



Project

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Report

Anti-Social Behaviour: A Practitioners Guide

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Space Syntax



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The Problem of Anti-Social Behaviour

Introduction

This guide was produced as part of the SEDUC project, funded by Urban Buzz. The SEDUC project was concerned with spatial patterns of Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) and possible approaches to its reduction. The guide was primarily written for a practitioner audience (including police crime analysts, local CDRP partnership staff, architectural liaison officers/crime reduction design advisers and commercial and private security staff) and consequently follows the general format of the problem solving guides published by the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing (www.popcenter.org). The structure of the guide is discussed in the next paragraph. The reader will notice that both footnotes and endnotes are used throughout the guide. The former provide more detail on issues discussed in the main body of the text (where relevant) whereas the latter provide the sources of material reviewed when producing the guide.

What This Guide Does and Does Not Cover

This guide begins by describing the problem of ASB and reviewing factors associated with the risk of its occurrence. In section 2, it then identifies a series of questions to help analysts investigate local Anti-Social Behaviour problems. Finally, in section 3, it reviews responses to the problem and what is known about these from evaluative research and police practice. In reviewing the research, it became evident that much of the literature concerned with ASB has taken a Sociological perspective (reflecting the mainstream in Criminology). This is reflected in the content of the review. However, where appropriate, additional research concerned with disorder (which overlaps considerably with ASB) is reviewed to illuminate what is known about this type of behaviour from other perspectives within criminology.

Anti-Social Behaviour covers a general set of problems related to what are described as sub-criminal level incivilities and disorder. This guide is limited to addressing ASB on a general level, without dealing with individual behaviour types in detail. Rather it aims to provide an overview with examples from the range of problems which would fall under this category. Some of the problems categorised as ASB, but not covered in detail in this guide, are discussed in detail in the Problem Solving Guides published by the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing (www.popcenter.org); these include problems such as:

- Street Prostitution
- Hoax Calls
- Graffiti
- Street Drinking

Note that although this analysis is a generic one, one of the major lessons from studies of problem oriented policing and Situational Crime Prevention is that solutions need to be problem specific.

1. General Description of the Problem

Definition of ASB

Though there is no definitive version of what does and does not constitute anti-social behaviour, the most commonly used definition is that specified in the UK Crime and Disorder Act 1998ⁱ which states that an act or situation is deemed to be anti-social when it is “in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household (as the perpetrator)”.

Millie et.al (2005: 9) extend the definition by suggesting that ASB:

- requires interventions from the relevant authorities, but
- criminal prosecution and punishment may be inappropriate, because
- the individual components of the behaviour:
 - i) are not prohibited by criminal law
 - ii) in isolation, constitute relatively minor offences

They further divide ASB into three components:

- interpersonal or malicious ASB which is directed at individuals
- environmental ASB that deliberately or carelessly affects the local environment such as Graffiti
- ASB restricting access to public space such as intimidating behavior by groups of youths, aggressive begging or kerb crawling.

As is evident from the Home Office typology, shown as Table 1, ASB covers a whole spectrum of behaviours, from the inconsiderate to the criminalⁱⁱ. There has been much debate over the subjectivity of its definition(s), with some taking the view that this is deliberate and benefits the overall process of dealing with disorderly behaviour, while others argue this is in fact a serious hindrance to tackling ASB and furthermore, it leads to a dangerous encroachment upon the rights of citizens as the boundaries between the ‘incivil’ and the ‘criminal’ become increasingly blurredⁱⁱⁱ. For example, it has been argued that ASB has become a label which is attached to anything¹ that cannot be dealt with through existing measures or for which there is insufficient evidence for it to go to court as a criminal offence^{iv}. Though there appears to be a general acceptance that ASB can be recognised without the need of a specific definition, the lack of clarity has been criticised. A major problem concerns the need for consistency in the definition of ASB for the purposes of monitoring, evaluation and research. For example, where no consistent definition exists, or where the definition varies across space and time, attempts to evaluate the impact of interventions will be confounded. Simply put, a reduction in the problem (as recorded by crime reduction agencies) may reflect changes in the definition used (over time) rather than the success of intervention.^v Likewise, divergent definitions hinder pooling of findings across studies, and the capture, consolidation and transfer of knowledge of good practice.

¹ Referred to as “bad stuff” by Millie (2007)

Table 1: Home Office Typology of Anti-Social Behaviour (Source: Harradine et al., 2004)

Misuse of public space	Disregard for community/ personal well-being	Acts directed at people	Environmental damage
<i>Drug/substance misuse and dealing</i> Taking drugs Sniffing volatile substances Discarding needles /drug paraphernalia Crack houses Presence of dealers or users	<i>Noise</i> Noisy neighbours Noisy cars/ motorbikes Loud music Alarms (persistent ringing/ malfunction) Noise from pubs /clubs Noise from business/ industry	<i>Intimidation/ harassment</i> Groups or individuals making threats Verbal abuse Bullying Following people Pestering people Voyeurism Sending nasty/ offensive letter Obscene /nuisance phone calls Menacing gestures	<i>Criminal damage/ vandalism</i> Graffiti Damage to bus shelters Damage to phone kiosks Damage to street furniture Damage to buildings Damage to trees/plants/hedges
<i>Street Drinking</i>			
<i>Begging</i>	<i>Rowdy behaviour</i> Shouting and swearing Fighting Drunken behaviour Hooliganism / loutish behaviour	<i>Can be on the grounds of:</i> Race Sexual orientation Gender Religion Disability Age	<i>Litter/rubbish</i> Dropping litter Dumping rubbish Fly-tipping Fly-posting
<i>Prostitution</i> Soliciting Cards in phone boxes Discarded condoms			
<i>Kerb crawling</i> Loitering Pestering residents	<i>Nuisance behaviour</i> Urinating in public Setting fires (not directed at specific persons or property) Inappropriate use of fireworks Throwing missiles Climbing on buildings Impeding access to communal areas Games in restricted/ inappropriate areas Misuse of air guns Letting down tyres		
<i>Sexual acts</i> Inappropriate sexual conduct Indecent exposure			
<i>Abandoned cars</i>			
<i>Vehicle related nuisance & inappropriate vehicle use</i> Inconvenient/ illegal parking Car repairs on street/ in garden	<i>Hoax calls</i> False calls to emergency services		
	<i>Animal related problems</i> Uncontrolled animals		

ASB is not something new

Over the last decade there has been a general perception that the incidence of ASB is on the rise. This is reflected in the increased media attention and various pieces of legislation introduced to address it^{vi}. Moreover, results from the 2003/04 British Crime Survey (BCS) - a nationwide survey conducted across England and Wales which is concerned with victimisation experience and fear of crime - suggest that it is perceived to occur more often than crime itself^{vii}. However, there is something of a debate as to the reality of the situation, and some have argued that it is not as common as the general public appear to believe^{viii}. Though it *can* be a very real and serious problem, research suggests that it is confined to specific geographical locations and that it does not affect quality of life for the vast majority of people^{ix}. Most types of ASB are in fact not new; rather they are offences (such as being noisy) or other behaviours which have existed for a long time but have now been identified and categorised as falling especially within the anti-social or disorderly categories^x. The term anti-social behaviour itself was discussed within a legal context in 1942 by Hermann Mannheim in a series of lectures entitled “Anti-social behaviour: its causes and its treatment”^{xi}.

Following the crime drop in the UK over the last decade, there has been an increased focus on the prevention of ASB^{xii}. However, researchers^{xiii} have suggested that the increased policy interest in ASB may actually *reinforce* public concerns about the problem, rather than reassuring them. The media attention given to certain types of ASB has also been said to influence people’s perceptions, making them appear more frequent and serious than they may actually be². Wilkins (1964) discussed such ideas some time ago when he introduced the concept of ‘deviancy amplification’: perceptions of certain acts of deviancy become distorted as consequence of the media attention they receive and the way in which they are reported. Such reporting may cause “moral panics”^{xiv} over-sensitising the general public to a certain issue, which in turn may invoke a disproportionate response from the authorities. The cycle continues, as heightened policy responses result in greater media attention which in turn reinforces the general public’s view that the problem is wide spread. Concern about the problem, and reporting to the police, may moreover come and go on a localised and short-term basis, with implications for the direction of control strategies and the conduct of small-scale evaluations.

Though it may be popularly believed (and reported) that ASB is on the rise, as indicated by Table 2, an analysis of the trends in the BCS suggest otherwise. For instance, relative to the year before, in the 2007/08 sweep of the BCS there was a *drop* in the proportion of people who perceived high levels of ASB in their area. The change observed was statistically significant. Considering long term trends, for some types of ASB the problem has been declining, and for the remainder the pattern has stayed relatively stable. Note the table only shows ASB indicators which have commonly been used in the BCS over the years³.

² For example, Innes (2004) on how the media helps to generate signals for particular crimes.

³ Other indicators such as ‘people begging’ and ‘speeding traffic’ have been included in some but not all sweeps of the BCS.

	Year of Survey						
	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
High level of perceived ASB*	19	21	16	17	17	18	16
Teenagers hanging around on streets	32	33	27	31	32	33	31
Rubbish or litter	32	33	29	30	30	31	30
Vandalism, graffiti, and other deliberate damage to property	34	35	28	28	29	28	27
People using or dealing drugs	31	32	25	26	27	28	26
Drunken or rowdy behaviour in public places	22	23	19	22	24	26	25
Noisy neighbours or loud parties	10	10	9	9	10	11	10
Abandoned or burnt-out cars**	20	25	15	12	10	9	7

** derived from the average of the seven types of ASB specified in the survey*

***this question posed to only about one quarter of people in 2001/02 and 2002/03*

Table 2: Percentage of people who reported that they had experienced very or fairly high levels of ASB across the 2001-2008 sweeps of the British Crime Survey (Source: Kershaw et al. 2008: 124)

ASB is context dependent

Research suggests that which behaviours are deemed anti-social can vary according to who the victim and perpetrator are. It can also depend on the specific environmental context and people's expectations about the quality of life in an area^{xv}. The same action or behaviour may be deemed anti-social in one area but not so in another depending on the values and norms of the people who live there^{xvi}.

In addition to perceptions of what ASB is by type of person, time of day or locality, there also exist different definitions of ASB across *agencies*. For example, according to the Chartered Institute of Housing, ASB is ‘Behaviour that unreasonably interferes with other people’s rights to the use and enjoyment of their home and community’^{xvii}. Though it may be somewhat vague as a definition, it is (not surprisingly) concerned with disorderly behavior around the vicinity of the home. On the other hand, as Whitehead et al (2003) note, other agencies have different working definitions of ASB. For example, Shelter^{xviii} suggest that “Anti-social behaviour occurs where behaviour by one household or individuals in an area threatens the physical or mental health, safety or security of other households or individuals”.

The ambiguity in definition and the context-dependency of what is perceived as ASB (and what is not) are especially important when problems encountered in areas which house people of different cultures and expectations are considered. As Millie et al (2005) point out, “ASB is not always intentional and malicious, and often reflects ignorance, carelessness or thoughtlessness”^{xix}. Hence in hugely diverse cities such as London, the potential for ‘unconscious’ or ‘unintentional’ ASB is great^{xx}.

Millie (2008) takes the idea that ASB is context dependent a stage further by suggesting that in urban areas, it is our perspective on what is *aesthetically* pleasing (which can depend on the context) which affects what we view as ASB. His model is as follows:

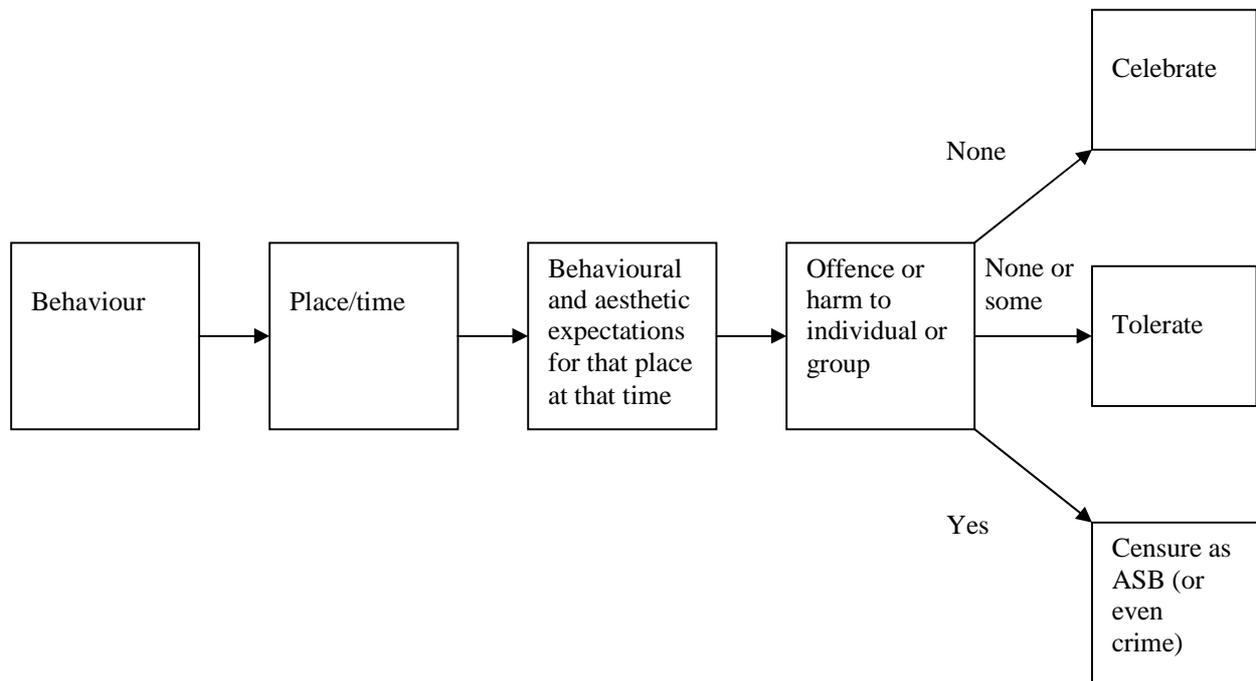


Figure 1: Defining ASB by aesthetics expectations: Millie (2008: 389)

The aim of the above discussion was to illustrate that there exists a range of behaviours that may be considered anti-social. Considering the Home Office definition, these may range from the seemingly trivial (e.g. malfunctioning alarms) to more serious incidents (such as setting fires). In fact, some incidents which are described as ASB may be better described as criminal offences. For example, the 2003/04 BCS^{xxi} included 'speeding traffic' as one of its ASB indicators, in which it was found to be the most commonly experienced ASB (with 43% perceiving this to be a problem). However, this is an incident type that should perhaps be categorised as a (criminal) traffic offence^{xxii} rather than ASB⁴. Much discussion exists in the literature regarding the lack of a clear definition of ASB and the effects of this. However, it is clear that what is considered anti-social depends upon the perceptions of those affected, the agency concerned, or the place and time an event occurs.

Nature and extent of the problem

A review of the research literature indicates that the problem of ASB is concentrated in a variety of ways including the type of people who are victims of it, those who commit it, what types of behaviour are most common, and the areas within which it is most likely. In this section, the types of ASB that are perceived to be most common, and the number of people engaged in ASB will be discussed. Other types of concentration will be discussed later in the guide.

Findings from the 2007/08 BCS^{xxiii} (shown in Table 2) indicate that the type of ASB that was most frequently perceived as a problem in the previous 12 months was 'teenagers hanging around on streets' (31% reported this), followed by 'rubbish or litter' (30%) and vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property (27%). Similar patterns are evident for the other sweeps of the BCS. With respect to which types of ASB respondents felt had the greatest personal impact on the quality of their lives, findings from the 2004/05 BCS show that the greatest impact was felt by those with noisy neighbours, with 49% of those who reported the problem saying this had a high impact on their quality of life, with the next highest being drug use or dealing, with 23% of those reporting this saying it had a high impact on their quality of life.

Results from the 2004 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (OCJS) - a national survey of the victimisation experience and engagement in offending activity of a sample of those aged 10-25 years in England and Wales - indicated that 25% of those interviewed said they had committed at least one ASB in the previous 12 months. The most common type of behaviour people admitted to committing was 'being noisy or rude in public' (16%). If generalisable, this suggests that around 2.7 million people in England and Wales aged 10-25 committed incidents of ASB during the period concerned^{xxiv}. However, it should be noted that as the survey is targeted at the 10-25 age group alone, this figure is an underestimate of the likely extent of *all* those engaged in ASB across England and Wales. It is also important to note that those interviewed for the OCJS represent only those young people who reside in private households. Those in young offender institutions or other places are not interviewed, and so the above estimate of those engaged in ASB may represent an underestimate even for the age group concerned.

⁴ This type of incident was not included as a category in subsequent sweeps of the BCS.

While data from the BCS are instructive, they are unavailable at a level of resolution that can inform crime reduction strategies at the local level. Consequently, crime reduction agencies have to rely on local statistics to monitor and understand their local problems. As with crime, ASB tends to be underreported. Results from the BCS suggest that the majority of those who experienced ASB in the previous 12 months did *not* report it to the authorities. For example, 82% of those saying they had seen drunk or rowdy behaviour in 2004/05 did not report it. The main reasons given for under-reporting were that the behaviour in question was either ‘too trivial’ or that reporting would be a ‘waste of time’. The former may suggest that such incidents do not really warrant a formal response, whereas the latter may suggest that past experience does not inspire public confidence in crime reduction agencies’ responses to ASB.

The financial costs of ASB

Estimates of the costs of crime have been produced for some time. For example, the Home Office has published a series of reports⁵ in which financial values have been assigned to the various economic and social costs of crime. Elements considered in the estimates include the cost of the criminal justice response, lost output on the part of the victim due to having to deal with the incident, and the emotional and physical impacts of being a victim of crime. Such data can be used for a range of purposes such as facilitating the estimation of the cost to society of different types of crime; how these costs might change over time; and, where impact evaluations are conducted, to compute cost-benefit ratios which represent the ratio of the estimated costs of the problem prevented, divided by the costs of intervention. An obvious use of cost-benefit ratios for the policy decision making process is that where a range of different types of intervention have been evaluated, those which are the most cost effective may be identified^{xxv}.

However, comprehensive data are currently unavailable for ASB. Where costs are available, they tend instead to be limited to a sub-set of the elements considered when computing the likely costs of crime. For example, for some types of behaviour, data are available regarding the legal costs associated with it^{xxvi}; the average cost of issuing an ASBO (£5,350) has been estimated^{xxvii}; and a more general estimate has been derived regarding the costs of vandalism (approximately £1 billion in the UK)^{xxviii}.

Whitehead et al (2003) have highlighted a number of reasons for the lack of estimates on the economic and social costs of ASB:

- Costs of ASB differ depending on the specific type of behaviour.
- Though some individual incidents may have small costs, this may change if they become persistent.
- The same incident may not have the same costs due to differing victim perceptions. For some, a particular incident may have a strong negative impact and incur greater costs, while for others it may not.
- If incidents of ASB are contagious (increasing the likelihood of future incidents of crime and disorder) then the costs associated with all related incidents should be taken into account.

⁵ See for example, Dubourg et al (2005)

- Where costs of ASB are available, they are neither complete nor reliable. Moreover, some are general costs provided for the specific agencies that deal with ASB, such as ASB teams operating within Housing Agencies. These do not reflect the actual costs of dealing with ASB.
- There is insufficient information available for direct costs of ASB, let alone wider economic and social costs.
- The majority of the cost effectiveness research literature actually refers to costs of crime or neighbourhood disputes, not specifically ASB.

This section has 1) demonstrated that no systematic data regarding the costs of ASB are currently available; 2) indicated what factors would need to be considered in order to derive such costs; and 3) reiterated the point made by others^{xxxix} that, despite the acknowledged difficulties of computing the costs of ASB, they will be required to provide a more complete understanding of the consequences of ASB and the effectiveness of the different strategies used to reduce it^{xxx}.

Factors Contributing to anti-social behaviour

Understanding the factors that contribute to local problems can help identify key intervention points and select appropriate responses. In this section, we review the findings from existing research and provide some rationale from the literature (where available) for some of the responses to ASB that will be reviewed in section 3.

Risk factors associated with individual offenders

ASB as a 'male' problem

There is a general perception that the perpetrators of ASB are mostly males, and this has received some support from the research base. For example, results from the 2004 OCJS showed that 30% of males compared to 20% of females reported having committed ASB in the previous 12 months^{xxxix}. As a different kind of measure, of the 466 people issued ASBOs between April 1999 and September 2001, 85% were male^{xxxii}.

However, while males are apparently more likely than females to admit to committing ASB and in particular some types of ASB (e.g. engaging in rude or noisy behaviour, or racially or religiously motivated abuse), for other types of ASB (e.g. producing graffiti or making a neighbour complain) gender differences appear to be less pronounced. Nevertheless, and while an individual's gender does seem to affect their likelihood of engaging in ASB, the identification of this risk factor (causal or not) offers little potential for intervention in itself^{xxxiii} although indication or anticipation of times and places where males gather can suggest where interventions may be needed.

ASB as a 'youth problem'

There is a strong association between ASB and the young^{xxxiv}, where anti-social or disorderly behaviour is specifically thought of as a 'problem of youth'. The notion of 'young people hanging

around' has been consistently highlighted as a problem in the British Crime Survey since 1992^{xxxv}. In a review of the use of Anti Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), 74% of the 466 that were issued between April 1999 and September 2001 were directed at those aged 21 years or under^{xxxvi}. Findings from the OCJS also show that the proportion of people aged 14-15 who admit to committing an ASB is higher than at any other age (between 10 and 25), with 39% saying they had committed at least one form of ASB in the previous 12 months. This is also the age group most likely to be engaged in a range of different types of ASB. It is also evident from the 2004 OCJS that the peak age of offending for ASB is 15, the same as it is for crime.

This idea that ASB is a youth-centred problem has not gone unchallenged. It has been argued that young people's behaviour is more likely to be criminalised than an adult's, who, when carrying out similar activities, may engage in techniques of *neutralisation* to explain why such behaviour is acceptable and somehow less criminal or anti-social when they engage in it than when a youth does so. This has also been referred to as part of a 'misidentification' or 'overidentification' of ASB^{xxxvii}, whereby ASB is attributed to an activity by the victim or authorities, because it falls under the general idea of what ASB should or should not be, and because of preconceptions about the type of people who commit ASB. For example, the behaviour of people who are mentally ill or have learning disabilities may be seen as anti-social, just because they happen to be in an area where ASB is common or expected^{xxxviii}. Other problems such as drug and alcohol abuse, which are associated with people living in deprived areas, may be perceived as ASB when, it has been argued, they should be seen as reflecting a problem from which an individual is suffering^{xxxix}. On the other hand, it has also been referred to simply as the intolerance of older people towards the young, and a cultural and generational gap between the old and the young^{xl}. Pearson (1983), in his book on hooliganism, illustrates the long historical roots of this antipathy, with every generation contrasting a past golden age with present youthful misbehaviour.

Parental Influence

Studies have found a strong association between engagement in ASB during childhood and being involved in it as an adult^{xli}. The role of parents and family has been highlighted in the literature as an important factor in ASB. Studies show that poor parental supervision and harsh discipline are associated with delinquency^{xlii}. Others show that the more changes of primary carer a child has been subjected to, and the more a child exposed to parental discord, the greater the likelihood of their becoming involved in anti-social and delinquent behaviour^{xliii}. Having parents who are themselves involved in ASB is also regarded as a good indicator for future involvement of the child, as is having a sibling of a similar age who is involved in ASB^{xliv}. Being part of a large family with many siblings has also been associated with ASB, the idea being that the child has less attention from the parents in their upbringing and greater access to immature role models.

The literature suggests that the following flag an increased risk of child or adolescent ASB^{xlv}:

- resistance to authority
- physical aggression, impulsiveness
- precocious drinking and sexual behaviour

- running away from home; truanting from school
- being suspended or expelled at least once before^{xlvi}
- lying; illegal acts such as stealing⁶
- cruelty to animals
- low IQ; low educational attainment
- poor parental supervision
- parental conflict and interparental violence
- anti-social parents
- large families
- socioeconomic factors
- peer, school and community factors
- drug use⁷
- frequent drunkenness⁸

Some indicators found in adulthood are:

- criminal and violent behaviour
- excessive drinking and drug-taking
- poor employment record
- marital breakups
- child neglect
- reckless driving
- failure to pay debts

However, it is important to note once more that the identification of indicators does not necessarily imply causality. That said, it is possible that they do have implications for the methods of prevention selected⁹ or the approach to targeting problems.

Risk factors associated with victims

Though there is a generally held perception that young people are the perpetrators of ASB, it is perhaps surprising to find in surveys that it is they, and not older people, who are the main victims of ASB. For example, findings from the 2004/05 BCS showed that young people aged 16-24 were significantly more likely to perceive ASB^{xlvi}. Results in 2003/04 also indicated that young people were more likely to mention ‘teenagers hanging around’ to be a problem than older people, whose main concern was the presence of rubbish. It has also been found that the likelihood of experiencing ‘young people hanging around’, vandalism, graffiti, drug use and dealing, and drunk or rowdy behaviour, *decreases* with the age of the respondent^{xlvi}.

Some of the risk factors associated with perceiving ASB that have been uncovered through analysis of the BCS include^{xlix}:

⁶ 53% of those who had committed ASB had also committed a core offence in the previous 12 months

⁷ For 65% of those who had committed ASB in the previous 12 months (Budd et al 2005)

⁸ For 10-15 year olds (Budd et al 2005)

⁹ Farrington (2002). See section on ‘Responses to the problem’ for these.

- living in deprived areas
- living in areas with low ‘community cohesion’
- being unemployed
- being young
- living in socially rented accommodation
- living in inner city areas
- living in London

The relation between neighbourhood level perceptions of risk, ASB and crime

In addition to certain types of ASB being more likely, it is possible that the occurrence of ASB or other forms of disorder in an area increases the likelihood of further incidents and, that more serious types of crime will occur: a contagion-like effect. This idea is encapsulated by the Broken Windowsⁱ theory which suggests that, if left untreated, a single event or circumstance in a neighbourhood, such as a broken window, may catalyse further disorder and possibly crime. The idea is that when such events occur a fear of crime inhibits the expected responses which can signal to others that the area is one in which such incidents are acceptable or unlikely to be contested. Theoretically this can further increase the fear of crime and signal to offenders that the area is one in which criminal activity will go unchallenged. The concept of Broken Windows has had a considerable impact on public policy, particularly in North America where it led to a ‘zero-tolerance’ policy by New York Police. The influence of Broken Windows theory is also evident in UK policy, being referred to in numerous policy documents on the importance of tackling ASBⁱⁱ. The Home Secretary stated (for example) that one of the reasons why anti-social behaviour should be addressed is because it “holds back the regeneration of our disadvantaged areas and creates the environment in which crime can take hold” (Home Office 2003).

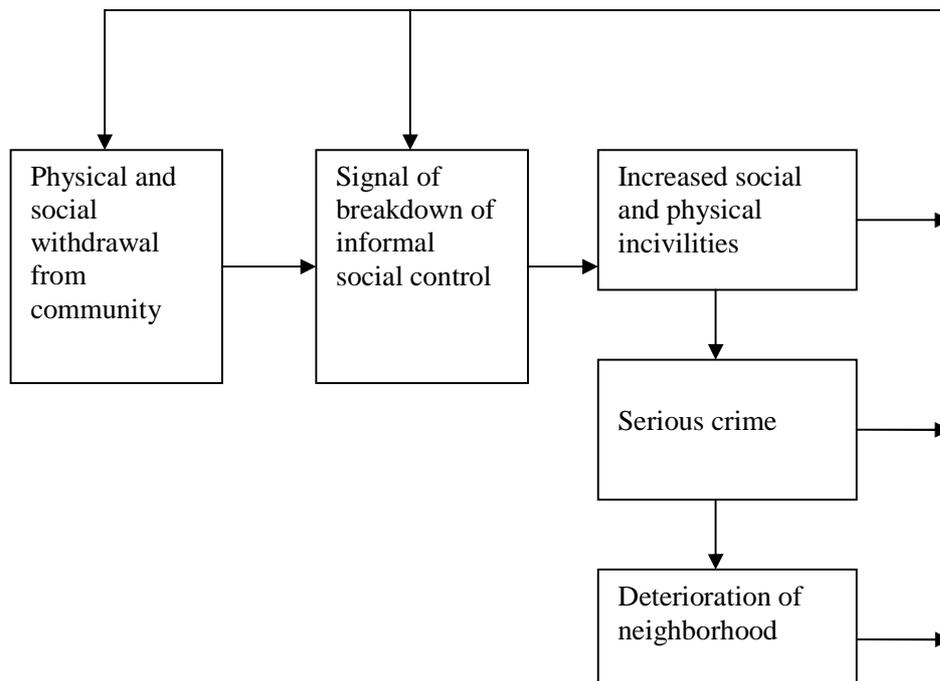


Figure 2: The broken windows cycle (Source: Doran and Lees, 2005)

In support of broken windows theory, using survey data for 40 American cities, Skogan (1990) found that those areas in which disorder was most prevalent were the same areas in which crime problems were perceived to be increasing the most, and which the risk of robbery was greatest¹⁰. Using data collected at the household (rather than city) level for 50 housing estates in the UK, Armitage (2007) shows that the risk of crime is greatest at homes where there are signs of dis-repair or graffiti within the vicinity of the property.

Gorr and Olligschlaeger (2001) provide further support by showing that crime forecasting models that take account of changes in certain types of activity such as disorder, can be more accurate than other models at predicting those areas in which crime is most likely to occur, or where the trajectory of the problem is likely to be upwards.

Broken Windows theory has not gone unchallenged. For example, Harcourt (1998) reanalyzed the data used by Skogan and disputed the validity of the original study^{lii} suggesting that the conclusions only held for the crime of robbery. Moreover, Harcourt suggests that the disorder-crime nexus disappears when the data collected for five areas in one of the cities (Newark, USA) is excluded. However, as has been pointed out elsewhere^{liii}, excluding data in this (non-random) way violates central assumptions of statistical testing rendering Harcourt's own conclusions questionable.

¹⁰ Analyses of victimisation experience were limited to robbery.

In a study of 196 neighbourhoods in Chicago, Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) used a range of data sources to examine the disorder-crime nexus. Crimes recorded by the police (robbery, burglary and homicide) and responses to resident surveys were used to measure levels of crime at the neighbourhood level, whereas systematic observations (visual audits) conducted by field researchers were used to derive measures of (visible signs of) social (e.g. people drinking alcohol in public, prostitutes on the street) and physical (e.g. graffiti, abandoned cars) disorder. Analyses revealed that there were significant correlations between indicators of disorder and crime, but that with the exception of robbery, this relationship was no longer robust when analyses took account of the role of other potential mediating factors. The latter included a measure of *collective efficacy* - which reflected the extent to which surveyed residents perceived that residents in the neighbourhood shared similar values and were willing to help each other - and measures of disadvantage. Consequently, Sampson and Raudenbush suggested that rather than being causally related, disorder and crime may simply be expressions of the same thing (with the differences between crime and disorder being socially constructed), co-occurring in neighbourhoods with similar characteristics (e.g. levels of collective efficacy).

A potential weakness of the Sampson and Raudenbush study concerns the timing of data collection. According to the Broken Windows thesis, disorder is a precursor of crime. Thus, to estimate any possible causal effects of disorder on crime, as a minimum one would ideally observe levels of disorder and crime in time period 1, and then measure them again in time period 2. Better still (from a scientific rather than ethical perspective), one would manipulate signs of disorder from one period to the next and observe the impact on levels of crime of so doing. The (broken windows) hypothesis would be that there would be a positive time-lagged relationship between levels of disorder and crime. In the Sampson and Raudenbush study, however, levels of disorder were observed between June and October of 1995 and then correlated with levels of crime in the same year. The use of data aggregated across the whole of 1995 may thus compromise the conclusions drawn. Moreover, Sampson and Raudenbush themselves point out that it is possible that the presence of disorder may lead to lowered collective efficacy itself as people move away from the area, or as trust between residents breaks down with increased crime.

A more recent study, which also used a social observation methodology but which employed an experimental manipulation, is particularly timely. In that study^{liv}, researchers conducted a series of field experiments in which people's behaviour was observed under a series of different conditions. The particular conditions varied but the details of the first study provide an indication of the overall study design and the approach taken. In study 1, people's behaviour was observed in an alleyway frequently used to park bicycles. In the first condition, the walls of the alleyway were clean whereas in the second graffiti was sprayed on the walls. In both cases, a highly visible sign indicated that graffiti was prohibited. When people parked and left their bicycles, the researchers attached a flyer to the parked bicycles. The prediction was that if disorder is contagious, cyclists who parked their bicycles in the presence of graffiti (which was prohibited) would be more likely to litter than those who parked in front of clean walls. The results of the study dramatically confirmed this, indicating that the presence of graffiti more than doubled the likelihood of littering. Similar results were observed for other forms of norm violation such as stealing an envelope containing money that was hanging out of a mailbox.

This association between disorder, crime and fear of crime has been further explored by Innes and Fielding (2002) who proposed their Signal Crimes Perspective. As with Broken Windows theory, the basic idea is that environmental conditions influence people’s perceptions of risk; crudely put, disorder and environmental decay affect residents’ perceptions of their area by generating *signals*. In contrast to Broken Windows theory, what signals affect people is more nuanced, being a function of individual differences and social conventions. For example, young people’s dress or manner may trigger the perception of ASB or a threat for some people, but not for others. Table 3 provides examples of different types of signals and how they might vary across different types of people. Another example provided by a resident interviewed by Innes was that alcohol consumption signalled criminogenic activity, and that the combination of signals such as graffiti and rubbish “contributed to an air of menace”^{iv}. Thus, an important aspect of the signal crime perspective is that the signals differ depending on the local area and the type of person receiving the signal(s).

	Signal Recipient			
	Women	Men	60 Years or older	Young (less than 30)
Signals	drug use	Homeless people	Litter	Gangs of youths
	Dark areas	Vandalised buildings / bus shelters/ street lighting	Vandalised buildings	
	Graffiti	Passive/aggressive begging	Dog mess	
	Gangs of youths	Signs of prostitution		

Table 3: Signals and receivers (Source: Innes and Fielding, 2002)

The results from a study^{lvi} conducted in Wollongong (Australia) also provide a nice illustration of the relationship between perceptions of risk, disorder and crime. Briefly, 234 participants were asked to indicate those places and times that they were fearful of being the victim of crime in the Central Business District of the town. The places they felt were the most unsafe were then compared with a map of physical disorder in the area and the general distribution of disorder and crime. Collective areas of avoidance were quite clearly defined, showing two particular hotspots. These were more closely associated with the distribution of signs of disorder than they were for crime in general (although both were related). The types of disorders that were highest in these areas were graffiti and litter, and empty beer bottles in the street.

Considering the studies discussed above, although some of the authors disagree on the causal mechanisms that generate ASB and crime they concur on two things. First, at the core of the

theories is the idea that ASB and crime are more concentrated in some areas than others. Second, that the emergence and stability of hot spots of crime and ASB may be explained in terms of social processes of one kind or another.

However, there exists a further way of thinking about the problem which, while not incompatible with the above ideas, considers the contribution of a very different type of influence; the role of the physical environment: more on this later.

Patterns in Space and Time

Routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979) proposes that patterns of crime and disorder are generated by the convergence in space and time of a supply of suitable targets, the presence of motivated offenders and the absence of capable guardians. The probability of these elements converging is determined by the daily rhythms of people's routine activities (e.g. going to work, leisure activity, and so on). Further theory, such as the Conjunction of Criminal Opportunity,^{lvii} has extended this to consider the number and nature of critical elements that must converge for crime or disorder to occur, and has considered the interactions between different actors in more detail, but for the sake of simplicity, we will discuss the original formulation of routine activity theory here. In their crime pattern theory, Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) translate routine activity theory into spatial terms providing a theory which predicts why crime and disorder should cluster in some places and times and not others. Essentially, the theory considers offender routine activities, their mobility, and how this influences the places they frequent (and how often they do so) and consequently their awareness of opportunities for crime and ASB and their availability to exploit them.

Osgood et al (1996) have applied this type of thinking to explain that young people may be subject to increased criminal opportunities as many of their routine activities are unstructured social ones (such as the classic 'hanging around' with friends) with no clear agenda; involve peers, which makes crime or disorder more rewarding and easier to carry out; and lack a suitable guardian figure. In addition, Hay and Forrest (2008) found that (while taking into account the level of self-control of an individual) the time spent unsupervised by an adult had an impact on the probability that the child would commit a crime, with those reported to have greater time unsupervised being more likely to commit crime than those with a low level of unsupervised time.

In line with the above theories, analyses of data consistently show that crime and disorder cluster forming hotspots, in both space and time. For example, in one study, analyses of police recorded crime data showed that the peak time for alcohol related disorder is at weekends, between 9pm and 3am, reaching its highest point near the then near universal 11pm pub closing times, and that a large proportion of incidents are located inside licensed bars or directly outside them. Most arrests for alcohol related offences are made between 11pm-midnight on Friday and Saturday nights^{lviii}. In this case, the routine activities of customers clearly influence the pattern of crime in both space and time.

Considering spatial patterns of ASB, findings from the 2004/05 BCS show that 64% of people said that they saw youths hanging around local shops, and 56% of drunk or rowdy behaviour was reported to be outside or near pubs and nightclubs. The problems of vandalism and graffiti appear to be strongly associated with particular places, with 76% saying these were seen on bus shelters, phones booths, public toilets or other public facilities^{lix}.

In terms of temporal patterns, findings from the BCS reveal that 65% of people said they had *only* seen drunk or rowdy behaviour at night, and 47% of people reported seeing drunk and rowdy behaviour *only* at the weekend. This type of behaviour was the most strongly associated with a particular day and time. The next most likely to be associated with a particular temporal pattern was 'young people hanging around'; with 11% saying they observed this only at weekends. In contrast, 76% of people said the problem associated with a noisy neighbour happened *all* the time. The patterns of these problems can be seen to be related to expected rhythms of routine activities. Such findings and their consistency with the theories articulated, suggest the role of factors other than offender motivation alone in the generation (and perception) of crime, disorder and ASB. This implies that interventions that are not merely offender-based should impact on crime problems, and the theories discussed suggest a framework for analysis that should facilitate an understanding of local conditions so that interventions can be tailored to address local problems.

A recent example of how locally tailored approaches may reduce crime and disorder is provided by Braga and Bond (2008). In that study, conducted in Lowell (Massachusetts, USA), 34 crime hotspots were identified of which 17 were randomly selected for the experiment. In each of the 17 areas, the police adopted a problem oriented approach to policing by implementing strategies designed to ameliorate the specific problems identified in each area. Where appropriate, these included the use of increased arrests for disorderly behaviour, situational crime prevention measures (e.g. improving street lighting, cleaning and securing vacant lots), and social interventions. In the remaining 17 hotspots (the control areas) policing continued as usual. Although the problem solving adopted was considered relatively "shallow" by the research team, there was a significant effect of intervention: relative to the control group, crime and disorder declined significantly and there was no evidence of the displacement of crime or disorder to the surrounding areas. Further analysis revealed that the reductions observed were most likely to be attributable to the situational crime prevention measures implemented and (to a much lesser extent) the use of arrests for incidents of disorder. There was no evidence that the social interventions had any impact on crime and disorder within the evaluation period used, although this may have been too short to detect their effects.

Situational choice factors and precipitators of crime

Rational choice theory^{lix} suggests that the decision making process in which offenders typically engage when considering whether to offend in a given situation can be thought of in terms of a form of utility maximisation. That is, consideration will be given to the perceived benefits and costs of committing a particular crime, including the perceived risks of so doing. The benefits need not be financial and instead (for example) may be psychological, but the basic idea is that for a crime to occur the perceived benefits should outweigh the anticipated costs. This is not to say that the decision making process will always be deliberate or carefully considered but that a simple

consideration of the costs and benefits of committing a crime will generally take place (even if this is heuristic i.e. automatic).

A critical concept is that offender decision making will be imperfect not least because offenders will rarely have accurate information on the *actual* benefits and risks of committing a particular crime. As such offender decision making will be *bounded*. The implication of rational choice theory for policy making is that if offenders do consider both the perceived risks and benefits of committing a particular crime, then manipulating offenders' perceptions of the risks, rewards and associated effort of committing crime or disorder may serve to reduce its occurrence. Manipulations may include changes in police arrest policies or changes to the immediate physical environment (e.g. changes in street lighting) in which crime and disorder occur. The outcome of the Braga and Bond study discussed above provides evidence of the success of such approaches to crime reduction as do the results of many other studies (for reviews, see www.popcenter.org). However, the degree to which offenders under the influence of alcohol or other drugs, or carried away in group emotion and action, can determine their choices and control their behaviour may be significantly diminished, although not necessarily obliterated entirely. Situational interventions impervious to intoxication can include those centring on physical blocking of criminal or antisocial behaviour (such as barriers and damage-resistant materials) rather than influencing offenders' decisions; or, of course, restricting access to the intoxicants in the first place.

Developing these ideas further, Wortley has highlighted the role of immediate environmental factors in the provocation of crime and disorder^{lxii}. He argues that specific environmental or situational cues may act prior to the application of rational choice and generate motivations or emotions which then lead individuals to behave in a criminal or disorderly manner. Heat waves, for example, are described as an 'environmental irritant' by Wortley, alluding to a theory which claims that violent crime is associated with rising temperature levels. Harries and Stadler (1998), for example, find a linear relationship between the two. Goronson and King's (1970) work is also cited by Wortley as demonstrating that riots are more likely during heat waves. While manipulating the weather is beyond the control of crime reduction agencies, ensuring that appropriate crowd control policies are in place at public events is not.

Other examples discussed by Wortley include environmental 'provocations' such as frustration (such as in the case of road rage) or crowding (in nightclubs for example). Understanding the contributions of such factors may provide insight into how to deal with specific ASB problems¹¹.

Crime and Urban Layout

Though research suggests that ASB is highest in disadvantaged areas, it is possible that the explanation for the association need not entirely reside in the kinds of social process discussed above (e.g. social cohesion/collective efficacy). One reason for suspecting this is that such influences are likely to operate at the wider-area level whereas research demonstrates that crime and disorder are spatially concentrated not only at the area level but within areas, at the street segment (see the associated UrbanBuzz report on ASB and Space Syntax) and even household levels^{lxiii}. Simply put, even within disadvantaged areas some street segments and some victims

¹¹ See Wortley (2008) page 51 for full break down of these situational precipitators of crime.

experience little or no crime whereas others experience a high volume^{lxiii}. In a recent analysis of BCS data, Davenport^{lxiv} shows that most incidents of ASB (87% or higher across type of ASB) are experienced by those victimised more than once, irrespective of the type of area (be it wealthy or deprived) in which they live. How can such a distribution be explained in terms of social factors that operate at the area level alone? As will be elaborated upon below, it is possible that the distribution of incidents may be (at least partly) explained in terms of *urban design*, as might the relationship between crime and disadvantage.

A considerable body of research has examined the possible impact of urban design on the risk and perception of crime. The theories will not be rehearsed in their entirety here. Instead, the points of central importance will be highlighted. The debate in the urban planning literature can be crudely categorised into two schools of thought. Jane Jacobs (1961) and the 'new urbanists' view natural surveillance and 'eyes on the street' as the best deterrent of crime (and disorder) and advocate the use of highly permeable street layouts and mixed land use to encourage a high density of activity throughout the day by a range of different people.

In contrast, Oscar Newman (1972) introduced the concept of 'defensible space' arguing that space should be territorial with residents feeling a sense of ownership (and hence responsibility and motivation to undertake surveillance and intervention). Newman essentially argued that where the ownership of spaces is ambiguous the potential collective control exerted by residents will be sub-optimal or nonexistent. Moreover, where street layouts encourage the use of areas by outsiders, this may serve to increase (outside) offender knowledge of the areas and hence the probability that they will offend within them. Some of the distinguishing features of these two competing theories are summarised by Hillier and Sahbaz and reproduced in Table 4.

An example of the importance of environmental layout is provided by Loukaitou-Sideris (1999) who looked at the relationship between environmental conditions and bus stop crime in Los Angeles. Initial analysis indicated that almost 20% of bus-related crime in the city occurred at the ten bus stops with the highest counts of crime (just 0.05% of the bus stops in the city!). Analysis of the environmental conditions surrounding these stops indicated that they were typically situated in commercial areas, were not visible from surrounding shops, had poor lighting, no public phone facilities nearby, were on streets connected to others by alley-ways, and were not located near to police stations. The majority (seven) of the high-crime bus stops were situated near empty car parking areas and derelict buildings. Those experiencing high levels of drinking-related nuisance were (not surprisingly) close to bars or off-licenses. All of the hot spots for bus stop crime were reported to be characterised by physical incivilities such as graffiti and litter. Further analyses were conducted to see if bus-stops located nearby (within two blocks) that experienced little crime shared similar characteristics. Analyses confirmed that the low-crime bus stops differed, having (for example) fewer signs of disorder, better visibility and fewer alley-ways connecting them to other streets (i.e. fewer escape routes). The study authors concluded that the (micro-scale) area within which bus stops are located influences the likelihood of crime occurrence and that bus stops should ideally be situated at locations where natural surveillance by local stakeholders (e.g. shopkeepers or businesses) is good, where escape routes are limited and where signs of disorder are minimal.

	New Urbanist	Defensible Space
Public vs. Private Space	Maximise communal space to promote natural surveillance	Maximise private space to increase territorial protection of area, housing in smaller groups of dwellings, encouraging neighbours to know each other
Land Use	Mixed residential and commercial use to increase presence of activity and people throughout day and night	Mixed use reduces residential or private control over space
Streets and Footpaths	Grid street pattern preferred, walking and cycling to be encouraged	Limit access and exit routes from areas, to increase privacy and residential control
Alleys	Face buildings towards alleys to increase surveillance	Block alleys as they increase risk to pedestrians
Vehicle parking	Homes built close to street to force parking to be on the street or rear courtyards	Keep in private garages, or in front of house. Rear courtyards facilitate burglary
Density	High density promotes increased activity and natural surveillance of area	Less dense is better, as high density increases vulnerability if it creates areas with lower private ownership (more communal areas) and unsafe parking

Table 4: Association between design, crime and crime prevention (adapted from Hillier and Sahbaz 2008)

Space Syntax, crime and disorder

The two theories outlined by Jacobs and Newman have received considerable criticism^{lxv} and the findings of the early studies are at best ambiguous. For example, Hillier and Sahbaz (2008) argue that some of the research and evidence central to the fundamental issues are inconclusive, based on analyses that are too simple and with much of the evidence being intertwined “with anecdote and prejudice” (2008:4). To take an example, Hillier (2004) points out that simplistic analysis will always imply that crime rates are highest in city centres. This is, of course, because there will be more opportunities for (many types of) crime at such locations. However, if proper account of this is not taken account of in the analysis, errors of inference can easily emerge. Consider the question of whether cul-de-sacs are safer than open streets. It is important to recognize that cul-de-sacs are associated with suburban rather than inner-city areas, with residents of suburban areas often being those on higher incomes. In this way, without a proper framework for analysis, social effects can be mistaken for the effect of spatial design (Hiller and Sahbaz 2008) and vice versa.

To provide a more systematic approach to analysis, Hillier and colleagues have developed a technique known as *space syntax* to examine (amongst other things) the relationship between crime, permeability^{lxvi}, through movement and street configuration. Space syntax considers the role of spatial and physical design through the influence of geometry, architecture, urban design and planning^{lxvii}. The methodology, which draws on mathematical approaches such as graph theory, is used to quantify (for example) the connectivity of the street network at global (how connected is the entire street network?) and local scales (how integrated are particular street segments or block faces in the local network of roads?). Such analysis provides an indication of the movement potential at different locations – and thus the likely density of pedestrians or vehicular traffic throughout the day – as well as considering the specific layout of individual houses or other facilities. Figure 3 shows an example of how Space Syntax has been used to analyze the street network and patterns of movement in London. The red lines indicate greater potential for (both pedestrian and vehicle) movement and the blue lines indicate least potential for movement (see Hillier and Sahbaz 2008).

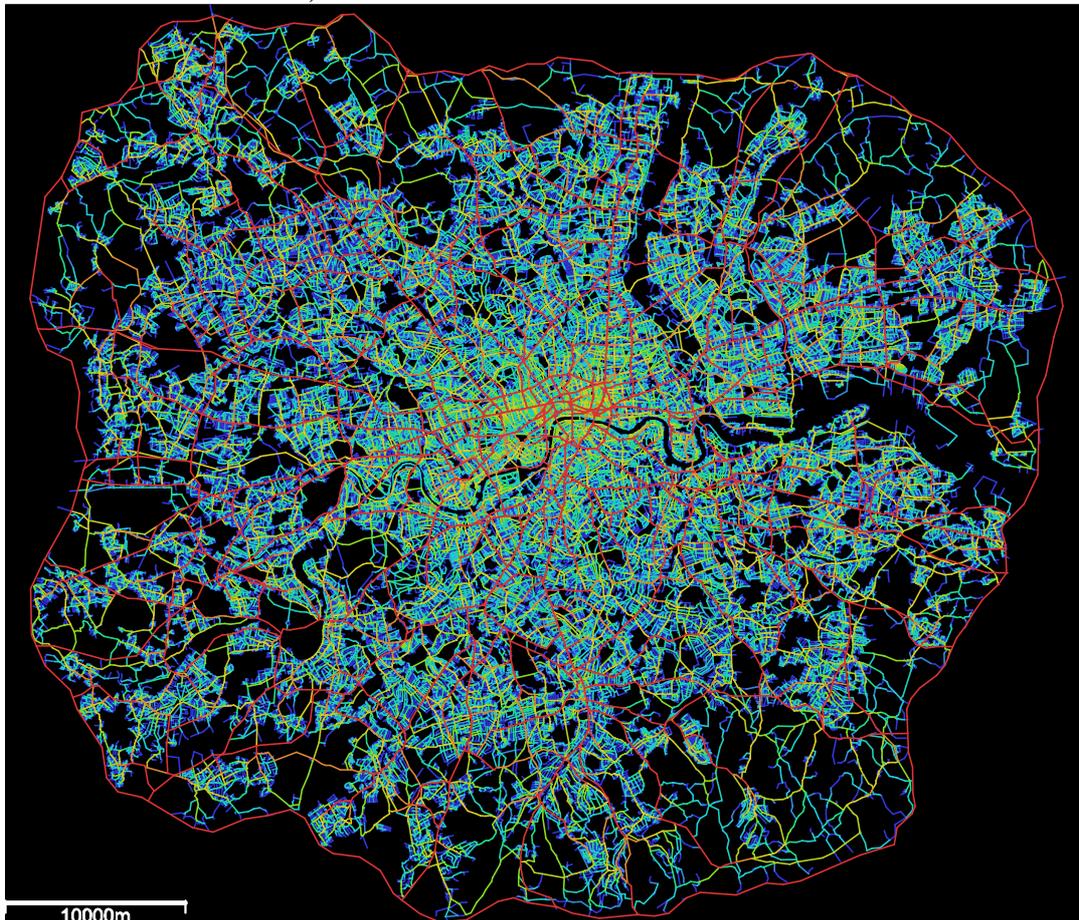


Figure 3: London by spatial network and local integration analysis. Source: Bill Hillier (2008)

A study of the relationship between space syntax and ASB is currently underway as part of the Urban Buzz SEDUC project, so while the results of that research are forthcoming, a consideration of how the research in this area informs understanding regarding the risk of crime is warranted.

Shu (2000) conducted an analysis which aimed to disentangle the contribution of social and spatial explanations of the distribution of burglary. His results suggest that while the hotspots identified may have a social explanation, incidents were more likely within the area at dwellings which had secondary access as a consequence of the network of footpaths surrounding them. Thus, the configuration of the surrounding space plays a part and in this case permeability is associated with crime risk.

However, the results of the emerging findings from the space syntax research are more nuanced than this. Using multivariate analysis¹², Hillier and Sahbaz (2008) find that local movement reduces the risk of burglary in residential areas, but that when an area is too permeable (resulting in unused and unsurveilled access areas) the risk of burglary increases. They also find that mixed land use is relatively safe when there are a high number of residents, but not so when residential numbers are low in the area of mixed use. Considering the question posed above regarding the risk of crime in cul-de-sacs, the answer seems to be that cul-de-sacs should not be treated as single type of street segment. The available evidence suggests that where cul-de-sacs do not have “leaky” footpaths which facilitate pedestrian movement through them (which provide offenders with access and escape routes), when they are linear (rather than bendy) roads which offer good natural surveillance, and when they are part of a larger network of simple linear through roads, the risk of crime may be lowest at these locations. However, when they are part of a larger network of intricately configured roads, have leaky footpaths and are non-linear, the risk of crime may be highest at these locations¹³. This appears to be especially the case at locations deep within the cul-de-sac^{lxviii}.

From such studies, it has been suggested that when taking into account the access points to a dwelling, flats are safer than detached houses, while also finding that the least safe in terms of crime appear to be cul-de-sacs linked by segregated footpaths (Hillier 2004). A further important finding from the research concerned with Space Syntax is that when statistical analyses are conducted which take account of street layout, indices of disadvantage are not so strongly associated with the likelihood of victimisation risk^{lxix}. Moreover, Bill Hillier has pointed out that disadvantaged neighbourhoods typically have different urban layouts from their more affluent counterparts. Thus, when considering the association between disadvantage and crime, the problem then is how to disentangle the role of disadvantage and that of urban design.

Overall, the results from research using Space Syntax techniques are complicated, but a general finding is that simple linear street configurations (which reduce opportunities for concealed activities) are associated with lower crime risk. However, it is also clear from the research that environmental factors interact, and so in terms of planning policy, simple guidelines can be misleading or even inappropriate for some areas. Simply put, all areas are not the same – a line also strongly taken by the Government in their guide on planning and crime^{lxx}. Thus, to provide a

¹² Multivariate analysis allows a range of factors to be considered simultaneously in the analysis.

¹³ Note that this is contrary to the generally dominant view that cul-de-sacs are safer due to the delineation of private space where a small number of households know each other, strangers are easily identified, and where there is less permeability (note however that leaky footpaths make the cul-de-sac more permeable). Though this preference for cul-de-sacs is traditionally associated with Newman’s defensible space, Hillier and Sahbaz (2008) point out that Newman did not actually provide any evidence on cul-de-sacs in his research.

reliable understanding of how the urban layout may influence victimisation risk in a particular area, a tailored analysis is required using the principles of the Space Syntax (or a similar) methodology.

It is important to note that Space Syntax offers a highly-focused perspective on urban design and crime, and is not without controversy. A broader approach is Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). This will not be covered here but for the interested reader, this is covered textbook-fashion by Crowe (2000) and more critically by Cozens et al (2005). Ekblom (2004)¹⁴ notes the challenges in reconciling evidence of what works, knowledge of crime reduction principles and values, as these relate in particular to the issue of defensibility versus permeability or accessibility. Some of the debate in this area is documented by Armitage (2007). The issue is also reviewed in the context of the contemporary architectural movement known as 'New Urbanism' in Cozens and Hillier (2008).

2. Understanding The Local Problem

The information provided above is only a generalised description of the problem of ASB. When analysing local problems with the aim of identifying reduction strategies, analysts should combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of local patterns. Zahm (2007) has produced a useful practical guide for crime analysts to do this¹⁵.

Stakeholders

In addition to criminal justice agencies, the following groups include those who have an interest in the anti-social behaviour problem and ought to be considered for the contribution they might make to gathering information about the problem and responding to it:

- local government officials
- local schools
- housing agencies
- local businesses, both small and large
- youth clubs
- religious establishments
- public transport agencies
- local residents and residents' associations

Asking the Right Questions

In order to analyze the problem access to the relevant data will be required. It will be important to establish whether there is a single database of ASB incidents or whether there are multiple recording sources across agencies. If the latter, analyses should include all data sources available although this will add to the effort for example in establishing consistent definitions.

The following are some critical questions that should be asked in analysing the problem of

¹⁴ In OPDM (2004) 'Safer Places' Annex 2

¹⁵ Downloadable at www.popcenter.org/tools/cpted/

anti-social behaviour, even if the answers are not always readily available. Answers to these and other questions will help decide the most appropriate set of responses later on.

Incidents

- What are the specific types of ASB that are occurring in the area?
- Are certain forms of ASB more common than others? Why?

Victims

- Are there particular types of people that are reporting each type of behaviour?
- Are victims residents?
- Are victims readily reporting incidents or are they reluctant to come forward?
- Who are they reporting to? The local authorities? Police? Housing Agencies? Schools?
- What kinds of harm do the victims indicate that they suffer?
- Are particular groups of victims especially harmed by the behaviour (eg ethnic or religious minorities, the elderly)?
- Is there consensus or disagreement over the nature or seriousness of the incidents?
- What do victims think can be done to resolve the problem(s)?
- Are there repeat victims?

Offenders

- Do the perpetrators come from the local area or from outside it?
- If they come from somewhere else, where are they coming from?
- Why are they coming to this area?
- Do they live, go to school or work close to the ASB location?
- Are they young? Old? Male? Female?
- If there are complaints about youth hanging around, what exactly is it about the youth's behaviour that triggers this?
- Do the perpetrators of ASB have special needs such as learning disabilities or mental health problems or come from disadvantaged families?
- Is there more than one family member involved in ASB?
- Are offenders repeat offenders?
- Are racist or gang motivations indicated?

Locations/Times

- Are there certain parts of the area that are experiencing certain types of ASB? If so, what are the factors that influence the concentration of incidents?
- Why is a particular ASB committed in a certain area?
- Are there certain times in the day or months in the year that each disorder type occurs? Why?
- Are incidents in particular places sporadic or persistent over time? Is there a 'history' of conflict, feuding etc behind them (eg between neighbours, between shopkeepers and

customers, between young and elderly street users, between the young and authority figures such as park keepers?

- Are the locations at which ASB tends to occur, public or private property? On streets, in enclosed areas such as parks, car parks, or in indoor areas such as covered shopping centres?
- If these areas were targeted by police, where else might the problem arise?
- If offenders are travelling from another area – where are they coming from and why are they coming to this area? How do they get there?
- Are there specific times of the year that particular disorders happen or increase? If so, when? Why?
- Is there an absence of guardianship at the location where ASB is committed? Is surveillance difficult?
- Are there differences in the configuration of the street layout at high and low risk locations? Where ASB occurs in or around cul-de-sacs are there “leaky” footpaths connecting the road to others?

Current Responses

- What kinds of intervention are being used to address each ASB type? How are they intended to work – by what mechanisms (physical blocking, deterrence, discouragement (reducing reward and increasing effort to offend, avoiding provocation, addressing offender motivation etc)
- Are these responses measured and evaluated?
- Who is involved in these responses? How are they alerted, informed, motivated, empowered and perhaps directed to take action?¹⁶
- Is feedback provided to local residents and victims?
- What is the balance between enforcement and ‘civil’ prevention strategies?

Measuring Your Effectiveness

Measurement is essential to enable evaluation of whether efforts have succeeded, and to provide an understanding of how responses may need to be modified if they are not producing intended outcomes. Measures of the problem should be taken before responses are implemented to determine how serious the problem is, and after implementation of responses, in order to determine whether they have been effective. For area-based interventions, all measures should be taken in both the target area and the surrounding area (or an area similar to the area of intervention) to provide control data against which to compare the intervention data. For interventions targeted at individuals, a comparison of changes in behaviour should also be made with a control group of similar individuals who were not subject to intervention. For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see the Problem-Solving Tools guide, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers* (www.popcenter.org).

It is important to note that appropriate methods need to be used when measuring impacts of interventions. Where possible, the statistical significance of observed changes should be

¹⁶ See the CLAIMED framework for mobilisation at www.designagainstcrime.com/index.php?q=node/85

established to determine whether any reductions could have occurred on a chance basis. The scale of the problem prior to intervention is also important; robust conclusions will not emerge when the volume of crime prior to intervention is low (e.g. 10 crimes). Moreover, where the number of crimes is small, the use of percentages to express the change observed should be avoided as these are likely to be very misleading.

In order to evaluate ASB strategies, the following may be useful in measuring the effectiveness of each response:

- Provide a clear and consistent definition of which type of ASB is being measured and what it is. Otherwise, it will be difficult to determine if changes over time reflect the impact of intervention or merely a change in definition. Understanding what works in the prevention of crime and ASB is important, not least because careless evaluations and any policy guidance based on them represent a waste of public resources. Moreover, without reliable analyses it will be difficult to identify those responses that make the problem worse.
- Where individuals or groups are targeted for intervention, sociodemographic details should be collected so that any changes in their behaviour can be compared with a suitable control group, matched in terms of sociodemographic characteristics.
- Record what exactly was done, when and by whom. This is useful for the purposes of evaluation, but may also help others who might wish to implement similar activity in their area. Descriptions of interventions and how they were implemented are often quite vague which means that replication can be difficult and any lessons learned are lost. A focus on identifying underlying causal mechanisms (*how* the method blocked, weakened or diverted the causes of the ASB problem) is important both for fine-tuning your own response and knowing what the essential ingredients of the action are. A systematic way of describing all the stages of preventive action to aid intelligent replication in new contexts is the 5Is framework – see www.designagainstcrime.com/index.php?q=node/86.
- Where individuals are targeted, how many received intervention and when.
- Changes in the number of incidents by type.
- Changes in the number of incidents by location and time, before and after intervention.
- Awareness of other strategies which are not specifically focused on ASB reduction but may have an impact on intended outcomes.
- Residents' view on strategies implemented.
- Perpetrators' view on impact of strategies.
- The cost of implementing strategies, broken down in terms of the different elements that make up the intervention (e.g. staff costs, costs of equipment, and so on).

3. Responses to the Problem of Anti-social Behaviour

An analysis of the local problem should provide a better understanding of the factors contributing to it. Once an analysis of the local problem has been undertaken, and a baseline established for measuring effectiveness, the possible responses to address the problem should be considered.

The following response strategies provide a foundation of ideas for addressing the problem. The strategies are drawn from a variety of research studies and other reports. It is critical that responses are tailored to local circumstances, and that these can be justified on the basis of reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing *several* different and complementary responses perhaps acting at different levels – individual, group, institutional (eg schools), community – and over different timescales. Police responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem: it should be carefully considered whether others in the community share responsibility for the problem and can help police better respond to it. The responsibility for responding, in some cases, may need to be shifted toward those who have the capacity to implement more effective responses¹⁷.

The British government has made the tackling of ASB one of its key policy areas since 1998. The introduction of legislation (The 1998 Crime and Disorder Act) demonstrated its resolve to address the problem. Since then, it has continued to introduce measures intended to reduce ASB through various campaigns, legislation and task forces. In the following section these strategies will be discussed, as well as alternatives suggested in the literature.

General Considerations for an Effective Response Strategy

Tackling ASB effectively requires localised solutions, tailored to the particular aspects of ASB that affect each neighbourhood¹⁷. Moreover, the nature of the responses implemented should differ according to the particular type of ASB experienced. For example, Drunken Behaviour, Graffiti, Street Prostitution, or disorder related to youth, have specific measures to combat them. These are not covered here specifically. However information on some of these can be found in the following Problem Oriented Guides (www.popcenter.org):

- Loud Car Stereos
- Disorderly Youth in Public Places
- Graffiti
- Panhandling (begging)
- Street Prostitution

Before discussing specific responses, general issues which should be considered when tackling anti-social behaviour will be discussed.

¹⁷ For more detailed information on shifting and sharing responsibility, see Problem Oriented Response Guide No. 3, Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems, available at www.popcenter.org.

i) Training staff involved in ASB, and encouraging good practice between partner agencies

A good relationship between partner agencies who are dealing with the problem of ASB is essential. By establishing these, information sharing and problem solving will be more effective and manageable. A review on the implementation of ASB strategies highlighted the negative effect of partner agencies not being able to work together^{lxxii}. Training of staff involved in ASB strategies will also help increase its effectiveness as staff are able to understand and deal better with the problems, their victims and offenders.

ii) Engaging local community

Involving local residents and businesses in the problem solving process may create a sense of confidence that something is being done about the problem, particularly if this is combined with feedback on the effectiveness of strategies. At the same time, it brings benefit to the agencies who are trying to tackle the problem as they will gather expert knowledge on the issue from local residents^{lxxiii}. It may also lead to solutions that are more likely to be sustainable if they have the support and input of the community^{lxxiv}. It has also been suggested that agencies should engage with offender and nuisance groups in the local area, alongside those who are not involved in disorderly behaviour or criminal offences¹⁸. The CLAIMED framework¹⁹ provides a generic schema for planning how to mobilise sectors of the community to undertake particular crime prevention tasks or roles in implementing interventions.

Types of Intervention

Ronald Clarke and others have developed a framework of situational crime prevention measures²⁰ to describe the types of responses that are designed to reduce crime and disorder, and the basic mechanisms through which they might work. A total of 25 techniques have so far been identified^{lxxv} which are grouped into five general categories. The latter are listed below to highlight the range of different mechanisms through which interventions may (or may not) work, and examples of how they apply to ASB specifically provided.

iii) Increasing the effort required to commit crime and ASB

This would involve (for example) making the target of ASB more difficult to access, or making it more difficult to commit the act. Interventions might include the use of anti-graffiti paint on walls or controlling access to locations where ASB is likely to occur. Other techniques include the control of tools and weapons, such as using plastic instead of glass beer bottles, and deflecting those who may commit ASB, through the use of dispersal zones (see below). Similarly, the use of traffic management systems to divert kerb crawlers away from 'red light districts' are also an example of successfully reducing a problem by raising the effort required to carry out the activity^{lxxvi}.

iv) Increasing the risk of committing ASB

Perpetrators of crime are said to worry more about the risk of getting caught than the penalty if caught^{lxxvii}. If the same applied to ASB, then increasing the risk of being detected committing

¹⁸ For more information on community engagement in problem solving, see Forrest et al (2005)

¹⁹ www.designagainstcrime.com/index.php?q=node/85

²⁰ A searchable database regarding situational crime prevention is available at: <http://www.popcenter.org/library/scp/>

ASB may help to reduce it. Installing CCTV may deter offenders by increasing the actual (or perceived) risk of being identified, for example. An alternative is to increase natural surveillance of locations susceptible to ASB. For example, vandalised bus shelters might be re-situated in areas where there is better lighting or natural surveillance^{lxxviii}.

v) Reducing rewards of committing ASB

One important reason for engaging in ASB may be the rewards received from it, such as the recognition that follows from using a distinct graffiti tag. Therefore concealing and removing targets and denying the benefits of ASB may help reduce it. By way of an example, in one study it was shown that the immediate cleaning of graffiti (and hence the rewards of engaging in graffiti) on New York subway carriages had the effect of reducing this type of activity^{lxxix}.

vi) Reducing provocations to commit ASB

Many perpetrators of ASB may argue that they were provoked into behaving in such a way due to frustration and distress (e.g. in the case of disputes between neighbours or on public transport), rude treatment or peer pressure^{lxxx}. Such situations may be alleviated by (for example) providing more spacious seating on public transport (reduce frustration when travelling), or providing staggered closing times of schools and licensed bars (to prevent large groups from congregating in one place and time)

vii) Removing excuses to commit ASB

Sometimes people engage in particular types of ASB because they are unaware that such activity is anti-social, or because they feel that a particular type of behaviour is not really a problem. Alerting people to the fact that certain types of behaviour *are* unacceptable can help to set clear rules about what is and is not acceptable in a given situation, thereby alerting the conscience of those that might engage in ASB. This can be achieved in a variety of ways such as using signs or posters, or by drawing up agreements between involved parties (such as Acceptable Behaviour Contracts – see below).

Specific Responses to Reduce Anti-Social Behaviour

A number of authors have noted that where ASB interventions have been evaluated, it is often the case that insufficient information is collected regarding what was implemented and how (e.g. Rubin 2006). Moreover, most of the evaluations conducted hitherto have tended to lack rigour in terms of statistical analysis.

Consequently, not all of the methods described below may be strategically justified, but are included here purely to provide the reader with an overview of the types of interventions that *have* been used to try to tackle ASB.

Enforcement measures

1. Police Safer Neighbourhoods Teams (SNT)

As discussed in the introduction, a number of theories that consider why crime and ASB occur in some places more than others suggest that the differences observed may be explained in terms of

variations in the informal social control exerted by residents. Community oriented and neighbourhood level policing have been described as a move away from the reactive and enforcement approach, towards one where processes of informal social control are recognised as being more effective^{lxxxix}. In the UK, Safer Neighbourhoods Teams have been introduced with the aim of increasing resident participation in the policing process, improving police-community relations and increasing the knowledge of local police on what residents' fears and concerns are (which, according to the Metropolitan police^{lxxxii} are most likely to be that of low level disorder and anti-social behaviour).

Based in the local community, SNTs consist of one sergeant, two constables and three police community support officers (PCSOs). Their aim is to help resolve problems of local residents with regard to anti-social behaviour, by patrolling local areas and speaking to local residents, and by working with local agencies to help identify and solve problems of disorder.

Hodgkinson and Tilley (2007) carried out a study on the effectiveness of the introduction of an ASB Taskforce in a Midlands city in 2004, where SNT's were used in conjunction with local authority ASB officers. They found that the initial area-based approach was overtaken by a focus on targeting individual offenders for ASBO's. Overall, although the *perception* of ASB improved 12 months after implementation, the reporting of incidents of ASB did not decline in line with expectations. A Home Office evaluation^{lxxxiii} of the impact of PCSO's on levels of crime and ASB as recorded by the police has also been conducted. Relative to the change observed in control areas (with a similar crime rate), the results of the evaluation suggested that there was no change in the areas where PCSOs were introduced. However, interviews with local residents revealed that the latter felt that the PCSOs had impacted upon disorder in their areas.

2. Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs)

The Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) was introduced with the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. It is a civil order, only becoming criminal if the terms of the ASBO are breached. The order bans the person from entering certain locations, from associating with certain people or doing certain acts associated with their disorderly behaviour. Though there appears to be no clear rationale in the literature for the use of ASBO's, its introduction is associated with government's policy of zero tolerance toward ASB, and the Home Office describe it as an early intervention measure designed to prevent disorderly behaviour before it escalates further. The duration of an ASBO is determined by the local authority who issued it but they are valid for at least two years, with no maximum duration specified. ASBOs represent an enforcement measure which aims to prevent the person from committing further acts of ASB. If an offender breaches an ASBO this can lead to imprisonment for up to 5 years. The power to apply for an ASBO has been given to local authorities, local police, British Transport Police and Registered Social Landlords and Housing Agencies.

A Home Office report^{lxxxiv} lists the following possible advantages of ASBOs:

- Reduced criminal offending
- Reduced ASB by offender and their associates
- Increased public confidence in local authorities and partner agencies
- Improved relationship between partner agencies

- Improved quality of life for locals
- Empowering community to report and take action to deal with ASB

It also notes the following possible disadvantages associated with ASBOs:

- Unnecessary bureaucracy
- Excessive delays at all stages of application process
- Poor relationship between partner agencies
- Costs of ASBOs
- Poor enforcement
- Inconsistencies with sentencing of breaches

Though the above mentions the bureaucracy associated with issuing ASBOs, other authors have argued that it is in fact relatively easy to apply for an ASBO compared with initiating criminal procedures. In particular, it has been argued that the use of ‘hearsay’²¹ and professional witnesses has made it easier for authorities to issue ASBOs rather than attempt to arrest someone for a criminal offence, where there is not enough evidence to convict the person. It has been argued that ASBOs are pursued due to their relative ease in procedure in comparison to the rigour required to prosecute and offender for a criminal offence; and that they have been used as an alternative when criminal behaviour cannot be proven in court^{lxxxv}. However, other studies have pointed out that there is a reluctance amongst residents to come forward and report anything due to fear of reprisals^{lxxxvi}, despite professional witnesses and ‘hearsay’ being allowed.

As part of a larger study that examined the effect and uptake of ASBOs across England and Wales between April 1999 and March 2001, an analysis was conducted to examine the outcomes for a sample of those who received an order. The results showed that one year after being issued with an ASBO, 14 out of 40 individuals had breached it, and 30% had committed an offence in that time. However, even this may represent an underestimate of the number of offences committed, as a number of those followed up had moved into other geographic areas where they could possibly have committed offences that would not have been identified as part of the evaluation^{lxxxvii}. The findings of this study are limited as no comparison was made with a control group who did not receive ASBOs, there was a small sample size, and because there was no longer term follow up^{lxxxviii}. Moreover, patterns regarding the of ASBOs have been difficult to monitor as recording practices are inconsistent^{lxxxix}.

As already discussed, Hodgkinson and Tilley (2008) examined the impact of an ASB taskforce which used a range of tactics, but with a focus on the use of ASBOs. The results of that study suggested that the use of the orders did not reduce the rate of reporting of ASB although it did improve public perceptions regarding ASB. It is possible, as discussed by the study authors, that the intervention did have an impact but that a consequent increase in public confidence led to a higher rate of reporting (and hence less under-reporting) of incidents of ASB. However, this possibility remains speculative.

²¹ ‘Hearsay’ is where police officers are able to provide statements on behalf of witnesses who wish to remain anonymous. Professional witnesses are those who may be involved in working in ASB in a professional capacity, who provide witness statements on behalf of people who do not wish to be identified.

3. Fixed Penalty Notices (FPN) or Penalty Notices for Disorder (PND)

FPNs are fines (in England and Wales) which may be issued on-the-spot for ASB, to those aged above 10. They are mainly used for environmental disorder, such as littering or dog-fouling and lower level ASB. A failure to comply with the fine may lead to further fines or imprisonment. They can be issued by a range of authorities, including parks authorities, police and PCSOs. A penalty notice for disorder (PND) works in the same way but applies to more serious offences and can only be issued to those above the age of 16. Offences include harassing others, being drunk and disorderly, and destroying or damaging property.

There are currently no evaluations for the use of PNDs in England and Wales. An evaluation^{xc} of the pilot FPN scheme in Tayside, Scotland, however, found some evidence to show that behaviours which would previously have only received a warning are now being issued fines. Note, however, that the Scottish FPN is only issued to over 16s. Also, they cover a different range of behaviours in Scotland, centred mainly on drunken behaviour, and not including littering. Of the 3,327 FPNs issued in the 12 month period April 2001 to March 2002, there were 350 repeat offenders. However, the evaluation was far from systematic and hence there is insufficient data to determine whether FPNs have a significant impact on reducing ASB.

4. Warning letters

These are sent to perpetrators of ASB, warning them that they should change their behaviour. If this has no impact, then there are follow-up home visits by authorities. Again, if this does not result in a change, then other avenues are pursued (such as ASBOs). In the same way as ASBO's, they are designed to change the behaviour of the offender and prevent ASB from escalating. Warning letters are said to be one of the most cost-effective methods, costing only £66 on average^{xc}. In an evaluation of ASB strategies, it was found that 63% of those who had received warning letters stopped their disorderly behaviour, with the greatest impact being on those under the age of 18, where 62% required no further interventions^{xcii}. However, it was found that those who *did* go back to ASB did so more quickly than those receiving ABCs or ASBOs. Whether these findings are encouraging or not is difficult to say for two reasons. First, as data regarding a control group who engaged in similar behaviour but who did not receive warning letters are unavailable, it is unclear if the effect observed was due to intervention or something else. And, second, it is possible that warning letters are issued to those currently engaged in ASBs that are not perceived as serious as those for people who are issued with (for example) ASBOs. If this is true, then any effect of intervention will be confounded with the type (and likely persistency) of the offender.

Educational Measures

The interventions reviewed in this section have been advocated on the basis of the research discussed in the introduction which suggests a link between poor parenting and delinquent behaviour^{xciii} and the idea that the family environment during early childhood is important in preventing delinquency^{xciv}. Welsh and Farrington (2006) note that the relationship with the parent (developed in the early years) is linked to the impulsive and aggressive behaviour of the child. Consequently, it has been suggested that by increasing the skills of parents so that they can address

some of these problems, the quality of this relationship will be increased, thereby improving the resilience of the child to delinquent behaviour. Moreover, Moffit (1993) argues that those who display 'problem behaviour' early on are more likely to retain it later. This behaviour is believed to be difficult to change^{xcv} and therefore early interventions which try to address these problems before they manifest are advocated as a form of prevention.

5. Educational programmes for the development of cognitive and behavioural skills

Studies have shown that those perpetrating crime or ASB tend to have lower IQ and lower educational attainment, and character traits such as impulsiveness and aggressiveness²². Although the relationship is not necessarily causal, the theory is that interventions which address specific cognitive and behavioural problems may reduce disorderly behaviour. Pre-school interventions, for example, have been shown to have a positive effect on a child's behaviour and educational attainment. US studies are more readily available on the evaluation of such programmes, with some finding that early childhood interventions can reduce the incidence and seriousness of offending. However there are many others that do not show a significant effect^{x cvi}. There are very few rigorous evaluations carried out in the UK on early intervention programmes.

6. Mentoring

Mentoring of youth at risk of ASB or crime is also a popular intervention. This is based on social learning theory^{x cvii} whereby people learn through observing others and the consequences of this behaviour^{x cviii}. The idea is that role models can promote positive behavioural change in young people. As with other interventions of this kind, intervention is targeted towards those who may be at risk of or getting involved in ASB. Tierney et al. (1995) evaluated a US based mentoring program of over 900 young people aged 10-16, from single-parent, low income families. Participants were randomly allocated to conditions and so the effects observed cannot be attributed to the way that they were recruited or assigned to conditions. After an 18 month follow-up period, compared to a control group, those who had received mentoring were 52% less likely to have truanted and 46% less likely to have started using drugs^{x cix}. On the other hand, Sherman et al (1999) looked at seven evaluations of mentoring programmes and found that four out of the seven failed to show positive results, and for those that did, it was not the reduction of ASB as such, rather the reduction in drug use^c. Conclusive evidence on the impact of mentoring on disorderly behaviour do not exist, with results regarding the impact on ASB across studies being inconsistent^{ci}. Again, rigorous evaluations of programs are scant, though in the UK mentoring is in place in many areas and in many forms.

7. Parental training and educational programmes and Parenting Orders

Studies have highlighted poor parenting skills as a factor associated with disorderly behaviour, and Parenting Orders are used as a measure in England and Wales. These are issued to parents of children who have been involved in ASB, requiring them to attend guidance sessions, and placing conditions on them with regard to their children, such as having to attending school meetings. Again, there currently exist no evaluations of the Parenting Order. In a systematic review of parent education or management training programs^{cii} it was found that there were very few rigorous evaluations carried out. Out of 55 studies which did use randomised controlled trials, there was,

²² See Farrington (2005) for discussion of these.

overall a ‘small to moderate’ effect on reducing childhood behavioural problems. It was concluded that ASB can be prevented to a certain degree and may have additional benefits further to reducing delinquency in childhood, but that there was no strong evidence for this, with mixed results to its effectiveness in impacting ASB overall.

A note on the measurement of individual rather than area-level interventions

It should be noted that no evaluations (of which the authors are aware) that have focused on the treatment of individuals have examined the impacts of intervention at the area level. The implicit assumption made appears to be that if a particular intervention reduces the likelihood of ASB for those treated this will yield an area-level reduction in ASB. This may be true, but it may not. To be more explicit, the question “does intervention A reduce the likelihood that those treated will be less likely to engage in ASB?” is not the same as “does treatment A reduce the occurrence of ASB?”. Intervention A might reduce the likelihood that those treated will engage in ASB, but the possibility exists that the volume of ASB will remain the same or even increase. The reason that this might occur is because of displacement, but a type of displacement rarely considered, *offender replacement*^{ciii}. The simple idea is that if the reason that ASB occurs is partly a function of environmental factors (e.g. because the street configuration encourages and facilitates ASB, or because environmental factors provoke ASB) then even if some offenders cease to engage in ASB, others may simply take their place if the environmental factors that contribute to the problem are not addressed.

Situational Prevention Measures

There are a number of situational prevention measures which have specifically been used to address disorderly behaviour (general principles of situational prevention were described above). A few of these are provided below (in the area of graffiti, for example). For further examples and case studies on crime prevention techniques in disorder, see the Centre for Problem Oriented Policing’s online library <http://www.popcenter.org/library/scp/>

8. Graffiti reporting hotlines and rapid removal of Graffiti

The problem of graffiti is just one example of ASB, which is viewed as being particularly location specific^{civ}. Wiesel (2002) mentions that graffiti is likely to appear in places which are not directly owned by anyone (in line with the concept of defensible space). Graffiti is also more likely to appear in highly visible locations and on light-coloured, and/or smooth surfaces^{cv}. Design features which may allow the reduction of graffiti include surfaces which aid rapid removal. The case of the New York subway carriages discussed above shows how graffiti may be stopped by reducing its rewards for the graffiti writer. A policy of cleaning up carriages and not allowing them to be used in the public arena until they had been cleaned meant that graffiti writers did not receive recognition for their graffiti – a primary motive for this type of ASB. Although there were other policies in place at the same time – such as storing carriages in more secure places (situational measures that increase the effort and risks of ASB) –it is believed that removing the primary reward for the graffiti “artists” was largely responsible for the success observed . Similar programmes of

rapid removal are in place elsewhere. (In London, for example, graffiti is removed from large stations within 24 hours^{cv1}) and graffiti reporting hotlines are also a common feature.

9. Anti-graffiti paint and rough surfaces

These are, again, design features which may be manipulated to increase the difficulty in carrying out graffiti. Making surfaces rough are mentioned as a possible ‘discourager’ as they distort the otherwise smooth appearance of graffiti^{cvii}. Anti-graffiti paint may also prevent any graffiti. There are no evaluations on the impact of these measures, however.

10. Road traffic measures

These were used by authorities in a North London area known for its problems with prostitution, where road management systems were put in place to divert traffic away from the area, in combination with intensified policing. It was deemed a success as it almost eliminated the problem, and with no displacement effects²³. This is a situational technique which raised the effort required for clients to engage in this behaviour, as well as increasing the risk of getting caught. Other examples of where such initiatives have led to a reduction in the level of street prostitution are Luton and Southampton. Luton introduced the traffic management scheme in 1987, where the number of prostitutes known to be working in the area fell from 75 in 1987 to 25 in 1989^{cviii}. In Streatham, it was shown that there was a substantial reduction in the number of cars entering an area known for its problems with prostitution. In the space of two years (from 1988 to 1990), the number of cars entering the area between 11pm and midnight, was reduced from 518 to 312. This was attributed to the reduction in kerb-crawling in the area^{ciX}.

11. Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABC)

These may be thought of as an example of an intervention that aims to ‘remove excuses’ technique^{cx}, whereby attention is drawn to the individual’s behaviour and excuses to continue behaving anti-socially are removed. It is a voluntary agreement between an individual and the local authorities, where an individual is identified through complaints about their behaviour to housing agencies or the police. The contract is drawn up between the individual, their family and local housing or police officer, setting out a few terms of conduct for the person to comply with. The family is also required to help the person adhere to the contract. Any breach of this agreement may then lead to an ASBO.

An evaluation by the National Audit Office^{cx1} found that ABCs were the most common strategy used in response to ASB. In their review of ASB response cases, 65% of those with an ABC did not re-offend. However, they found that ABCs were not very effective for those aged 18 or under, with over 60% breaching their contracts. Control groups were not used in this evaluation and so the effectiveness of ABCs remains unknown.

12. Parental Control Agreements

These are agreements much the same as ABCs, applied in a case where the child is under 10 years old (thus under the age of criminal responsibility in England & Wales). As with ABCs, it is a

²³ See Matthews (1992; 1997) for details

voluntary agreement, in this case signed by the parent, who accepts responsibility in meeting the terms with regard to a child who is deemed to be committing ASB. Currently there exist no evaluations of this strategy.

13. Introductory and starter tenancies

These form part of the solutions that the UK government has put forward for tackling ASB, aiming to remove the excuses and rewards for ASB by making the tenant of rented accommodation more aware of what is regarded as acceptable conduct and increasing the risk of losing their homes if they behave anti-socially. Introductory tenancies were introduced as part of the Housing Act 1996, as an alternative to a secure tenancy, which guarantees that a tenant may live in a home for the rest of their life. It also provides a degree of flexibility so that they may, for example, buy the property at a discounted rate, or exchange properties. Eviction procedures are very stringent and difficult to undertake under secure tenancies. Starter tenancies are essentially a contractual device, used to encourage changes in behaviour, and designed to reduce the level of uncertainty between the landlord and tenant, through agreeing acceptable modes of behaviour and the consequences of non-compliance^{cxii}.

Introductory tenancies essentially introduce a probationary period before the secure tenancy status begins. These increase the powers of landlords to withdraw tenancy from those deemed not to be behaving acceptably. They enable landlords to evict tenants without the previous restriction of having to prove grounds for eviction. After this period the tenancy reverts to a secure one. A further amendment of the Housing Act 2004 provides the opportunity to extend the probationary period in cases of anti-social behaviour. If the landlord wishes to evict the tenant based on anti-social behaviour it may give them two months' notice, after which the landlord has the right to repossess²⁴.

Again, it should be noted that there are no evaluations of the use of introductory tenancies therefore conclusions on their impact on ASB cannot be made.

14. Creation of spaces for youth and diversionary activities

As discussed, one view is that the normal behaviour of young people is becoming criminalised, and this particularly applies when it comes to groups of young people 'hanging around'. The creation of designated areas which youths can use congregate or socialise as they otherwise would on the streets may help to alleviate the intimidation it causes.

The provision of diversionary activities to reduce ASB also has an intuitive appeal as research, such as that reviewed in the introduction, suggests that the amount of time youths spend unsupervised by parents and guardians is associated with the likelihood of juvenile delinquency. An example of a diversionary activity is provided by the Thames Valley Police, who have produced a guide to

²⁴ For an example of interventions used against families at risk of conviction, see Department for Communities and Local Government (2006)

'youth shelters'²⁵. However there is no evaluative evidence available on the subject of diversionary spaces for youths²⁶.

15. Improved Street Lighting

Improving street lighting may deter offenders by making the presence of potential offenders more visible and subject to identification, and increasing the use of the street and surrounding areas by people potentially with an interest in maintaining order, hence improving its natural surveillance²⁷. Painter (1996) examined the impact of street lighting on fear and disorder in three streets in London. Results suggested that crime and disorder fell in two of the streets while in the third the results were inconclusive. Interestingly, it was suggested that disorder was reduced more than crime. Of those who felt safer following the installation of the lights, 83% in one of the areas considered reported that it was because of the new lighting, while only 30% in the other area said this, with the majority saying they did not know why they felt safer. While street lighting does not always have a reductive effect on crime and disorder, the general consensus is that it does^{cxiii}.

Changes in environmental design

Youth spaces and lighting are examples of specific environmental design interventions, but although virtually every reference to CPTED *in general* refers to its utility for reducing both crime and disorder or ASB, unfortunately closer scrutiny usually reveals that these latter elements have simply been tacked on to broaden the scope or the appeal of the approach as a whole.

16. Installing CCTV/Mobile CCTV

There are at least two ways in which CCTV could impact upon crime and ASB. First, where incidents in progress (or those anticipated) are identified on camera, the police may be deployed to intervene. Second, CCTV may be used to deter crime and ASB. The deterrent effect of CCTV is likely to be dependent on the degree to which offenders perceive the effectiveness of the system. Where CCTV is successfully used to detect offenders and this is publicised, CCTV may reduce crime and ASB^{cxiv}. However, where offenders are not detected or offenders are not aware of the systems effectiveness, significant impacts are unlikely. In a systematic review of the effectiveness of CCTV, Farrington and Welsh (2002) concluded that whilst CCTV can have a significant effect on crime and disorder, this depends on the context within which it is implemented, and that the overall effect (measured across all evaluations) tends to be small.

Poyner (1988) documents an operation on London buses, in which CCTV was installed in a fleet which had particular problems with ASB from school children. At one bus depot the impact of intervention was evaluated. At this depot, 2 buses were fitted with CCTV with 3 others installed with dummies. This was accompanied by a publicity campaign in schools to make children aware their behaviour on buses was being monitored. It was shown that there was a reduction in the

²⁵ See Hampshire and Wilkinson (2002) "Youth Shelters and Sports Systems: A good practice guide"

²⁶ For more on such strategies, see Scott, M (2001) Problem Oriented Guide on Disorderly Youth in Public Spaces

²⁷ For an example on the positive effects of street lighting see section on spatial and temporal factors.

number of seats which required repairing due to vandalism between January 1986 and May 1987, with repairs being down by a third of what they were 12 months prior to May 1987^{cxv}.

17. Dispersal Orders

Dispersal Orders were introduced in the 2003 as part of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act. They enable police and police community support officers to disperse two or more people from an area associated with ASB where they believe the presence of these people will result in harassment or intimidation. This requires an officer of at least Superintendent rank to apply to the local authorities for a designated zone, detailing grounds for authorisation and the length of the order, which may be up to 6 months. A notice must then be made to the public, making them aware that this is now a dispersal order zone.

Once an order has been used, the Police have the power to disperse groups of people found congregating in an area, or they may ask them to leave if they do not live there. Police officers may also prohibit people from returning to the area for up to 24 hours²⁸. Similar to the ASBO, the dispersal order in itself is a civil means. However, non-compliance with an order is a criminal offence and can result in a maximum imprisonment of up to three months, and/or a maximum fine of up to £5,000.

Dispersal orders also allow the police to place curfews on and forcibly remove unsupervised young people under 16 years between the hours of 6pm and 9pm if it is believed they are at risk of becoming a victim of or committing ASB²⁹. This curfew has been criticised for victimising the young^{cxvi} and criminalising non-criminal behaviour^{cxvii}.

Crawford and Lister (2007) present the findings for two case studies of the use of dispersal orders. In one of the two areas, ASB decreased relative to the same period of time the year before, whereas in the second the reverse was true. However, for neither case study were the findings compared to the trends in a comparison area in which there was no intervention and so interpretation of the findings is ambiguous.

In terms of other possible benefits, Crawford and Lister argue that dispersal orders may reassure users of an area and encourage confidence in it. The process of applying for a dispersal order itself may be beneficial as it stimulates problem solving and focuses on area-specific solutions across different agencies, as well as encouraging community consultation, however without this process of authorisation the Order would erode this important accountability of the authorities to the locals^{cxviii}.

²⁸ They may tell them to disperse immediately or at a specified time in the future.

²⁹ This aspect of the Dispersal Order has been controversial, the original order being the subject of a legal challenge, resulting in modification of this feature, in particular the specification of the condition of being at risk of experiencing or committing ASB.

Appendix A: Summary of Responses to Anti-Social Behaviour

The table below summarizes the responses to ASB, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that responses are tailored to local circumstances, and that these can be justified through being based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem.

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How it works	Works best if...	Considerations
Enforcement Measures					
1	31	Police Safer Neighbourhoods Teams	Increasing risk of committing ASB. By patrolling the local area, team members would be able to detect ASB and its perpetrators, or investigate to find out who may be carrying out ASB in local area.	...team members are properly trained and communicate well with both ASB perpetrators and local victims and other residents or business owners. Also, if people feel comfortable in reporting incidents to team members.	
2	32	Anti Social Behaviour Order (ASBO)	Restricting the movement of the person to places where ASB has been committed by them. Curbing the disorderly behaviour by restricting association with others involved in ASB. Acts as a warning of future penalties if breached.	...diversionary activities are in place to help offenders from breaching, also if provided with support measures to address behavioural problems.	Witnesses may be reluctant to come forward due to fear of reprisals, particularly in relation to neighbourly disputes where it is not as easy for witnesses to remain anonymous.

3	34	Fixed Penalty Notices or Penalty Notices for Disorder	By increasing the cost of carrying out ASB (hence reducing some of its rewards).	...person has the ability to pay, and fine is high enough to impose a significant loss.	May become unpopular if people feel it is being used excessively.
4	34	Warning Letters	Making perpetrators aware that their behaviour has been reported or noticed by authorities, requiring them to change or face penalties.	...feasible enforcement measures are in place to act as a deterrent to subsequent disorderly behaviour. Also, if support services are provided to the individual committing ASB, to address the underlying problems to help them desist.	Impact of a warning letter according to different levels and types of disorder are unknown and may vary.
Educational Measures					
5	35	Educational programs for the development of cognitive and behavioural skills	Addressing low cognitive and behavioural development , thereby reducing risk factors linked to ASB.	Parents are aware of program availability and when they are provided free of charge or are subsidised (as targets are often socially and economically disadvantaged).	Investment is required to set up and maintain programs. A variety of programmes may be needed.

6	35	Mentoring	Appropriate behaviour and social skills are developed through engagement with mentors.	...participants are willing to develop relationships with mentor.	Requires skilled mentors who are able to have an impact and people willing to take part, can be resource intensive.
7	35	Parental training and educational programs	Empowering parents to take control and prevent or deal with troubled behaviour more effectively, help them address related problems and concerns such as money management skills.	...problem is associated with young people.	
Situational Prevention Measures					
8.	36	Graffiti Reporting Hotlines and Rapid Removal	Reducing the rewards for graffiti writers by reducing the exposure of their work to the public.	...locals are aware of and active in reporting disorder to the local authorities. Investment in rapid removal services is required.	It is important to make people aware that reporting hotlines are available.

9.	37	Anti-graffiti paint	Makes it easier to remove graffiti from surfaces, thereby removing or reducing rewards for the offender by restricting exposure of their work to the public.	...there is regular monitoring and reporting of graffiti, and services are in place to remove the graffiti quickly.	There are different types of anti-graffiti coating. These still require removal services.
10.	37	Road traffic measures	Diverting traffic away from areas which are known for disorderly behaviour. In the case of 'red light districts' it diverts kerb-crawlers and increases the effort required to access the area.	...other measures are in place in conjunction, such as increased police presence and patrol of the area.	There is an emphasis on the multi-agency approach with collaboration between police and local authorities in (for example) the design of changes in road traffic flow.
11	37	Acceptable Behaviour Contracts	Removing excuses. Making perpetrators aware that they have a responsibility to change their behaviour and not commit ASB. The contract formalise the agreement and acts as a warning that a breach will have consequences.	Supported and encouraged to keep to the agreement by family and by authorities, through addressing needs of the person, providing additional mentoring and support services.	Requires monitoring by responsible agencies to ensure it is not breached. Need to have feasible, enforceable measures in place which would act as a deterrent to breaching the agreement.
12	37	Parental Control Agreements	Removing excuses for ASB. Making parents responsible or accountable for their children's behaviour.	...parent is not involved in ASB themselves Parent has good relationship with child and able to influence them.	May need to consider any additional issues the parent may have which would prevent them from complying with the

					agreement.
13	38	Introductory and Starter Tenancies	Removes excuses for and reduces the rewards of ASB. Encourages tenants to behave in a manner that does not cause distress or alarm to others, as they know their tenancy is dependent upon not behaving anti-socially.	...a new tenant. Probationary period applies to tenants who have been living in a residence for less than 12 months.	Despite legislation trying to make it easy to evict tenants, eviction can be a relatively long process. There may be an issue for housing and social welfare agencies in dealing with evicted tenants.
14	38	Creation of youth spaces and diversionary activities	keeping youth 'off the streets and from 'hanging around'.	...these are lacking in the area. Able to secure sufficient funding for activities and facilities, and where accessible space is available.	The provision of diversionary activities requires skilled youth workers from local area Requires investment and space.
15	39	Improved street lighting	Increases the risk of committing ASB, improves natural surveillance as people may feel more comfortable using streets and surrounding areas after dark.	...ASB locations are not currently well-lit and incidents occur during the hours of darkness.	

16	39	Installing CCTV	Increasing the ability to detect and deter disorderly behaviour and may be used as evidence in cases where witnesses are reluctant to come forward.	...CCTV is not already in operation in the area. Also, if signs are posted to warn potential offenders that CCTV is in place.	Costs of installation and monitoring. CCTV cameras need to be of sufficient quality, provisions need to be made for storing recorded media, and cameras should be located so as to maximise the likelihood of the identification of offenders.
17	40	Dispersal Orders	Increasing the effort required to commit ASB by supervising locations particularly susceptible to disorder, and at specific times.	...disorder zones are designated with the consent of the local community, and if they are policed at the appropriate times.	A short term option to tackling the problem, very resource intensive, requires policing of designated zones. Those not behaving anti-socially may mistakenly be prevented from using spaces if they fit the general description of 'youth' and are congregating with at least one other person.

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- ⁱⁱ Jacobson et al (2005); see also Collins and Cattermole (2006)
- ⁱⁱⁱ Mooney and Young (2006)
- ^{iv} Millie (2007); Burney (2005); Mooney and Young (2006)
- ^v Jacobson et al (2005)
- ^{vi} (Millie 2008; Flint and Nixon 2006)
- ^{vii} Wood (2004)
- ^{viii} Millie (2007)
- ^{ix} Millie (2007)
- ^x Armitage (2002)
- ^{xi} Collins and Cattermole (2006)
- ^{xii} Mooney and Young (2006)
- ^{xiii} Jacobson et al (2005); Mooney and Young (2006)
- ^{xiv} Young (1971)
- ^{xv} Whitehead et.al (2003)
- ^{xvi} Wood (2004)
- ^{xvii} Chartered Institute of Housing (1995) in Whitehead et al (2003)
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- ^{xix} Millie et al. (2005:3)
- ^{xx} Millie et al (2005)
- ^{xxi} Wood (2004)
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- ^{xxiii} Kershaw et al (2008)
- ^{xxiv} Budd et al (2005)
- ^{xxv} For example, see Farrell et al (2005)
- ^{xxvi} Whitehead et al (2003)
- ^{xxvii} Campbell (2002a)
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- ^{xxxiii} Farrington (2005)
- ^{xxxiv} Flint and Smithson (2007)
- ^{xxxv} Flint and Smithson (2007)
- ^{xxxvi} Campbell (2002a)
- ^{xxxvii} Millie (2007); Burney (2005)
- ^{xxxviii} Millie (2007); Burney (2000)
- ^{xxxix} Millie (2007)
- ^{xl} e.g. Jacobson et al (2005)
- ^{xli} Farrington (2005); Robins (1986)
- ^{xlii} McCord (1979); Robins (1979)
- ^{xliii} Henry et al (1993)
- ^{xliv} Farrington (2005)
- ^{xliv} Farrington (2005)
- ^{xlvi} Budd et al (2005)

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- xlvii Upson (2006)
- xlviii Upson (2006)
- xlix Upson (2006)
- ^l Wilson and Kelling (1982)
- ^{li} e.g. Home Office (2003)
- ^{lii} Harcourt (2001) in Innes (2004)
- ^{liii} Xu et al (2005)
- ^{liv} Keizer et al (2008)
- ^{lv} quoted from an interview participant, Innes (2004: 348)
- ^{lvi} Doran and Lees (2005)
- ^{lvii} For example, Ekblom (2003)
- ^{lviii} Tierney and Hobbs (2003)
- ^{lix} Upson (2006)
- ^{lx} Cornish and Clarke (1986)
- ^{lxi} Wortley (2001); (2008)
- ^{lxii} Hillier (2004); Weisburd et al (2004); Johnson (2008)
- ^{lxiii} For example, see Hillier (2000), Johnson (2008), Farrell (2005)
- ^{lxiv} Davenport (2008)
- ^{lxv} Mawby (1977); Merry (1981)
- ^{lxvi} For an example of an analysis which demonstrates the impact of permeability on burglary risk, see White (1990)
- ^{lxvii} Hillier (2008), Conference lecture delivered at UIA World Congress, Turin July 2008
- ^{lxviii} Hillier (2004)
- ^{lxix} Hillier (2004)
- ^{lxx} ODPM (2004). *Safer Places: The Planning System and Crime Prevention*.
- ^{lxxi} Audit Commission (2005)
- ^{lxxii} Campbell (2002b)
- ^{lxxiii} Forrest et al (2005)
- ^{lxxiv} Hulley (2008); see Forrest et al (2005)
- ^{lxxv} For example, see <http://www.popcenter.org/25techniques/>
- ^{lxxvi} See Matthews (1992)
- ^{lxxvii} Clarke and Eck (2003)
- ^{lxxviii} See Smith and Cornish (2006)
- ^{lxxix} Sloan-Howitt and Kelling (1997)
- ^{lxxx} Clarke and Eck (2003)
- ^{lxxxi} Myhill (2006)
- ^{lxxxii} <http://www.met.police.uk/saferneighbourhoods/about.htm>
- ^{lxxxiii} Cooper et al (2006)
- ^{lxxxiv} Campbell (2002b)
- ^{lxxxv} Millie (2007); Burney (2002)
- ^{lxxxvi} Various, eg. NAO (2006);
- ^{lxxxvii} Campbell (2002a)
- ^{lxxxviii} Rubin et al (2006)
- ^{lxxxix} National Audit Office (2006)
- ^{xc} Eberst and Staines (2007)
- ^{xci} National Audit Office (2006)
- ^{xcii} National Audit Office (2006:6)
- ^{xciii} Welsh and Farrington (2006)
- ^{xciv} Patterson et al (1992); Nagin and Tremblay (2001)
- ^{xcv} Welsh and Farrington (2006)
- ^{xcvi} Karoly et al (1998); Rubin et al (2006)
- ^{xcvii} Akers (1985)
- ^{xcviii} Bandura (1977)
- ^{xcix} Tierney et al (1995)
- ^c Newburn and Souhami (2005) in Tilley (2005)
- ^{ci} Jekielek et al (2002)

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- cii Piquero et al (2008)
ciii Barr and Pease (1990)
civ Weisel (2002)
cv Wiesel (2002)
cvi Wiesel (2002)
cvii Wiesel (2002)
cviii Matthews (1993)
cix Matthews (1993)
cx Clarke and Eck (2003)
cxii National Audit Office (2006)
cxiii Lister (2006)
cxiii Farrington and Welsh (2002); See also Pease (1999)
cxiv Poyner (1991)
cxv Poyner (1988)
cxvi Millie (2007)
cxvii Walsh (2002)
cxviii Crawford and Lister (2007)