faced by that CCTV system. As previously described, the research team needed to probe the city centre sample about issues concerned with their movement around the city centre (which was not an issue within town centre systems) and this increased the length of the questionnaire. As a result, while each respondent in the town centre sample was asked about their actions and perceived levels of safety both in daylight and after dark, city centre respondents were asked only about their actions at the time of day at which they were interviewed. Unless otherwise stated therefore, the comparisons between daytime and night-time in the city centre samples are made between different sample populations.

Residential survey

In each residential survey a random sampling method was used to select participant households. This method is equivalent to a simple random sample of the sample size, and therefore, the same type of inferential statistics can be used to generalise the results from the sample to the whole population of that area.

Respondents were interviewed using a structured questionnaire, which took about 30 minutes to complete. This questionnaire was essentially the same for all projects following the first survey, which served as a pilot for later studies. Each address was approached up to four times until an individual agreed or declined to respond (or no contact was made). The member of each household asked to complete the questionnaire was selected using the Kish grid method, based on respondents over the age of 16. In total, 2,753 respondents were interviewed across areas, and a response rate of between 59 per cent and 75 per cent obtained.

A breakdown of the sample for all surveys is provided in Table A.1.

Table A.1: Number of interviewees in each survey sample

	Residential Population Sample	City Centre A Population Sample	City Centre B Population Sample	Town Centre Sample	Total Town and city centre survey sample.
Day	N/A	280	294	219	793
Night	N/A	313	346	208	867
Total	**2752**	**593**	**640**	**442***	**1,675**

Appendix B: Supplementary tables, main text.

Supplement to Chapter 2: Town and city centres

Table B.1: Employment status, town and city centre respondents

Employment status	North City (N=593)	South City (N=640)	Shire Town (N=442)	Total city/town centres (N=1675)
Full–time/ self employed	53.3%	59.1%	48.1%	54.2%
Part–time employed	7.6%	10.3%	14.4%	10.4%
Unemployed	4.0%	3.8%	3.9%	3.9%
Retired	9.9%	3.1%	13.2%	8.2%
Other	25.2%	23.7%	20.4%	23.3%

Supplement to Chapters 3 and 4: Residential areas

Table B.2: Characteristics of residential areas surveyed

Eastcap Estate	This is a small residential area in Kent consisting of approximately 500 houses. These are predominantly social housing. They form a small pocket of deprivation in a relatively affluent area.
Westcap Estate	This is a small residential area in West London consisting of three estates and covering approximately 900 properties. these comprise flats and terraced properties and are predominantly social housing.
Dual Estate	One system covers two discrete but geographically close residential areas in Kent. Area A is a block of approximately 200council-owned flats. Area B is a larger residential estate of over 1,000 properties, predominantly social housing.
Northern Estate	This is a residential estate in the North-East of England, approximately one and a half miles from the borough's town centre. It spans ½ mile² and covers approximately 300 properties that are local authority owned blocks of three and four storey flats. It is situated in one of the most deprived wards in the country.
City Outskirts	This is a residential area close to a Midlands city centre covering approximately 800 properties. These consist of a wide range of housing types including local authority owned flats, and privately owned or rented terraced properties. The area borders a park. It falls within the most deprived part of the city.
Deploy Estate	One system covers two discrete but geographically close residential areas located within a pocket of high deprivation in Kent. Area E covers approximately 1000 addresses consisting of a range of property types including terraced and semi-detached houses and flats. Most are rented from a Housing Association. Area F consists of approximately 700 addresses, mostly in blocks of flats up to three storeys high and rented from the local Housing Association.
Southcap Estate	The intervention area covers approximately 3,000 properties in one ward in a densely populated area of central London. It is the most deprived ward in the borough. Most of the properties are local authority or housing association owned flats.

Table B.3: Housing tenure and type of housing in each residential area

Scheme	Eastcap Estate (N=265)	Westcap Estate Area A (N=114)	Dual Estate Area B (N=401)	Dual Estate (N=352)	Northern Estate (N=172)	City Outskirts (N=382)	Deploy Estate Area E (N=324)	Deploy Estate Area F (N=321)	Southcap Estate (N=421)	(n=2752)
DESCRIBE HOME										
Rented local council	79.8%	13.1%	66.1%	55.5%	66.9%	29.1%	3.1%	6.5%	71.5%	40.4%
Rented housing association	0.0%	76.3%	1.8%	1.8%	11.6%	22.5%	60.8%	56.7%	9.8%	29.2%
Privately rented	2.3%	2.0%	0.9%	2.5%	3.5%	19.9%	0.9%	0.9%	4.3%	4.7%
Owned	17.9%	5.7%	31.2%	39.8%	18.0%	27.0%	34.2%	35.5%	13.7%	24.7%
TYPE OF PROPERTY										
Flat	1.1%	69.5%	57.1%	40.8%	72.1%	57.5%	29.6%	49.2%	72.4%	50.1%
Mid/End terraced	80.6%	30.5%	16.9%	35.8%	21.5%	38.6%	49.1%	20.6%	25.7%	36.3%

House Semi-det/det house (inc. bungalow)	18.3%	0.0%	25.9%	23.6%	6.4%	3.9%	21.3%	30.2%	1.9%	13.5%
Approximate Number if properties in target area	466	846	160	1653	306	800	1,082	704	4,000	10,017

Table B.4: Age, gender, ethnicity and employment status in each residential area, and comparison with Census population

Scheme:	Eastcap Estate (N=265)	Westcap Estate (N=352)	Dual Estate		Northern Estate (N=172)	City Outskirts (N=382)	Deploy Estate		Southcap Estate (N=421)	Mean (n=2752)
			Area A (N=114)	Area B (N=401)			Area E (N=324)	Area F (N=321)		
Gender										
Females	67.2%	58.0%	64.9%	61.8%	43.6%	40.1%	68.5%	57.9%	58.2%	**57.6%**
Ethnicity										
Non-Whites	1.5%	37.1%	7.9%	3.5%	5.8%	42.3%	10.2%	7.2%	58.6%	**22.9%**
Age										
16-24	8.8%	11.5%	8.8%	8.2%	23.6%	20.5%	11.8%	14.8%	13.1%	**13.3%**
25-44	51.3%	48.4%	36.8%	32.6%	37.6%	35.3%	46.6%	40.7%	51.0%	**42.7%**
45-64	19.2%	23.2%	30.7%	26.7%	28.5%	21.6%	26.4%	21.8%	22.9%	**23.9%**
65+	20.7%	16.8%	23.7%	32.4%	10.3%	22.6%	15.2%	22.7%	13.1%	**20.1%**
Employment status										
Full–time/ self employed	22.5%	27.6%	24.4%	39.5%	20.9%	23.5%	35.5%	25.2%	40.1%	28.9%
Part–time employed	13.0%	12.2%	11.6%	11.4%	10.5%	7.3%	9.3%	16.8%	11.5%	11.5%
Unemployed	7.3%	3.5%	11.6%	2.6%	27.3%	18.1%	3.7%	9.0%	6.2%	9.5%
Retired	24.8%	36.2%	15.3%	27.2%	9.9%	24.9%	17.9%	25.2%	14.4%	22.1%
Other	33.4%	20.5%	37.1%	19.3%	31.4%	73.8%	33.6%	23.8%	27.8%	28%

Table B.5: Quality of life issues, residential areas

Scheme	Eastcap Estate (N=265)	Dual Estate		Westcap Estate (N=352)	Northern Estate (N=172)	City Outskirts (N=382)	Deploy Estate		Southcap Estate (N=421)	Total (n=2752)
Quality of life		Alamein Gardens (N=114)	Area B (N=401)				Area E (N=324)	Area F (N=321)		
Very/fairly Good		52.6%	61.3%	52.2%	62.1%	56.3%	59.8%	59.5%	52.8%	59.0%
Fairly/very Bad		26.3%	18.1%	16.7%	14.2%	21.6%	18.7%	16.7%	20.6%	18.9%

Table B.6: Rates of victimisation, fear of crime, levels of avoidance and support for CCTV by each residential area

Scheme	Eastcap Estate (N=265)	Dual Estate Area A (N=114)	Area B (N=401)	Westcap Estate (N=352)	Northern Estate (N=172)	City Outskirts (N=382)	Deploy Estate Area E (N=324)	Area F (N=321)	Southcap Estate (N=421)	Total (n=2752)
Victim of crime in the last 12 months?	35.8%	33.3%	31.4%	35.3%	22.7%	35.1%	37%	24.6%	30.6%	32.4%
In the last 12 months have you or a member of your household been (once or more)…										
Harassed by groups of young people hanging around in the street	14.7%	12.3%	4.4%	6.7%	4.7%	7.3%	11.4%	4.4%	5.2%	8.1%
Harassed by people using or dealing in illegal drugs	1.2%	3.4%	0.9%	1.5%	2.3%	8.4%	1.2%	0.9%	2.9%	2.8%
Harassed by drunken disorderly people in the street	2.7%	2.6%	0.9%	1.5%	2.9%	6.8%	2.2%	1.6%	2.6%	2.8%
Pestered insulted or harassed	15.4%	13.1%	12.3%	9.5%	6.4%	15.7%	12.7%	6.9%	9.3%	11.3%
Assaulted	2.3%	2.0%	1.8%	1.0%	0.6%	2.9%	1.5%	0.6%	4.8%	2.1%
Robbed	2.3%	3.7%	2.6%	0.7%	0.6%	3.7%	0.3%	0.9%	5.2%	2.4%
Car stolen or broken into	9.4%	18.9%	15.8%	12.7%	20.5%	26.8%	21%	12.3%	23%	17.7%
Burgled	3.1%	2.9%	0%	5%	7.6%	6.8%	7.4%	4.7%	5.7%	5.1%
Attacked or harassed because of skin colour/ethnic origin/religion	2.3%	2.6%	1.8%	1.2%	0%	2.1%	0.3%	1.6%	1.4%	1.5%
Property damaged or vandalised	16.9%	14.6%	11.4%	16.7%	4.7%	6.3%	20.7%	8.7%	5.0%	11.8%
How safe feel living on the estate?										
Very/ fairly safe	78.1%	74.4%	74.6%	72.7%	70.0%	58.4%	71.2%	74%	62.0%	69.7%
Fairly/ very Unsafe	14.0%	16.7%	15.8%	18.1%	19.4%	26.0%	21.3%	14.1%	24.7%	19.5%
Worry of being victims of crime? (% of 'all the time' or 'often' worry responses)	35.3%	20.4%	34.9%	26.2%	34.6%	32.7%	27.8%	32.7%	35.3%	32.1%
Avoid places on the estate in daylight	37%	17%	14.0%	9.5%	15.7%	34.8%	17.3%	17.4%	23.3%	21.1%
Avoid places on the estate when dark	56.6%	42%	28.1%	65.6%	39.5%	71.5%	50.6%	43.0%	57.2%	53.7%
How would you feel if CCTV were installed?										
Happy with CCTV	80.4%	77.8%	85.4%	86.1%	76.9%	79.5%	82.7%	78.1%	82.8%	81.7%
Unhappy with CCTV	6.4%	4.8%	2.4%	4.1%	2.8%	5.2%	1.9%	2.6%	5.6%	4.4%

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