Anti-social Behaviour: Local Perception and Reporting

Behaviour in a Small Urban Location

Lucie Mary Venables

London Metropolitan University

Professional Doctorate in Policing, Security and Community

Safety

July 2013

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I am eternally grateful to the residents of Bentswood in Mid Sussex for their contribution to this thesis. Without your interest and participation this research project would not exist.

Secondly, thank you to Mid Sussex District Council my employer, who have supported the purpose of this research project and accommodated flexible working to allow me to complete my studies. In addition thank you to Claire, Ioni, Sheila, Nicolette and Marie who helped with proof reading in their own time.

I am also extending thanks to my thesis supervision team at London Metropolitan University: Tara Young, Dr. Jennifer Newton and Professor Kevin Stenson. I am appreciative of your patience with my endless emails and perhaps at times overly keen approach to putting this thesis together.

Finally I thank my family and friends for their patience and apologise for my reclusive nature in completing this thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis builds on the author's professional experience through an empirical study, at a local level, examining how people experience and perceive anti-social behaviour. Anti-social behaviour legislation and centralised policy was initially based on the notion anti-social behaviour was easy to define. Innes's (2004) signal crimes perspective identified the importance of local, context specific research to uncover what residents identify as important in relation to crime and anti-social behaviour. This thesis uniquely brings together this perspective with social capital theory, specifically bonding, bridging and linking to explore the factors associated with reporting behaviour. A small urban location, Bentswood, was selected as the sample on the basis of the composition of housing tenure and child poverty indices. A mixed methods research design was selected, including a house to house survey (N = 284) and semi-structured interview (N = 15). A range of behaviours were identified as anti-social behaviour with participants considering it to be anything that showed a lack of respect or persistently impacted on daily life. Nearly three-quarters of anti-social behaviour in the Bentswood ward goes unreported. Those with a disability or long term illness were significantly more likely to report anti-social behaviour. Participants with negative views of neighbours and local services were also more likely to report. Those who report a symbolically important behaviour referred to within this thesis as a signal, reported feeling more fearful during the day and after dark. Certain signals go unreported as participants

perceive services to be uninterested in their concerns, highlighting a clear link between the signal crimes perspective and linking social capital. This thesis is not an analysis of public policy, however its findings may help in improving the knowledge base for policy and local service provision. This may also stimulate further research into these issues in different types of neighbourhoods. In conclusion, locally driven practices for the understanding and management of anti-social behaviour are paramount.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

4 What is Anti-social Behaviour to Bentswood, how much of a

LIST OF FIGURES Page

1. INTRODUCTION

"Anti-social behaviour is fundamentally a local issue, one that looks and feels different in every area, in every neighbourhood and to every victim" (Home Office, 2012: 3)

According to a recent Home Office publication more than three million incidents of anti-social behaviour are reported to the police every year, with many more likely to have gone unreported (Home Office, 2012). Data from the British Crime Survey has identified around seventy per cent of the population in England and Wales, perceive anti-social behaviour to be a problem in their neighbourhood (Flatley et al. 2009). Despite its prominence in the political, media and public arena, research into the reporting of anti-social behaviour is limited at a local level. Policy is moving towards a more victim centred approach, focusing on understanding the effects of anti-social behaviour and the factors associated with reporting and not reporting incidents, thus highlighting the importance of local level research. The value of local level research has been identified in a number of research papers (Ditton & Innes, 2005; Myhill & Beak, 2008; Innes & Weston, 2010).

In 2012 the Home Office produced a White Paper arguing that anti-social behaviour is a local issue, and too much time has been spent researching peoples' perceptions of the problem, rather than focusing on their actual

experience. Much of the previous research around the subject has focused on large scale surveys such as the British Crime Survey, where large geographical areas are lumped together, which provides limited relevant information for agencies working within districts or boroughs. Based on these large scale projects Innes and Weston (2010) showed those individuals who perceive high levels of anti-social behaviour in their area, report a greater sense of isolation from neighbours, lower trust in their neighbours as well as isolation from local services. These findings indicate that social capital, often defined in terms of trust and networks, is of interest to research on anti-social behaviour. Further to this, Ipsos Mori (2010) focused on presenting the voice of anti-social behaviour victims, in particular the reasons for reporting incidents. They identified that tolerance for certain behaviours is related to the impact they have on a victim's quality of life. Innes (2004) argues that local level research needs to focus on the interpretation of anti-social behaviour, and how this influences responses and reactions to these behaviours.

Through five years of working with communities to tackle anti-social behaviour at a local level, I became increasingly interested in the reasons behind the decision to report or not report an incident. My role as an Anti-social Behaviour Co-ordinator requires partnership working mainly with the police but also housing providers, probation and the fire service to reduce anti-social behaviour. In particular, I manage a case load of both victims and perpetrators of anti-social behaviour and work to reassure victims and change perpetrators behaviour. This

includes visiting victims at home to give advice and guidance on avoiding repeat victimisation. Where perpetrators are identified I work to the legislative guidelines and issue warnings, behaviour contracts and apply sanctions through the courts.

Mid Sussex District Council utilises national guidance on anti-social behaviour and works to best practice models provided. The Anti-social Behaviour Co-ordinator role requires changes to legislation and guidance to be monitored to ensure local policy is current and reflects national standards. At a local level anti-social behaviour is defined using the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) definition that is discussed in chapter two. This does mean that a variety of behaviours are investigated locally, although guidance is available for what is not considered by the authority to be anti-social behaviour such as boundary disputes and not being able to park outside your home. This is currently under review in light of the current economic situation and the proposed changes to the anti-social behaviour legislation by the coalition government. Local policy does however promote the use of informal process in tackling anti-social behaviour and uses the formal legislative option as a last resort.

Many cases of anti-social behaviour that I deal with have greatly affected the victim and elicited strong emotional reactions such as anger or fear. I have encountered some cases that have also led to my own feelings of disappointment in others, especially where vulnerable individuals have been

targeted. In addition working with perpetrators of sometimes upsetting incidents can be a challenge. However, I maintain professional detachment often by considering the circumstances that have led to the behaviour of perpetrators, which often reflect poor lifestyle choices and chaotic relationships. For victims I focus on how I can offer reassurance through positive communication and allowing the victim to feel their concerns are being addressed. My professional work with victims has led to reflection on the decision making process for reporting incidents and an interest in what factors may influence this decision. I have spent time with a range of victims and the differences between each are varied.

In my professional role I have become more aware of the very wide range of behaviours that are reported, with some questionable as to whether they should be deemed anti-social, and others very clearly criminal offences. The research base around anti-social behaviour seems to focus on the problem of definition, and much argument around the possible invention of the term for political gain. More recent research has moved towards perceptions and understanding reporting behaviour however, most of this does not allow those working with communities to make changes to policy, that reflect the issues that matter to them. As I have read around the subject the influence of social capital (notably Putnam, 1993: 2000; Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu, 1986) has become a focus, and how this may influence the decision to report an incident. The signal crimes perspective as proposed by Innes (2004) has been influential in policing and led

to the National Reassurance Policing Programme (Tuffin et al. 2006). This aimed to reduce anti-social behaviour, improve quality of life and improve social capacity. This combined with the literature around social capital has led to my interest in the current research project including, how these may influence the reporting of anti-social behaviour by residents in the communities that I work alongside.

The signal crimes perspective states that a crime or incident of anti-social behaviour can act as a signal that has a disproportionate effect on an individual or group (Innes, 2004). This perspective highlights that some crimes and incidents may matter more than others to individuals. Innes argues understanding what these signals are at a local level, will allow agencies to effectively tackle those of concern, and lead to a reduction in fear of crime and more confidence in those services. An evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme in 2006, found reducing the fear of crime through reassurance impacted on the level of confidence in the police, supporting Innes theory. The research conducted by Innes suggests that signals do vary considerably by area, supporting the view that small scale local level research is required, to identify the issues that matter to communities for local services to effectively manage them.

Social capital has been defined in a number of ways although the first to use the term was Hanifan in 1916. There are a number of social capital pioneers notably Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 2000). Social capital recognises that the relationship of everyday life between neighbours, colleagues and friends as well as casual acquaintances have value for the individual and for society as a whole (Middleton et al., 2005). Bourdieu viewed social capital as a source of privilege that benefits high society and had little relevance for others, except to exclude them from opportunities for development. Bourdieu concluded social capitalism is an ideology of inclusion and exclusion: a means by which the powerful may protect and further their interests against the less powerful. Coleman (1988) felt that social capital accumulates as a result of positive exchanges between people, and that community networks can counteract possible disadvantages associated with socio-economic background. Putnam (1993, 2000) is usually credited with popularising the social capital concept. His more liberal approach with a focus on communitarian models of social and family responsibility had wide political and policy appeal (Gilchrist, 2009). Putnam describes social capital as the connections between individuals and highlights the role that trust plays in these relationships.

The importance of trust and social networks has been emphasized in a number of settings including health, development and crime .The link between social capital and crime has been reported in a number of studies (Rosenfield et al,

2001; Messner et al, 2004; Heaton, 2006). However, the link between anti-social behaviour and social capital is less clear, indicating the need for further research. Putnam distinguished between bonding and bridging social capital, with Woolcock (2000) adding linking social capital shortly after. Bonding social capital usually refers to the ties between family and friends, bridging refers to the ties between different social groups or cultures, and linking refers to the ties between individuals and local service providers and resources. How these influence the reporting of anti-social behaviour at a local level is unclear, although research into other areas indicates that they are likely to impact to some degree. Linking social capital is of particular interest to policy makers and local service providers.

The main aim of this research thesis was to explore local perceptions, experience and reporting behaviour of people in a small area. This included establishing whether the signal crimes perspective (specifically what signals the population are responding to and reporting) and social capital in the form of ties with friends, family, neighbours and agencies within the community, impact on the reporting of anti-social behaviour. As part of this understanding what anti-social behaviour means to those experiencing it is presented, and how this relates to existing research. A profile of perceptions, experiences and reporting of anti-social behaviour is included, to provide context to the more detailed analysis of the social factors associated with the reporting and not reporting of anti-social behaviour. This thesis brings together the signal crimes perspective

and social capital theory, in the examination of the factors that influence the definition and reporting of perceived anti-social behaviour, in a small urban, relatively deprived area. The results where appropriate have been used to make recommendations for local practice and make suggestions for further research.

It was hypothesized based on previous research that local understanding of anti-social behaviour would be broad, and cover a range of behaviours. It was also expected that social factors would have an impact on the reporting of anti-social behaviour, in particular housing tenure and whether the victim had a disability or long term illness, although in what capacity was not stated. Finally, it was anticipated that the signal crimes perspective as well as bridging, bonding and linking social capital would have an impact on reporting behaviour. However, the direction of this impact was uncertain due to the limited amount of previous local level, specific research into the reporting of anti-social behaviour and these concepts.

To address the research aims a two staged mixed-method approach was adopted, to produce the most comprehensive data set and increase the validity of the findings. A house to house survey and semi-structured interview were selected as the most appropriate instruments to answer these aims. The survey was developed using existing tools from previous research studies where

available (Hawdon & Ryan, 2009; Harradine et al. 2004; Lochner et al. 1999). To demonstrate the originality of the research aims, some survey measures were devised in the absence of available research tools. These tools were based on the underlining theory, in particular to assess the signal crimes perspective proposed by Innes (2004).

A small urban location, Bentswood, was identified as the research sample within the District of Mid Sussex. This was based on social composition including; the mixture of housing tenure and higher score on the child poverty indices. Two pilot studies were conducted using a random sample from the research area, and some adjustments were made to the method of survey data collection. A total of 284 surveys were returned using an original method, obtaining a seventy-two per cent response rate. To augment the survey data, stage two utilised fifteen semi-structured interviews, with individuals who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, as well as those who had chosen not to report an incident to allow comparison.

As the research consisted of two stages, one quantitative and the other qualitative, the analysis reflected this. The quantitative survey data was analysed using the statistical package SPSS, and involved chi squared and point biserial correlations to identify relationships within the data. As the majority of survey data was in categorical form, this limited the level of statistical

analysis. However some survey items, in particular those measuring social capital and signal crimes, were assessed using scales which allowed a more in depth numerical analysis.   For the qualitative stage the interviews were analysed using the Analysis Method Framework (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) to identify emergent themes. In consideration of Smith (1995) quotations were included to enable readers to evaluate the interpretation. The findings from both stages were presented together, to allow a comprehensive understanding of the relationships within the data.

A range of behaviour was identified as anti-social within the Bentswood ward, supporting large scale previous findings such as Ipsos Mori (2010). Bentswood residents also failed to distinguish between anti-social behaviour and crime confirming research by Millie et al. (2005). The interview discussions supported the survey data with many residents feeling that anti-social behaviour constituted anything that affected them. The majority of residents did not feel anti-social behaviour was a significant problem, although, there were differences in perception of those who had reported and those who had not. Nearly half of the cohort had experienced the dropping of litter, swearing in public places or inconvenient parking, whilst very small numbers were victims of harassment or intimidation.

Nearly three quarters of anti-social behaviour in the Bentswood ward goes unreported, which supports national research. Examining the factors associated with reporting behaviour in detail, of most significance is the finding that those with a disability or long term illness were more likely to have reported an incident. Such a finding highlights the importance of recent recommendations made by the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC), and the case of Fiona Pilkington, that robust risk assessments are required to ensure that repeat victimisations are identified to reduce the harm caused by anti-social behaviour.

Other important findings include the serious effects anti-social behaviour can have on the quality of life of victims. Those who had reported an incident had done so as the effects were so great. The emotional and physical effects of anti-social behaviour were evident in the data. Those who had reported, in some cases would not report a second time, due to negative experiences with local services. For those who had not reported, the majority just accepted the incident or considered them minor, while others preferred to resolve the matter without official intervention. Those who had not reported would only report something in future that they felt was having a real impact on their daily lives.

The findings supported the signal crimes perspective with those experiencing an incident of anti-social behaviour more likely to report they felt less safe during

the day, and after dark. Respondents who had reported an incident felt even less safe after dark and during the day, possibly due to their existing vulnerability. Many people had changed their routines to avoid anti-social behaviour, with little difference between those who had reported and those who had not. This supports previous findings by Wood (2004).

The survey design did not allow clear identification of the signals Bentswood residents were responding to when the change in behaviour or feeling of fear occurred. However, the interview data did allow some signals to be identified that were reported to an authority such as racist graffiti, noise from neighbours often in the form of loud music but also door slamming, shouting and screaming, drug dealing, damage to property including cars and defecating in public. Those signals that were identified as impacting on the community but were not reported included dog fouling, speeding and damage to vehicles.

A high level of bonding social capital was shown by respondents in the form of ties with friends and family which should be treated with caution based on its potential to exclude sections of the community. Most respondents described using their bonding ties as a coping mechanism and for social support with the effects of anti-social behaviour. Bridging social capital, in the form of ties with neighbours, was evident although it was not as prevalent as bonding. Respondents who had reported an incident were less likely to agree that they

could trust their neighbours. This finding links with insights drawn from the signal crimes perspective as a signal identified from the interviews was noise from neighbours. Many survey respondents did not belong to community groups or local clubs however, those that were a group member were more likely to report an incident of anti-social behaviour. Those who had reported an incident had less trust in local services, suggesting improvements could be made with linking social capital. A number of participants felt that local services did not take their concerns seriously identifying a reason why those signals such as dog fouling and speeding were not reported despite impacting on the community.

Limitations of the research design included the focus on one particular area, although it was selected based on the resources available to the project. This small area does lack diversity, therefore a true reflection of aspects of bridging social capital as well as other social factors and barriers to reporting cannot be truly determined. The small area also presented a loss of analytical power, as numbers for particular groups such as ethnicity and age, made comparisons ineffective. An additional limitation included the design of the survey in relation to signal crimes. Within the survey many people selected more than one incident in response to what behaviours they had experienced which was unexpected. It was therefore difficult to ascertain which incident respondents were referring to when answering the items about behaviour change, feeling fear and what signals had been reported.

The following chapters describe this research thesis in detail starting with chapter two, a literature review and background to the theoretical ideas. This includes presentation of relevant literature focusing on the concept, the perception and reporting of anti-social behaviour, and the role that signal crimes and social capital could play in the reporting process. Gaps in this literature are identified for the formulation of research questions for this thesis. Following the literature review, chapter three discusses the methodology; including the development of the research question, the sample area and the design and selection of research methods. This methodology includes details of the pilot study, ethical considerations and the methods of data analysis. The results and discussion are separated over three distinct chapters: chapter four examining what anti-social behaviour is, chapter five presenting a reporting profile and significant social factors, and chapter six examining the role that signal crimes and social capital play in the reporting of anti-social behaviour. The implications of these findings and the opportunities for future research, as well as limitations, are discussed in chapter seven. The final chapter presents a conclusion to the thesis in relation to the information presented in the preceding chapters.

2. LOCAL PERCEPTIONS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Anti-social behaviour has become an important topic in political, media and public debates particularly in the United Kingdom over the last twelve years. According to the British Crime Survey in 2009 (Flatley et al. 2009), around seventy per cent of the population of England and Wales perceived anti-social behaviour to be a problem in their neighbourhood. Such figures support the assertion anti-social behaviour is an issue that features highly amongst public perceptions and attitudes (Innes & Weston, 2010). Despite the prominence of anti-social behaviour, data on reporting behaviour from the 2008 British Crime Survey, suggested seventy-two per cent of individuals that were exposed to it did not report this to anyone (Kershaw et al, 2008). Such figures highlight the need for improving our understanding of anti-social behaviour and the processes that surround it. This chapter outlines some of the key themes and debates surrounding anti-social behaviour including attempts at definition, public perception and factors that may influence the reporting process. This chapter identifies the need for local level research to broaden understanding of the anti-social behaviour concept. In particular this chapter brings together for the first time the signal crimes perspective, and social capital theory and how they may influence the definition and reporting of anti-social behaviour at a local level.

2.1 A Brief History and the Problem of Definition

The social problem of anti-social behaviour is widely interpreted by social scientists as a classic moral panic (Cohen, 2004). This is augmented by politicians and mass media campaigners, who can rely on votes and improved readership by trading on the politics of fear (Hughes, 2007). According to Hitchens (2003) anti-social behaviour is symptomatic of a wider moral crisis in society, around the lack of respect for authority and the decline in the traditional family. For Hughes (2007) the problem of anti-social behaviour is indicative of a political crisis associated with shattered communities, and the ever widening gap between the socially and politically included and the marginalised and socially excluded. What is meant by the phrase 'anti-social behaviour' is not easy to define (Whitehead et al, 2003; Millie et al, 2005; Harradine et al, 2004). Anti-social behaviour has been described as 'a vague term with broad definition' (Ashworth, 2004:264). To some academics answering the question of what is anti-social behaviour, is a wasteful academic exercise (Millie, 2009).

However, it could be argued if there are difficulties in defining the problem how can it ever be addressed effectively. Anti-social behaviour is seen as a contested concept, as one person's anti-social behaviour may be tolerable to another, or even considered a valued contribution to society. The notion of tolerance is something that will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Although the term anti-social behaviour is a relatively recent addition to political and policy debate, this does not mean it is a new occurrence (Millie, 2007). Within psychosocial literature, anti-social behaviour is a term that has been used for a number of years, as a label for unwanted behaviour associated with personality disorders such as Anti-social Personality Disorder (Lane, 1987; Prins 1995). Aside from the psychological literature; anti-social behaviour has a lot in common with the terms, 'incivilities', 'disorder' and 'quality of life crimes', described by Burney (2005:2) as disguising a 'cocktail of social unpleasantness'. The terms incivilities and disorder became popular research topics in the United States of America during the 1970's and 1980's. Of these terms incivilities 'can sometimes consist of behaviour that lacks civility and consideration for others...on occasions they can become offensive to reasonable people' (Bottoms, 2006:239).

The overlap between these anti-social behaviour terms can be seen as when someone is being anti-social they are by definition, not being social and, as a result, lack consideration for or are unaware of the impact of their behaviour on others (Millie, 2009). There are several terms available that appear to describe similar behaviours, which led to the United Kingdom adopting the term anti-social behaviour in the late 1990's, instead of the terms incivilities and disorder (Burney, 2005). As a result for the purpose of this discussion, incivilities,

disorder and quality of life crimes will be included as part of the anti-social behaviour umbrella.

According to Burney (2005) in the 1990's many poorer neighbourhoods in Britain were plagued by persistent bad behaviour that could be seen as on the lower edges of criminality such as persistent dog fouling. Whilst this poor behaviour had been a feature of many neighbourhoods prior to the 1990's a fierce election campaign undoubtedly influenced the introduction of measures by the Labour government when they came to power in 1997. It should be noted whilst the term anti-social behaviour was embraced by New Labour for their election campaign in 1997, the origins of the legislation in fact came from the 1986 Public Order Act, which focused on alarm, harassment and distress. Under this act anyone found guilty of causing unintentional harassment, alarm or distress could be given a fine, whereas those causing this intentionally, a six month prison sentence could be given or a higher fine. Whilst this act did not use the term anti-social behaviour it shared much with what has since become anti-social.

During the 1997 election campaign local councillors and local authorities had expressed their concerns about having to deal with a rising number of complaints, about un-neighbourly behaviour from poor council estates in areas of high unemployment (Hughes, 2007). Much of the current focus on anti-social

behaviour stemmed from a housing context, in an effort to address the issues

caused by so called 'problem neighbours' (Burney 2000; Flint 2006). To

highlight, Coventry City Council in the 1990's were highly critical of the lack of

legal power available to tackle acute neighbourhood problems (Hughes, 2007).

Coventry City Council had made use of existing powers to combat persistent

harassment and intimidation, committed by two brothers on a large council

estate. The case failed when it came to court as nobody was willing to appear in

court to testify against the family involved. Witness intimidation and related

evidential problems have been at the heart of the legal narrative in the pursuit of

anti-social behaviour.

In the 1996 Housing Act, anti-social behaviour was first mentioned legislatively

and related to powers for social landlords to grant injunctions against anti-social

tenants. The introduction of an injunction that required a lower standard of

evidence, was an attempt to counteract the aforementioned problems of

evidence and witness intimidation. According to this Act (s. 152) a person is

guilty of anti-social behaviour if they are:

> ' (a) engaging in or threatening to engage in conduct causing or likely
> to cause a nuisance or annoyance to a person residing in, visiting or
> otherwise engaging in lawful activity in residential premises to which
> this action applies or in the locality of such premises (b) using or
> threatening to use residential premises to which this section applies

for immoral or illegal purposes, or (c) entering residential premises to which this section applies or being found in the locality of any such premises' (Housing Act, 1996: 122)

This definition identified anti-social behaviour as nuisance or annoyance as opposed to the harassment, alarm and distress identified in the 1986 Public Order Act. The Housing Act definition does however rely on the interpretation of other people's behaviour, which is in common with the Public Order Act. The Housing Act allowed social landlords, which now manage the majority of council housing in the South of England, to pursue and protect perpetrators and victims of anti-social behaviour more effectively.

Following the legislative theme, in 1998 the Crime and Disorder Act was introduced, which placed a joint responsibility on the police and local authorities to tackle crime and disorder. Sections five and six of the act assigned a statutory duty on chief police officers and local authorities, in conjunction with police authorities, fire and rescue services and health authorities to work together on the reduction of crime and disorder in their area, through the formation of Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRP's). As part of Section one of the act the much talked about Anti-social Behaviour Order or ASBO was introduced. This civil order could be applied for by the police, local authority and social housing providers (introduced later than 1998) to protect communities from individuals committing acts of anti-social behaviour. The orders could originally be indefinite, however now mostly are up to two years in length and can restrict

movements in geographical areas, restrict associations with other people and restrict behaviours. The orders can be applied to anyone over the age of 10 years old, which has been the subject of debate with Burney (2005) accusing the government of targeting young people. If the order is breached this becomes a criminal offence and a maximum five year imprisonment can result. In legislative terms anti-social behaviour is currently defined as:

> 'Acting 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 themselves' (Crime and Disorder Act, 1998: 2)

Such a broad definition means that a wide range of unwanted behaviours could be perceived as anti-social in nature. Armitage (2002) argues by describing the consequences of the behaviour, rather than defining the behaviour itself, the legislative definition lacks specificity and measurability. As a result, this brings the discussion back to the original question, without an effective definition how can the problem ever truly be addressed successfully when agencies do not know specifically what these behaviours are. The legislation states anti-social behaviour is that which causes, or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more people not of the same household, which clearly excludes domestic incidents. However, different people can be harassed, alarmed or distressed by different things (Millie, 2007). When looking at the term from a political viewpoint having a flexible definition can be advantageous, as this allows for elasticity in policy and can allow local identification of problems,

which is in line with current government thinking and neighbourhood policing practices. Neighbourhood policing involves designated police teams working at a local level, to provide a visible local point of contact to work in partnership with the community on the issues that matter to them. An open definition arguably allows for this locally driven approach.

According to Carr and Cowen the political and policy discourse on anti-social behaviour has been 'we do not know what it is, although it is sometimes said in response that we all know what it is when we experience it' (Carr & Cowen, 2006: 59). Whilst for those that work practically in the field of anti-social behaviour this is unhelpful, it can also be considered the opposite as it allows a considerable amount of local discretion. In a radio debate in 2005 the Home Office's Respect Co-ordinator Louise Casey stated that 'the legal definition of anti-social behaviour is wide and rightly so' thus supporting the argument for such a broad definition allowing for greater prioritisation of local concerns. However, is this localisation a good thing as Becker (1963) has argued there is the risk that what he termed 'outside groups' could be discriminated against as a result. Becker's labelling theory based on the premise, social groups make social rules and apply these to others and label them as outsiders if they do not conform. If this is given some consideration it is logical to assume if essentially anything could be perceived as anti-social, it is very likely, some minority groups could be considered anti-social as they simply do not belong or conform to the norms of the local area. In addition, a broad definition can allow for abuse of the

legislation as it can be used by some to enforce unfair restrictions that may be based on unrealistic expectations.

There is the argument the term anti-social behaviour has been invented by politicians, utilising the media to describe a varied collection of neighbourhood problems (Burney, 2005; Millie, 2007). Anti-social behaviour may be seen as a convenient label for non-criminal and minor criminal concerns (Millie, 2009). It could be argued that the concept of anti-social behaviour has been created in response to the fact that UK crime rates have been falling since the mid 1990's, therefore the term has been invented by politicians so they can be seen to be doing something about it (Burney 2005). By keeping the definition of anti-social behaviour as vague as possible, it makes it easier for the government to claim successes (Millie, 2009). This has been described as a 'dangerous game' by some as it can, of course, draw people's attention to anti-social behaviour problems and actually increase worry around the subject, something that will be expanded further in this chapter (Bannister et al. 2006).

Initially as a response to the lack of legislative clarity, the Home Office produced a list of behaviours deemed to be anti-social (Harradine et al. 2004). This was part of a one day count of anti-social behaviour across England and Wales, in an attempt to determine the levels of anti-social behaviour at the time. The behaviours included in this list were; drug/substance misuse and drug dealing,

prostitution, intimidation, noise, rowdy behaviour, nuisance behaviour, abandoned vehicles, criminal damage, hoax calls, animal related problems, litter/rubbish, and vehicle related nuisance. This was a useful start in the right direction, however it still left ambiguity, such as, when does noise become a problem and what animal related problems are included? Another point to note is that the behaviours listed are likely to have more of an impact on some people than others, for example, prostitution may affect a whole community whereas criminal damage may only affect an individual. According to this list anti-social behaviour could be anything, from littering to a criminal offence such as drug dealing and criminal damage, thus adding very little towards providing a useful working definition.

Harradine et al. (2004) used the list of behaviours to produce a typology to support practitioners. The categories were divided based on whether they occur in public space, whether they have a direct or indirect victim and whether the behaviour impacts on the environment. This typology was intended to provide a guide for practitioners working within Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships to help them provide a local working definition of anti-social behaviour. It was also used to generate statistics for central government on the extent of the problem and demonstrate their ability to tackle it. Harradine et al. (2004) stated that local practitioners needed to make decisions on the appropriateness of including certain behaviours, and this decision would be based on the nature and extent of local problems and how they were perceived

by the community. This typology was useful at providing a working definition as for the first time distinction was made grouping together types of behaviour, however some debate remained over the inclusion of behaviours clearly criminal in nature. Millie (2009) believes the inclusion of criminal behaviours may cause the 'down tariffing' of a serious offence to that of an anti-social act. The distinction between criminal and anti-social behaviour is somewhat unclear in most cases, and is more than likely adding to the confusion regarding definition.

In support of this confusion the Audit Commission in 2006 found when asked about crime, people often describe incidents of anti-social behaviour. In a national survey respondents were asked to identify what they thought anti-social behaviour meant (Millie et al. 2005). Half of respondents were asked an open ended question and half chose from a checklist based on a variety of problems, including some from the Home Office typology. Most identified youth problems as anti-social behaviour however two-fifths also chose mugging and burglary, an activity that is clearly criminal rather than anti-social. Further to this, Chambers (2010) argues acts of anti-social behaviour are often criminal offences in their own right, and can also be drivers of future criminal behaviour (Zara and Farrington, 2009). Chambers goes on to say anti-social behaviour and crime cannot be artificially separated, and quotes research by Whitehead et al. (2003) that found areas with the highest reported anti-social behaviour were highly correlated with the areas of highest actual criminal activity. The National Audit Office (2006) has also noted the link, where in a sample of recipients of anti-

social behaviour interventions, 37 per cent were found to have a number of previous convictions. In addition it is well documented (e.g. Whitehead et al. 2003; Millie et al. 2005; Macdonald 2006) that the vagueness of a definition for anti-social behaviour, has led to the inclusion of both criminal and non-criminal behaviour.

In a recent research report conducted on a national scale by Ipsos Mori (2010), defining anti-social behaviour was included as part of the discussion. The report identified that anti-social behaviour is not consistently defined in the minds of the general public. Most perceptions tended to include any behaviour that reflected a lack of respect for others and that which goes against 'common decency'. The term anti-social behaviour was felt by participants to include a range of situations from people failing to give up seats on public transport for those in need, to criminal acts such as violence against people or vandalism to private property. People found it difficult to draw a clear line between 'anti-social behaviour' and a 'criminal act' which supports the previous discussion by Chambers (2010). The research also found people's own experiences were linked to how they define anti-social behaviour. Those with poor quality of life and living in more deprived areas were found to associate the term anti-social behaviour with more extreme forms of behaviour, such as intimidation, abusive behaviour and violence. The research highlighted how the public associate the term with a range of factors and there is no clear or systematic distinction made between crime and anti-social behaviour.

Based on the Ipsos Mori research Innes and Weston (2010) published a paper titled 'Re-thinking the policing of anti-social behaviour'. In this they argue that too much time has been wasted in trying to construct definitions of anti-social behaviour. Instead they believe it is more advantageous to establish whether an incident has caused harm to an individual or public interests, rather than try and fit the behaviour to either the term crime or anti-social behaviour. Innes and Weston established that participants in the national study, tended to define anti-social behaviour on the basis of whether it had a direct impact on them in some way that affected their quality of life. Innes and Weston examined the data to identify a social harm footprint. They argue it is not sufficient to consider harm in terms of more or less harm being caused, but instead accept that some issues are important to tackle as they affect a large proportion of the public, whereas other problems are important because they have a targeted or personal quality to them.

In 2012 the coalition government published a White Paper proposing changes to the anti-social behaviour legislation of the Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003), which includes powers to tackle noise nuisance, high hedges, graffiti, litter as well as other factors such as truancy and parental responsibility. This paper argues that to improve understanding of the experiences of victims of anti-social behaviour, there must be a move away from measures based on perceptions

towards one based on people's actual experience. The paper confirms as of April 2012, the British Crime Survey was changed to the Crime Survey for England Wales (CSEW) to better reflect its coverage. In addition, questions were also added to help local agencies better understand problem areas as they are based on actual experience rather than perception. This recent development supports the use of local level research in understanding what issues matter to communities, and that it is important to focus on more than just perceptions.

The recent Home Office paper argues anti-social behaviour will vary from victim to victim and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. The paper states that solutions need to be jointly developed by local agencies, each with their own understanding of the situation and context, working together with victims and communities. Several changes to the legislative powers are identified to make anti-social behaviour sanctions easier to obtain, with the intention of removing some of the evidential problems discussed previously. One of the proposals is the replacement of the ASBO with a similar sanction called a Criminal Behaviour Order (CBO). Whilst light on detail, the paper confirms anti-social behaviour should be placed into three main categories by agencies to help identify the level of risk; these are environmental, public nuisance and personal threat. This includes guidance that local areas need to develop clear examples of differing lifestyles and what constitutes anti-social behaviour.

In summary, anti-social behaviour is not easy to define although attempts have been made and there is a legal definition to work from. For the purpose of this discussion, anti-social behaviour and crime are it appears, one and the same to the public. Whilst at a local level this has yet to be established in this research project, for discussion where anti-social behaviour is mentioned it will refer to those behaviours that have been identified by previous research to symbolise such, and can include both criminal acts and those broadly termed 'anti-social'. The research conducted by Innes and Weston (2010) around the effects of harm and anti-social behaviour is of importance. Further the recent Home Office (2012) White Paper advocates a locally driven approach to its definition and management.

2.2 Public Perceptions of Anti-social Behaviour

Central to the understanding and experience of anti-social behaviour are public perceptions (Mackenzie et al. 2010). As a result it is important to consider public perception research in any discussion about the subject, despite recent government guidance suggesting a move away from this. By the legislative definition of anti-social behaviour including the term 'was likely to cause' the emphasis is on subjective interpretation and people's perceptions. Squires (2008) noted 'anti-social behaviour is emphatically about perceptions, relationships, interactions and contexts' (Squires, 2008:368). There is a wide

body of research surrounding public perceptions and crime and anti-social behaviour (Taylor, Twigg & Mohan, 2009; Rix et al. 2009; Scribbens et al, 2010; Stanko & Bradford, 2009; Myhill & Quinton, 2010). The majority of research papers focus on the use of the British Crime Survey which includes, despite its name, respondents from England and Wales only. The British Crime Survey since its inception in 1982 has sought to measure peoples' perceptions of the police and the criminal justice system. The survey was run at two yearly intervals until 2001, when it became continuous asking around 50,000 adults about their experiences in relation to areas such as, how their local police force are performing as well as people's attitudes to crime related issues.

Over time and to reflect the changes in practice the British Crime Survey has adapted and added more questions and removed others. The most recent survey for the year ending 2009/10 for the first time included asking questions to those aged less than sixteen years. As a result direct comparison between some years of the survey has been challenging. However, the British Crime Survey is thought to be the best reflection of public opinion and a more accurate picture of crime and anti-social behaviour levels, as it includes incidents that have not been reported to the police or other authorities (Harrison, Dawson & Walker, 2009). Whilst the British Crime Survey is a useful source of information regarding public perceptions, it should be noted that information is produced to police force area. The data does not allow post code level comparison and puts

together large geographical areas in its analysis, which hides detailed localised results.

Even though large areas are considered together, the data produced is of interest and produces a guideline. Since 2001, a figure for a perceived high level of anti-social behaviour in the respondent's local area has been collected. In 2001/02 this figure was 19 per cent which appears to be declining as the most recent British Crime Survey data indicates 14 per cent of people perceive a high level of anti-social behaviour in their area (Home Office 2011). Whilst these figures seem low, it is important to note that these represent 'high' perceived anti-social behaviour and do not include responses to 'fairly big problem' with 28 per cent of respondents, for example in the 2006/07 survey. On examination of the reported issues in the high and fairly big problem category, the most recent survey found four per cent perceived abandoned and burnt out cars a problem; 11 per cent noisy neighbours or loud parties; 22 per cent vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage; 25 per cent people being drunk or rowdy in public places; 26 per cent people using or dealing drugs; 26 per cent teenagers hanging around on the streets and 28 per cent rubbish or litter lying around.

From a different perspective but still identifying the issues Myhill, Fildes and Quinton (2010), conducted analysis of over 9000 responses on the issues the public felt were not being dealt with by the authorities. The overwhelming

majority of people felt that anti-social behaviour was not being tackled locally, and 76 per cent identified the most common issues as general anti-social behaviour by young people, drug taking and selling, vandalism and graffiti which supports the most recent British Crime Survey data (Chaplin et al. 2011). In comparison, relatively few people mentioned more serious issues such as violence or knife crime and burglary (just seven per cent). Myhill, Fildes and Quinton concluded the police and their partners should address the anti-social behaviour issues that shape peoples day to day security concerns, as well as focusing on the more serious matters. This finding is in line with previous research that suggests that dealing with local perceptions of anti-social behaviour, can help improve the public's confidence in the police and other partners such as local authorities (Tuffin et al. 2006; Myhill & Beak, 2008; Jackson & Bradford, 2009).

There is a large body of evidence suggesting that people who have confidence in the police and their partners are more likely to be satisfied during or after encounters with them, and are more likely to come forward and offer information when needed in future (Bradford, 2009; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Thorpe (2009) identified from British Crime Survey data 46 per cent of respondents agreed the police and local council were dealing with anti-social behaviour and crime in their area. The data also showed that this perception varied with older people, women, people on lower incomes and people who had not been a victim of a crime in the last twelve months more likely to agree, that

the police and local council were dealing with the issues that matter. Thorpe also found several factors that were associated with those that agreed the police and local council were doing a good job. These factors were: perceiving the local police can be relied on to deal with minor crimes; perceiving the police deal with people fairly; seeing a police officer or Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) on patrol and not having a high level of perceived anti-social behaviour in their area.

When looking into those who perceive high levels of anti-social behaviour in more detail, it has been found that they tend to be more socially isolated and are less likely to engage with the Police, as well as less likely to agree the police are doing a good job (Innes & Weston, 2010). In an analysis of the British Crime Survey, Innes and Weston found young people are just as likely as older people to identify anti-social behaviour as a local problem. Individuals that live in urban areas, particularly those less affluent are more likely to be repeat victims of anti-social behaviour. Those in social housing when compared to home owners and private renters are more likely to perceive there to be high levels of anti-social behaviour in their area. The results also showed that families with children are more likely to report repeat incidents of anti-social behaviour than those without. In addition to this, those with a disability or long term health problem are far more likely to report anti-social behaviour has a high impact on their quality of life.

Innes and Weston (2010) identified individuals that perceive high levels of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood, report a greater sense of isolation than those living in low anti-social behaviour areas. The same individuals are also isolated from their neighbours as they tend to report lower levels of community cohesion, including trust in their fellow neighbours. This is also reinforced by isolation from key services as people in high anti-social behaviour localities are also less likely to report incidents to the police and have lower confidence in them. Innes and Weston (2010) argue there are significant differences in the views of those who are repeatedly exposed to anti-social behaviour, compared to those who are not. In support of this they found seventy-nine percent of people who had not encountered anti-social behaviour locally felt safe walking alone after dark, compared to sixty-four percent for those who had been exposed to anti-social behaviour more than once.

In support of Innes and Weston (2010) Taylor, Twigg and Mohan (2009) found that deprivation and poverty are most strongly associated with perceived high levels of anti-social behaviour. Living in a flat, bedsit or living in social housing, all increase the likelihood of perceiving high levels of anti-social behaviour. Their research also found those with poor health, previous experience of crime victimisation and living at the same address for more than 5 years also increased this likelihood. The most important finding of this research was that

different types of people living in the same small area, who must presumably be exposed to similar levels of anti-social behaviour, had very different perceptions of such behaviour (Taylor, Twigg and Mohan, 2009). This demonstrates there are likely to be some groups in society that are more vulnerable to anti-social behaviour than others. This finding also highlights the need for local level small scale research into anti-social behaviour to determine the scale of the problem as well as identify those who may be at particular risk of becoming a victim.

2.3 Reporting Behaviour: A Question of Tolerance

What sets the Ipsos Mori (2010) research apart from previous is that the research moved towards focusing on the harm caused to victims of anti-social behaviour. The report for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) by Ipsos Mori titled 'Policing Anti-social Behaviour: The public perspective' (2010), produced a useful overview of current public thinking surrounding anti-social behaviour. The research was conducted on a national scale although was divided into police force areas. Focus groups felt that calls made to the police regarding anti-social behaviour would not reflect the wider views of the public, as they felt these calls were likely to be serious incidents that have had a real impact on people's lives. The report concluded it is likely most anti-social behaviour goes unreported, as it is largely tolerated with this tolerance dependent on the impact it has on their quality of life. According to the report many low level anti-social behaviour issues are not considered reportable as

they reflect a shift in standards, rather than what could be considered an offence. The report suggests this tolerance is driven by the view that the incident is 'none of their business' (Ipsos Mori, 2010:17). The authors also noted tolerance levels varied by area, for example in deprived areas certain types of anti-social behaviour had become accepted as part of everyday life in their community.

The working definition of tolerance that is widely used is: 'the deliberate choice not to interfere with conduct or beliefs with which one disapproves' (Hancock & Matthews, 2002:126). The notion of tolerance is therefore concerned with what people will accept or be willing to endorse under certain circumstances (Turner et al. 1997). Hancock and Matthews (2002) argue that tolerance is central to the understanding of crime, law and punishment, with the distinction between crime and what they term incivilities (anti-social behaviour) conditioned by existing forms of toleration. Although, it is the case in relation to crimes such as rape and murder that there may be a relatively high degree of consensus that these should not be tolerated, it becomes more complicated when considering anti-social behaviour or non-criminal activity (Burney, 1999). This complexity is apparent when those committing lesser offences may well claim some right to engage in these activities, such as to play music or to hang around on the streets, as this right is associated with notions of freedom and autonomy (Newey, 1999).

According to Hancock and Matthews (2002) a review of the relevant literature has found that tolerance has a number of important attributes. First, tolerance is social and arises out of social interaction as demonstrated by Foucault (1979) and his work on power being a relational concept. Secondly, tolerance is influenced by the material conditions of its existence, and the expression of tolerance is conditioned by structural location and situational pressures. Therefore, tolerance is influenced by the class, gender or ethnicity of those involved and this will also deeply influence how it is expressed. Thirdly, tolerance is purposeful and intentional, therefore a rational and conscious act even if expressed through inaction. Fourthly, tolerance like trust is exhibited on a number of different dimensions and will therefore contain ambiguities and uncertainties. Any investigation of tolerance will require a comprehensive form of enquiry and will need to distinguish the object of tolerance and the mode of expressing this. Finally, Hancock and Matthews (2002) state that based on the literature, tolerance is a moral concept. They argue it requires making choices between that which is acceptable and unacceptable, meaning people may tolerate things which they believe to be wrong. This does not however exclude the fact that a decision to tolerate involves an element of moral choice (Bauman, 1995).

Arguably, victims as primary definers, play a crucial role in transforming incidents or problematic situations they witness or experience into potential crime or anti-social behaviour (Hancock and Matthews, 2002). Therefore, the decision to report will be conditioned by the gravity of the offence, the willingness of police to take it seriously and be able to do something about it, as well as be dependent on the nature and level of public tolerance. Victims of anti-social behaviour will make a decision, as to whether the incident they have experienced or witnessed is tolerable or not, before reporting or accepting an incident. Box and Hale (1986) say it is essential when looking at the problem of crime, to understand the social and cultural processes through which different types of activity become less tolerable.

To illustrate Box and Hale's (1986) point the recent shift in attitudes towards domestic violence and bullying, in which they have been effectively rediscovered, Saraga (1996) argues reflect a changing framework of social attitude that will effect individual decisions to report incidents. Hancock and Matthews (2002) believe it is necessary to understand why it is felt certain activities can no longer be adequately dealt with informally, and why sanctions previously deployed to control certain activities are no longer seen as effective. Further to this point they stipulate that the growing public intolerance of certain types of anti-social behaviour or crimes, such as domestic violence and bullying, should not just be seen as a consequence of the growth of crime, but as both the growth and the changing of attitudes as the same process. This two way

development is evident in the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) which transforms a number of anti-social acts into criminal offences and simultaneously intensifies sanctions in relation to these.

Hancock and Matthews (2002) continue their stance and believe tolerance may enable individuals to mitigate around damaging social conflict. However the question that is raised is how people distinguish between acts which should be prevented and punished, and those that should be permitted and tolerated? Hancock and Matthews state harm itself is an insufficient criterion for tolerance, as it is open to wide interpretation and comes in a number of different forms. Therefore, they consider it to be more likely that decisions on whether to respond or report will be conditioned by other factors. The relationship between the activity to be tolerated and the level of social support available is important. Taub et al. (1984) found tolerance in Chicago communities is conditioned by the quality and quantity of local amenities and the organisation and density of housing, as well as the seriousness of other local problems. This study also suggested the level of tolerance is not just a function of the level of absolute deprivation in an area, but a consequence of relative deprivation. Therefore, tolerance is seen to arise from the gap between what people have got and what they expect (Campbell, 1991).

Hancock and Matthews (2002) also discuss the references made in everyday discussions to thresholds and the limits of tolerance. These they argue suggest that there are crucial points in which tolerance changes. In this point of transition, activities or behaviours that were once tolerated, seem to take on a different significance. This means the number of incidents are not the only important factor, but the point at which the threshold is crossed should also be considered. Hancock and Matthews argue research has to look at the impact of crime and anti-social behaviour and these thresholds of tolerance need to be determined. This will develop understanding of the local sensitivities to tolerance, rather than focusing on the number of offences and other arbitrary measures. Such a stance advocates the use of local level research to identify these tolerance thresholds.

Innes and Weston (2010) did not examine tolerance thresholds, however proposed the evidence from the Ipsos Mori report indicates the decision to report for those who are repeat victims, is strongly influenced by the quality of the first contact and response. The data suggests that people frequently tolerate a certain amount of anti-social behaviour, but when it reaches a certain level they will report it supporting Hancock and Matthews (2002). This, Innes and Weston argue is a critical moment in the reporting process, as if the response given to this initial report is perceived to be inadequate they are less likely to report a problem again in future. The data from the British Crime Survey shows repeated exposure to anti-social behaviour has a negative impact on the

confidence the public has in the police and partner agencies. In fact, people who have lower confidence in the police are less likely to report anti-social behaviour, with 80 per cent of people with low confidence in the police saying they have not reported incidents to the police, compared to 59 per cent who have higher confidence (Innes and Weston, 2010). There is an important implication to be considered here, as if as suggested over time fewer problems are reported to the police and partners, consequently those police forces will have less of an understanding of the issues in their area and will lack the knowledge required to target the key problems, leading to ineffective policing.

2.4 Reporting Behaviour and Factors Other Than Tolerance

The recent Home Office White Paper (2012) highlights the need to better understand the impact that anti-social behaviour has on victim's lives. This white paper also shows that some people are more likely to be victims of anti-social behaviour, such as those living in less affluent urban areas, those living in social housing and those who have a long term illness or disability. Those with a disability or long term illness are more likely to perceive anti-social behaviour as a problem in their area, and there is also evidence to suggest that they are also more likely to be a victim. The charity MIND (2007) conducted research into mental health and argued that victimisations amongst those with a mental health issue are very high, especially for incidents of physical assault or sexual

harassment. They also found that almost a third of these victims had not reported the incident as they did not believe they would be taken seriously by the authorities, and would be seen as unreliable witnesses. Other research conducted by Read and Baker (1996) found over half of those with a disability or long term illness have been victims of anti-social behaviour or crime.

Nixon et al. (2007) note that there is little reliable evidence on the actual victimisation rate of those with mental health or a physical disability, as systematic recording is not commonplace. Nixon et al. (2007) assessed the limited evidence available on this subject and concluded most people with a form of disability are reluctant to report incidents for fear of reprisals, and a lack of confidence in local authorities to deal with the matter effectively. In fact Nixon et al. state nearly 75 per cent of victims who have reported incidents, believe that police action had failed to stop further incidents. In 2007 the tragic suicide of Fiona Pilkington and her disabled daughter made the headlines, and an Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) report in 2011 concluded errors were made in recognising her as a repeat and vulnerable victim of persistent anti-social behaviour. The report made several recommendations including, the need for robust risk assessments to identify those vulnerable members of the community and for repeat victimisations of those with disabilities or long term illnesses to be taken seriously. This supports the earlier discussion by Taylor, Twigg and Mohan (2009) there are likely to be groups in society that are more vulnerable to anti-social behaviour than others.

Aside from the role of disability and long term illness, Innes and Weston also examined the reasons why some victims choose not to report anti-social behaviour, involving the most commonly reported problem in the data which was teenagers hanging around. The five main reasons not to report were: 20 per cent did not want to get involved; 17 per cent said they just accepted the problem; 15 per cent thought the police would not be interested; 13 per cent said it would be a waste of time and 12 per cent feared reprisals. In support, Stone et al. (2005) conducted research into the reasons why people would not report a crime and found similar results, with reasons cited that the police would not be interested; there would be no way of solving the problem therefore no point in bothering the police; unwillingness to get involved; distrust of the police and fear of reprisals. Stone et al. (2005) also found those who were willing to report a crime mainly did so to receive the crime reference number in order to proceed with insurance claims, although some respondents felt they should report to enable the police to use the information to hopefully prevent another victim although this was rare. Understanding this process could improve confidence in police services, as well as enable the best use of resources for the issues that matter to the community.

Gideon and Mesch (2003) examined reporting behaviour in relation to property crimes in Israel and found most victims do not report their victimisation to the

police. The most frequently cited reasons for not reporting the incident were that the damage was minor (43 per cent), the victim did not believe the police could deal with such incidents (18 per cent), they did not want to bother the police (12 per cent) and previous experience of the police had been poor (8 per cent). Whilst this study was conducted in Israel the reasons for not reporting an incident can still be noted, although caution should be aired as the authors note at the time of the research there were clear tensions between the police and public.

Whitehead et al. (2003) found that many instances of anti-social behaviour are never reported and people fail to report for a variety of reasons. These reasons include not knowing to whom they should report; thinking it is not worth reporting because they think effective action will not be taken to counter the problem; they fear reprisals from the perpetrators, or, if the behaviour is serious they do not want to get involved with the police as the costs may outweigh the benefits. These findings were part of a social and economic evaluation of the costs of anti-social behaviour across England and Wales. Other focuses of the project included the definition of anti-social behaviour, which it concluded was problematic due to the overlap with criminal behaviour and wide variety of problems. It was suggested that this problem with definition was likely to have impacted on reporting behaviour, in particular not knowing who to report to as many behaviours were thought of as not a police problem.

As discussed an important reaction to an incident is the decision whether to report it to the police or other authority (Gideon & Mesch, 2003). Research has shown that victim's unwillingness to report incidents may reflect a lack of confidence in the ability of the police to prevent and solve crimes, and there is some evidence public confidence in the police can be an important factor in explaining the fear of crime (Bennet, 1994; Gideon & Mesch, 2003). In the Ipsos Mori (2010) research some respondents felt the situations may be made worse by reporting and feared reprisals. Some participants also chose not to report behaviour when they believed that nothing would change or be done as a result. Further to this others said if they were given feedback regarding their report they would be more likely to report in future. A decision made by a person to report an incident is the outcome of a decision making process. It has been argued such a process is influenced by social and structural characteristics. Structural theories, including the social network theory, state that the victim or witness is an actor in a given social framework. Many studies have examined how social relationships affect victims of crime (Skogan, 1976; Schwind & Zwenger, 1992; Ruback, 1994). These studies have focused on the way the victim uses their family, friends, neighbours and others when deciding how to behave, something that will be expanded later in this chapter.

2.5 The Signal Crimes Perspective and Anti-social Behaviour

The fear of crime is widespread amongst members of many contemporary western societies (Farrall & Gadd, 2004). A thorough review of the fear of crime literature is not to be addressed in detail here, therefore see Hale (1996) and the more recent Semmens et al. (2002) for a detailed overview. The fear of crime has been influential in the criminological literature and in shaping policy and criminal justice practice (Innes, 2004). Farrall and Ditton (1999) argue research into the fear of crime has tended to measure objective expressions, whereas fear of crime is in fact a more complex and multi-dimensional construct. Lupton and Tulloch (1999) contend that survey based fear of crime studies have failed to grasp the concept and how it is constructed. Through qualitative studies Jefferson and Hollway (2000) suggest fear is situated, meaning that fear tends to switch frequency and intensity as people encounter different social situations. There is a lack of sufficient precision amongst the literature to explain what, how and why people are fearful (Innes, 2004). Ferraro's (1995) model of risk interpretation strives to understand how people socially construct judgement about levels of risk. He differentiates between fear as an emotional response and risk as a cognitive response. He argues that many studies have tried to combine these two concepts ineffectively. Ferraro focuses on the process of risk perception as he argues this is important in understanding how and why fear arises. He argues whether people perceive themselves to be at risk or not,

depends on how they interpret and define people, places, spaces, acts and social encounters they experience in their everyday lives.

Following from the proposals by Ferraro (1995), Innes (2004) argues rather than focusing on the fear of crime in general, a more focused approach is required. This focus needs to include the ways in which people interpret and define crime and anti-social behaviour, as well as, how these perceptions inform a number of responses and reactions to these behaviours. Innes (2004) challenged the view that centralised approaches to crime and anti-social behaviour were appropriate for their management. Instead Innes felt that a locally driven approach enables greater understanding of the issues that matter the most to communities. The signal crimes perspective states a crime or incident acts as a signal that has a disproportionate effect on an individual or group (Innes, 2004). Innes stipulates this perspective recognises that some crimes and anti-social behaviour incidents matter more than others to people, in terms of shaping their perceptions and therefore fear.

Ditton and Innes (2005) explain signal crimes or incidents comprise three components: an expression, a content and an effect. The expression is the incident or problem, whereas the content relates to the risk that is perceived as a result of experiencing, witnessing or hearing about a particular incident. Innes research shows that people not only consider the risk to themselves but they

also consider risk to their property, significant others, neighbours and to social order more generally. The expression and content must then generate an emotional, cognitive or behavioural effect. Emotional effects changing how the person feels, cognitive effects change how the person thinks, and a behavioural effect changes their behaviour. Innes argues that in joining the expression, content and effect this establishes a signal. Innes proposes that by using this methodology it is possible to establish the different signals people identify, and which problems have more impact on communities.

The relationship between disorder and fear of crime is at the heart of Innes signal crimes work, which posits that certain crimes or disorderly incidents may be disproportionately influential, in terms of causing a person or persons to perceive themselves to be at risk in some sense (Innes & Fielding, 2002). Incidents that have 'signal value' may include both high profile serious crimes, where the public reaction to the event is based upon mediated information, and less serious events which are nonetheless significant due to them being experienced directly. Innes and Ditton propose it is possible a signal can shape how individuals or groups construct responses concerning other dangers or beliefs. Innes argues research has suggested that signals vary considerably by area, supporting the view local level research is required to establish the issues that matter to that community, to effectively manage them.

Innes (2004) describes situated signal crimes as those that function at a local level through the direct experience of the individual, or through community networks. These differ from the more disembedded forms of signal that operate through channels such as the mass media. For the purpose of this discussion it is the situated signal crimes that are of interest, although it should be recognised in a culture of twenty-four hour news coverage individuals are likely to be influenced on this level to some degree. Innes and Fielding (2002) stipulate social processes are being enacted throughout communities and neighbourhoods and as a result signal crimes, that involve what may on the surface appear trivial, can serve as a reminder to people of the risks to which they are potentially exposed. The 'Broken Windows Perspective' (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) takes the view low level issues need to be tackled otherwise they can have a detrimental impact on fear and criminality. Wilson and Kelling argued incivilities (anti-social behaviour) act as signals of dereliction that if left can cause people to think crime is on the rise, and can attract further anti-social behaviour and crime.

Budd and Sims (2001) research identified that in more affluent areas very few people reported high levels of disorder, but significantly more believed its presence had a negative impact on their quality of life. In less affluent areas more people perceived high levels of disorder, and even more, thought its presence had a negative effect on their quality of life. Further to this when asked about being a victim of crime in areas of high perceived disorder, 39 per cent of

people were very worried about burglary, 34 per cent about being mugged and 41 per cent about car theft. In the areas of perceived low disorder figures were 15 per cent, 12 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. This research highlights the signal crimes perspective as a possible explanation for these results. It is important to note Innes (2004) is clear, that the signal crimes perspective does not assume everyone interprets signals in the same way. Innes acknowledges that key variables such as social class, age, gender, ethnicity and lifestyle may determine how a signal is interpreted. This is supported by Jefferson and Hollway (2000), who note a gendered dimension to the construction of fear. Women tend to fear crimes such as sexual assault whereas men fear physical assault. The signal crimes perspective therefore recognises that a characteristic of an individual, together with the context in which the signal occurs, shapes the construction of its meaning. This recognition of context allows the concept of signal crimes, to be sensitive to the role of social structure in influencing a social reaction to a signal crime or disorder.

Wood (2004) examined responses from the 2003/2004 British Crime Survey and found that those who had been a victim of crime in the previous year, were more likely to perceive high levels of anti-social behaviour. Wood also examined the effects of the signal crimes perspective including the emotional and behavioural changes as a result of experiencing a signal. Wood identified the majority of respondents had some form of emotional reaction, with the most common, annoyance and anger. In terms of behavioural change, the types of behavioural

change were wide ranging, but a frequent reaction was avoiding certain places in the local area. In addition Wood also found a strong association between the frequency of experience and the impact on quality of life. Wood's analysis supports the signal crimes perspective however; this was using data from the large scale British Crime Survey. Wood states that anti-social behaviour will vary in specific social contexts and will depend on the norms of the local area and the values of individuals, reinforcing the need for local level research.

The signal crimes perspective was examined but not tested, in an evaluation by Tuffin et al. of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) in 2006. The NRPP aimed to reduce the fear of crime, improve the sense of safety for residents as well as reducing anti-social behaviour and improving their quality of life. Sixteen trial areas were selected and visible and accessible policing was introduced, through working with communities to target the anti-social behaviour issues that were causing the most harm. The trial sites did show improvements in some areas, including increased confidence in the police and an increase in the number of residents saying that they could trust their neighbours. As a result of these findings neighbourhood policing was rolled out across England and Wales and is currently still in operation. Ditton and Innes (2005) argue that the signal crimes methodology provides a rationale for reassurance policing, by identifying where to focus interventions in order to change public perceptions. This indicates that the signal crimes perspective may provide the basis for

establishing the issues that matter to the community the most, allowing for agencies to address these and increase confidence and reduce fear as a result.

The fear of crime has taken centre stage over time and appears to have effected perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour as a result. Innes (2004) signal crimes perspective argues for a locally driven approach to examine the ways people interpret and define anti-social behaviour. Establishing these signals may help in understanding what issues matter to communities and could inform local policing practices and may in turn alter perceptions, raise satisfaction levels and therefore build trust. It is likely however, with reference to Budd and Sims (2001) and Jefferson and Hollway (2000), a number of social factors such as gender and age, will influence what signals are important to individuals within a community. Such a proposition is in line with Box and Hale (1986) who emphasise the importance of understanding the social processes through which different types of activity become problematic.

2.6 Social Capital and Anti-social Behaviour

Social capital is one social characteristic of neighbourhoods that might influence (and be influenced by) the reporting of anti-social behaviour by communities. Social capital can be described as the interpersonal trust between citizens,

norms of reciprocity, sense of community and social participation and group membership that facilitates collective action and cooperation for mutual benefit (Kawachi, Kennedy & Glass, 1999: Putnam, 1993). Societies with high levels of social capital are characterised by more generalised trust in other people, as well as increased institutional trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 1993, 2000). Social capital theory is complex and has been widely debated by a number of academics over time, which has led to a wide variety of definitions. Despite the range of definitions most follow the notion social capital is fundamentally about how people interact with each other, although specifically about the value of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity (Dekker and Uslaner 2001; Uslaner 2001). For a detailed discussion on the definition of social capital see Adler & Kwon (2002).

Social capital theory is widely cited in academic literature with many empirical studies demonstrating the importance of social capital to a very wide-ranging set of socioeconomic phenomena (Durlauf 2002; Krishna 2001). Frane and Roncevic (2003) stated that:

> 'despite problems with its definition as well as its operationalisation, and despite its (almost) metaphorical character, social capital has facilitated a series of very important empirical investigations and theoretical debates which have stimulated reconsideration of the significance of human relations, of networks, of organisational forms

for the quality of life and of developmental performance'. (Frane and Roncevic, 2003: 177)

Aside from the problems relating to definition and its measurement, the concept of social capital has been researched in relation to a variety of factors including health behaviours (Mohan et al, 2005; Ball et al, 2010), development (Krishna & Uphoff, 2002) and crime (Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Kennedy et al, 1998). The link between social capital and crime has been reported in a number of studies (Rosenfield et al, 2001; Messner et al, 2004; Heaton, 2006), however the link between anti-social behaviour and social capital is less clear. Rosenfield et al. (2001) argue social capital should reduce crime because it increases formal and informal social control, strengthening the effectiveness of social norms. Rosenfield et al. found a significant, negative impact of social capital on homicide rates in the United States. In addition Messner et al. (2004) looked at different dimensions of social capital and found increases in homicide rates, decrease social trust but increase community and political activism. Nakhaie and Sacco (2009) examined social capital in Canada and its relationship to property offences committed by young people. They found those young people with positive friendship groups and quality teachers, were less likely to commit offences, when personality traits and parental social capital were excluded from the analysis. The wide reaching dimensions of social capital are clear therefore how this may influence the reporting of anti-social behaviour will be considered.

There are a number of social capital pioneers notably Bourdieu (1986), Coleman

(1988) and Putnam (1993, 2000). Social capital recognises that the relationship

of everyday life between neighbours, colleagues and friends as well as casual

acquaintances have value for the individual and for society as a whole

(Middleton et al., 2005). Bourdieu a French cultural theorist with roots in Karl

Marx and Antonia Gramsci's theory was critical of the function of social capital in

society, as he was concerned with how inequalities in wealth and power were

maintained through culture and connections. Bourdieu describes social capital in

three forms: economic, cultural and social. Bourdieu believed that cultural and

social capital are accumulated in specific ways, as a result of power relations.

He viewed social capital as a source of privilege that benefits high society and

had little relevance for other sections of society, except to exclude them from

opportunities for development. Hall's (2000) work on social capital in Britain,

suggests there is a class factor, with middle class people more likely to be

members of voluntary associations, while working class households enjoy higher

levels of informal sociability.

Bourdieu suggests social capital does not work in an instrumental way, as a

free-flowing and functional means of exchange and its accumulation is not open

to all. Bourdieu was not specifically analysing anti-social behaviour as it is

known now, but was instead interested in the process around social conflict.

Some of his work can however be applied to the process around anti-social

behaviour formation, and reporting in the context of this thesis. In his text

'Distinction' Bourdieu (1984) described in detail how deep class divisions within French society influenced cultural, social and economic capital. Cultural capital such as musical, literary and artistic tastes and competencies, are acquired through relations between knowledge and ability. Bourdieu argued this capital is just as important as economic capital, a house or money for example. Both cultural and economic capital are transmitted from one generation to the next and thus those with greater cultural capital are more likely to obtain employment leading to higher economic capital. Those with limited cultural capital due to limited access and educational attainment are unlikely to build economic capital. Bourdieu further expands his theory by stating that those who belong to the same social group and occupy the same position in social space tend to share the same tastes. These tastes he argues can include those for not just art but also food, music, sports, home decor clothing, fashion and so on. Bourdieu concludes social capitalism is an ideology of inclusion and exclusion: a means by which the powerful may protect and further their interests against the less powerful.

In contrast, Coleman (1988) believed that social capital accumulates as a result of positive exchanges between people pursuing self intentions, rather than as a deliberate investment strategy. For Coleman, community networks can counteract possible disadvantages associated with socio-economic background, but he also acknowledged that pressures to conform to and avoid informal sanctions could act as constraints on freedom. Coleman used an economic

model to define social capital as a set of resources that exist in family and community networks. Central to Coleman's view was that civic life in the United States, that had once been robust, had collapsed and led to negative consequences such as a high level of educational drop out. Coleman therefore believed that America needed to consider ways to rebuild social capital and focused on reinstating these connections as a result to re-ignite society.

Like Coleman, Putnam believed that a decline in civic society in the United States resulted in negative effects such as a bad government, poor neighbourhoods and economic ills. For Putnam social capital is largely an unproblematic, instrumental concept that is perceived to be almost entirely positive in its outcomes (Arneil, 2006). Putnam (1993, 2000) is usually credited with popularising the social capital concept. His more liberal approach with a focus on communitarian models of social and family responsibility have wide political and policy appeal (Gilchrist, 2009). Putnam describes social capital as:

> 'connectedness among individuals – social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' (Putnam, 2000:19)

The community is seen by Putnam as an entity allowing its members to more effectively pursue shared objectives. Putnam (2000) distinguished social capital from other forms of capital such as human and physical, as he believed human

and physical capital benefit the individual, whereas social capital benefits others and will see others reap the rewards. Putnam recognises that social capital is closely related to communities, reflecting levels of general trust and interconnectivity within a society:

> 'a well connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well connected individual in a well connected society. And even a poorly connected individual may derive some of the spill over benefits from living in a well connected community' (Putnam, 2000:20)

Combining the three main ideas of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam largely speaking social capital can be defined as a collective resource embedded in and released from informal networks (Lin, 2002). These are based on shared norms and trust that advantage individuals and communities 'better connected people enjoy better returns' (Burt, 2000:3). Mirroring the concept of community, social capital reflects shared norms and values that are affirmed through interaction and co-operation. Much social capital literature emphasises trust as a key component (Fukuyama, 1999), apart from Bourdieus' view of social capital. Trust for communities is complicated and requires respect and an enduring capability on participants (Purdue, 2001).

Trust implies both an expectation of mutual commitment and a degree of predictability about other people's behaviour, and derives from experiences of

others as reliable, capable and accountable (Gilchrist, 2009). Trust is not just an aspect of social relationships; it has also been identified as a component in people's tendency to take risks, especially in exchanges with others (Boeck et al. 2006). A study by Boeck et al. (2007) of social capital in Leicestershire found that not only did social capital levels vary between rural, deprived and affluent communities; there were also two distinct kinds of people. These included those who trusted but were insular in their social relationships and those who were more wary but enjoyed more diverse relationships. It would appear trust is therefore context dependent, something that Foley and Edwards (1999) support, stating trust reflects differential power and access to independent resources and the ability and inability to apply sanctions. Gilchrist (2009) argues that understanding how people perceive different players in their social networks is an important aspect of devising strategies for communication and empowerment.

Returning to the work of Putnam (1993, 2000), and how social networks operate, he made the important distinction between two types of social capital; bridging and bonding. Putnam argues bonding capital is good for 'getting by' while bridging capital is crucial for enabling communities to 'get ahead'. Bonding social capital generally refers to ties between family members as well as friends, and has been described as the most effective at helping people get by in life (Zhang et al. 2011). Usually these are strong ties that exist among groups of people that share similar values, interests and backgrounds (Crawford, 2006).

Bridging social capital refers to the bonds between different social groups either between generations, neighbours, cultures, ethnic or religious groups. Crawford (2006) argues that these are generally weaker ties than bonding and cross cut connections between heterogeneous groups which can develop trust and understanding.

Beyerlein and Hipp (2005) differentiate between bonding and bridging social capital and argue groups characterised by bonding, are not effective in creating an environment of informal social control to deal with the threat of crime. On the other hand they argue that groups with extensive bridging social capital are more effective at creating informal social control. Informal social control refers to acts such as neighbours looking out for one another and intervening in local disturbances (Greenberg et al. 1985). Linking with the signal crimes proposition, Innes (2004) argues under the right conditions the fear of crime is a key stimulus that encourages people to join together and engage in community governance, fostering informal social control. However, Hunter and Baumer (1982) have found the fear of crime can also degrade informal social control and develop more of a reliance on formal social control, most obviously managed by the police. Akcomak and Weel (2008) have found crime rates tend to be lower in societies with higher levels of social capital and informal social control. Squires (2008) argues bridging social capital is what communities need to develop their capacity to respond to anti-social behaviour, to develop tolerance and informal social control by developing diverse relationships.

Lin (2002) suggests that strong ties bind people like themselves and are more likely to bring together people with similar resources for a common purpose. However, they can also be the basis of a narrow and exclusive harmful interest. Lin argues that weak ties may be better than strong ties as they do not rely on the same extent of shared values. Granovetter (1973) highlighted the importance of weak ties noting that while strong close ties can inhibit effective action, weak ties can be very useful for people to gain information and opportunity. Henning and Lieberg (1996) found weak ties are quantitatively more significant in neighbourhoods than strong ties. Weak ties were found to provide security, a sense of identity and feeling of home as well as practical and social support. Wellman and Wortley (1990) argue that ultimately strong and weak ties are doing different things and provide different kinds of support. Crawford (2006) argues that for neighbourhood social capital working on weak bridging ties that stretch across social groups and extend beyond the neighbourhood, is more appropriate than focusing on the support and strength of strong bonding ties. Further Crawford states that outward looking absorbent neighbourhoods, rather than stable, introspective communities may be more favourable for tolerance, respect for difference and trust and therefore less likely to report anti-social behaviour.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter the notion that social capital may be or is being depleted explains the political interest in communities. Most of the policy around tackling anti-social behaviour is presented as an aspect of much broader social processes. Sampson et al. (1997) use the term collective efficacy to describe the situation where there is social cohesion among neighbours combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good. According to Sampson and Grove (1989) those areas with high crime and delinquency are also characterised by sparse friendship networks, unsupervised teenage peer groups and low organisational participation. The concept of collective efficacy has a lot of overlap with social capital (Putnam, 2000) as demonstrated by social ties, network groups, civic participation and readiness to help others. According to Putnam (2000:307):

> 'Neighbourhoods with high levels of social capital tend to be good places to raise children. In high social capital areas public spaces are cleaner, people are friendlier and the streets are safer' (Putnam, 2000: 307)

Such a perspective seems simple however there are variations across areas with Walklate and Evans (1999) finding social cohesion is not necessarily absent in high crime areas. Halpern (2005) also found that some poorer neighbourhoods experiencing higher levels of anti-social behaviour, can show high levels of social capital than more affluent areas. Even so neighbours unwillingness to look after each other is still an important element in

encouraging anti-social behaviour in communities. This is not a new proposition demonstrated by Pullen in 1973 who suggested that housing provision needs to offer a: 'stable, self regulating community where anti-social acts of vandalism do not go unnoticed' (Pullen, 1973: 132). It is the existence of stable, self regulating communities that were thought to be in decline, particularly in urban cities through the 1970's and 1980's (Millie, 2009). As Burney (1999) states:

> 'As social and economic structure diversify, so it is often claimed individuals are less dependent on their immediate neighbourhood and other people within it. Traditions and loyalties which formally played a greater role in social relations reduce and with them the sense of whom to trust' (Burney, 1999:15)

It has been found that even in relatively high crime areas people often cite family, friends and good neighbours as reasons for why they are content where they live (Squires, 2004). This highlights the importance of social interactions and understanding these in relation to reporting behaviour. In addition, Thorpe and Wood (2004) found 12 per cent of those who said people in their local area looked out for each other, also perceived high levels of anti-social behaviour, compared to 40 per cent perceiving high levels of anti-social behaviour of those who said they did not look out for one another. Wood (2004) on examination of the 2003/2004 British Crime Survey found those who felt that their neighbours did not look out for each other, were more likely to perceive anti-social behaviour a problem where they lived. These findings suggest that relations with neighbours can influence the perceptions of individuals around anti-social

behaviour, although there is limited research around its effects on reporting anti-social behaviour.

A large scale study by the Health Development Agency (HDA) in 2001 investigated the role of social capital on health. As part of this survey they examined neighbourliness, social networks and social support. They found 58 per cent could trust their neighbours and 78 per cent believed that their neighbours looked out for each other. In terms of social networks 66 per cent had a satisfactory friend network and 52 per cent had a satisfactory family network, but 20 per cent said they had no friend or family network to rely on for help and support. When looking at social support over 90 per cent felt they had someone locally they could turn to (Coulthard 2002). The large sample size allowed examination of social support in relation to other factors such as age. Coulthard et al. (2002) found there was less neighbourliness among younger people and that women had better social networks. Those living in social housing, alone or as a lone parent had less social support than those in owner occupied accommodation. This large scale research allowed some useful social comparisons, however given the previous discussion around local variation in relationships this does not allow detail at a local level.

At a more local level Power and Wilmot (2007) examined social capital in two low income neighbourhoods in Northern England and London. They found

residents talked extensively about social networks and support in both areas. Most had people that they could turn to with the majority stating that friends and family acted as a source of practical and emotional support for the issues they encountered in life. The majority of these residents had high levels of trust in their neighbours and had varying levels of relationship with their neighbours as a result. Social support is an important coping resource for people experiencing stressful life changes (Cohen & Willis, 1985). Cutrona and Russell (1990) found that social support is beneficial to victims of crime, as it acts as a comfort when victims often feel isolated. Green and Pomeroy (2007) also found that victims of violent and non-violent crime use their social support network as a means of coping with the situation. The links between social support and seeking help from the criminal justice system are ambiguous. Stienmetz (1985) found that victims with fewer social networks are more likely to report incidents however other studies, have found that social networks actually encourage victims to report (Frieze et al, 1987; Gourash, 1978). The relationship between support networks and the reporting of anti-social behaviour is under researched, therefore the relationship is unclear, although based on the evidence of crime victims it is likely there will be a relationship.

Alaimo et al (2010) highlighted the importance of individual and neighbour participation in neighbourhood activities for the development of different types of social capital. In their study, looking at a community gardening project in the United States, taking part in the project led to positive perceptions of social

capital compared to those who had not taken part in the project. They argued social capital will vary between neighbourhoods and even in high social capital neighbourhoods there will not be uniformity. In addition Alaimo et al. argue investigating bonding and bridging will enable further development of the concept of social capital, thus supporting the need for local level research.

Despite the positive research around the influence of social capital the work of Stanley Cohen in his text 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics' should be considered. Cohen (1972) did not use social capital theory as his work preceded the introduction of this concept, however his work is relevant. He analysed the scare surrounding the Mods and Rockers fights in the early 1960's, with particular reference to what they represented in society. Rather than focusing on their actions, Cohen argued the Mods and Rockers were seen and treated as a symbol of Americanised affluence and hedonism (Waiton, 2008). Cohen argued that for Britain the influence of the United States in this manner was seen as problematic, both in the values they were seen to uphold and those they were seen to reject like sobriety and hard work. At this time many young people were disillusioned about jobs and money and there were clear class barriers, which is worth noting the similarities in light of the 2011 riots in the United Kingdom. In fact Cohen suggested in 1972 that the intellectual poverty and lack of imagination in society's response to adolescent trouble, has meant that for twenty years it constantly repeats itself and society fails each time to come to

terms with the problem, underlining the importance of his work for current social process.

Cohen's analysis highlighted the role of social class in determining barriers within society and reinforcing stereotypes thus a theme of Bourdieu's (1986) social capital several years later. In brief Cohen's 1972 work suggested something that is done by an out group can be condemned by in group dominance, as it embarrasses and threatens the norms of the group and blurs the boundaries creating what he termed 'folk devils'. Such a proposition highlights the dangers that strong bonding social capital presents for those who do not conform to the dominant groups ideas. Therefore in the context of this thesis these group processes can be linked to the notion of tolerance and influence the reporting of anti-social behaviour. Bourdieu's (1986) work around the impact of tastes that are generally similar within social groups, highlights certain behaviours could either be tolerated by groups or be seen as anti-social behaviour.

Cohen's (1972) work also has links to Becker's (1963) labelling theory in which social groups make social rules and apply them to others, and label those who do not conform as outsiders. In addition Hall et al.'s (1978) examination of muggers adopted and developed elements of Cohen's work, focusing on key concerns about affluence and changes to the traditional way of life. Hall et al

argue that elements of social change and changes in attitudes amongst the young, took on a 'folk devilish' form in the black mugger, a reflection in their terms of an alien who had no sense of respect, hard work morals or family values and who was making the streets at the time a no go area (Waiton, 2008). Cohen, Becker and Hall all identify how what we now know as bonding ties as discussed in the previous section, can have a negative impact on the reporting of anti-social behaviour by communities.

Erikson's (1966) text 'Wayward Puritans' also highlights how the actions of the dominant in society, in this case the puritans, led to the singling out of those deemed to be in the deviant class and resulted in them branding the foreheads and mutilating the deviant marking them with a permanent emblem of their position in society. Hall et al's (1978) and Erikson's (1966) work pinpoints further how what are now known to be strong bonded groups, can ostracise certain groups within society that can, as with this case, have severe consequences for those minority groups and even create ethnic tensions. This links in with the previous discussion around those with a disability or long term illness more likely to be a victim of anti-social behaviour. These minority groups within society may be on the receiving end of this majority group dominance as they do not fit in with what society expects.

A recent paper by Dijker et al. (2011) presents a discussion that supports the notion that group processes may influence attitudes towards those with a disability or long term illness. Dijker et al. examined social responses of those about to have new neighbours whom were known to have a disability. Dijket et al. suggest that social groups and societies employ different strategies to prevent, reduce and deal with behaviours and properties of its members that are perceived as undesirable. They propose there are three forms of social control in evidence within social groups. These are repair where behaviours posing a threat tend to provoke anger and a desire to punish, stigmatisation and tolerance. They argue these can be interchangeable depending on the nature and severity of the undesirable behaviour. In their qualitative investigation they established that increased contact with those with a disability reduced the negative prior attitudes. This supports the role that bridging social capital can play in bringing together communities and developing trust.

As well as bonding and bridging a third type of social capital 'linking' refers to the ties that connect people to local service providers and resources (Woolcock, 2000). These ties are the relationships that connect communities and people to sources or power, and resources beyond neighbourhoods such as the police and local authority (Crawford, 2006). Linking social capital can facilitate social leverage and can provide opportunity and access to information. Crawford (2006) argues that different combinations of these forms of social capital can be more important for different communities and at different times. In addition these

differing types can compete with each other. Crawford argues little is known about the complex relationships between social capital in different community situations, highlighting the need for local level research into how social capital influences a range of factors.

On examination of linking social capital Hope (2001) argues that linking communities to resources, power and authority, is vital for their ability to reduce crime. An evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRRP) in (2006) found that reducing the fear of crime through reassurance did impact on the level of confidence in agencies. The NRPP focused on targeting the issues that mattered to the local community visibly, and involving the community in this process. This indicates that improving links between agencies and the community can improve confidence, in this particular case for the police. There is a vast amount of literature as discussed earlier in this chapter that improving confidence in services such as the police effects public perceptions of their effectiveness (Bradford, 2009; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Thorpe, 2009). Further research is required to establish the impact that linking social capital has on the reporting of anti-social behaviour at a local level, although Alaimo et al. (2010) have identified that community gardening projects in conjunction with services, can increase trust in those local services through positive interaction.

Many studies have conceptualised social capital as a dimension of the community whereas others have focused more on the individual (Nakhaie & Sacco, 2009). There is considerable disagreement on the most appropriate unit to measure social capital. Putnam (1993) appears to favour the community approach whereas others such as Coleman (1988) emphasize individual level analysis. There is little agreement on social capital measures although it is likely a single indicator cannot capture the complexity of the matter. The importance of social capital when looking at anti-social behaviour cannot be ignored. Previous research on crime and tolerance as discussed previously by Taub et al. (1984) and Campbell (1991), suggest social capital is likely to play a role in the reporting of anti-social behaviour. As the research into anti-social behaviour and reporting it is limited in relation to social capital, it is difficult to determine how important it may be. Data on crime and social capital however does suggest that having more trust and social connections leads to lower perceptions of crime.

2.7 Summary

Since the introduction of the term anti-social behaviour legislatively in 1998, there has been much debate surrounding what it actually means. This chapter has outlined the main arguments about the term and demonstrated the variety in definition as a result. In the eyes of the law anti-social behaviour is defined as 'alarm, harassment or distress' however, this is open to interpretation. The

conclusion from this chapter is that no single definition appears to be appropriate, although many attempts have been made throughout the last decade. It is clear that what is considered anti-social is likely to vary in different areas therefore, it is important to identify a local definition to allocate resources to tackle the issues that matter to the public in a given area. The recent thinking around harm and the use of the signal crimes perspective rather than a definition is of interest, and should be considered alongside any investigation into localised definition. As a result, it is proposed that any research into anti-social behaviour should establish a local understanding to enable those issues to be effectively managed.

The importance of local level research has been identified by Innes (2004) amongst others (Ditton and Innes, 2005; Myhill & Beak, 2008), therefore the use of local level research to ascertain the issues that matter to the community should be considered. The research has identified there are likely to be some groups that are more vulnerable to anti-social behaviour. These are those with disabilities or long term illness, living in social housing or in an area of deprivation (Taylor, Twigg & Mohan, 2009), which can be used to inform current initiatives. The negative effects that repeated exposure to anti-social behaviour, as well as negative experiences in reporting can have a detrimental effect on confidence in authorities. This has highlighted the need for investigation into the critical moment when an individual decides to act by reporting an incident (Innes & Weston, 2010). The signal crimes perspective may account for part of the

decision making process. Innes (2004) work suggests that knowing what signals matter at a local level is important in determining appropriate and effective policing. In addition, social capital is likely to impact on the reporting behaviour of individuals, and may influence the decision to report or not report an incident of anti-social behaviour.

The importance of trust and social networks has been identified as a factor in perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour (Sampson & Grove, 1989; Squires, 2004 & Thorpe & Wood, 2009). Putnam's work has been highlighted, in particular, the influence of bridging and bonding social capital and how these may influence communities. Research has shown that by increasing bonding, bridging and linking social capital (between agencies and the community) perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour can be improved. The work of Cohen (1972), Erikson (1966) and Hall et al (1978) has been highlighted as the influence of what is now known as social capital is not always positive. The following chapter will discuss these concepts in relation to formulating a research question and the methods employed to respond to this.

3. METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter outlined the literature around anti-social behaviour in the context of perceptions, social capital and signal crimes. This chapter identifies and explains in detail the process for carrying out this research thesis. This detail includes the development of the research question, identifying five distinctive aims. How the research design developed and reflects these aims is also considered, specifically the different types of research design and their suitability. The location of the study with information on the sample population, a small urban area within Mid Sussex, and the reasons for selecting this sample are also presented. The development of the research tools are the main focus of this chapter with discussion of the tools selected, in this case survey and semi-structured interviews, and the reasons why these were chosen over others. In addition the implementation of these research tools, as well as the pilot study, is presented highlighting where these were adapted to suit difficulties encountered. A number of ethical considerations are also presented, and how these were managed throughout the research project. The final part of this chapter identifies how the research was analysed.

3.1 The Development of the Research Question

In my professional role I have five years experience of working within the field of anti-social behaviour, with both victims and perpetrators. Most of my professional role involves managing a case load that can involve the use of legislation to enforce, as well as, providing emotional support or practical advice and guidance on reducing the likelihood of becoming a repeat victim. Working to the legislative definition of anti-social behaviour has meant that a number of different behaviours are frequently reported; with some questionable as to whether they are anti-social behaviour or merely a clash of lifestyles. As a result I have become interested in the reasons why some people report anti-social behaviour, or what they deem to be anti-social behaviour and why some people do not. After reading around the subject, the literature discussed in the previous chapter demonstrates the need for research into the decision making process when an individual chooses to report or not report an incident.

Originally my intention for this research thesis was to compare perceptions of anti-social behaviour and reporting practices between two locations within the district of Mid Sussex, where I am employed. The district I work within has very rural and urban communities, as well as the particularly affluent and those living in relative deprivation. As demonstrated in the previous chapter deprivation does have an impact on perceived levels of anti-social behaviour (Taylor, Twigg &

Mohan, 2009; Innes & Weston, 2010). Comparing two areas that differ in this respect would have been useful to establish whether this is the case for Mid Sussex. However, after considering this I felt that in the time and resources available to me, such a comparison would have been difficult to complete effectively. Therefore, I have chosen a more detailed investigation into anti-social behaviour perceptions and reporting behaviour, of one geographical area within the district. This will be discussed in more detail over the course of this chapter.

The importance of local level research has been identified by Innes (2004). Innes argues addressing anti-social behaviour effectively requires locally driven research to establish what behaviours or as he describes signals, are impacting on communities the most. Research projects such as those by Ipsos Mori (2010) also identify that anti-social behaviour is not consistently defined in the eyes of the public, and many people when asked include a range of behaviours that can be seen as both criminal and anti-social. In my view any investigation into anti-social behaviour, due to its subjectivity, needs to address what those under study believe the term to mean. Since the introduction of anti-social behaviour legislation several attempts at a working definition have been made such as, Harradine et al. (2004) that was discussed in the previous chapter. I am unsure if a working definition is appropriate, and feel that establishing a local understanding of what the community under study believes anti-social behaviour

to be, would be a more suitable approach to inform local policy around the subject.

My main research interest focuses on the reasons for reporting or not reporting anti-social behaviour. Recent research has suggested that the impact of the behaviour may play a role in this decision to report, with incidents that have a personal effect more likely to be reported than not (Ipsos Mori, 2010). For others the decision to report an incident appears to be effected by previous experience of reporting, as well as confidence in the police (Innes and Weston, 2010). Additionally it has been found people do not report due to fear of reprisals, not wanting to get involved and just accepting the incident. It is likely that tolerance does play a part in the decision to report an incident, supported by Hancock and Matthews (2002). The unknown part of this however, is whether there is a tolerance threshold for anti-social behaviour and what factors may influence this. Box and Hale (1986) feel it is essential to establish the social and cultural factors that may influence tolerance, and therefore the decision to report anti-social behaviour or not.

The signal crimes perspective proposed by Innes (2004) is of interest, as it suggests there are likely to be certain behaviours that will have an impact on individuals within communities. In the case of anti-social behaviour this could mean that certain behaviours, for example vandalism, may have a greater

impact than for example littering. Innes (2004) recognises that other factors will be involved in this perception and it is likely that individuals will react to different signals, which will create different responses. For Innes these responses are determined by behavioural or emotional reactions such as no longer walking through a certain area, or by feeling fear. This perspective is of interest to me as through my professional work, I often find that many people have changed their behaviour as a result of being a victim of anti-social behaviour.

My own professional experience identifies that signals do vary with such a wide range of issues reported to the local authority where I work. Residents within the district appear to react to different signals in certain locations. For example, people living in rural areas tend to report fly tipping more than people who live within urban areas despite data indicating this to be more of a problem within towns than rural areas. Establishing if the signal crimes perspective impacts on reporting through this research thesis may inform local practices and identify what resources may be needed to accommodate such responses if found. In addition, establishing what signals or anti-social behaviour types certain communities may react to more than others, could aid local policing practices to target those that have the most impact and thus increase confidence in the police and partner agencies.

The concept of social capital has been examined in detail by a number of researchers over time, notably Putnam (1993,2000), Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986). The notion of trust, which is central to the idea of social capital, is of interest for the reporting and not reporting of anti-social behaviour. Research conducted by Thorpe and Wood (2004) found that perceiving your neighbours or local community looks out for you, impacts on how you view your neighbourhood in terms of the level of anti-social behaviour present. In addition Sampson and Grove (1989) found those areas where social networks are poor have higher crime rates. The importance of social networks was also highlighted by Squires (2004), indicating it is likely that social capital will influence in some way the reporting behaviour of individuals and communities. The research into social capital is vast, however there is little available on its relationship to anti-social behaviour, in particular at a local level.

My own experience working within the community has found those who do report to the local authority tend to have less trust in their neighbours, with many reporting incidents that their neighbours are involved in. Those who report incidents describe having less support from neighbours with many stating that they do not wish to engage with them as they do not believe they have the same views and values. This would suggest that social capital, in particular bridging or ties with neighbours, does impact on reporting behaviour however testing this through a research thesis is required.

Based on my interest in the reporting and not reporting of anti-social behaviour and a review of the literature on the subject, the main aim of this research thesis is to explore the local perceptions, experience and reporting behaviour of people in a small urban location. This includes establishing whether signal crimes and social capital play an important role in this. In order for this question to be answered fully the overall aim has been divided into five main areas which are as follows:

1) To investigate understanding of the term anti-social behaviour in a chosen location and relate to findings of other research in the United Kingdom. It was expected, based on previous research outlined in chapter two, this understanding would be broad.

2) To provide a profile of the chosen location including perceptions and experience of anti-social behaviour, and current levels of reporting.

3) To identify what social factors help explain the reporting and not reporting of anti-social behaviour in the chosen location. It was expected there would be a relationship between factors such as housing tenure and disability or long term illness, based on previous research into perceptions of anti-social behaviour. However the direction of this relationship was uncertain.

4) To investigate whether signal crimes and social capital have any impact on the reporting or not reporting of anti-social behaviour in the chosen location. It was expected that both signal crimes and social capital (in particular bonding, bridging and linking) would be related to reporting behaviour however, the direction of this relationship was, again, uncertain.

5) To make recommendations and suggestions for further development and the application of findings to current practice.

3.2 Framing the Research Design

After devising the research questions, it was appropriate to consider how these could be answered and therefore select a suitable research design. As the legal definition of what constitutes anti-social behaviour is so broad (discussed in the previous chapter), I have often questioned the usefulness of lists of anti-social behaviours produced by for example Harradine et al. (2004). Although, I recognise that some parameters do need to be set to counteract the abuse of the system. In my professional role the majority of cases of anti-social behaviour that I come across, are those relating to noise from neighbours or damage to

either private dwellings or public property. Therefore to assess understanding of the term anti-social behaviour within the selected area, it is likely that these lists would be an appropriate baseline and need to be considered within the research design.

In legal terms when applying for any sanction within the Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003) the courts look at any incident that has occurred within the previous six months, before they look at supplementary evidence. As with the nature of communities, populations change as do the amenities that serve them. Therefore I feel that any tool designed to examine the levels of anti-social behaviour in a given location, requires a time frame of twelve months to ensure a more accurate depiction of the levels of anti-social behaviour in the area. This is important especially with one of the purposes of this research to inform local policy and practice, an accurate measure of the current levels and types of anti-social behaviour are needed to ascertain what changes need to be made.

One of the key elements of this research project revolves around the signal crimes perspective (Innes, 2004). Ditton and Innes (2005) argue that signal crimes or incidents comprise three components: an expression, a content and an effect. The expression is the incident or problem whereas the content relates to the risk that is perceived as a result of experiencing, witnessing or hearing about a particular incident or expression. Innes (2004) research identified that

people not only consider the risk to themselves but they also consider risk to their property, significant others, neighbours and to social order more generally. The expression and content must then generate an emotional, cognitive or behavioural effect. Emotional effects change how the person feels, cognitive effects change how the person thinks and a behavioural effect changes their behaviour. Ditton and Innes (2005) argue that national policy seems out of place around the fear of crime and anti-social behaviour, and that a micro-level policy of examining communities is much more appropriate. This underlines the importance of small scale local level research within communities. Innes research was based on a methodology of semi-structured interviews which provided a rich set of interview interactions to test the underlying theory and provide a rationale for reassurance policing, identifying where to focus interventions. This research thesis has considered the work of Innes in detail and has been developed as a key aspect of the research design.

Further key elements to this research thesis include the examination of social capital which has been widely debated and discussed, with many critical of its erratic measurement (Frane & Roncevic, 2003). Social capital recognises that the relationship of everyday life between neighbours, colleagues and friends as well as casual acquaintances, have value for the individual and society (Middleton et al. 2005). The three types of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) are likely to have some influence over the reporting of anti-social behaviour, and also connect to the signal crimes perspective. Innes argues that

tackling the signal crimes and incidents a community reacts to, can reduce the

fear of crime as well as improve confidence in local services, a clear tie to linking

social capital. The current research design needs to include measures of the

level of social capital in the community under study. Many studies have used

survey designs in this measurement (Hawdon & Ryan, 2009; Kawachi et al.

1999; Kennedy et. al. 1998).

3.3 The Sample Population and Profile

Through the course of formulating the research design a number of options

were considered including, as mentioned, a comparison between two areas of

Mid Sussex. However a single electoral ward was selected for study and

deemed as the most appropriate option for this research thesis. To put this into

context, Mid Sussex is a semi-rural district with three main towns. Mid Sussex

has a population of around 131,600 people (Experian, 2011), that makes up

16.6 per cent of the total population of West Sussex. Within the Mid Sussex

District there are twenty-six electoral wards over a 128 square mile area. The

focus population identified as the Bentswood ward, is a small urban area of one

of the three main towns within the district. The population of Bentswood

according to the most recent data available from 2007 is 5417 people within

2287 dwellings (WSCC, 2007).

This area has been selected for this research on the basis of its social composition. Innes and Weston (2010) found those that live in urban less affluent areas are more likely to be repeat victims of anti-social behaviour. Budd and Sims (2001) identified those living in less affluent areas are more likely to report that anti-social behaviour is high in their area, and that it has more of an impact on their quality of life. While Mid Sussex is a relatively affluent area of the South East, data from recent child poverty indices shows that the Bentswood ward classifies 16.9 per cent of children in this category (Experian, 2011). Child poverty indices are defined as the number of children living in families in receipt of child tax credit, whose reported income is less than 60 per cent of the median income or in receipt of Income Support or Income Based Job Seekers Allowance. The national average for these indices is 20.9 per cent therefore the population under study is below average. However, when compared to other urban areas within the district, which score between four and 11 per cent, the Bentswood ward is significantly higher than all other 25 electoral wards.

Innes and Weston (2010) found there is a difference in the perception of anti-social behaviour, between those that own their own home and those that live in social housing. Taylor, Twigg and Mohan (2009) also identified those that live in social housing are more likely to perceive higher levels of anti-social behaviour than other housing types. The composition of household tenure within the Bentswood ward is unique to the district, with approximately 68 per cent owning or having mortgaged their homes, 24 per cent in social housing and the

remaining privately renting property. All other areas of the district have much higher numbers of owned or mortgaged homes (over 85 per cent) in comparison to this electoral ward.

Data from recent crime figures indicates that Mid Sussex is a low crime area in comparison to national figures, with a total of 5465 crimes committed in the year 2009/2010 (Experian, 2011). Five per cent of these recorded crimes were committed within the Bentswood ward. The area of Sussex as a whole recorded 62 crimes per 1000 residents in 2010, compared to a national average of 74 crimes per 1000 residents (Home Office, 2011). Data has also been made available from Sussex Police regarding the number of reported anti-social behaviour incidents during the period the research was undertaken, and for several months prior. The incidents of anti-social behaviour cover a range from rowdy behaviour to loud music from neighbours. Over a twelve month period from January to December 2011, there were 555 reported incidents of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood. This data however should be viewed with caution, as these incidents could be those that have been reported by more than one person, therefore there may be double or multiple reporting of the same incident as part of this. Even so they provide an official figure to the number of reported incidents of anti-social behaviour in the Bentswood ward.

3.4 Selecting the Research Design

Once the sample area had been selected and some contextual factors identified, the research design could be established. In social research, methods are generally classified as producing either qualitative or quantitative data (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). Quantitative purists (also called positivists) argue that social science research should be objective, time and context free, where generalisations are possible and real causes of social and scientific outcomes can be determined reliably and validly (Nagel, 1986).On the other hand qualitative purists (also called constructivists) argue research is bound by its value, it is subjective, that it is impossible to differentiate the causes and effects of results fully and that findings tend to flow from specific to general (Guba, 1990). Silverman (1998) argues it is impractical to focus on this qualitative and quantitative distinction, although it does aid in the understanding of this complex topic, instead he favours a combination approach. The mixed methods approach is associated with the pragmatic paradigm where strategies involve collecting data in a simultaneous or sequential manner, using methods that are drawn from both quantitative and qualitative approaches to best address the research question or questions (Creswell 2009).

The philosophical basis for inquiry known as pragmatism, addresses both quantitative and qualitative paradigms by pointing out that all human enquiry

involves imagination and interpretation, intentions and values but also must be grounded in empirical embodied experience (Yardley & Bishop, 2007). Tashakkori and Teddlie (2002) note there are three areas where a mixed methods approach is superior to using a single method approach. Firstly, the ability to answer research questions that other approaches cannot, as mixed methods can answer simultaneously, confirmatory and exploratory questions; secondly, they can provide stronger inferences through depth and breadth in answer to complex social situations, and thirdly they provide the opportunity through divergent findings for an expression of differing viewpoints. Bryman (2004) supports the combining of quantitative and qualitative research as they have the ability to fill in the gaps left when using one dominant approach, as well as, supporting the use of quantitative to facilitate qualitative research and vice versa.

Noaks and Wincup (2004) argue there are numerous advantages proposed in the literature to persuade researchers to adopt a multi-method approach, with the main theme that combining methods increases the validity of the findings. In addition, Maguire (2000) proposes using as many diverse sources of evidence as possible to answer the research question. Maguire's rationale is that criminological research usually involves working with information that can be unreliable to varying extents. By bringing together different methods with their own strengths and weaknesses, it is hoped that the weaknesses of one method can be countered by the strengths of others. Noaks and Wincup (2004) state

that if data gathered using different methods offer similar conclusions, criminologists can be more confident that the conclusions are valid, therefore plausible and credible.

As this research thesis aims to look at the subjective concept of anti-social behaviour and what factors may influence the reporting of such behaviour, I am interested in the arguments in favour of a mixed methods approach. The recent research conducted by Ipsos Mori (2010) as discussed in chapter two, adopted a mixed methods approach using both a telephone survey and focus groups. This research was conducted throughout England and Wales and divided into police force areas. I would have liked to carry out a similar research project throughout the Mid Sussex District to establish local understanding of the term anti-social behaviour, as the data produced by Ipsos Mori covers too broad an area to inform local practices. I would have aimed to conduct a telephone survey and small focus groups for each electoral ward totalling twenty six areas. With the limited resources and time available I recognise that this would have been a difficult task to complete. I also considered a comparison between two electoral wards, but again on reflection, I realised with limited time and resources this would not have been achievable. Instead I decided to focus on one electoral ward within the district and apply a mixed methods design, to capture as much data as possible with what I had available.

Applying a mixed methods research design requires a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative methods usually include strategies such as surveys and experimental testing. Survey designs supply a quantitative description of trends, attitudes or opinions by looking at a sample of that population (Cresswell, 2009). Typically from these surveys a researcher generalises the results to the overall population (Babbie, 1990). Experimental research involves assessing the impact of certain influences or conditions. When looking at anti-social behaviour I feel the use of an experimental design would be inappropriate for a number of reasons, although mainly on a practical and ethical level. It would be difficult to replicate incidents of anti-social behaviour under experimental conditions, and is also likely to cause undue stress to participants. As a result an experimental strategy will not be considered for this research design.

Robson (1993) suggests that there are five main types of data collection; observations, interviews, surveys, documents and content analysis. Due to the nature of the research question examining reporting behaviour, the use of documents and content analysis were immediately removed from the available data collection options. Observational methods are of interest to me as I note the strengths of using this method, including the reality and contextual nature, something that is of importance to the study of anti-social behaviour. However, the likelihood of being able to directly observe anti-social behaviour in the community is minimal and time consuming. Direct observation of the actual

process was eliminated as an option but participant observation is relevant to the study of anti-social behaviour as well as those undertaking professional doctorates as a whole.

DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) argue participant observation is a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by researchers who observe or take part in activities with those under study, by gaining understanding of the fundamental processes of social life. For those undertaking professional doctorates this method is particularly relevant as most will be working within their chosen field of study. The interactions of these working situations are of great importance and their inclusion is appropriate.

For my own thesis and examination of anti-social behaviour, attributing myself as a participant observer is appropriate and acknowledging that my professional experience constitutes ethnographic data that needs to be placed within this thesis. As an example I have attended a number of police panel meetings in the Mid Sussex area, including Bentswood, and often discussed anti-social behaviour concerns with residents. In addition working with residents within the Bentswood community on anti-social behaviour cases I have valuable intelligence around neighbourhood relationships.

Returning to Robson (1993) and data collection types survey research involves the collection of usually large quantities of data from a sample or target population (Fowler, 2009). Surveys have been described as an important tool in social science research as they allow the researcher to frame a research problem around a set of questions (Davies, Francis and Jupp, 2011). Surveys are advantageous as they can be used to provide information about attributes of a population and can inform others about their activities (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004). In addition, they are usually inexpensive to produce. Surveys have been criticised as some maintain that complex social relationships cannot be recorded using such a structured method (Cicourel, 1982). It has also been argued that surveys assume that the respondents understand and interpret the world in the same way as each other, which is not likely to be the case (May, 2001). Oakley (1981) contends that surveys also obstruct open discussion and prevent flexibility and spontaneity. Marsh (1982) counters such claims and argues when surveys are well designed and administered properly; they make a key contribution to the understanding of the social world. Despite criticisms surveys are used throughout the research world, and the most well known that is of interest here is the British Crime Survey (BCS), as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Buckingham and Saunders (2004) state that surveys can be self-administered (mailed or emailed), face to face (house to house or street) or conducted by telephone. Each of these has advantages and disadvantages. Self administered

surveys for example, are inexpensive and allow anonymity of responses; however a major disadvantage is a low response rate. Generally the response rate for mailed surveys is between ten and twenty percent (May, 2001). May (2001) suggests that other disadvantages include the non-answering of certain questions as they cannot be clarified with someone, and the responses given could also be influenced by someone else if they are completed in the presence of others. Surveys that are administered using an interviewer on the street or house to house, can be longer and more complex, as the questions can be explained and answers expanded where necessary (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004). The main disadvantage of this method is the cost, as they are resource intensive. Another disadvantage is the participant is no longer anonymous so some questions may not be answered as honestly. Reliability can be affected using this method as the interviewee can prompt and elaborate on certain answers and develop rapport (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004). Telephone interviews can alleviate some of the problems associated with both of these methods; however these can be costly and also require access to telephone details for the sample under study.

Considering these strategies in relation to my research questions, using a survey to investigate local understanding of the term anti-social behaviour, and the effects that social capital and signal crimes may play in the reporting of such behaviour, seems appropriate. My experience as a participant observer combined should also be included. It is recognised that surveys will extract very

different data to that of my ethnographic experience through observation. Surveys, for example, produce more numerical data but allow no elaboration of process or relationships. As I am conducting this research project using limited funds and resources, keeping costs to a minimum is a priority. As the costs associated with printing, posting and telephoning are high for me as an individual, I have decided that adopting a house to house survey strategy would be most advantageous.

The original intention was to administer the survey on the back of a community ward sweep that is carried out every few years by Sussex Police. This involves contacting every household in the electoral ward on the doorstep and asking what are the issues of concern to them, in terms of crime and anti-social behaviour. This ward sweep uses a partnership approach and therefore I would have been involved in this through my professional work. Unfortunately, whilst I was putting the research proposal together to carry out the survey in conjunction with this ward sweep, changes within Sussex Police meant the ward sweep was scaled back due to a lack of resources. This left me with the only option of continuing to carry out the survey on my own and having to allocate more time to complete the data collection than originally anticipated.

A house to house survey method was selected as it has been recognised that postal surveys can elicit very small sample sizes, with Costley, Elliott and Gibbs

(2010) even suggesting a response rate of just five per cent is typical. It was anticipated with a house to house survey more than the five per cent response rate could be achieved. When looking into the structure of the survey itself the type of questions asked need important consideration. In general questions can be either open or closed. A closed question offers a series of responses for the participant to choose from such as 'yes' or 'no' or 'agree' or 'disagree'. Closed questions are useful for gathering factual information about participants such as personal background or data about events or behaviours (Davies, Francis and Jupp, 2011). Open questions on the other hand offer no response to choose from so the participant can answer the question freely. This type of question can be more beneficial to closed questions as it allows participants to respond exactly how they feel, rather than be moulded into a set of responses that may not accurately describe what they would like to say (Davies, Francis and Jupp, 2011). The main disadvantage to open questions is the difficulty with analysis and categorising the data produced.

Buckingham and Saunders (2004) inform that closed questions are more preferable when a range of answers are expected, as it allows comparison between responses and the data collected can be used to look at relationships within it. With the subjective nature of anti-social behaviour, it is likely that a range of responses will be given to open questions. Therefore I consider the use of mainly closed questions to be valuable. Although I recognise this will mean that for some, the responses may not be a true reflection of their thoughts.

As a result, I advocate the use of a mixture of open questions where appropriate, to supplement the closed questions. The survey was designed with structured multiple choice questions, as well as the option for open ended responses to allow more detailed explanation for some items.

For a mixed methods approach to be achieved the quantitative survey data described previously was supplemented by a qualitative approach. Qualitative methods usually involve the use of strategies such as ethnography, where the researcher studies a group or setting over a pro-longed period in the natural environment (Cresswell, 2007); case studies where the researcher explores in depth an activity or a process of one or more individuals (Stake, 1995), or phenomenological research that involves understanding lived experiences about a particular phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). To answer the research questions posed for this project, ethnography is beneficial as involving myself within the community to better understand the experiences of that community, will enable a greater depth of information and understanding. As discussed earlier in this chapter participant observation is a method of ethnography that can enhance research based on a quantitative approach. Phenomenological participant research is the study of human experience that seeks to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of an individual. Ethnography on the other hand is the study of human experience over a long period therefore time consuming as it requires an extensive level of detail and engagement with participants over a long period (Nieswiadomy, 1993). Unfortunately time was my

constraining factor so the use of this approach has been discounted. Case

studies are of interest but do require sustained contact and extensive detail.

Nevertheless I felt that selecting a small sample of participants to act as almost

mini-case studies in relation to their experiences of anti-social behaviour and the

reasons for reporting it would be beneficial and enhance the data.

For this second stage of data collection, using a qualitative approach to build on

the quantitative data obtained through the house to house survey as well as the

ethnographic data from participant observation, allows the mixed methods

approach to develop. Interviews allow a rich source of data about people's

experiences, opinion and feelings in relation to the research phenomena (Noaks

and Wincup, 2004). An interview would augment the data collected via the

survey. I noted that it was likely some data would be lost using this structured

survey instrument, especially when examining the complex nature of people's

views on anti-social behaviour, as well as their reasoning behind reporting or not

reporting incidents.

Interviews, as with survey methods, have a number of strengths and

weaknesses. One such strength is that an interview can supply more detailed

information than structured surveys, but can also be targeted and ask questions

to elicit responses on particular topics (Tellis, 1997). Disadvantages include the

directing of responses, which can bias results, as well as the problem with some

people being less able to articulate what they wish to say (Cresswell, 2009). Interviews can be carried out on a one to one basis, by telephone or through a focus group (Cresswell, 2009).Through my professional role I have become aware that many victims of anti-social behaviour seem to prefer speaking to someone in person rather than on the telephone, especially about situations that have caused them considerable distress. As a result, I feel that telephone interviews are not appropriate for this research.

Focus groups appear to have grown in popularity recently (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). The research conducted by Ipsos Mori (2010) into public perceptions of anti-social behaviour used focus groups to supplement their survey data. Noaks and Wincup (2004) believe that focus groups are of interest, as they highlight the social dynamics between group members and as they are carried out with small groups of people can be less costly than one to one interviews. In contrast Bloor et al. (2001) believe that whilst focus groups are convenient, the social processes at play can mean that some participants do not have their say, and others conform to the discussion as they do not want to feel alienated by the group. As a result Bloor et al. favour one to one interviewing. I thought carefully about whether to use focus groups to save valuable time, however felt the arguments put forward by Bloor et al. (2001) were important. With an emotive subject such as anti-social behaviour it was likely that some participants were going to be uncomfortable talking openly about their experiences, especially with people who live nearby, as would be the case for the present research project. I

felt that conducting interviews on a one to one basis was more favourable, and more likely to elicit detailed information that would be of value to understanding reporting behaviour.

There are three main types of interview: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Cresswell, 2009). Structured interviews involve a researcher asking a set of pre-determined questions, by using the same order of questions and using the same wording for each participant (Davies, Francis and Jupp, 2011). An advantage of this approach is that it provides uniform information, which means the information given from participant to participant can be compared. Semi-structured interviews tend to use a set of predetermined questions but also allow more open ended responses, so the researcher can ask additional questions on the basis of answers if required (May 1993). This is beneficial as it allows the participant to respond more freely rather than be constrained as with structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews can be compared between participants as the general structure, and therefore theme, of the questions should be roughly the same. Unstructured interviews are generally discussions around broad themes with no pre-set structure. These types of interviews are useful for uncovering deep meaningful discussion and allow participants to freely speak around a topic (Davies, Francis and Jupp, 2011). The researcher can also ask questions to elicit more information depending on the route the interview takes. The disadvantage of this is that the information provided is difficult to compare between participants.

When considering these options I felt that a semi-structured method was the most appropriate, as this allows greater flexibility in responses but is still structured enough that a level of meaning can be obtained. With the research focus on anti-social behaviour it was likely that participants in the interviews would have, in some cases, a large amount of emotional discussion around the subject. For this reason I felt having some structure ensured that participants did not focus too much on the description of the incidents they had experienced, and could be encouraged to also talk about the reasons for reporting or not reporting these incidents using this semi-structured approach to guide the discussion.

As the interviews were on an individual basis and likely to take up to one hour (depending on how much the participants had to say around the subject), I decided that offering an incentive to take part would be appropriate, with the idea to encourage participation. The incentive offered was a £10 voucher of the participants' choice and was paid on completion of the interview. Head (2009) argues that the use of monetary incentives in social research has become increasingly common however; there is limited evidence to suggest their use does increase participation. For Goodman et al. (2004) compensating participants for their time seems obvious and in some cases essential. There are others that feel that paying participants goes some way towards addressing the

power imbalance between the researcher and the researched by both gaining something from taking part (Head, 2005). The ethical implications of using payments will be considered in the final section of this chapter.

In summary, the research design adopts a mixed methods approach as this is advantageous for increasing validity and confidence in the data produced (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). For the first stage of data collection a survey was selected as the most appropriate method of collection. Consideration was given to the various types of surveys however a house to house approach was proposed. The survey itself will contain a mixture of open and closed questions to ensure the information obtained can be compared effectively (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004). For stage two of the mixed methods design, a qualitative element is proposed in the form of a one to one interview. The use of a one to one interview with the subjective nature of anti-social behaviour is the most useful option. This will augment the data obtained in stage one of the research design, and allow a greater depth of analysis into the reporting behaviour of those in the sample. A semi-structured interview was selected to ensure that some comparison can be made between respondents, but also allow participants to respond relatively freely around the subject. Throughout the research process my own ethnographic experience as a participant observer is included and discussed where appropriate.

3.5 The Development of the Survey Measures

The collection of data for this research project was divided into two stages. Stage one involved the collection of survey data using the house to house survey method, with stage two focusing on the use of a semi-structured interview to supplement the data obtained in stage one. For each of these stages measures were designed from the formulation of my ideas in combination with existing tools, or were developed in response to my ideas around the theory as no tool or measure could be found in the existing literature. The following sections discuss how these measures were formulated.

The house to house survey is a combination of various measures from different sources as well as some I have developed as no existing tool was available. The survey consisted of thirty-five questions and was broken into stages entitled; views on anti-social behaviour, questions about where the respondent lived and questions broadly termed about you such as age and whom they lived with. A copy of this survey can be seen in Appendix A.

The first two questions examined views on what anti-social behaviour may be and includes a measure that has been adapted from the typology produced by Harradine et al. (2004), as well as various behaviours that I have come across in

my professional role. The list of behaviours are as follows: inappropriate driving, underage drinking, noise from neighbours, abandoned vehicles, intimidation of neighbours, harassment of neighbours, urinating in public, intimidation towards you, intimidation towards family, harassment of family, harassment towards you, loud music from neighbours, graffiti, dog fouling, damage to public property such as park benches or bus shelters, dropping litter in the street, fly-tipping, damage to your own property, shouting in public places, swearing in public places, inappropriate drug/substance use, inconvenient parking in your street, verbal abuse towards you, verbal abuse towards family, nuisance telephone calls, verbal abuse towards neighbours and large groups of young people in public spaces such as parks. As the list of behaviours included are not exhaustive, an open question was added at the end of the list to allow the respondent to include any behaviour they felt was missing, acknowledging there are likely to be other behaviours considered to be anti-social due to its subjective nature.

For the second item the same list of behaviours was repeated with respondents asked whether they had experienced any of these within the last twelve months, to establish what signals the community may be responding to and experiencing. I selected the twelve month time frame to ensure that incidents from several years ago were not included in the responses, and to recognise the legal time frames used when applying for sanctions within the Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003). As with the previous item, an option was available for respondents to add any behaviour they had witnessed that was not in the

specified list to ensure the predicted broad range of behaviours were fully included. There was also the option available for those who had not experienced any of these behaviours to select, as it was also likely a percentage of those responding would not have witnessed anything from the specified list over the previous twelve months.

To put the responses in context and to establish local perceptions of anti-social behaviour, two items were also included to measure this. Item 26 asked respondents: 'around here do you consider anti-social behaviour to be: not a problem at all, a minor problem, a fairly big problem, a major problem or not sure'. These response options are in line with those in the British Crime Survey. Item 27 asked respondents whether anti-social behaviour had increased, decreased or stayed the same in their local area over the last twelve months. The choices available for this included: increased, decreased, stayed the same and don't know.

One of the key elements of this research project revolves around the signal crimes perspective (Innes, 2004) therefore four signal crimes measures were included in the survey to assess the impact of those signals identified by item two. After contacting Professor Martin Innes for further details of the measures used in his research without success, I devised two strands based on the theory proposed by Innes. Innes (2004) research was based on semi-structured

interviews with participants rather than a survey; therefore I de-constructed the theory and developed measures to address this. The signal crimes perspective states that there are three components to a signal; the first being an expression that in this case is the incident of anti-social behaviour that has been experienced or witnessed. For this survey those respondents who had experienced any of the list of behaviours from item one, had experienced or witnessed an expression. However, there were also respondents who had not experienced or witnessed an expression, therefore the signal crimes measures were separated into two strands: item three for those who had experienced an expression and items four and five for those who had not experienced an expression.

Item four for those who had not experienced any behaviour, asked respondents whether they had instead been made aware of any incidents of anti-social behaviour. This item was included in recognition that there are some respondents who may not have experienced anti-social behaviour, but would have been made aware of incidents through channels such as the local media, talking to friends, family or neighbours or through things such as Neighbourhood Watch newsletters. I felt that rather than excluding these respondents, an item to look at what effects these expressions may also be having should be included. If respondents had not been made aware of any incidents they were directed towards the next questions as they had not experienced, witnessed or been

made aware of any anti-social behaviour, therefore were excluded from the signal crimes items, as well as the items relating to reporting behaviour.

 Innes (2004) research identified the expression and content must generate an emotional, cognitive or behavioural effect. Emotional effects change how the person feels, cognitive effects change how the person thinks, and a behavioural effect changes their behaviour. The content and effect were measured for both strands of respondents; those who had experienced an expression and those who were made aware of an expression. Item four measured the content and effect for respondents who had experienced an incident and item five for those who had been aware of an expression. These included options for 'I have stopped going to certain areas'. 'I have stopped going out after dark', 'I have felt frightened for myself', 'I have felt frightened for my neighbours' and 'I have felt frightened for my family'. These were measured using a five point likert scale including; strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree and strongly agree. These items were kept the same to enable comparison between the two different strands.

Two further items were included to establish the level of perceived risk as part of the signal crimes measures. Together these two items (question 17 and 18) represent the signal crimes risk element. These included 'I feel safe around here during the day' and 'I feel safe around here after dark'. They were also used to assess perceptions of safety within the community. These item

responses were on a five point likert scale ranging from; strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree and strongly agree as with the signal crimes behaviour change measures.

Following from the signal crimes measures, item number six asked respondents if they had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour in the last twelve months. These items were included to establish the level of reporting behaviour within the sample. Items included in this section also identify who an incident was reported to with options for the police, housing association or local council, as well as if they were satisfied with the response if they did report. The main research question surrounds the reporting behaviour of the sample; therefore within this section of the survey, items are included to identify reasons for reporting or not reporting anti-social behaviour. Where a respondent had not reported an incident item 6d asked what the reasons were for not reporting and included the following options: 'not witnessed an incident', 'did not want to get involved', 'just accepted the incident', 'thought that the authorities would not be interested', 'would be a waste of time', 'feared reprisal' and 'other' with a space provided for detail.

I selected these items based on research conducted by Innes & Weston (2010), who found these were among the most commonly cited for not reporting an incident. Innes and Weston's research is recent, therefore likely to be more

representative of current attitudes, than older research, and was specifically about anti-social behaviour rather than it being an addition to the research focus. As well as Innes and Weston's findings, Stone et al. (2005) found similar responses for not reporting incidents when they examined crime reporting behaviour.

Item 6c was included to ascertain the reasons for choosing to report an incident. The responses to this item were as follows: 'insurance purposes due to damage caused', 'the incident was dangerous/upsetting/serious and needed to be addressed', 'felt needed to for the good of the community' and finally 'did not want the incident to happen to another victim/person'. These options were developed from the research by Stone et al. (2005) who found the reasons for reporting a crime included to obtain a crime reference number to claim on their insurance for damage caused. Some felt that they needed to report the incident as they did not want the incident to happen to someone else, although this was less common. With limited other literature I devised the remaining options based on my professional experience. There was also an open option for respondents who felt that the options available were not appropriate

In addition to the questions on reporting behaviour, I also included an option for respondents to select from a list of people whom they may have reported or discussed the incident to in addition to, or instead of an authority. This measure

was included as I felt that there could be some respondents who do not report incidents through official channels, but may report the incident unofficially to friends, family, neighbours or other community representatives instead. Innes and Weston (2010) research found those who have a higher perceived level of anti-social behaviour, report a greater sense of isolation from neighbours as well as from authorities. This made me think about whether there may be differences between who an individual chooses to report anti-social behaviour to within communities. This item also assesses the level of bonding and bridging social capital within the Bentswood area (more details will follow). Item 6e was included to identify whether respondents did report incidents to: 'a family member', 'a friend', 'an elected local councillor', 'community leader', 'church leader', 'neighbourhood watch representative' or 'none of the above'. I devised these options on the basis of what support is likely to be available within the Mid Sussex District. I am aware of several church groups that operate in the sample area, with one active community church group operating a local cafe. There are very few neighbourhood watch schemes in existence although the local police are trying to establish more.

The items following on from those on reporting behaviour focus on where the respondent lives. Items 7 and 8 ask how long the respondent had lived in their current home and whether their home is owned, social housing or privately rented. These items were included as Taylor, Twigg and Mohan (2009) identified that the length of time lived in a location and the type of housing lived in, has an

effect on the perception of anti-social behaviour in their local area. These items also allowed some context to be applied to the responses given in relation to housing tenure.

In accordance with the research findings of Innes and Weston (2010) that social isolation has an effect on perceived levels of anti-social behaviour and reporting behaviour, two items were included to assess the level of support that respondents felt they had and assess their bonding social capital ties. Item 9a asked respondents to think about where they live and whether they have: 'a large network of friends to count on for help and support', 'a small network of friends to count on for help and support', 'no network of friends to count on for help and support' and finally 'not sure'. Item 9b repeats this question however supplements the word friends with family. The inclusion of this item is also in line with Hancock and Matthews (2002) who suggest the level of social support available may be related to the decision to report or not report an incident. These two items also contribute to the measures of bonding social capital, as they assess the size of the social network that each respondent had.

Items ten to fifteen represent measures of bridging social capital, that were included to answer one of the main aims of the research project. Social capital has been defined as the interpersonal trust between citizens, norms of reciprocity, sense of community and social participation and group membership

that facilitates collective action and cooperation for mutual benefit (Kawachi, Kennedy & Glass, 1999: Putnam, 1993). Two core constructs of social capital, as presented by the principle theorist Putnam (1993, 2000), consist of levels of trust among community members and civic engagement. Civic engagement refers to the level of commitment by residents to their communities, and is reflected in their involvement in community groups. The measurement of social capital has been debated by academics for a number of years however, there is agreement that trust and social networks play an important role (Putnam, 1993; 2000).

Six items were selected from previous research conducted by Hawdon and Ryan (2009), examining the role of social capital, social control and victimization. These items are comparable to many of the social capital items used in the literature, therefore were selected for this reason. The study conducted by Hawdon and Ryan (2009) looked at victimization and is the most similar in terms of focus to the present study. These items include; 'I can trust my neighbours', 'I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood' ,'People around here get along with one another' and 'If there is a problem around here people work together to get it solved'. In addition, two items were included that examined social control and these were; 'Families around here keep their children under control' and 'I care about what my neighbours think about my actions'. These items were included to assess their relationship to the reporting and non-reporting of anti-social behaviour. One further item was included and adapted

from Lochner et al. (1999) as follows, 'Most of the time people around here try to be helpful'.

Further to the measures adapted above, items 19 and 20 examined whether respondents belonged to any local community groups and clubs. This included how many and how often to assess levels of bridging social capital and civic engagement in the given sample. The level of trust in local services was also established, as this is offered by Woolcock (2000) as a measure of linking social capital. It was likely that not everyone who responded would be aware of the amenities available to them locally, therefore two items were asked to establish this before a level of trust could be ascertained. Item 21 and 22 related to the local anti-social behaviour team, item 23 and 24 to the local Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) and item 25 related to general trust in the police.

The final questions 28 to 35 were about the participant, including gender, age, what they are currently doing (such as studying or employment), educational qualifications and ethnicity to apply context to the measures of social capital, signal crimes and reporting behaviour. In light of the findings by Innes and Weston (2010) that those with a long term illness or disability are more likely to be repeat victims of anti-social behaviour, one item is included to establish whether the respondent felt that they have a disability. A further item asked who the respondent lived with, to see whether this had any effect on reporting

behaviour. Innes and Weston (2010) established that those living with children were more likely to report repeat incidents of anti-social behaviour.

3.6 Pilot Study

A small pilot study was undertaken on a single day in mid October 2011 to assess the content of the house to house survey. Participants were chosen from a small community group operating within the sample area. A total of fifteen participants completed the pilot survey, and identified some of the items that needed to be adjusted, to ensure respondents understood what was being asked. These related to some of the behaviour's listed as responses to the first question 'Which of the following do you consider to be anti-social behaviour'. The changes were made so that questions were less ambiguous to the reader, such as changing 'noise from neighbours' to 'excessive noise from neighbours', as well as, 'loud music from neighbours' to 'frequent loud music from neighbours'. It was also identified from this pilot that the wording of the introduction to the survey should be changed, from 'results may be used to inform local services such as the police' to 'results may be used to improve local services such as the police' as the former sounded more threatening than the latter. Participants of the pilot study also indicated that they would have preferred a question with options to choose from regarding their age, rather than being asked 'how old are you?' Therefore, this question was changed to include a range of options in ten year age brackets apart from 'under 16 years' and 'over

86 years' as it was felt that grouping these age groups together was appropriate, as only a small number would fall into these categories anyway.

A second pilot study was not intended but emerged after the first stage of data collection, involving the house to house survey, proved to be particularly difficult in the early stages. Originally the method of survey data collection was to obtain participants house to house and ask them to complete the survey verbally with myself. The first few days of carrying out the survey in this way was very unproductive, with a total of only six participants taking part over a three day period. Comments made to me by those answering their doors during this time, suggested that many more would be willing to take part, if the survey was something that could be left with them and collected at a later date or posted back to me. I decided that with so few numbers after the first three days, I had to change the method otherwise I would not be able to use the survey data effectively, with such a small sample size. I therefore adapted the survey so that it could be left with interested participants. I had to make the survey more user friendly as it had been designed on the basis only I would be reading it. I added in spaces to some areas and also tried to fit questions to a total of four A4 pages, to ensure the survey did not seem too long. I do acknowledge by changing the method of collection, some of the advantages of using the interview method are lost, such as the ability to clarify questions with the participant (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004), but a gained advantage was that participants were anonymous in the new version.

For the new method of data collection I designed what I have called a survey pack that included; a plastic wallet, an envelope, the survey (See Appendix A), an information sheet (See Appendix B) and the prize draw and interview interest form (See Appendix C). On returning to the field the survey pack was then left with participants who expressed an interest. I decided that I would continue to carry out the house to house approach for two main reasons. I felt the interaction that I was able to have with potential participants was positive. Secondly the reduced financial cost was a benefit as postal costs would have been high. Instead of asking for the survey to be posted back to me I asked participants to complete the survey, place it in the supplied envelope and plastic wallet and either place under their doormat or plant pot on a pre-arranged date (in all cases two days later), or if they preferred, I would ring their doorbell to collect it from them. I felt it was likely that if there was a personal discussion and an 'agreement' to complete the survey, a higher response rate would be achieved. To ensure I was not excluding anyone from the new version of the data collection, I returned to the areas that had already been visited, to give those a second opportunity to take part. This new method proved to be far more successful in getting people to take part and whilst this data collection method could be deemed as unusual, it did achieve a seventy-two per cent response rate that far outweighs the expected ten to twenty per cent expected from postal surveys (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004).

3.7 The Development of the Interview Schedule

For the second phase of the data collection I constructed a semi-structured interview. A copy of this interview schedule can be viewed in Appendix D. These questions were devised to supplement the quantitative data obtained in stage one of the research process. The questions focused on the reporting or non-reporting of the incident that was experienced and identified in the survey. The interviews were designed to elicit information from the participant about their decision making process, when reporting or not reporting an incident of anti-social behaviour. To answer the research aim of establishing a local understanding of anti-social behaviour, the first interview question asked participants what they think and feel and when they hear the term. This question was included to augment the data obtained during the survey which lists various behaviours.

The second question 'tell me about where you live' was aimed at ascertaining how respondents felt about living in the area, with a prompt to this question asking them to indicate whether they felt that it was a strong community. This question also aimed at establishing local social networks and building on the social capital measures established in the survey. Question three asked participants if they thought anti-social behaviour was a problem in the area they lived. This was to verify whether their perceptions of anti-social behaviour were high and some description as to why they felt this way.

Question four was designed to elicit detailed description by the participant of the anti-social behaviour incident that they had experienced, to apply some context to the reporting or not reporting. In addition this question aimed to examine the signal crimes perspective (Innes, 2004) and specifically identify which signal the participant was responding to as well as whether the experience of the behaviour had an effect on the respondents' subsequent behaviour. Following on from this, question five either asked why the participant had or had not reported an incident to an authority. This question was included to provoke detailed reasons for reporting behaviour, again designed to supplement the data obtained through the survey.

I felt that there could be some who did not report incidents through official channels for a number of reasons, but may report the incident unofficially to friends, family, neighbours or other community representatives instead. Innes and Weston (2010) demonstrated that those who have a higher perceived level of anti-social behaviour, report a greater sense of isolation from neighbours as well as from authorities. As with the survey, this made me think about whether there are some who report using unofficial channels therefore, establishing some of the reasoning behind this through an interview question would augment the data obtained through the survey.

The final two interview questions focused on whether the participant would report an incident of anti-social behaviour in future, and what would make the reporting process easier and encourage more people to come forward. Innes and Weston (2010) identified that the quality of contact with an authority can have an impact on subsequent behaviour. Therefore participants were asked whether they would report an incident again in future, to see whether a negative experience of reporting influenced the decision to report again and likewise, whether a positive experienced encourage future reporting thus assessing linking social capital. The final question was asked to answer the final aim of the research project, to make recommendations for local practice.

The interview schedule was piloted on two participants at the same time as the pilot study for the survey, at a community meeting in October 2011. The pilot participants felt that the questions asked were appropriate and did not need to be changed.

3.8 Sample for Surveys: Strategy, Frame and Bias

The research design, measures and pilot study have been described and explained; leaving the sample to be discussed. The following section will examine the sample strategy, sampling frame, bias, response rate and

distribution for the stage one house to house survey. Once the Bentswood ward had been identified as the area for research, I obtained a map from the local authority and used this to plan where the sampling would start. This map can be seen in Appendix E. I selected a systematic random sampling strategy that as May (2001) suggests, is where the researcher chooses a starting point at random and then selects for example, every third house as their sample. From the map I chose at random a road to the north of the ward to start, and then sampled every other house within each road. May (2001) identifies a pitfall in this sampling method in that it can build sample bias, as every other person may have a particular common characteristic. The research this referred to however, involved residents in a block of flats and a complaint about lift noise, as every fifth flat was selected meaning that they were always located next to the lift. When considering the geographical area of Bentswood, sampling every other house was unlikely to create this bias in the same way.

The survey was designed to be cross-sectional, meaning that the data was collected over a two month period, rather than longitudinal over an extended period of time such as several years (Field & Hole, 2003). The data was collected from the 27th October 2011 to 5th December 2011 over a total of twelve full days. The survey was conducted on different days of the week, although more on a Saturday. This was during the week from 9am but always completed before night fall which was usually around 4.30pm, as I did not want to alarm residents by knocking on their door after dark. It is recognised that by excluding

evenings there would be a percentage of the population who were unable to take part in the survey, therefore the sample may not be as representative of the population as it could be. Sampling during the week will also have naturally excluded some participants who work traditional Monday to Friday jobs, however more Saturday's were included to counteract this. Even so, it is likely that this strategy will have lead to a small degree of sampling bias. This could have been avoided by using other methods of sampling such as utilising electoral registration lists or council tax registers for the Bentswood ward, however even with these methods there is still likely to be a level of bias. In addition there are other factors that need to be considered when using these methods, such as the reduction in statistical accuracy (May, 2001).

Throughout the survey data collection I was also aware of the effects that I could be having on participants. McNeil and Chapman (2005) state that gender; age, social status and even how the interviewer is dressed can influence the response of the interviewee. As I had adopted a house to house method of data collection for the survey, I was able to hold a conversation with potential participants meaning how I looked and came across was an important part of this interaction. I felt describing what I was doing was effectively selling the concept to potential participants. I was mindful of my dress which I tried to always keep the same, as smart casual however, this was at times difficult as the weather was cold and most of the time I wore a thick coat, scarf and gloves.

Further on reflection I found that my own perceptions as a participant observer were influential and of note for the methodology. As Bentswood has a variety of housing, some affluent and others relatively deprived I found myself predicting which residents would return the surveys from our discussions on the door step. I found that my own perceptions were inaccurate and often those who appeared least interested returned their survey packs more often than those whom had extensive conversations with me.

Researchers have found that residents can have understandable concerns about how the image of their area is negatively affected by any research findings (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). Noaks (2000) offered the community under study anonymity and referred to the area using a pseudonym to counteract this. Loader et al. (1998) have argued that in research which is grounded in a sense of place, anonymity cannot be granted without a compelling reason. I was aware throughout the course of the research project that there would be members of the community who would be worried about how the area was depicted as a result. For many whom I spoke to, once I explained that the research project was for my own individual thesis rather than a market research company or a local authority canvas, felt more inclined to take part. Most people I spoke to said that the area was often targeted by market research companies and they

were therefore nervous about who I was and what the information I was collecting may be used for.

3.9 Survey Sample Response Rate and Distribution

A total of 1,109 properties were sampled using the house to house survey method involving collecting from the door step two days later. Of these 1,109 properties; from 656 there was no response from knocking on the door on the day that I sampled the area, 394 properties gave a positive response on the door step and agreed to take part in the survey so a survey pack was left, a further 57 gave a negative response on the doorstep and did not wish to take part and two properties wanted to take part but no informed consent could be gained. From the 394 surveys that were given out to potential participants 284 surveys were collected from the doorstep giving a response rate of 72.1 per cent. This far exceeds the expected response rates for mailed or emailed surveys that are typically between five and twenty per cent (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004; Davies, Francis and Jupp, 2011).

A total of 284 respondents completed and returned the survey and within these 106 were male and 177 female. Unfortunately, no one under the age of sixteen years took part in the survey; however all other age ranges were included in the

sample with the highest frequency in the 36 to 55 year category (46 per cent).

When looking at distribution of housing, 73 per cent of respondents lived in

owned or mortgaged properties, 16.5 per cent in social or council housing, 7 per

cent in private rented, 2.5 per cent shared ownership and 0.7 per cent other.

The distributions of respondents, whilst not exactly mirroring the known data for

the Bentswood ward (WSCC, 2007) can be considered representative of the

population. In addition, how long respondents had lived at their address is fairly

evenly distributed with those living less than a year, 7 per cent, between one

and five years 23 per cent, between five and ten years 19 percent, between ten

and fifteen years 17 per cent, between fifteen and twenty-five years 15 per cent

and more than twenty-five years 19 per cent.

In terms of ethnicity, recent data from Experian (2011), found that over ninety

per cent of the Mid Sussex population describe themselves as White British,

therefore it was expected that the majority of respondents to the survey would

be in this category. The survey sample was more diverse than expected with 86

per cent describing themselves as White British, 3.5 per cent Any Other White

background, 2.8 per cent White Irish, 2.8 per cent Do Not Wish to Say, 0.7 per

cent Indian, Any Other Asian Background, Mixed White and Black Caribbean

and Mixed White and Asian, 0.4 per cent Bangladeshi, African, Gypsy or Irish

Traveller and other. There were also two respondents who did not answer this

question. With these results the sample can be considered representative of the

population when compared to existing data on the population as a whole.

3.10 Interview Sample, Strategy, Bias and Profile

After completing stage one of the data collection using the survey method as described previously, stage two of the research design commenced. Stage two focused on the use of a semi-structured interview schedule with participants selected from stage one. The original intention of stage two was to select respondents from the survey stage who had perceived a high level of anti-social behaviour in their local area, and compare responses between those who had reported an incident and who had not reported an incident. The idea being both sets of potential interviewees would have the same high perception of anti-social behaviour, but had behaved differently as a response to this. As the majority of respondents from the survey did not perceive anti-social behaviour to be a fairly big or major problem, I had to change my intention and instead contact participants on the basis of whether they had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour or not. To answer the main research question of looking at what social factors help explain the reporting and non-reporting of anti-social behaviour, I wanted to interview an equal mix of participants who had witnessed or experienced an incident but with some reporting it and others not. My original intention was to interview between sixteen and twenty participants.

Potential participants were contacted and asked whether they would be interested in a short interview about anti-social behaviour in their area, and their

reasons for either reporting or not reporting. A total of twenty five participants from the survey identified they may be interested in taking part in the interviews. This notification was made using Appendix C. The interview notification sheet was left with the survey during stage one of the data collection. From the details obtained using this method, I contacted potential participants by telephone, and explained the purpose of the interview and then obtained confirmation that they were still willing to take part, as for some participants three weeks had passed since completing the survey. Of the original interested twenty five, a total of sixteen participants confirmed that they would still be willing to take part and agreed a time for the interview to take place.

According to Noaks and Wincup (2004:78) 'the location of where the interview takes place can be a significant factor'. Participants were therefore given the opportunity to meet either at their home or in the local community cafe if they preferred. All but two of the participants were interviewed in their own homes at a time to suit, which ranged from 9am to 7pm Monday to Saturday dependent on work commitments or child care. I was as flexible as possible with these interviews to accommodate everyone and not exclude anyone from being able to take part unnecessarily. I was aware that the two interviews that took place at the local cafe may have elicited different information to those that were interviewed in their own homes. Hancock (2000) conducted research in high crime areas and highlighted in her findings the need for researchers to be mindful of the social relationships that may exist within communities, and how

this may impact on the research in question. Hancock argues that this could have an impact on the willingness of some people to take part in the research process. When considering anti-social behaviour and the reporting behaviour of people within a community, the arguments by Hancock are of great value. I was very aware that it was likely some would have felt uncomfortable in taking part and fearful of who, in the neighbouring community, would find out if they did. It was clear that one participant that I met at the local cafe was nervous about who may be listening to our conversation.

I was aware of the potential for bias to be a problem in this research project. Miller and Glassner (2000) warn of difficulties of insider access, where too close identification with one theoretical position in relation to the topic being investigated, may restrict what interviewees tell and how they may subsequently be told by the researcher. As I work within the field of anti-social behaviour, I was careful not to allow myself to be influenced by any prior knowledge of the area or of potential participants. The majority of participants in the interview were unknown to me before the interview took place. Those that I was aware of were not cases that I have been involved in directly, rather indirect involvement through another agency. A transcript was prepared that was a true reflection of the participants discussion without influence from myself.

As with the survey, throughout the interviews I was also aware of the effects that I could be having on each of the participants as with stage one of the data collection. I was mindful of my dress which I tried to always keep the same, as smart casual. I was careful in my use of language when interviewing participants, to ensure that participants did not feel overwhelmed with the questioning and careful to explain fully the purpose of the research. Many participants of the interview obviously felt at ease discussing their views, as a number lasted over an hour and also covered a number of other issues related to the wider world.

Before starting the interviews I debated whether to tape record these or not. Where possible and with the consent of the participant the interviews were recorded, as I felt it allowed a more natural conversation than my writing down of notes. I was mindful that the transcription of taped interviews is a time consuming exercise (Noaks and Wincup, 2004), however felt this was outweighed by the capture of all data. This also did not rely on my ability to remember everything and therefore miss a valuable point. It was expected there would be some participants who would not be comfortable with the tape recording of interviews. These interviews had to rely on handwritten notes so I was careful in typing these up as soon as possible after completing the interview, to ensure that all data could be effectively captured. There were a total of six participants who did not wished to be recorded.

On my arrival to complete an interview one participant decided that they no longer wished to take part, as they had thought about it and decided actually it was not for them. To be certain I checked with this individual that they were still happy for me to use their survey data in the project which they agreed. This left a total of fifteen participants in stage two of the data collection. Of these fifteen, ten participants had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour to the police, council or housing association and five participants had not reported an incident to an authority. I had hoped that I would be able to sample an even mix of participants, however this was not possible based on who had responded. On reflection it was to be expected fewer people would be in the not reported category, as it was likely that they would not have felt as strongly about the incidents as those who had felt compelled to report them.

In the category for those that had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, six participants were female and four male. In addition five of the ten participants were in full time employment, three in part time employment, one a stay at home carer and one retired. In terms of age range, the majority of the six participants were in the 46 to 55 year range, two in the 36 to 45 year range, one 56 to 65 year range and one 66 to 75 year range. When looking at ethnicity, seven participants described themselves as White British, one White Irish, one Any Other White Background and one who preferred not to disclose. Focusing on

housing type, six lived in mortgaged or owned homes and four participants lived in social housing. Six of these participants perceived anti-social behaviour to be a minor problem, two a fairly big problem and two a major problem. In addition six participants believed that anti-social behaviour had stayed the same over the previous twelve months, two believed that it had decreased and two believed that it had increased.

For interviewees who had not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour in the previous twelve months, four participants were female and one male. This was not ideal as only one male representative was available. Of these five participants one was in full time employment, one in part time employment, one retired, one unemployed and one at school, college or university, representing a real mix of current situations. When looking at the age range, two were in the 36 to 45 year range, one in the 26 to 35 years, one in the 46 to 55 year range and one in the 56 to 65 year range. In terms of ethnicity four participants described themselves as White British and one Mixed White and Asian. On examination of home type, two participants owned or mortgaged their home and three lived in social housing. As mentioned previously the intention had been to only interview respondents who had a high perceived level of anti-social behaviour. For those in the not reported an incident category, four perceived anti-social behaviour to be a fairly big problem in their area with one perceiving anti-social behaviour as a minor problem. Of these, four participants believed that anti-social behaviour had stayed the same over the previous twelve months and one was unsure.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

With any piece of research, ethics must be considered fully to ensure that participants, the researcher and stakeholder in any process are protected (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). The participants in this research project are members of the public that reside in the Bentswood ward in the district of Mid Sussex. I have carried out this research project as an individual student representing London Metropolitan University, but it is important to note that I do work for the local authority in the field of anti-social behaviour. This research is designed with two distinct stages of data collection. The first stage used a house to house survey and the second included fifteen face to face semi-structured interviews. May (2001) states; 'ethics are a central part of maintaining the integrity and legitimacy of research practice' (May, 2001:46). Thorough ethical consideration has been given to the research as a whole as well as for the participant, the researcher and the stakeholder and is discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

3.12 Ethics and Participants

The research design did not require any deception as to the purpose of the study. Participants for both the house to house survey and the semi-structured interview stage were fully briefed on the purpose of the research prior to taking

139

part. In addition surveys were completed confidentially and contained only a reference number as means of identification, rather than a name or address. Those that wished to be considered for the prize draws were asked to give their details on a separate form that I kept securely and was used solely for the purpose of the prize draw. On completion of the prize draw these personal details were destroyed. The semi-structured interviews were only identifiable by the same code allocated to the survey. Individuals could not be identified from either the survey responses or from the semi-structured interview responses.

The research design did not require participants to be exposed to any painful or abnormal stimuli but as participants were asked about their experiences of anti-social behaviour, it was possible that some people may have become distressed if they had witnessed a personal or serious incident. Although this risk was minimal participants were informed prior to the start of the survey of its content, so they could choose whether to take part. In addition, I carried information that I gave to participants on how to contact the local branch of victim support, as well as other services such as counselling in the local area that I felt may have been required. If a participant had started the survey and was clearly distressed at the questions asked I would have terminated it in agreement with the participant. I did not need to terminate any surveys although I did offer information on local services to a number of residents.

Informed consent refers to research conducted in such a way that participants have complete understanding of what the research is about, and the implications for themselves (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). As the research design adopted a house to house survey this could have meant that those with additional needs were naturally approached to take part. For all participants verbal agreement to take part in the process was gained however, on occasions where I felt the potential participant may have additional needs or be under sixteen years of age, a written consent form was carried to complete with a parent or carer where available (See Appendix F). If informed consent could not be agreed with a suitable representative I did not proceed with the survey. There were only two occasions where this occurred with participants both being under the age of sixteen and no adult available to complete the informed consent.

An incentive to complete the house to house survey was offered through the entering of a prize draw to win a £25 voucher. Participants were not obligated to enter this prize draw and could choose not to if they wished. Many took this option. The voucher was used to encourage participation in this stage of the research process. The voucher was offered to a participant who was selected at random. A voucher was chosen as it was deemed more appropriate than offering cash, which could be used for anything that could potentially be considered unethical. In addition, participants taking part in the semi-structured interviews were offered a supermarket voucher to the value of £10 for their participation. It was deemed appropriate for me to offer this incentive as

141

recognition for the time the participant was giving up to take part in this second stage of the research process. Participants were not obligated to take the voucher and four participants decided not to take the incentive offered. The voucher was for use at the local supermarket of choice, as this was deemed to be more appropriate than offering cash as previously mentioned. Paradis (2000) noted there is potential for exploitation of some participants, in particular vulnerable groups, when offering monetary incentives. Head (2009) argues that care should be taken in offering incentives and the reason for the incentive should be carefully explained. With this in mind I was careful to fully explain to each participant the reason for offering the voucher, which was for their participation only as recognition of their valuable time when our lives are so busy.

3.13 Ethics and the Researcher

As discussed previously the semi-structured interviews were in addition to the house to house survey and selected participants from those that expressed an interest during phase one of the data collection. These interviews were carried out either in the home of the participant or at a local community cafe. I was protected during this phase of data collection, by using a call out system in line with my workplace lone working policy. Additional checks were made with the local police and by accessing the local authorities 'people of concern' register, to determine whether there were any concerns with attending an address alone.

None of those interviewed fell into this category. I also have a full enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) certificate to protect participants that was recently renewed so is current.

One ethical consideration for this research was the influence of my professional role in carrying out this project. A small number of those participating in the survey and interview were known to me in a professional capacity. It could be these participants felt obliged to give certain responses due to our relationship. To balance this it was explained to these few participants that the research project was independent to my professional role, and that honest responses were required to ensure that the results were a true reflection of their views. This concept of insider research can be viewed in more detail in Costley, Elliott and Gibbs (2010).

3.14 Ethics and the Stakeholder

This research project was almost entirely self-funded therefore there were few restrictions imposed by either the local authority who did make a small contribution, or London Metropolitan University. I selected the methodology which was not influenced by either stakeholder. Advice and guidance was

sought by the academic supervisory team, however this was not imposed. The

local authority where I work supports the purpose of the project. The findings

have not been adjusted to meet the needs of either of these stakeholders and

reflect the true findings of the project as a result. The findings have been

presented to the local authority as well as the local police team with the view

that they may contribute to greater understanding of the area and therefore

improve local services. Only general findings and not individual responses have

been presented in this manner. Participants in both the survey and the

interviews were aware that the data may be passed on after the completion of

the project. I completed a London Metropolitan University ethical approval form,

which was submitted to the university ethics committee and approved (See

Appendix G for full ethical submission form and approval confirmation).

3.15 Methods of Data Analysis for the Survey Sample

Due to the nature of this mixed methods design the analysis of the data was

divided into two phases. The first phase examined the quantitative measures

from the survey. The survey scores were entered into SPSS version 19 for

descriptive analysis. The majority of data generated from the survey was in

categorical form. Categorical or nominal data limits the options available for the

presenting and testing of data numerically, therefore most of the results are

presented using frequencies and percentages. Categorical data can however be

examined using Pearson's Chi Squared test, to establish if there are

associations within the data but not ascertain a direction within these associations. This direction can sometimes be established by examining the frequencies within each category (Field and Hole, 2003).

For this research thesis Chi Squared tests were conducted to examine whether social factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, housing tenure, length of time living at address, whom the participant lived with, educational qualification and employment status were associated with the reporting of anti-social behaviour. However, there were assumptions that have to be met for a Chi Squared test to be valid, including a minimum number of participants in each category. As the current sample size was relatively small, some categories namely ethnicity, educational qualification and housing tenure did not meet this assumption therefore, the test was invalid. This could be overcome with further sampling to achieve the required numbers, although in the case of ethnic groups in a predominantly White British area, this re-sampling may never reach the required amount.

Interval variables were available for the signal crimes and social capital measures which used a five point likert scale. Cronbach's alpha statistics were calculated to assess the internal reliability of the scales developed. A reliable scale usually has a Cronbach's alpha score over 0.60. The scales proved internally consistent with high reliabilities for social capital, Cronbach's α 0.87,

signal crimes experienced, Cronbach's α 0.91 and signal crimes made aware, Cronbach's α 0.84. Interval variables allow more statistical analysis than categorical variables therefore; signal crimes and social capital measures were used to calculate Point Biserial Correlations to examine reporting behaviour.

Point Biserial correlations are calculated when one of the two variables is dichotomous, meaning this variable is categorical with only one of two categories and the dichotomous variable is discrete, where there is no underlining continuum. For this research thesis reporting behaviour is the dichotomous variable with the two categorical options either reported or not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour. Relationships between the signal crimes and social capital measures were identified using these Point Biserial Correlations.

3.16 Methods of Data Analysis for the Interview Sample

For the second stage of data analysis the data obtained through the semi-structured interviews was examined. The Analysis Method Framework (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994) that is widely used by researchers was selected for use in analysing the interview data. This method involved an initial familiarisation with the data followed by indexing themes to obtain an overall framework that was then applied to the complete data set. During this sorting phase material with similar content was located together. As part of this key terms, phrases or

expressions made were retained as much as possible. Once these themes had been established the first stage of analysis was to detect, categorise and classify these and if appropriate establish typologies. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue to be effective, typologies should help explain the data rather than be a purely conceptual exercise therefore, should not just be created for the sake of it. Where associations between the data were found, it was necessary to check how these were distributed across the data set. After this explanations were built through exploring the data and looking at associations within the themes.

In qualitative research the internal coherence and presentation of evidence are suggested by Smith (1995), as important in assessment of validity and reliability. Internal coherence refers to whether the argument presented within a study is internally consistent and supported by the data. The second of these, presentation of evidence, refers to the provision of sufficient data from participants discourse to enable readers to evaluate the interpretation. Therefore, the emergent themes that are presented in this research project were illustrated by quotes from the participant's actual discourse, and tabular themes are presented in Appendix H so the reader can assess the reliability and validity of the interpretations.

3.17 Summary

The importance of local level research in examining anti-social behaviour has been identified by the literature. The overall aim of this research was to investigate what factors influence reporting behaviour in a small urban location. This research question has been divided into five strands including; the effects of the signal crimes perspective and the influence social capital may have on reporting behaviour. A small urban location within the district of Mid Sussex was identified as the sample, and a profile of this area was presented to add some context to the research design. Several design options were considered however, a two staged mixed methods approach of a house to house survey, followed by a small number of semi-structured interviews was chosen.

The survey was designed using a combination of existing tools (Hawdon and Ryan, 2009; Lochner et al. 1999) and some adapted by the researcher in response to the underlying theory. Interview schedules were also adapted to reflect the signal crimes perspective and elements of previous social capital research. Two pilot studies were completed that led to some changes to the instrument wording, as well as changes to the method of data collection.

A total of 284 surveys were completed using random sampling and 15 interviews with participants selected from the survey sample. A very high response rate of 72 per cent was achieved using an original method of data collection devised by

the researcher. The role bias may have had on the results was also identified, in particular, how the researcher and the setting of the interview may have influenced the responses given. Ethics for the participant, researcher and the stakeholder were considered in detail and how the payment of participants in the interviews may impact on the results. Finally, the methods of analysis were identified as a combination of Chi Squared and Point Biserial Correlations for the survey data, and the use of Ritchie and Spencer (1994) Analysis Method Framework for the interview data.

4. WHAT IS ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR TO BENTSWOOD, HOW MUCH OF A PROBLEM IS IT AND THE FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH REPORTING

The previous chapter described the methods associated with this thesis. This included a mixed methods, two staged approach of a survey, followed by a small number of semi-structured interviews. This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the research project, with a particular focus on the local understanding of the term anti-social behaviour, as well as its relationship to other research. This includes presentation of data from both the house to house survey and the semi-structured interviews. Data from the 284 survey responses and 15 semi-structured interviews was used to create a profile of the perceptions of anti-social behaviour from residents of the Bentswood ward. In addition this chapter examines the reporting behaviour of residents in Bentswood in relation to experiencing and witnessing anti-social behaviour. A comparison has been made between respondents who had reported an incident in the previous twelve months and those who had experienced an incident and not reported it. This chapter also identifies what factors are associated with the reporting or not reporting of anti-social behaviour. The chapter ends with a summary of what anti-social behaviour means to the Bentswood ward and a summary of reporting behaviour.

4.1 Defining Anti-social Behaviour

Stage one of the research project adopted the use of a survey that was administered to residents of the Bentswood ward in Mid Sussex. To provide an overview, the first question in the survey asked respondents to select behaviours from a specified list if they agreed that the description was in their view anti-social behaviour. **Figure 1** shows the majority of respondents considered all the behaviours from the list to be anti-social apart from, 'large groups of ten or more young people in public places'.

Figure 1: Behaviours Identified as ASB
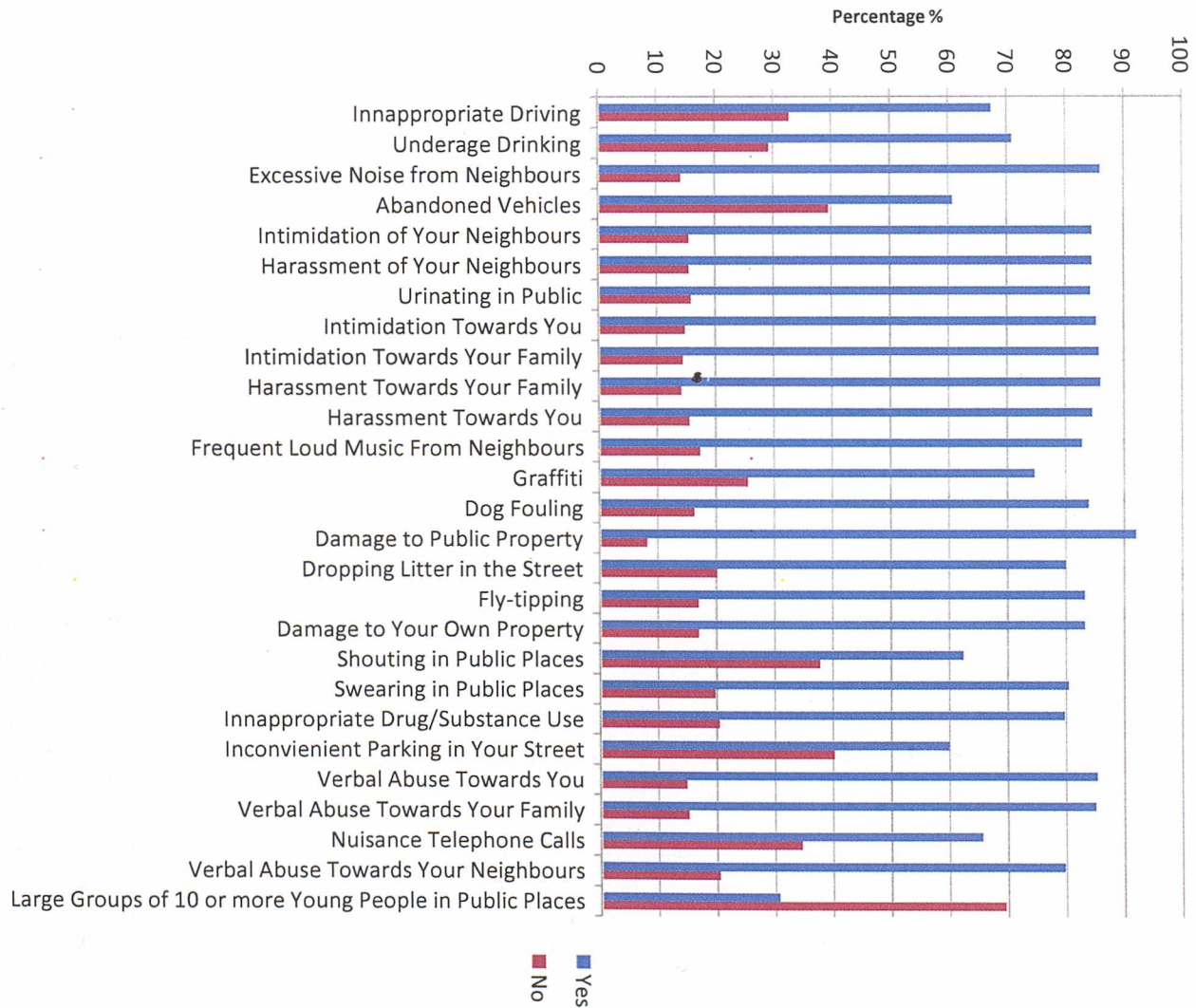
Types of Anti-social Behaviour
Total number of respondents 284

Percentage %

No   Yes

From the given list of behaviours there are some that should be highlighted. The first is 'Damage to Public Property' as 92 per cent of respondents agreed that this was anti-social behaviour, a very high percentage which is interesting as this can be the criminal act of criminal damage. Other behaviours that showed less agreement amongst respondents include; 'Abandoned Vehicles' (61 per cent), 'Shouting in Public Places' (62 per cent), 'Inconvenient parking in your street' (60 per cent) and 'Nuisance telephone calls' (65 per cent). The majority of people (70 per cent) did not feel 'Large groups of more than ten or more young people in public spaces' constituted anti-social behaviour.

As well as the pre-defined list of behaviours respondents to the survey were given the option to add any behaviour they felt was not represented in the list. The behaviours identified from this question included dog barking (N=4), smoking in public (N=4), uncontrolled dogs (N=3), bonfires (N=2), school parking (N=2), noisy mopeds (N=2), spitting (N=1) and fireworks in the street (N=1). From the pre-defined list and the additional comments made by respondents, it can be said that to those who reside in the Bentswood ward, anti-social behaviour covers a range of matters.

The fifteen interviews were divided into two distinct groups for analysis. This included ten who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, and five participants who had experienced an incident of anti-social behaviour but had

not reported it. The same interview questions were asked to both groups of participants to allow for comparison. The first question asked participants 'what do you think and feel when you hear the term anti-social behaviour?' As both groups (reported and not) gave very similar responses to this question there was no comparison to be made between the two. Responses given showed the behaviour surrounded four main themes. The majority of interviewees (N=9) identified anti-social behaviour as a lack of respect, either to the community or others with many also highlighting that anti-social behaviour to them, meant anything that upset, bothered or frightened them (N=8). Two further participants felt that anti-social behaviour was inappropriate behaviour to the time or place, two participants described it as something that cannot be resolved therefore, not a one off incident but an on-going problem, and one resident described it as anything that made her feel uncomfortable. To highlight these themes quotations can be seen in the following text:

> "I would say that it means any nuisance really. I understand that you cannot have absolute quiet or anything, but I do think people should show some respect." (Reported, male, 46-55 years, full-time employed)

> "I think of everything that makes me or other people feel intimidated or scared, when either out and about or in your own home. It can mean lots of different things really, I suppose that is different from person to person but for me it can mean anything that intimidates or frightens me." (Reported female, 36 – 45 years, full-time employment)

154

"It means to me people acting in a way that makes life difficult or uncomfortable for someone else – sometimes unbearable actually. It is just behaviour that is out of place or time for the situation, so you can have really outrageous parties and that is ok once in a while is expected, but if this happened repeatedly then this would not be acceptable." (Reported, female, 56-65, part-time employed)

"I think its behaviour that is on-going. I mean not a one off that you have to just live with. It's anything that is on-going and not resolved and also that the authorities have an inability to do anything about, so you continue to suffer as a result. I don't think either people fully understand what constitutes anti-social behaviour. I think people need to be told, what it is, so people know how to handle themselves and victims know what they should and shouldn't accept."
(Reported, female, 46-55, full-time employment)

"I think that's a tricky question. I suppose its behaviour that shouldn't be accepted in society. Stuff that makes other people feel uncomfortable so can be anything that makes people feel uncomfortable." (Not reported, female, 26-35, at university)

"It's just the start of being disrespectful. I was taught to respect my elders and think about my actions and how they may affect others. Anti-social behaviour is about a lack of respect really in others." (Not reported, female, 46-55, unemployed)

"I suppose if there is an unresolved issue, like noise with a neighbour, I can see how this may become a problem and be anti-social." (Not reported, male, 56-65, retired)

The quotes demonstrate how, for some people, anti-social behaviour can be anything that affects them or their community, supporting the wide range of behaviours identified in the survey data. They highlight the extent that these effects can have with one single female describing these as 'unbearable', confirming the recent government White Paper (2012) that argues how serious the effects can be. The level of emotion evident in some of the responses reinforces this, with references made to fear and suffering. Aside from the emotional effects, one discussion with a single parent, focused on how to them anti-social behaviour is not fully understood. This is of interest to local services and may suggest the need for publicity of available services and what locally they can address.

The interview responses from both groups of participants support the data from the survey and demonstrate the subjective nature of the term anti-social behaviour. The responses from those interviewed reinforce this by identifying that for most, any behaviour combined with a lack of respect is deemed anti-social. Innes and Weston (2010) argued that participants in the Ipsos Mori research, rated anti-social behaviour based on the impact such problems have on their quality of life. The responses from interview

participants in the Bentswood ward confirm this, as many described anti-social behaviour in terms of things that upset, frightened and affected them directly.

When looking at these results in relation to findings from other research, the survey and interview results support the research conducted by Ipsos Mori (2010). Ipsos Mori found that anti-social behaviour was often defined in broad terms, with a mixture of issues identified by participants. Further the Ipsos Mori findings show anti-social behaviour was often described around a lack of respect and anything that had an impact on them. This supports Ashworth (2004) view that 'anti-social behaviour is a vague term with a broad definition'. The wide variety of included behaviour also reinforces Louise Casey's statement that 'the legal definition of anti-social behaviour is wide and rightly so'. This fluidity allows local concerns to be prioritised where necessary. However, this fluidity of the concept of anti-social behaviour can encourage abuse of the legislation. The potential for effective 'net widening' was evident with interview respondents describing anti-social behaviour as anything that affected them.

Both the survey and interview results included behaviours that are criminal such as drug dealing and criminal damage to private and public property. Respondents did not seem to distinguish between these, although interview participants did identify these acts as more serious than for example, dropping

litter. This broadening of the anti-social behaviour concept as discussed, has led to the inclusion of both criminal and non-criminal behaviour in the understanding of anti-social behaviour in the Benstwood ward, as proposed by Whitehead et al. (2003), Millie et al. (2005) and Macdonald (2006).

The survey and interview data have implications for the construction of anti-social behaviour in the Bentswood ward. The discussions with residents that describe anti-social behaviour as 'anything that affects their quality of life' links with social capital theory that will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six. In particular, if anything that upsets someone can be deemed as anti-social behaviour this can create divisions between cultures and lifestyles. My own experience of the Bentswood ward suggests that differences between lifestyles can lead to behaviours such as dog barking for example being reported to authorities that perhaps in other locations such as inner city estates would be accepted as there are greater concerns such as robbery. As a result the construction of the meaning of anti-social behaviour will therefore differ depending on the social composition of the area under study thus confirming that a locally driven approach to understanding anti-social behaviour is needed.

4.2 Perception of the Anti-social Behaviour Problem

In line with the British Crime Survey, the stage one house to house method asked respondents whether they considered anti-social behaviour to be a problem where they lived. **Figure 2** illustrates the perceptions held by the 279 respondents to this question. These findings show the overwhelming majority of participants, felt that anti-social behaviour is a minor problem in the Bentswood ward. This is interesting given the broad range of behaviours identified in the previous discussion as being anti-social. This may indicate a high tolerance level to these behaviours as opposed to the low tolerance suggested by the broad definition. People considered many behaviours anti-social although do not actually consider them to be a real problem.

Figure 2: Perceptions of Anti-social Behaviour in the Bentswood Ward
(A total of 279 respondents)

1.40%
5.60%
10.20%
20.40%
62.30%

- Not a problem at all
- A minor problem
- A fairly big problem
- A major problem
- Not sure
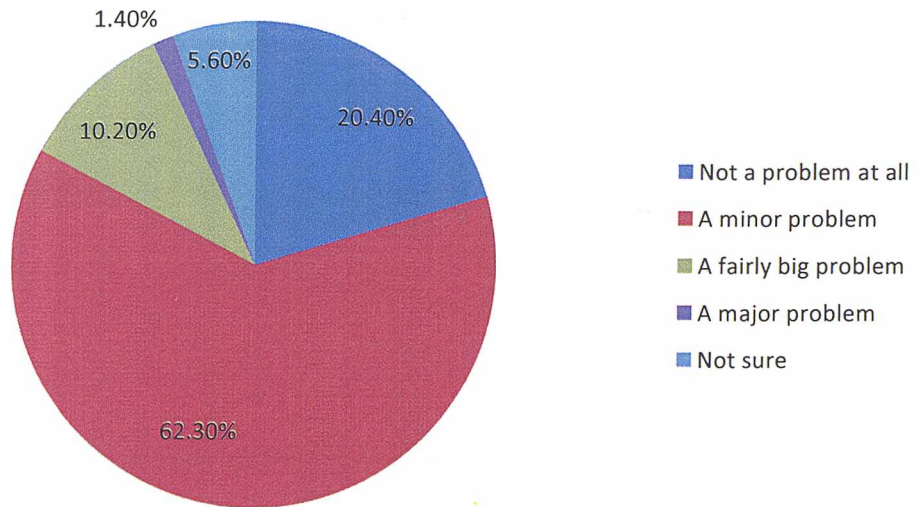
Figure 2 shows that just 1.4 per cent consider anti-social behaviour to be high in the Bentswood ward. In comparison the Bentswood figure is considerably lower than the 14 per cent given in the most recent British Crime Survey data (Chaplin et al. 2011). This underlines the importance of the current localised research approach into anti-social behaviour.

To add some context to the perceptions of anti-social behaviour by residents in Bentswood, one survey item asked respondents if they felt that anti-social behaviour had increased, decreased or stayed the same over the previous twelve months. Fifty three per cent of respondents believed anti-social behaviour

had stayed the same. Only seven per cent of respondents felt anti-social behaviour had increased, 13 per cent felt it had decreased and 27 per cent were unsure. When examining these responses in conjunction with the perceived scale of the problem, most residents felt anti-social behaviour was a minor problem and it had stayed that way over the last twelve months. Encouragingly very few respondents felt anti-social behaviour was a major problem and that it had increased.

One of the aims of this research project was to examine whether there are differences between those who reported an incident of anti-social behaviour and those who experienced an incident but did not report it. As a result **Figure 3** shows the comparison between perceptions of those respondents. The total number of respondents who had reported an incident was 51; therefore any statistical comparison for this category is limited due to the small numbers in each category.

Figure 3: Perception Comparison Between Reported and Not Reported Groups
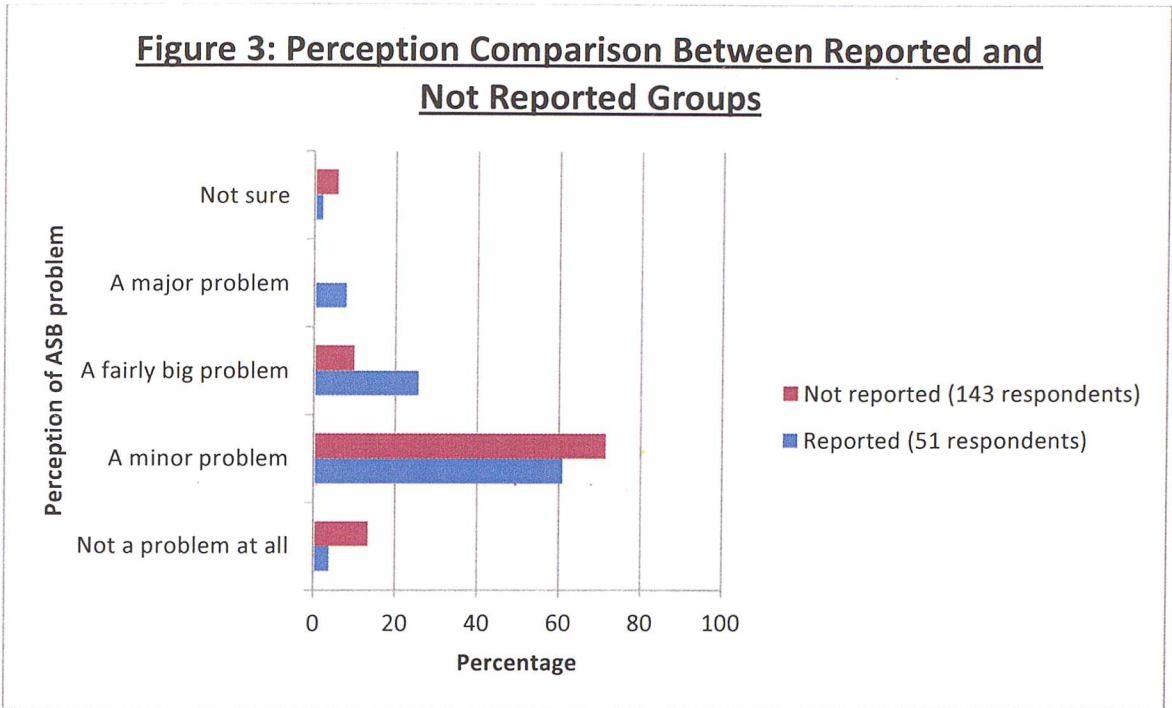
Figure 3 does show differences between the percentages of respondents falling within each perceptive response. The most notable include four per cent of respondents who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour in the previous twelve months and felt it was not a problem at all, compared to 25 per cent of respondents who had not reported an incident. In addition 25.5 per cent of respondents who had reported an incident, felt anti-social behaviour was a fairly big problem. This compared to just six per cent of those who had not reported an incident and the eight per cent who did not report an incident and felt that anti-social behaviour was a major problem, compared to no one in the not reported an incident group.

Taylor, Twigg and Mohan (2009) identified several factors that contributed to differences in perception of anti-social behaviour. Those who had been a previous victim of crime were more likely to agree that anti-social behaviour was a major problem where they lived, than those who had not been victimised. The results shown in **Figure 3** from the Bentswood ward support Taylor, Twigg and Mohan's (2009) findings that previous victimisation impacts on anti-social behaviour perception.

To add more depth to the survey responses the semi-structured interviews asked participants whether they considered anti-social behaviour to be a problem where they lived. For those participants who had reported an incident in the previous twelve months three main themes were evident: anti-social behaviour as a serious problem, a minor problem and not a problem at all. Two participants considered anti-social behaviour to be a serious problem in the area where they lived. Both participants lived in social housing. On the surface, this supports the findings of Innes and Weston (2010), that those residing in social housing are more likely to perceive anti-social behaviour as a major problem than those who own their own home. One of these two participants who was a mother of four explained:

> "Yes anti-social behaviour is very much a problem; it's just the way
> people are around here. Just now before you arrived my neighbour
> over the road was out on her doorstep shouting and swearing at

someone. There is always something going on in this street"
(Female, 46-55 years, part-time employed)

The majority of other residents who had reported an incident discussed how anti-social behaviour was more of a minor problem, in their view the usual things happened such as dog fouling, the dropping of litter and vandalism (N=5), which can be seen as clearly identified signals the community is responding to. Most felt that in general it was a minor problem and at times had more of an impact than others, although mostly these were things they felt were a problem everywhere not just in the area where they lived:

> "There are just small things really, the dropping of litter, leaving
> rubbish lying around, that kind of thing." (Male, 46-55 years, full-time
> employment)

Those who did not consider anti-social behaviour to be a problem at all, in most cases, acknowledged the odd thing happened but very infrequently (N=3). These participants described mostly one off incidents that they had experienced and reported, but were not regular enough to be considered a problem:

> "I would say that it is comparatively rare but it does happen and we
> do see it. We hear people walking back from the pubs at the
> weekend and see the litter that they leave the next day. It's rare
> though and we are not in a bad area really." (Male, 46-55 years, full-
> time employment)

On examination of the interviews, participants who had experienced but not reported the anti-social behaviour in the previous twelve months, had the same three emerging themes: anti-social behaviour as a serious problem, a minor problem and not a problem at all. Most participants (N=3) considered anti-social behaviour to be a minor problem, describing very similar issues to the previous interviewees such as dropping litter, dog fouling and young people being a nuisance:

> "I think the usual stuff happens around here with the local kids but that's about it really." (Female, 46-55 years, Unemployed)

Finally one very busy working mother of four, felt anti-social behaviour was not an issue at all and said she was aware of very few problems that really did concern her. Even the incident she had witnessed, she described as something that was not really of great concern, hence the reason that she did not feel the need to report it to anyone:

> "There is very little anti-social behaviour around here. Definitely very minimal but there may be things that go on that I don't know about!" (Female, 36-45 years, part-time employment)

The types of anti-social behaviour that were identified and acting as signals to the Bentswood ward will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

4.3 Reporting Behaviour in the Bentswood Ward

A fundamental part of this research project is a focus on the reporting behaviour of the residents in Bentswood. A breakdown of reporting behaviour identified through the survey can be seen in **Figure 4**. The majority of respondents to the survey had witnessed or experienced an incident but had not reported it (52 per cent). A further 20 per cent had witnessed or experienced an incident and reported it to an authority. A total of 28 per cent had not witnessed or experienced any anti-social behaviour to report. Examining this further to consider the actual reporting rate, if those who had not experienced anything to report are excluded this leaves nearly three quarters who had experienced an incident and not reported it to anyone. Therefore the majority of incidents in the Bentswood ward are not reported to an authority. This supports the findings reported by Kershaw et al. (2008) from the British Crime Survey, showing that 72 per cent of people who experienced anti-social behaviour did not report it, and the results of the study conducted by Gideon and Mesch (2003), who found that the majority of victims did not report their victimisation to the police.

Figure 4: Reporting Behaviour in the Bentswood Ward
(Total number of respondents 276)

- Reported an ASB incident after witnessing/experiencing — 19.50%
- Not reported an ASB incident after witnessing/experiencing — 51.70%
- Have not witnessed/experienced an incident to report — 28.10%
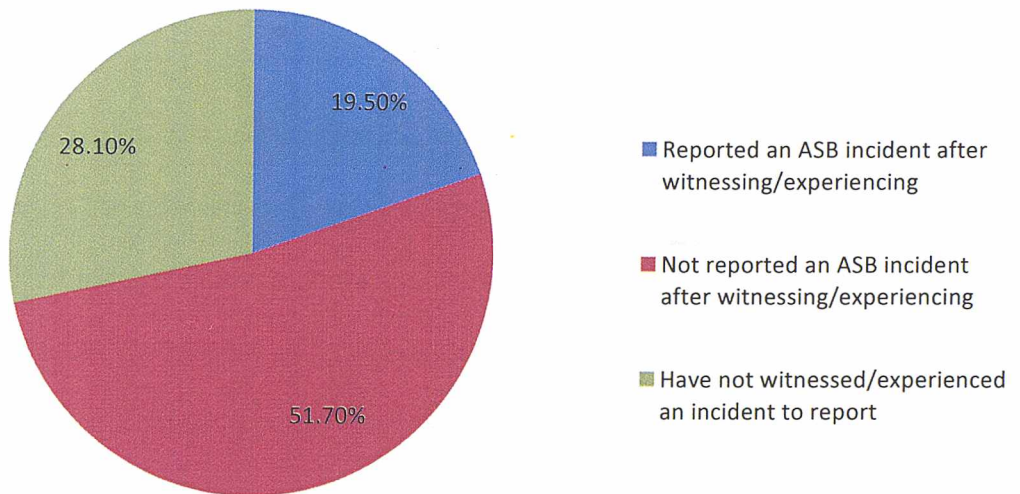
If the respondent to the survey had reported an incident they were asked an additional question of whom they had reported the incident to. Respondents were asked to select from a list that included the police, housing association and local council. Of the 51 respondents in this category the majority, 65 per cent (N = 33), had reported the incident to the police, 35 per cent (N = 18) had reported the incident to the housing association and 22 per cent (N=11) had reported to the local council. Some participants had reported the incident to more than one organisation, usually a combination of the police and housing association. In addition, the majority of people who had reported an incident were satisfied with the response 47 per cent (N= 24). However, 37 per cent (N=19) were not, and a further 15 per cent (N =8) were unsure. There were no statistically significant

associations between who a respondent had reported an anti-social behaviour incident to and the satisfaction with response.

The numbers for this particular question were small, given the very low reporting rate. However, the majority of residents reported to the police as the main authority. This is most likely to be as the police are thought of as the most appropriate authority to deal with the issues presented. Due to the moderately high level of social housing in the Bentswood area, it was to be expected that the housing association would feature highly in receiving reports. What is interesting, particularly professionally, are the very low numbers of people who report an incident of anti-social behaviour to the local council. This could warrant further investigation to establish the reasons why, however from the interview discussions it was clear that many people were unaware that the local council had a service available to tackle anti-social behaviour, and comments were made that more should be done to advertise this service to local residents.

All respondents to the survey who had experienced or witnessed an incident of anti-social behaviour, were asked whether they had reported an incident to anyone else, regardless of whether they had reported an incident to an authority. This was to establish whether those who did not report an incident to an authority had instead chosen report to someone else informally. The 242 responses to this question included a family member (N = 63), a friend (N = 45),

an elected local councillor (N = 5), a community leader (N = 2), a church leader (N = 2) and a neighbourhood watch representative (N = 1). The majority of respondents therefore did not report an incident to anyone else with those that did mostly reporting to family and friends. Whilst the numbers are again small, such a finding demonstrates what could be seen as a lack of trust which links with bonding social capital as discussed in chapter six, by the community in reporting matters to neighbourhood watch schemes, community and church leaders, in comparison to discussion with family and friends. There are other factors that may also influence this, such as a lack of awareness of neighbourhood watch schemes and community leaders, and the fact that some people are unlikely to attend a church in order to have contact with someone in this way.

As with previous findings the data was separated to examine if there were differences between those who had reported an incident to an authority and those who had not. The numbers as previously stated are small therefore no statistical comparison could be made. However comparing frequencies those who reported an incident were more likely to have also reported the matter to friends and family, compared to those who had not reported an incident (See Appendix I). This supports the research conducted by Gourash (1978) and Frieze et al, (1987) who found that those with support networks were encouraged to report incidents of crime by these relationships.

To examine some of these factors in more detail an interview question was devised to augment the survey responses, and examine some of the reasons why participants had discussed the incidents with others. For those that had reported an incident, the majority had reported and discussed the incident with friends and family as a coping mechanism, because the incident had affected their lives in such a way. This adds some context to the previous findings and suggests these informal discussions assist in managing an individual's emotions in response to the situation, which cannot be addressed through formal reporting mechanisms. These findings support Green and Pomeroy (2007) who found that victims of crime use support networks for coping with the situation, as well as Power and Wilmott (2007) who found that residents identified their friends and family as a source of practical and emotional support for the issues that they encountered in their lives. A selection of quotes demonstrates:

> "I spoke with friends and family, I think mainly to try and cope with what was happening and to have a moan about it and make me feel better. I found it quite useful to speak to people who were having similar problems and how they were feeling and sort of support each other really" (Female, 56-65 years, part-time employment)

> "I spoke to friends about the neighbour issues as it was having such an impact on our lives" (Female, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

"Yes I spoke to my family about the incident. I was so cross I felt I needed to sort of vent my anger about the situation" (Female, 46-55 years, part-time employment)

Those who had not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour but who had reported and discussed the incidents with friends and family mostly used this as a coping mechanism, or through general discussion. The level of emotion was not as evident in comparison to the responses by those who had reported an incident. The emotion was still present for some however; in particular anger was displayed in the responses, perhaps indicating a differing level of tolerance to the incidents:

"I have spoken to family about the dog fouling yes, as it was right outside our front gate, so have moaned about it to others as it was just so disgusting really we ended up talking about it a lot. I was just so angry." (Female, 36-45 years, part-time employment)

"Yes I have discussed the issues with friends; some good friends will even ask how things are when I see them. I suppose I use speaking to friends as an outlet to talk about things I see without bothering an authority. It is probably a classic case of not telling the right people about the problems I face. I think there does need to be an outlet though and this is important to be able to talk about the issue with someone else, makes it easier to talk about the problem and share it, but when you are on your own like I am, you cannot do this so it makes it harder. I suppose this makes me feel a bit self-conscious about being on my own really" (Male, 56-65 years, retired)

As the data collected through the house to house survey was mostly in categorical form, the statistical options available for examining relationships for reporting behaviour are limited to Chi Squared tests. Chi Squared tests however require some criteria to be met, including having a minimum number of responses per category. As a result, some tests were invalid as in some categories limited numbers of participants selected these options. This was a limiting factor of the current research project and could have been overcome by further sampling in the research area over time. Although there is still a risk that large numbers for specific categories would not be reached. For example, sample sizes for minority ethnic groups will not be achieved when limiting the sample to a small geographical area, with a majority white population as with the current local level research project. Small numbers for some categories for local level research may therefore be unavoidable in some cases, however they are a limiting factor that will affect the relationships within the data, and reduce how representative the data is of the population under study.

To examine the possible associations between social factors and reporting behaviour a series of Chi-squared tests were run. No significant associations were found between reporting behaviour and how long participants had lived at their address, the size of their friend network, belonging to any local clubs, educational qualifications, who participants lived with, gender, what participants

were doing such as employment, whether a participant had voted in the most recent election, age or ethnicity. Some of these associations were invalid as there were not enough participants in some categories, for example ethnicity and age. Unfortunately this does not allow any substantial discussion around characteristics such as being employed and age and how they may be impacting on the reporting of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood.

Despite these non significant results there was a significant association between the reporting of anti-social behaviour and whether respondents felt that they had a disability or long term illness, X^2 (1) = 7.764, p < 0.05. This could indicate that those who consider themselves to have a disability or long term illness are more likely to have reported an incident of anti-social behaviour than those who do not. As noted in chapter two, research has shown that those with a disability or long term illness are more likely to be a victim of crime or anti-social behaviour (MIND, 2007; Read & Baker, 1996; Nixon et al. 2007). Research by the charity MIND (2007) has also shown that over a third of victims with a disability or long term illness had not reported an incident, as they believed that they would not be taken seriously and be seen as unreliable. The findings from the present study indicate that nearly half of those who had experienced an incident of anti-social behaviour and who considered themselves to have a disability or long term illness had not reported it, which is a higher proportion than the research by MIND (2007).

As mentioned previously, Nixon et al. (2007) assessed the limited evidence available on this subject and concluded that most people with a form of disability are reluctant to report incidents, for fear of reprisals and a lack of confidence in local authorities to deal with the matter effectively. The statistically significant result indicates local practices may support those with a disability to have the confidence to report incidents. As the numbers of respondents who identified that they had a disability or long term illness were small, statistical analysis was limited. However, for those who had experienced anti-social behaviour and not reported it, the majority stated they had not reported it as they just accepted the incident (N=6). Further to this, four respondents stated that they did not want to get involved, three respondents thought that reporting would be a waste of time, three thought that the authorities would not be interested and only one participant feared reprisals. This does not support the findings by Nixon et al. (2007). These responses suggest that linking social capital may be a factor influencing the decision to report which will be discussed in more detail in chapter six. The numbers of participants for this analysis were small so some care should be taken with generalisation.

4.4 What Factors are Associated with those who had Chosen to Report an Incident of Anti-social Behaviour

Those who had reported anti-social behaviour (N = 51) were asked to select the reasons why they had reported from a series of fixed options, or write in the box provided if they felt that none of these were appropriate. **Figure 5** illustrates the reasons given for reporting an incident. The majority of respondents cited that the reason for reporting was that the incident was dangerous/serious/upsetting and needed to be addressed (53 per cent). Some of the reasons cited as part of the 'other' category included; the incident was worrying and offensive, they wanted to protect their family, the incident was annoying and their children were present.

Figure 5: Reasons for Reporting ASB
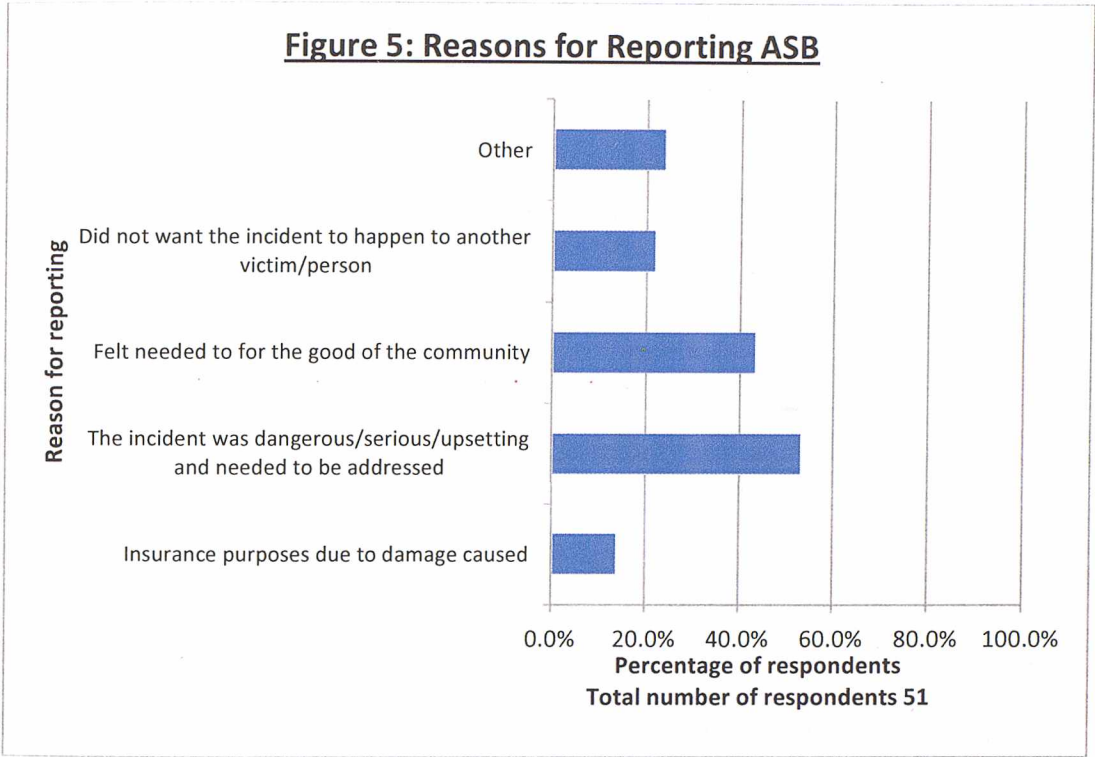
The reasons selected by Bentswood residents for reporting an incident do not support previous research conducted by Stone et al. (2005). Stone et al. identified that most people reported crimes as they needed a crime reference number to proceed with insurance claims. Very few survey respondents selected this option. However, there are other factors that should be taken into consideration for these results. The first is that Stone et al.'s (2005) research looked at crime rather than anti-social behaviour and many reported incidents were damage, which could be covered by insurance. The current research shows damage to property was less of a problem in the Bentswood area. Secondly, the research focus of Stone et al. (2005) was crime not anti-social behaviour therefore a range of issues would have been excluded from their

176

analysis in comparison to the current study. Despite these differences, Stone et al. (2005) found very few people reported a crime in the hope that the police would be able to use the information to prevent another victim. Around 20 per cent of Bentswood residents who had reported an incident selected this option. This suggests Bentswood residents have more concern for their fellow community members than those in Stone et al.'s research.

Chapter two of this thesis discusses the role of tolerance and reporting practices that may result. Turner et al. (1997) argue that the notion of tolerance is concerned with what people will accept or be willing to endure under certain circumstances, as well as making a choice between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable (Hancock and Matthews, 2002). The most frequently cited reason for reporting an incident of anti-social behaviour by the cohort was that the incident was upsetting, serious, dangerous and needed to be addressed, supporting Hancock and Matthews (2002) proposal that there are crucial points at which tolerance changes. Survey responses show that the threshold of tolerance is reached when the incident becomes serious, upsetting or dangerous as perceived by that individual.

Hancock and Matthews (2002) state that identifying the factors associated with these thresholds is important to understanding the impact of local level anti-social behaviour. To supplement the survey data and describe these local level

tolerance thresholds in more detail, interview participants were asked why they had chosen to report the incident of anti-social behaviour they had experienced. Reasons given by those who had reported an incident fell into three main themes: the incident was serious, the incident had a large effect on their life and the incident had evoked a particular feeling or emotion such as anger. To highlight these three main themes a series of quotes have been taken from the interview transcripts and can be seen in the following section:

> "The situation sounded really serious. As we knew there were children at the house this made us feel that we had to call rather than just leave it. I think maybe if there weren't any children then we would have been less likely to call to be honest." (Female, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This quotation identifies the tolerance threshold for this single parent was the perceived seriousness of the incident, combined with the knowledge that there were children present at the address. She even acknowledged that if there had not been children present then her level of tolerance may have been different highlighting her personal tolerance threshold.

> "What was happening was having a major effect on our lives. It was almost mental torture as a result of it all. I could not sleep as I was just worrying about it all of the time. I hated being in the house especially when there were groups outside on the pavement. I have argued with my wife and children and ruined five years of my life because of this." (Male, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

For this resident the effect that the persistent intimidation from neighbours was having on his everyday life pushed his tolerance over the threshold to feel he had to report the incidents. The description that this family man gave highlighted the emotional and physical effects the incidents were having on his life. For this family, not reporting and being tolerant was no longer an option. This parent could be seen as having a high tolerance level given the length of time that he had been subjected to the anti-social behaviour, and the affect that it was having on not just himself but also his family. The comments made demonstrate the serious effects that anti-social behaviour can have on the lives of victims, as well as, the length of time some people are willing to tolerate behaviours before coming forward to report an incident. During the course of the interview he mentioned that his children had not been able to play in the garden for two years as a result of the language from his neighbours, again showing the reduction in quality of life of his family. The experience of this particular resident supports Innes and Weston (2010) that people are more likely to report an incident where it has a direct impact on their quality of life.

> "I was so cross it made me feel 'how dare they do this to me' so I
> wanted them to be sorry about it. I also wanted them to know people
> cannot just get away with things like this." (Female, 46-55 years,
> part-time employment)

This final quotation again highlights the emotional reaction that this incident, a broken window, can provoke in an individual. This working and studying mother

described how angry she was initially with the perpetrator over the incident. She explained that after reporting the incident and thinking about it, her feeling turned more to concern over why someone felt the need to behave in this way. For her, the threshold of tolerance was reached when the feeling of anger took over.

Innes and Weston (2010) argue that the decision to report an incident of anti-social behaviour is strongly influenced by the quality of the contact, as well as the response of previous reporting experiences. To assess whether this previous contact had any impact, an interview question asked whether participants would report an incident in future. From the ten participants that answered this question and who had previously reported an incident, three main themes emerged: they would report again but only if the situation was of a serious nature; they would always report an incident again regardless; and one participant who would not report again as they had a negative experience as a result.

> "Yes I would report again as I would want it logged as I don't want the area taken over by drug dealing. If there was a less serious issue I would deal with it myself. I think for me to report something to the police or some other authority it would have to be upsetting other people and be a real nuisance, otherwise, I think I would just accept whatever it was" (Male 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This father of two, who had lived in the area for many years, noted that less serious matters were likely to be resolved more successfully by him, rather than reporting to an authority. He also acknowledged that if the incident was not serious he was likely to just accept it. Perhaps as he had lived in the area for some time, he demonstrated a concern for the community regarding the incident that he had experienced, and stated that he did not want to see this particular type of thing happening where he lived.

> "I would definitely report an incident again even though I had a negative experience. I do not have much faith in the system, however, racist graffiti is something that we should be taking a stand against so whoever is in charge should take it seriously" (Female 36- 45 years, full-time employment)

This first-time mum had a negative experience of reporting an incident of racist graffiti to the local authority. However, she felt that this would not reduce the seriousness of the incident and that she would report again in future, despite the lack of action by the local authority in removing the offending graffiti. She also said she had a lack of trust in the system, which was in this particular case reinforced by her negative reporting experience.

> "I was not satisfied with reporting the noise issue to the housing association at all. It was all very badly handled in my opinion. The length of time that it went on for was far too long. Each day that went by was even less sleep for us. We were effectively stuck in this

terrible situation and given no support. We ended up having to move
to this house which is only 250 yards away which is madness! I
won't ever report anything again to them" (Female, 46-55 years, full-
time employment)

This working mother with a teenage daughter expressed dissatisfaction with the

housing association. This was evident throughout the interview and could be

seen from the length of time that she felt that she had to suffer without support.

The noise nuisance from a neighbour was felt to have had a real impact on their

lives, and she felt the situation was never resolved by the housing association.

She felt that they were forced to move, something that made her very unhappy.

This negative experience had affected her perception of the local housing

association to the point that she felt that she would not contact them about a

similar issue again as it was, in her view, pointless. This demonstrates another

clear link between reporting behaviour and linking social capital that will be

discussed in detail in chapter six.

4.5 What Factors are Associated with those who had Chosen not to Report an Incident of Anti-social Behaviour

As a comparison to those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour,

those that had experienced an incident and not reported it (N=143) were also

asked to specify reasons from a series of options, or write their own response if

these options did not seem appropriate. Unlike those who had reported an

incident, none of the respondents selected the 'other' option for this question. **Figure 6** shows the reasons given for not reporting an incident of anti-social behaviour. The majority of respondents stated they just accepted the incident (63 per cent), 20 per cent felt reporting would be a waste of time, 19.5 per cent did not want to get involved and 17.5 per cent thought that the authorities would not be interested. Of further note, only six per cent of respondents to the survey feared reprisals.

Figure 6: Reasons for Not Reporting ASB
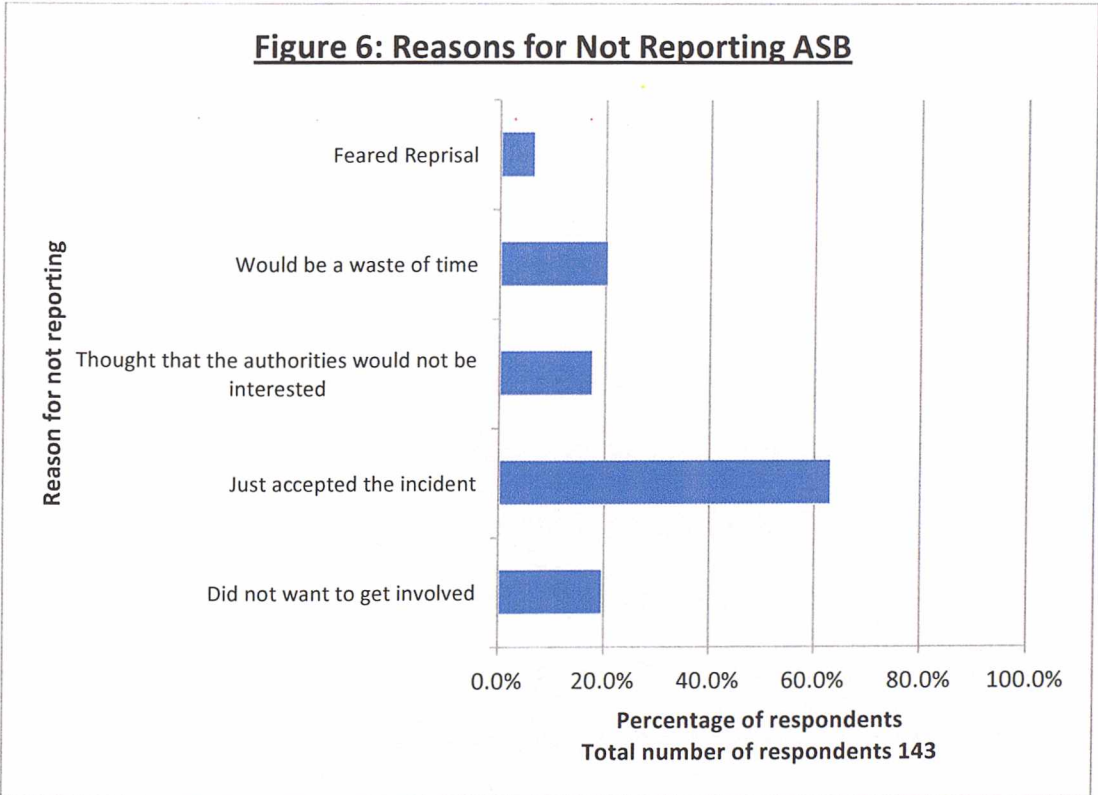
Previous research conducted by Innes and Weston (2010) found the most commonly cited reason for not reporting was not wanting to get involved (20 per

cent of respondents), a further 17 per cent of respondents just accepted the incident, 15 per cent thought that authorities would not be interested, 13 per cent thought it would be a waste of time and 12 per cent feared reprisals. In comparison, the current research suggests Bentswood residents are more tolerant with a higher percentage just accepting the incidents. However, many participants selected more than one option as their reason for not reporting, and often 'just accepted the incident' was selected in conjunction with 'would be a waste of time', or 'the authorities would not be interested'. Therefore if you combine the numbers for those who just accepted an incident and those who thought that the authorities would not be interested, nearly 40 per cent of respondents were influenced in their reporting decision by their perception of the authorities.

Hancock and Matthews (2002) argue that the decision to report an incident is conditioned by the gravity of the offence, as already seen in the results from those who did report an incident, as well as the perception of the public that authorities are willing and able to do address the matter. The survey responses support this notion, and indicate that the residents of the Bentswood ward may perceive the authorities as not being willing and or able to address the incidents therefore, decide not to report. To augment the results produced by the survey, an interview question enhanced the responses obtained in relation to the reasoning behind not reporting an incident. Analysis found that the reasons given for not reporting an incident focused on four themes: not knowing who to

report to; the perceived seriousness of the incident; wanting to resolve the incident themselves rather than reporting and; the poor attitude of the police.

> "I did not know who to report these things to really and you just sort of get used to having these problems really and accept them."
> (Female 26-35 years, at university)

As described by this young mother of two, some felt that they did not know who to report the incident to. Most of these respondents felt that issues relating to anti-social behaviour were not serious enough to bother the local police with, as they believed that the police had far more serious matters to be tackling. This particular viewpoint surrounding the seriousness of the incident can also be seen in the following quote by a busy mother of four:

> "I haven't reported anything as it is all a bit petty really. When I have reported things in the past it has been for serious things, such as, there was a group of kids out the back where we live smashing windows one night and I actually saw it happening." (Female, 36-45 years, part-time employment)

An interesting view from one stay-at-home parent described wanting to resolve the issue themselves before having to involve an authority. She said that in her view things are often made far worse when you approach someone, such as the police, as people get very upset by their involvement. She went on to say that when she had encountered anti-social behaviour she had approached the

perpetrator, who happened to be her neighbour, and talked through the issue so there was no need to approach anyone else. She felt that if she had reported it to someone in authority a resolution would have been unlikely, due to the bad feeling it would have created. This explained why she felt that reporting it would have been a waste of time:

> "I think I would prefer to approach the person about the issue as it is better to try and resolve it yourself than go running to an authority, as that is when people get more upset with you. My neighbour problem was sorted when I went round there and said something" (Female, 46-55 years, unemployed)

The poor attitude of the police was a factor in not wanting to report an incident for one working mother of four children. Her situation was unusual as the police appeared on the scene of the incident without her calling them. However, the actions of the officers that attended had negatively affected her view of the police. She described how the general disinterest shown in finding the culprits, had made her question current methods of policing. She felt that the paperwork had taken precedence over what she classed as 'good old fashioned police work' of finding the offender and delivering some justice for her. This particular example supports Hancock and Matthews' (2002) stance that the perceived willingness of the police to take an incident seriously will affect the decision to report:

> "The police happened to stop by and they seemed completely uninterested. They were not interested in the culprits at all. All they

wanted to do was come in and complete some form with us, rather
than go and look for the ones that had done it! I am not sure whether
a neighbour had reported the noise and that is why the police
appeared." (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

As with those who had reported, to assess whether this previous contact had

any impact, an interview question was devised asking whether they would report

an incident of anti-social behaviour in future. From the five participants that

answered this question and who had not previously reported an incident; only

one main theme emerged regarding the seriousness of the situation. All

participants felt that they would only report an incident if it had either effected

their families seriously, or was affecting their lives considerably. However

comments were made by some residents that demonstrated this decision had

been effected by the perception that the authorities would not be interested in

their concerns:

"If it was serious such as damage to my home, my car or an assault
on one of my children then yes I would report it, but if it was fighting
in the street then, no I wouldn't, as I know the police wouldn't do
anything about it! Anything that could be seen as trivial, so by that I
mean swearing, minor damage, people outside being abusive, then I
wouldn't bother reporting as I know by the time the police got here it
would be too late." (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

This hard-working mother was very unhappy with the local police and believed

that 'trivial' matters were of no interest to them. Her view that trivial things build

up, and that trust is lost in services as a result, is of interest to local services and how they could improve community relations. She also mentioned she had been influenced by others through conversations about reporting incidents and nothing being done as a result. This highlights how communities can very quickly be influenced by a few incidents and confidence is reduced in agencies as a result. In addition to the belief of some residents that incidents should be taken seriously, there were also some people who felt that they would only report an incident in future if it was really affecting their life, rather than just report what they felt were trivial or minor incidents that were more of an annoyance. Such a view supports the previous discussion on tolerance and that the tolerance threshold for most of those interviewed is crossed, when an incident had a real effect on every day living:

> "Yes I would report but it would have to be serious to the extent that it was really affecting my life. I would not want to bother the police with some minor issue, although, I recognise that people do all of the time" (Male, 56-65 years, retired)

4.6 Summary

A range of behaviours were identified through the survey as anti-social behaviour, from dog barking, smoking in public, damage to public property and inappropriate drug/substance misuse. Interviews augmented the survey data and established that anti-social behaviour for the majority could include anything

that was seen by them as a lack of respect for themselves, or the community. The survey and interview findings complement each other, in demonstrating the subjective nature of anti-social behaviour. The data confirms the findings from Ipsos Mori (2010), that anti-social behaviour is often defined in broad terms with a mixture of issues identified. Both the survey and interview results support previous findings by Ipsos Mori (2010) and Millie et al. (2005).

The findings from the survey show that most incidents of anti-social behaviour go unreported in the Bentswood ward. Those who do report incidents mainly report these to the local police and housing association, with very few contacting the local council. Both residents who had reported an incident to an authority and those that had not, said they had discussed the anti-social behaviour incidents with friends and family to help them cope, supporting previous research with victims of crime. Very few had spoken to community or church leaders.

Due to the limited sample size for particular categorical groups, statistical testing was limited and reliant on Chi Squared Tests. The only significant association identified, was between disability or long term illness and reporting behaviour. A higher number of those with a disability had reported an incident than expected. This does not support previous research that suggests those with disabilities are more likely not to report, as they feel they are not likely to be taken seriously

(Nixon et al. 2007). One possibility for this difference could be the result of good local practices aimed at identifying those vulnerable in the community. This may therefore have led to increased trust and confidence.

For those who had reported an incident, the majority do so as they felt that the incident was upsetting, serious or dangerous and needed to be addressed. In addition, the interviews suggested that the effect the behaviour or issue was having on everyday life, was an important factor in the decision to report. Some described the physical and emotional effects, as well as, in some cases the anger that developed and pushed their tolerance level to the point where reporting the matter was the only option. Interview participants were asked whether they would report an incident again given their previous reporting experience and responses were divided between those who would, and those who would not based on a negative experience. This supports previous research showing that the quality of the first contact can impact on future contact with organisations (Innes & Weston, 2010).

The survey also identified that those who had not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour most frequently explained that they just accepted the incident, suggesting their tolerance threshold had not been reached. The interviews revealed a combination of factors effecting the decision to report including not knowing who to contact, the incidents in their view being minor, feeling that self-

resolution was better than official routes and the poor attitude of the local police team based on experience. All of those who had not reported an incident would only report an incident in future if they felt it was serious and was having a real effect on their lives.

5. THE SIGNAL CRIMES PERSPECTIVE AND REPORTING BEHAVIOUR

The previous chapter detailed what anti-social behaviour means to the residents of the Bentswood ward, provided a profile of reporting and identified some social factors that are associated with choosing to report or not report an incident. One of the main aims of this thesis was to examine what affect the signal crimes perspective, may have on the reporting of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood. The signal crimes perspective (Innes, 2004) states certain signals or incidents can have an effect on perception of risk and future behaviour. This chapter identifies the signals the Bentswood ward are responding to and discusses elements of the signal crimes perspective including the perception of risk and fear and behaviour change.

5.1 What Signals are Bentswood Residents Responding to

A key element of the signal crimes perspective is the identification of the signals that affect communities. From the survey data **Figure 7** illustrates the different types of behaviours experienced or witnessed by respondents within the Bentswood ward. This item was included to establish what types of signals the residents of Bentswood were responding to. As can be seen from Figure 7 a wide range of behaviours were identified with many participants selecting more

than one option. This meant establishing definitively which of these behaviours are acting as signals was difficult. However, it can been seen that the most frequently experienced behaviours included dropping litter in the street (41 per cent), dog fouling (38 per cent), swearing in public places (29 per cent), inconvenient parking in the street (28 per cent), shouting in public places (27 per cent) and inappropriate driving (26 per cent). The least frequently experienced behaviours included verbal abuse towards neighbours (two per cent), harassment of you (two per cent), intimidation of neighbours (two per cent), graffiti (three per cent) and verbal abuse towards your family (three per cent).

Figure 7: Behaviours Experienced in the Bentswood Ward
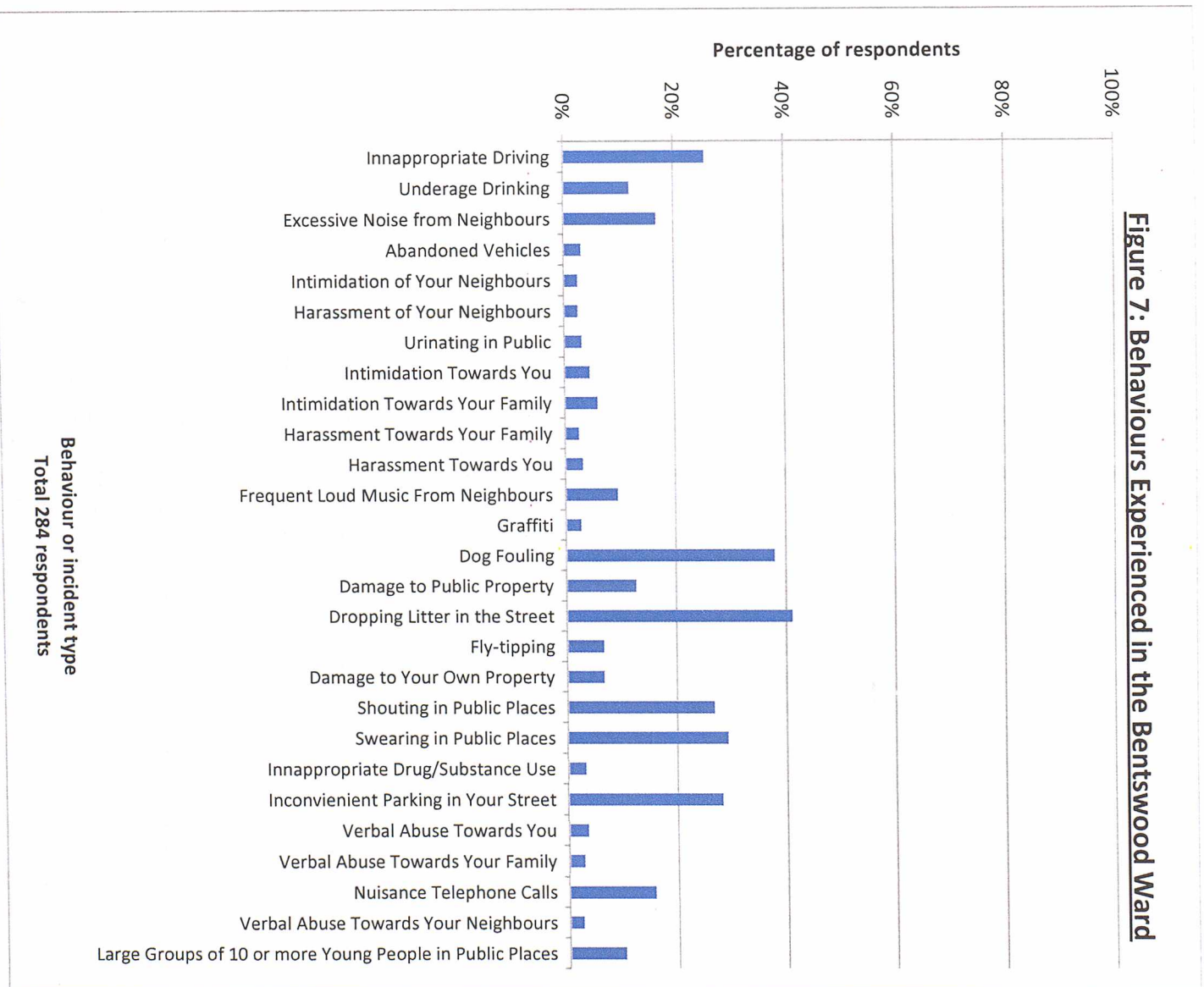
It can be seen that very few people had experienced what could be deemed as serious incidents of harassment, intimidation and verbal abuse. Whereas, nearly

194

half of respondents had experienced the dropping of litter, dog fouling, inconvenient parking and shouting and swearing in the street. These findings are of interest in relation to the conclusions of Myhill, Fildes and Quinton (2010). They identified from over 9000 responses that just seven per cent of people mentioned more serious incidents, such as violence. Myhill et al. concluded focusing on the issues that shape peoples everyday security concerns should be the priority of the police and their partners, as these are likely to influence public perceptions the most. This links with the signal crimes perspective that suggests targeting those issues that matter most to communities is likely to have an effect on perceptions of fear.

An unexpected finding was the wide range of behaviours that were experienced by the residents of Bentswood. The survey was not effective at establishing which of these experienced behaviours were acting as signals however, the interviews did elicit detailed information about what signals the community were responding to. The interviews identified a range of different behaviours that had been experienced by those who had reported an incident over the previous twelve months. Most identified signals were encountered mainly from neighbouring properties and included; persistent loud music, door slamming, drunken abusive shouting and threats, constant dog barking, swearing and screaming at children. These incidents are clear signals that residents were responding to by reporting. In addition, these signals were also related to

elements of social capital, specifically bridging or ties with neighbours. These connections will be discussed further in chapter six.

The effects of these signals resulted in these residents feeling very unhappy living in their current home. To highlight some of these incidents quotations have been selected and can be seen in the following text:

> "There has just been so much with my neighbour I don't know where to begin! There has been something every day. Every time we go in our garden their dogs bark and chase you up and down the fence. They bark continually. The dogs have got through into our garden and killed our daughter's rabbit. The kids next door hang over our fence all the time and shout and swear at us. They just wouldn't leave us alone - even when we approached their parents they just said' they are kids'. They're always throwing rubbish in our garden and stones. We have even had broken glass thrown over, my daughter is 3 she could easily have really hurt herself. Our garden has become a no go area which is ridiculous!" (Male 36 – 45 years, full-time employment)

Numerous signals were identified for this family including dog barking, shouting and swearing but also uncontrolled dogs and the behaviour of their neighbours children. On discussion with this resident it was also clear that the different cultures between the two properties was having a significant impact. The neighbouring property was managed by the housing association and housed a family from the travelling community. It was clear from our discussion that this resident found much of their behaviour problematic for his family. This has

implications for the bridging social capital element that will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

A second family also described the effects of certain signals from a neighbouring property:

> "The daughter of my neighbour has recently separated from her husband. He keeps coming to the property drunk and he kicks the door, shouts and swears and threatens them. We often hear feuds that go on in that house through the dividing wall. I approached them about it but all they said was it was tough but there was nothing they could do about it, as they were frightened of the repercussions from the rest of the family. The worst things for us is listening to the dogs bark all day which makes the baby cry – she just screams until she is hoarse which is really not nice to listen to. Everything they do is just so extreme and we have to live with this on a daily basis."
> (Female 46 – 55 years, part-time employment)

For this working mother the effects the situation with her neighbours was having on her family were serious. One of her children had gone to stay with relatives as he was so terrified. The signals this family reacted to included the threats, shouting and swearing but also persistent dog barking and concern for the children. In addition, the neighbours have demonstrated that the fear of the wider family had led to them just accepting the behaviour despite the effects, a clear link to bonding social capital that will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

"I reported my noisy neighbours to the housing association. To start with we got along really well with the neighbours but then, all of a sudden, things changed and they seemed to just start making a noise. The noise was bad sometimes but you could accept some of it, but then it became really bad and we fell out after 10 years of getting along. Our relationship then deteriorated very quickly and it got worse and worse. The noise was from the TV being on very loud, hovering that would go on for hours and just general banging and crashing around that we never had previously. It got to the point where we had to start making noise to drown out what was happening next door. My daughter was unwell at the time so was at home a lot, so the noise became a real issue, as it was non-stop and made her illness worse. It had a real impact on our lives." (Female, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This single mother described how the noise nuisance was having a huge impact on her daughter. Further discussion found that her daughter had been unable to complete her final year exams as she had been so unwell with stress and sleep deprivation as a result. This is a very clear example of how situations can escalate and cause a great deal of harm supporting the recent government White Paper, and findings by Innes and Weston (2010).

Other signals not related to neighbours included drug dealing, damage to their property, inappropriate driving, racist graffiti, human defecating and mugging. A selection of these can be seen in the following discussion:

> "I was walking my dogs in the woods nearby and I saw a young bloke whom I know as a local man. I know from chatting to people that he deals drugs. I saw him meeting up with some youngsters and more youngsters hanging around there, which was just not right. To me it looked like he was dealing and this was the first time I had ever seen anything like this around here. I was told he was dealing class A drugs and we don't want that around here. I called the police to let them know what I had seen and who it was, but they did not turn up. I was disappointed in that to be honest." (Male, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This father had lived in the area for a number of years and described for him, the seriousness of the incident was what made him feel he needed to contact the police. He even stated if he had known the drugs were for example, cannabis, then he would have just ignored it as in his view it was not as harmful but class A drugs were detrimental to the community and therefore needed to be reported. It is also of interest that he was, perhaps due to the length of time he had been a resident, very perceptive as to what was happening and even commented 'it was just not right'. Other residents may not have even recognised the significance of what was happening.

Another signal identified within the Bentswood ward was racist graffiti as described by one interviewee:

> "Someone had written 'Paki' in three foot high letters on a wall to the side of the footpath that I use to walk to the town centre. I have seen very little graffiti really around the area so it was such a shock."
> (Female, 36 – 45 years, full-time employment)

For this working mother racist graffiti acted as a signal, that as she described, shocked her and led to her reporting to the local authority. It is of interest that she acknowledged that very little graffiti is seen in the local area indicating that perhaps if there had been more she may not have noticed it.

Damage to property was identified as a signal Bentswood residents were responding to as demonstrated by the following quotation:

> "It was a Friday evening when we heard a crash so I went out to have a look and found our side window had been broken. I looked outside and saw 3 to 4 young lads who were just walking up the road throwing bits of gravel around. I assumed they had thrown a stone at the window so called the Police straight away" (Female, 46 – 55 years, part-time employment)

As the resident had seen whom she thought was the culprit during the discussion I asked whether not seeing anyone outside would have influenced the decision to call the Police, the resident said that this would have made no difference she wanted to report it to ensure that people knew they couldn't get away with things.

One interviewee had witnessed human defecating, a different and unusual signal:

> "The human defecating was connected to one of those bogus charity collection things. Bags had been put through the doors. I thought it didn't look right so I phoned the number and indeed it was a bogus charity. Anyway, he came back the next day to collect the bags and one of the guys decides he is going to pull his trousers down. This was around 7 in the morning. I don't know whether he thought everyone was in bed but he just squatted down and did his business. I took some photos as I didn't think anyone would believe me! He then used one of the plastic bags to wipe himself and disposed of that in our garden. We were just so disgusted by this we called the police and gave them the number plate of the vehicle he was in. We also called the council to get it cleared but they thought it was a joke when I said what had happened" (Male, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This resident who happened to be a retired police officer said that he had never come across anything like this before. He said it was just so disgusting that reporting it was the only option.

These discussions emphasize the differences between signals from neighbours and signals from others. Those who had reacted to report a signal from a neighbour spoke about how it was the frequency and intensity of this signal that contributed to their reporting. Whereas those who had reported other signals, such as damage to their property and defecating, recognized that it was enough witnessing or experiencing this once for it to have created the need to report it.

For those who had experienced an incident but not reported it the signal behaviours included: dog fouling, speeding, noise from neighbours, inappropriate driving, litter, problem parking and damage to their property. To show this variation the following quotations were selected:

> "Dog fouling is quite bad and so is the inappropriate driving as they both affect my children. I see people speeding along my road all of the time, it's so bad I don't let my children outside as I worry they will be knocked over. The dogs mess over the pavements can be really bad as it gets everywhere and it's just disgusting. I have heard noise from my neighbours who sometimes get a bit drunk and rowdy. This does affect my children's sleep and they have to come and sleep in my room when it's really bad." (Female 26-35 years, at university)

This young mother of two small children again emphasizes the effect that the anti-social behaviour was having on her family, so much so her children were unable to be outside and were having their sleep affected by noise from a neighbour. This is in contrast to the previous resident who had reported a similar noise issue. This could be due to the noise nuisance being less frequent or a different level of tolerance.

One Bentswood resident described damage to a family members vehicle as a signal:

"My son's work van was parked outside and it had the wing mirrors kicked off at about four in the morning one weekend. I actually saw it happen as they were making so much noise - they were obviously stupid. It was a group of about three or four youngsters, none of them older than I would say twenty. They had either taken something drugs wise or were drunk, and they had come from the direction of the pub. I recognised them but not to the point where I would say I know them. I know roughly the direction they live in but that's about it." (Female 36-45 years, full-time employment)

This working mother described witnessing her son's van being damaged however; she did not report the situation to an authority. Her perception is also interesting as she felt those responsible were under the influence and most likely from the local pub, although when asked she could not be certain. This discussion also indicates a further signal of drunk and drug behaviour. She had also lived locally for a number of years and had developed opinions around where she believed most of the anti-social behaviour stemmed from, namely the pub and one particular residential street. Through discussion it came across that as she did not know who the culprits were, she felt it was unlikely there would be any justice if she had reported.

As with residents who had reported an incident, dog fouling was identified as a signal for those who had not reported an incident:

"Dog mess really annoys me as that is a problem around here. It is only a small issue in the grand scheme of things, but it does cause a

lot of distress and gets everywhere." (Male, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

Dog fouling again is the signal however it was never reported to an authority. When asked why they had not reported the resident said they always saw the after event rather than seeing a dog and owner actually fouling, therefore very little could be done in his opinion to stop it. He did say that if he did witness someone he would report it as long as he could describe them and the dog well enough.

All of those interviewed clearly described how the signal impacted on their quality of life. However their responses to these anti-social behaviour signals differed. The differences in reporting were determined by the perception of authorities not being interested in addressing the issues. These insights suggest that dog fouling and speeding do act as signals to the Bentswood ward, however the perception of local services results in these not being reported. My own experience of attending local community panels is that speeding and dog fouling are the issues that are spoken about the most, indicating they are having a real effect on the quality of life of residents.

The impact anti-social behaviour has on the residents of the Bentswood ward should be considered in relation to the findings by Ipsos Mori (2010). Ipsos Mori identified that those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, were

likely to be greatly affected by the impact it was having on their quality of life. The data, including that of chapter four, from the Bentswood ward supports these findings. In addition, Innes and Weston (2010) argued that there are significant differences in the views of those who are repeatedly exposed to anti-social behaviour, compared to those who are not. The interview discussions demonstrate this is the case for residents in Bentswood. The results presented in this chapter also reinforce the recent government White Paper released in 2012. This paper proposes the use of local level research, which is based on experience rather than perception. The current findings show how identifying the specific issues and signals communities face will enable more effective action, and greatly benefit victims.

5.2 The Impact of Signal Crimes Risk on Reporting Behaviour

Innes (2004) research identifies that people consider the risk to themselves, as well as others when they hear about or experience an incident of crime or anti-social behaviour. To identify the level of risk that residents of Bentswood felt, a survey item was included asking participants to rate on a five point scale their agreement to feeling safe during the day and feeling safe after dark. The scores for these items ranged from one, strongly agree, two, agree, three, neither agree nor disagree, four, disagree and five strongly disagree. Therefore the higher the score the less respondents agreed with the statement made for that item. To

enable an effective comparison the responses to these survey items were divided into those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, those who had not reported an incident and those who had not experienced any anti-social behaviour to report.

As shown in **Figure 8** the entire cohort rated 'I feel safe during the day' and 'I feel safe after dark' as strongly agree or agree on average. However, there are some differences, including that all respondents in the three categories were in less agreement they felt safe after dark, compared to feeling safe during the day. The other notable difference between the three categories is that those who had reported an incident, are in less agreement that they feel safe in comparison to those who had not reported an incident or not experienced any incident to report. This indicates respondents in the Bentswood ward who had reported an incident, perceived themselves at more risk than those who had not reported. This supports the signal crimes perspective by Innes (2004), which states an incident acts as a signal and effects the level of risk perceived as a result. These findings also support Innes (2004) proposal that some incidents of crime and anti-social behaviour will matter more to some people than others, in shaping their perceptions and fear. This is highlighted by the differences in perceived risk between those who had reported an incident and those who had not. It is likely that these differences are a result of the type of incident and the level of tolerance by the individual witnessing it.

Figure 8: Signal Crimes Risk Reporting Comparison
(Total 284 respondents)

Mean Survey Score

Category	Safe Day	Safe After Dark
Reported	1.98	2.63
Not Reported	1.65	2.2
Not witnessed	1.63	1.99
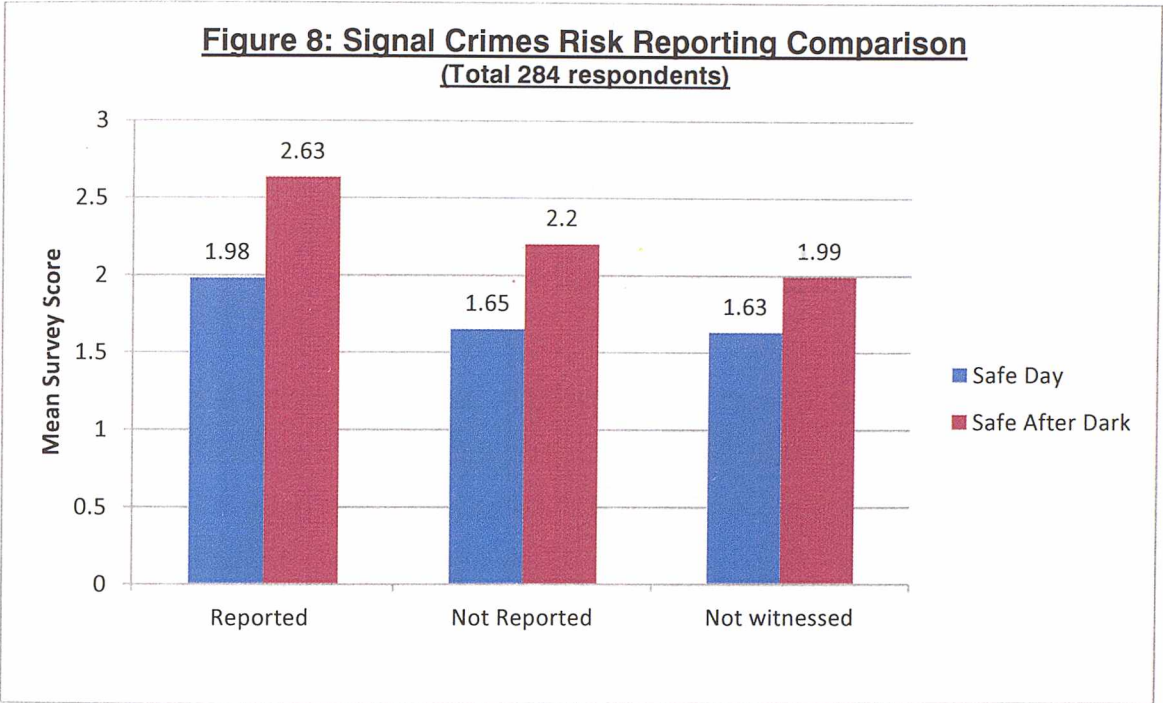
Many interview participants referred to how safe or unsafe they felt living in the Bentswood area. In support of the survey data those interview respondents who had reported an incident described feeling less safe in the area where they lived. The responses from the Bentswood ward support Innes and Weston's (2010) findings that, not being exposed to anti-social behaviour meant individuals were more likely to say they felt safe. This is highlighted in the following quotations:

> "I don't feel safe when I go to the local shops after dark as more often than not, there are groups of people standing outside the local pub, that is next door, who just shout and swear at you as go past which is unnerving" (Female, 46-55 years, part-time employed)

"I am very worried when I go out after dusk around here. I especially worry about my husband walking back from the train station at night after reading about incidents in the paper, where people have been mugged which is really frightening" (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

"Anti-social behaviour is really frightening you know. I have this fear that they'll come back and not just damage our house but frighten us all you know seriously...you never know what people will do these days" (Male, 66-75 years, retired)

"I could not sleep as I was just worrying about it all of the time. My concern was that if I reported something then their wider family would all come around and sort us out" (Male, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

These quotations demonstrate some of the types of signals that respondents in Bentswood reacted to, adding some context to the survey data. The first quotation identified swearing and shouting as a signal, whereas the second identified mugging as the signal for their level of fear. This supports Innes (2004) that the signal crimes perspective does not assume everyone interprets signals in the same way, and that signals will vary considerably by area. For those who had not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, safety and therefore risk, was also identified as a concern. Responses were more positive than those

given by respondents who had reported an incident. The following quotations are provided as a comparison to the comments made by those who had reported an incident:

"I do sometimes go out after dark but not that often but when I am out I am never really worried" (Female, 36-45 years, part-time employment)

"I was really frightened when I first moved here but once I moved in it was better than expected. I am not really worried about much, but sometimes feel a bit nervous after dark" (Female, 26-35 years, at university)

"After the incident I did feel very frightened. The darkness does make me feel more isolated, but it doesn't stop me going anywhere" (Male, 56-65 years, retired)

In addition to the comparison displayed in **Figure 8** point biserial correlations were calculated for the signal crimes risk measure, and whether an incident had been reported or not reported. Highly significant negative relationships were found for 'I feel safe around here during the day' (rpb = -.167, $p < 0.05$) and 'I feel safe around here after dark' (rpb = -.230, $p < 0.01$). Therefore, those who had reported an incident felt less safe during the day and after dark, than those who had not reported or not experienced an incident to report. This

demonstrates the risk element of the signal crimes perspective, is related to the reporting of anti-social behaviour in the Bentswood ward.

Ferraro (1995) argues that whether people perceive themselves to be at risk depends on how they interpret and define people, places, acts and social encounters in their everyday lives. The current findings support this assertion as those who had not reported an incident had also been exposed to a 'signal' (anti-social behaviour incident), but this had not affected their perceived level of risk. This indicates those who had reported may have interpreted the signal differently to those who did not report. However, an alternative explanation surrounds the type of signal experienced. The signal crimes perspective (Innes, 2004), states that the content of a signal is related to the level of perceived risk that occurs as a result of experiencing or witnessing it. Therefore, the types of incidents that may have been experienced by those who had reported are likely to be a factor in determining the level of associated risk. For this relationship to be examined more closely further research into the way incidents are interpreted would be of use.

5.3 The Impact of Signal Crimes Behavioural and Emotional Aspects on Reporting Behaviour

Ditton and Innes (2005) argue that signal crimes or incidents comprise three components as discussed previously: an expression, a content and an effect. Innes (2004) identified that people not only consider the risk to themselves but they also consider risk to their property, significant others, neighbours and to social order more generally. The expression and content must generate an emotional, cognitive or behavioural effect. Emotional effects change how the person feels, cognitive effects change how the person thinks and a behavioural effect changes their behaviour. Two measures of signal crimes were used in the survey, one for those who had experienced an incident of anti-social behaviour and one for those that had not experienced an incident, but had been made aware of other incidents in the community through a variety of means, such as through local media or talking to friends and neighbours. This was in recognition that there were likely to be differences in perception based on whether the incident was a personal experience, or just hearing about it from somewhere else. The scores for both these items ranged from one, strongly agree, two, agree, three, neither agree nor disagree, four, disagree and five, strongly disagree. Therefore the higher the score, the less respondents agreed with the statement made for that item.

To enable the most effective comparison and examine the effect the signal crimes perspective may have on reporting behaviour, **Figure 9** displays the comparison between those who had reported and experienced an incident, those who had experienced but not reported an incident and those who had heard about an incident through other means such as the local newspaper or a neighbour only. All item statements were rated by respondents to be in the neither agree nor disagree category on average, however, as shown in **Figure 9** there were some small differences. The first of these differences, is that all three groups lowest mean score is for 'I have stopped going to certain areas', indicating that more people were likely to agree that they had stopped going to certain areas, as a result of either experiencing or being made aware of an incident of anti-social behaviour.

Figure 9: Comparison Between Behavioural and Emotional Signal Effects
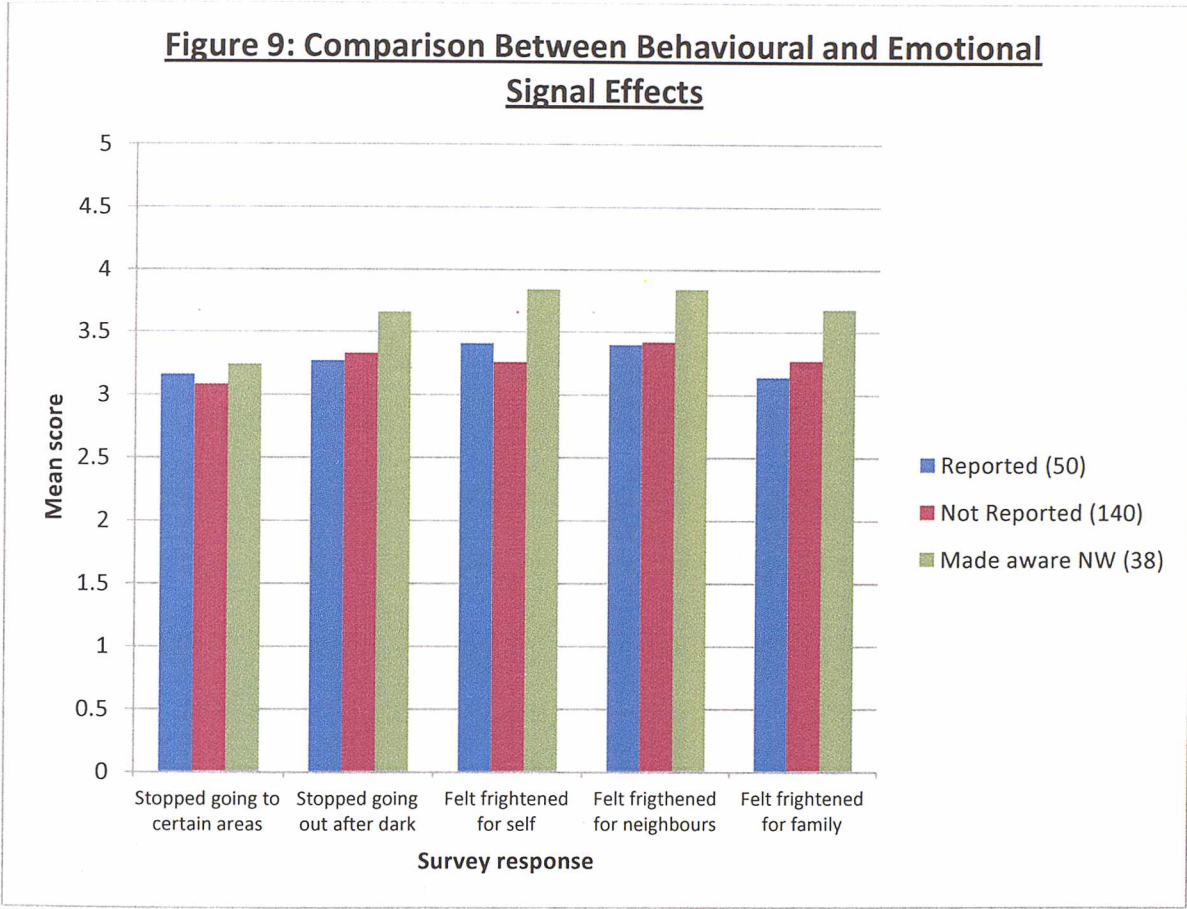
A further notable difference surrounds the group of respondents who had only heard about an incident of anti-social behaviour. This group of participants on average scored higher on each of the five items. This indicates respondents disagreed more than other groups that they felt fear for themselves, family or neighbours or had changed their behaviour. This finding is of interest as it suggests that in Bentswood actually experiencing an incident of anti-social behaviour is more likely to create a behaviour change, or feeling of fear, than just hearing about an incident from some other means such as from a neighbour. This supports Innes proposition that there is a difference between

those signals that are situated and experienced directly, and those signals that are operating through other channels such as the media.

Wood (2004) examined the signal crimes perspective with particular reference to the emotional and behaviour change aspects. Wood (2004) identified that the majority of respondents had some form of emotional reaction to a signal. Wood also found many respondents avoided certain areas as a result of experiencing an incident. The results in **Figure 9** show, that many Bentswood residents had stopped going to certain areas after experiencing or hearing about an incident of anti-social behaviour. In addition Wood's analysis found a strong association with the frequency of the experience and the impact it had. **Figure 9** shows this is also evident in the Bentswood ward. Those who had heard about an incident rather than actually experiencing it, disagreed more that they had felt frightened or changed their behaviour, demonstrating less of an impact.

Further analyses were conducted for the signal crimes behavioural and emotional aspect measures and their relationship to reporting behaviour. Those participants who had not experienced an incident of anti-social behaviour, but had been made aware by friends or local media, were excluded from this stage as no reporting behaviour existed. No significant correlations between any of the signal crimes experienced items and reporting behaviour were found supporting the slight differences evident in **Figure 9**.

In addition to the survey data the effect of the signal crimes behaviour change component was also examined through the interviews. For those who had reported an incident, behaviour change existed in some form for all participants. This supports the previous research conducted by Wood (2004) that the majority of people avoided certain places once a victim of crime or anti-social behaviour. Many mentioned avoiding certain areas they knew were a problem, and others also mentioned changes to their daily routine as a result of an incident or experience. One first time mother did however, say that for her, when an incident had occurred there was a temporary change in behaviour and nervousness, but after a while this reduced and she felt that she had returned to normal. Others had made permanent changes to their behaviour or routine. This is interesting as indicates signals can have both permanent and temporary effects as demonstrated by the following quotations:

> "Around two Christmases ago a lady was attacked right outside our home. The incident made you very nervous about going out but you return to default after a while and go back to normal. My husband has preferred routes home from the station as we worry about certain areas after dark, as there always seem to be large groups of people just hanging around" (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

> "When I first moved here we had loads of pizzas delivered and the fire brigade called several times, like some sort of initiation. I felt that was intimidating and it has meant now we don't use our front door

and always use the back entrance, so people cannot see when I'm coming in and out" (Female, 46-55 years, stay at home parent)

As well as changes made by these residents, there were families who had also stopped using things such as their own garden, and had effectively become prisoners in their home as a result. The following quote highlights the effects that anti-social behaviour can have on family life:

"We didn't feel happy in our own home, we could not use our garden and we would not leave the house if they were out the front, as we did not want to speak to them, it was that bad. You know we have a lovely garden but our children cannot use it due to the language from next door" (Male, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

For those who had not reported an incident the behaviour change was also evident, supporting the survey results that there is little difference between those who had reported an incident and those who had not. One young mother felt that she was going to have to move away, due to the effect being from the Bentswood area had on her children. She explained that her children had been called names at school just because of the road they were from, and she felt that the only way to protect them was to move away:

"This area has a bad reputation so I don't like telling people my address. I'm looking to move as I think it was a mistake moving here. It's not nice for my children to live here. They have friends at school who say things like "those people that live where you do are

all druggies". It's not good for them to grow up feeling like this so I have got to move" (Female, 26-35 years, at university)

Other residents, who had not reported an incident, described making changes to their routes to and from certain areas, especially after dark. The following from a retired single man described how the incident he had experienced also impacted on his level of fear:

"I would say that since the incident I'm definitely more wary after dark than I was before and I walk a different route. I tense up when I hear things around me and I never would have before" (Male, 56-65 years, retired)

Finally, a disabled mother of two discussed how an incident where a family member had become a victim had caused her to worry for her own safety. She described how it made her realise how vulnerable she was and that if she was attacked, she would never be able to get away. This viewpoint is interesting as it highlights how incidents that happen to close family members are likely to have an effect on; in this case, vulnerable groups within society, supporting the need for robust assessment of where these groups are within communities:

'My brother was attacked a couple of months ago by a group of young people on his way to the station, so this has made me worry what may happen to me as I'm disabled. I don't go out alone anymore' (Female, 46-55 years, unemployed)

5.4 Summary

The survey identified some of the types of signals that residents in the Bentswood ward experienced. Nearly half of those surveyed had experienced dog fouling and littering, whereas harassment and verbal abuse were experienced by very few. The survey did not allow signals to be clearly identified however the interviews did. The signals were identified as noise from neighbours, racist graffiti, mugging, drug dealing, damage to property, human defecating, inappropriate driving, dog fouling and speeding.

Some victims had suffered from prolonged noise nuisance leading to serious consequences in other aspects of their lives, confirming the findings of Innes and Weston (2010). Overall the findings from this project lend support to the recent government White Paper that argues for locally driven research, to identify the concerns that matter to communities.

The findings support the risk element of the signal crimes perspective proposed by Innes (2004). They show those who had experienced an incident were more likely to report they felt less safe both during the day and after dark, compared to those who had not reported and not been exposed to a signal. There were no statistically significant relationships between the behaviour change or emotional

items of the signal crimes measures, however, there were differences within both the survey and interview data. The most notable of these is that personally witnessing or experiencing a signal or incident, does affect how individuals feel fear and does change their behaviour, as demonstrated in **Figure 9**.

6. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPORTING OF ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR AND BONDING, BRIDGING AND LINKING SOCIAL CAPITAL

In addition to the signal crimes perspective as discussed in chapter five, the impact that social capital may play on the reporting or not reporting of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood, is a key aspect of this thesis. Social capital is one characteristic of neighbourhoods that may influence the reporting of anti-social behaviour by communities. Largely speaking, social capital can be defined as a collective resource, embedded in and released from informal networks (Lin 2002). There are three types of social capital that are of interest when examining the role it may play with the reporting of anti-social behaviour: bonding, bridging and linking. The relationship that these three types of social capital may have on the reporting or not reporting of anti-social behaviour will be presented in the following sections.

6.1 Bonding Social Capital and Reporting Behaviour

Bonding social capital refers to the close networks that exist between family members as well as friends (Putnam, 20 00). Two survey items were devised to examine the level of bonding social capital in the Bentswood ward. They asked respondents to consider the size of both their friend and family network where

they lived. Most respondents felt that they had a small network of friends to count on for help and support, 70 per cent, followed by 21 per cent with a large network, seven per cent with no network and two per cent who were not sure. On examination of family networks the majority of respondents, 57 per cent, felt that they had a small network of family to count on for help and support, 22 per cent had no network of family, 13 per cent a large network of family and eight per cent of respondents were unsure. The majority of residents in the Bentswood ward therefore, have bonding ties that are either small or large, with very few respondents considering that they had no network of friends or family.

The findings around the size of friend and family networks can be compared to the large scale study conducted by the Health Development Agency (HDA) in 2001, which examined the role of social capital on health. They found that 66 per cent believed that they had a small or satisfactory friend network, which compares to a much higher 91 per cent in the Bentswood ward. This indicates that the residents in the Bentswood ward have a high level of support from friends. In addition the HDA found that 52 per cent believed they had a small or satisfactory family network to count on for help and support, compared to 57 per cent of respondents to the Bentswood survey.

The HDA also identified that 20 per cent of respondents had no friend or family network to rely on which compares to seven per cent for friends and 22 per cent

for family in the Bentswood ward. These findings suggest that residents in Bentswood have relatively high bonding social capital, in comparison to this national survey. The sample size for the HDA research allowed examination of factors, such as age, on the level of support available. However, the small sample size for the current study does not and limits the level of analysis that can be conducted. Even so, this research thesis is interested in the effects that social capital may have on the reporting or not reporting of anti-social behaviour therefore, a comparison between those who had reported and not reported can be seen in **Figure 10** and **Figure 11**.

Figure 10: Size of Friend Network to Count on for Help and Support Comparison
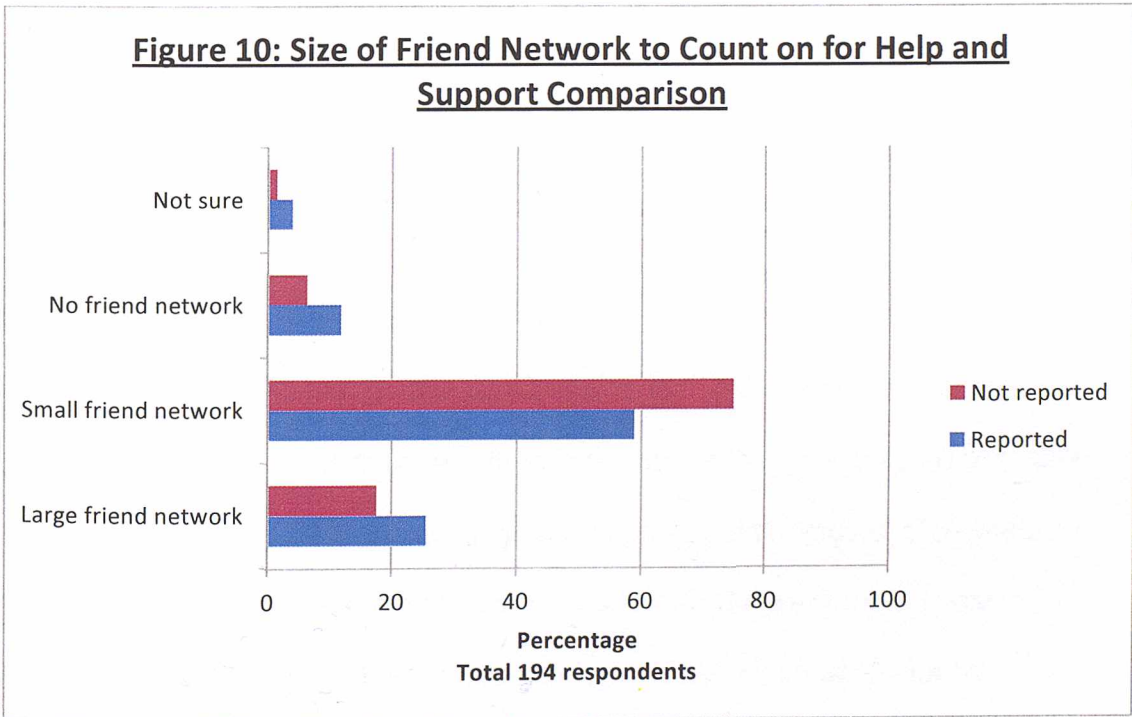
Figure 10 shows there are some differences in the stated size of friend networks and reporting behaviour. Those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour described having a large friend network more often than those who had not reported an incident. In addition, those who had reported an incident also described having no network of friends more often than those who had not reported an incident. While small differences, these are of interest, as it suggests those who have a large friend network and therefore have high bonding social capital, are more likely to report an incident of anti-social behaviour than those who do not. Lin (2002) suggests that strong ties bind people like themselves and are more likely to bring together people for a common purpose. For Benstwood therefore, it may be these strong bonding ties with friends are the result of coming together around anti-social behaviour, and have resulted in those individuals reporting incidents as their common purpose.

Conversely, the small differences between those with no friend network and reporting an incident, may be the result of not having these close relationships with friends who are therefore reporting incidents as they are isolated and have no social support. This explanation would support the findings of Steinmetz (1985) who found that those with fewer social networks were more likely to report a crime. There were no statistically significant relationships found between the size of friendship network and reporting behaviour. This suggests that statistically the strong bonding networks that the residents in the Bentswood

ward have with friends, have little impact on the reporting of anti-social behaviour.

In addition to friend networks, **Figure 11** shows the same comparison as demonstrated in **Figure 10,** but replaces the size of friend network with family network. There are small differences between those who had and had not reported, in particular, those who state they have a large or no family network. This mirrors the results displayed in **Figure 10** and the previous discussion around friend networks. The small differences between those who had and had not reported an incident; support Lin's (2002) assertions about bringing together people for a common purpose. It is possible due to family support an individual is aided and more confident in reporting an incident, confirming previous research by Gourash (1978) and Frieze et. al (1987) who found this to be the case with victims of crime.
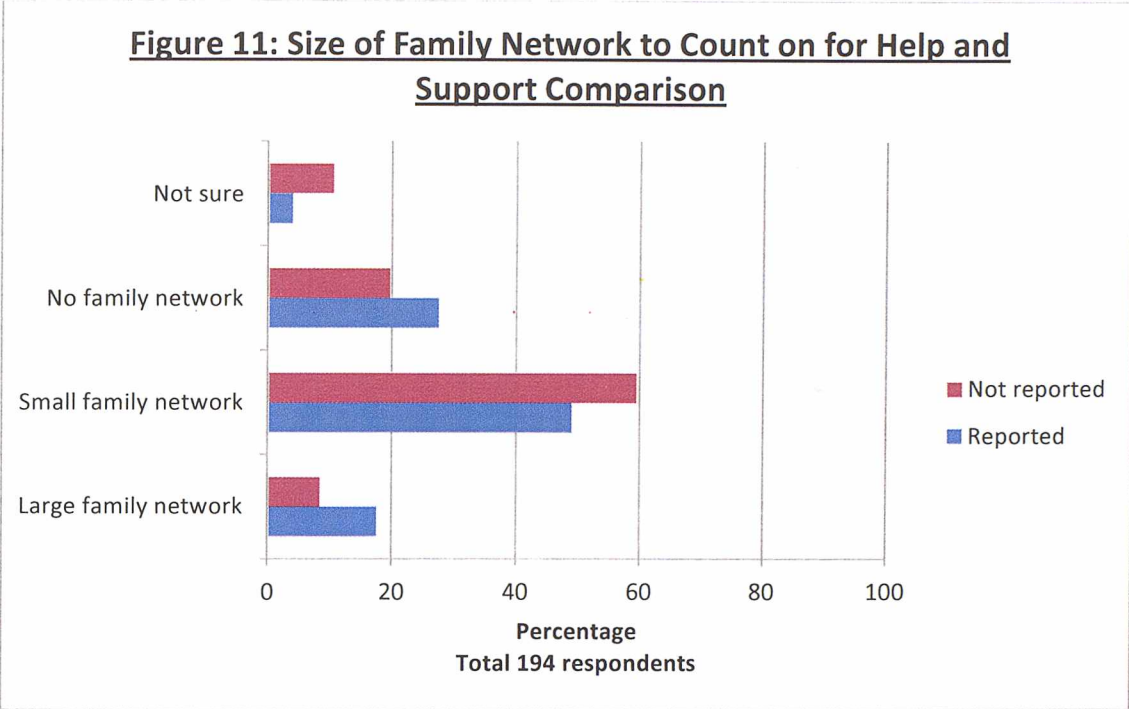
Figure 11: Size of Family Network to Count on for Help and Support Comparison

Percentage
Total 194 respondents

There were no statistically significant relationships found between reporting behaviour and the size of the respondent's family network. Despite the insignificant results for both friend and family network size, it is clear that bonding social capital is relatively high in the Bentswood ward. The interview results, as discussed in chapter five, enhance research conducted by Cutrona and Russell (1990) who found that social support is beneficial to victims of crime, as it acts as a comfort to victims who often feel isolated. Interview quotations demonstrate that victims of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood, also use social support for comfort. The current results do not however reduce the ambiguity around how social support is used for reporting victimisations. Steinmetz (1985) research found that victims with fewer social networks were

more likely to report incidents. The results in **Figure 10** and **Figure 11** show more people had reported an incident that had no network of friends or family, however the same difference can also be seen for those who had large networks of friends and family.

The house to house survey elicited limited details around bonding relationships. The interviews with those who had reported an incident established that there was little difference between those who had and had not reported and the level of bonding social capital, supporting the statistically insignificant result. One interviewee who had reported loud music from a neighbour, talked about having strong relationships with friends and family and that these were supportive and helped her cope. For those who did report, in particular those respondents who lived alone, did talk about those bonding relationships giving them confidence to report them:

> "When I spoke to my family about it they were horrified and said I shouldn't put up with it and encouraged me to tell the housing association. It was quite helpful to hear someone else say it wasn't acceptable actually – sort of made me feel like I needed to do something about it" (Female, 56 – 65, Part-time Employment)

These findings account for the results from the survey that show those who have large networks of friends and family were more likely to have reported an incident than those who had not.

The relatively high levels of bonding social capital, combined with the results in chapter five that those with a disability or long term illness were more likely to have reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, should be highlighted. Based on Cohen's (1972) work on group dominance, it could be that dominant groups within the Bentswood ward, are targeting those they feel do not conform such as those with a disability. Those that are seen as different by the dominant group will therefore, be seen as outsiders and as Erikson's (1966) text described, will be singled out and ostracised by society. Those with a disability or long term illness may be reporting more as they do not fit in with Bentswood's dominant group, and therefore do not fit in with what society expects.

Based on my ethnographic experience, as well as insights from the qualitative interviews, the strongly bonded groups within Bentswood, such as those between long standing family groups and the settled travelling community are likely to create some tensions within the community.

> "Too many neighbours are related to others which is a huge problem around here. They are all too close to each other and seem to believe that they can dominate others in the area, and almost then use it like a threat you will have to answer to my cousin type thing. I'm in the minority for having some respect for others." (Female, 46-55 years, unemployed)

This stay at home parent highlights bonding aspects of social capital. She described how in her opinion her neighbours are very close to each other, indicating bonding social capital and strong ties. She sees these relationships as problematic and described these as dominating. This particular viewpoint supports Lin (2002), that strong ties can bind people together; however, they can also be the basis of harmful interest. This resident indicates that bridging social capital is in her view, not evident. She described being in the minority for having some respect for others and therefore had low perception of bridging social capital.

In chapter five where signals were described it was also clear that some residents were fearful of the 'wider family 'that combined with comments made about initiations when moving to the area, suggest that strong familial bonds in Bentswood are leading to victims of anti-social behaviour feeling that these groups are powerful within the community. Those who had reported incidents as discussed in chapter four and five did discuss within the interviews how they took longer to report the incidents to authorities as they were concerned about the long term consequences of upsetting what would end up being large parts of the community.

These interview discussions are important as they highlight the negative aspect of strong bonding social capital, from the perspective of someone not in these

networks. This links to the work of Becker (1963) and his labelling theory, where social groups make social rules and apply them to others and label them as outsiders if they do not conform. The results from the Bentswood analysis show the potential for certain groups within the ward to dominate, and create rules to which they expect others to abide by. In addition, the study by Hall et al. (1978) around mugging is of interest. Hall et al. found that attitudes towards some whom society felt had no sense of respect or family values, created intergroup conflict and fear. The interview results for the Bentswood ward underline the potential for this social process to take place.

6.2 Bridging Social Capital and Reporting Behaviour

Bridging social capital refers to the bonds between different social groups either between generations, cultures, ethnic or religious groups as well as those between neighbours (Crawford, 2006). These are generally weaker ties than bonding ties and tend to cross cut across different groups of people. Lin (2002) argues that strong ties can be harmful, as they have the potential to develop exclusivity and prohibit certain groups. Crawford (2006) argues that bridging ties are more favourable for tolerance, respect for difference and trust. The survey was designed to examine the level of bridging social capital within the Bentswood ward. Seven survey items were included and as with the previous measures the scores for these items ranged from one, strongly agree, two,

agree, three, neither agree nor disagree, four, disagree and five, strongly disagree. Therefore, the higher the score the less respondents agreed with the statement made for that item.

All but two item statements were rated by respondents to be, on average, in the strongly agree or agree category. The statements that respondents felt less agreement towards included: 'If there is a problem around here people work together to get it solved' and 'I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood'. Those statements that respondents felt more agreement towards included: 'I can trust my neighbours' and 'I care about what my neighbours think about my actions'. **Figure 12** shows the differences in mean scores for each of the bridging social capital items from the survey. Those respondents who had reported an incident were less likely to agree with the statements, therefore, less likely to agree they trusted their neighbours, that people in their neighbourhood got along with one another, felt that they belonged to their neighbourhood, that people got along with one another, families keep their children under control, that people worked together to solve neighbourhood problems and care what their neighbours thought about their actions. In comparison, those who had not experienced or witnessed an incident to report were on average more likely to agree with each of these statements.

Figure 12: Bridging Social Capital Reporting Comparison
(Total 282 respondents)
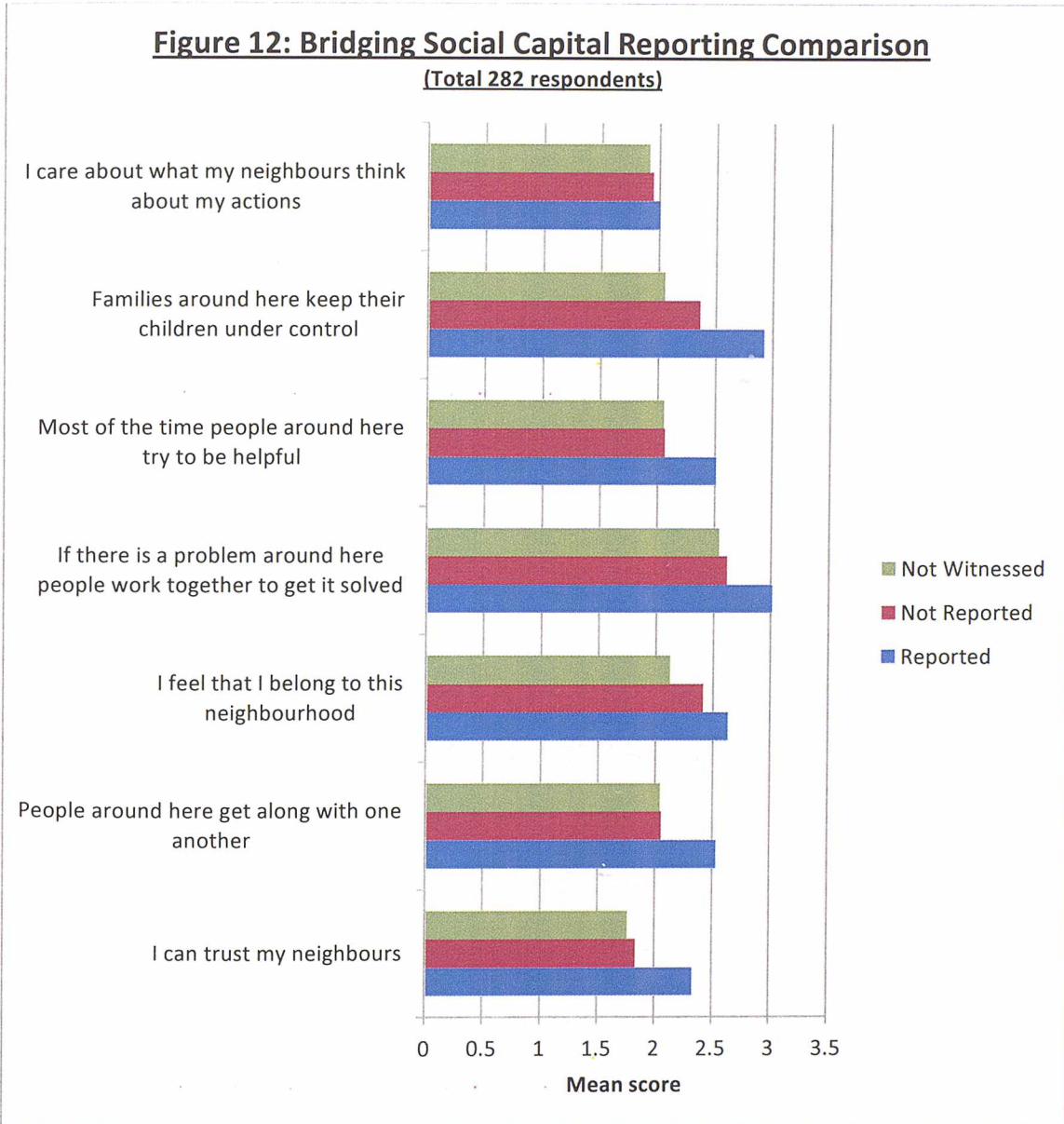
In support of the data presented in **Figure 12** point biserial correlations were calculated to examine the relationship between the bridging social capital measures and reporting behaviour. Highly significant negative relationships were found between have you reported an incident of anti-social behaviour in the last twelve months and the items: 'I can trust my neighbours' (rpb = -.199, p

< .001); 'I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood' (rpb = -.191, p< .001);

'Families around here keep their children under control' (rpb = -.292, p < .001); '

'People around here get along with one another' (rpb = -.185, p < .005) and

'Most of the time people around here try to be helpful' (rpb = -.185, p < .005).

There were further significant negative relationships found between reporting

behaviour and the item 'If there is a problem around here people work together

to get it solved' (rpb = -.158, p < .01); There was no significant relationship found

between reporting behaviour and the item 'I care about what my neighbours

think about my actions'.

These correlations indicate that bridging social capital does have an impact on

reporting behaviour in the Bentswood ward. The direction of the correlation

shows those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour, tend to

disagree more that bridging social capital is evident where they live, compared

to those who had not reported or not witnessed an incident to report. The

findings support Crawford (2006) that bridging social capital is more likely to

develop trust and understanding between groups. Crawford also proposes that

working on bridging ties within communities, is more important than developing

bonding ties to create a more favourable environment for tolerance, respect for

difference and trust. Beyerlein and Hipp (2005) found groups with intensive

bridging social capital are more effective at creating informal social control. The

lower levels of bridging social capital evident in Bentswood, combined with the

results to the survey item 'families around here keep their children under control' where more disagreement was shown, support Beyerlein and Hipp's argument.

In addition to these seven bridging social capital items, two further survey questions asked respondents if they belonged to any community groups or local clubs to examine community participation. The vast majority of survey respondents, 82 per cent, did not belong to a community group. Similarly, for local clubs' membership, 80 per cent of participants were not involved. The differences in community group and club membership between those who had and had not reported an incident are shown in **Figure 13**. There is a small difference between those who had and had not reported an incident and whether they belong to a local club, however, there is a much greater difference between those who had and had not reported and whether they belong to a community group. More people belonged to community groups and local clubs and had reported an incident than had not reported.

Figure 13: Group and Club Membership Reporting Comparison
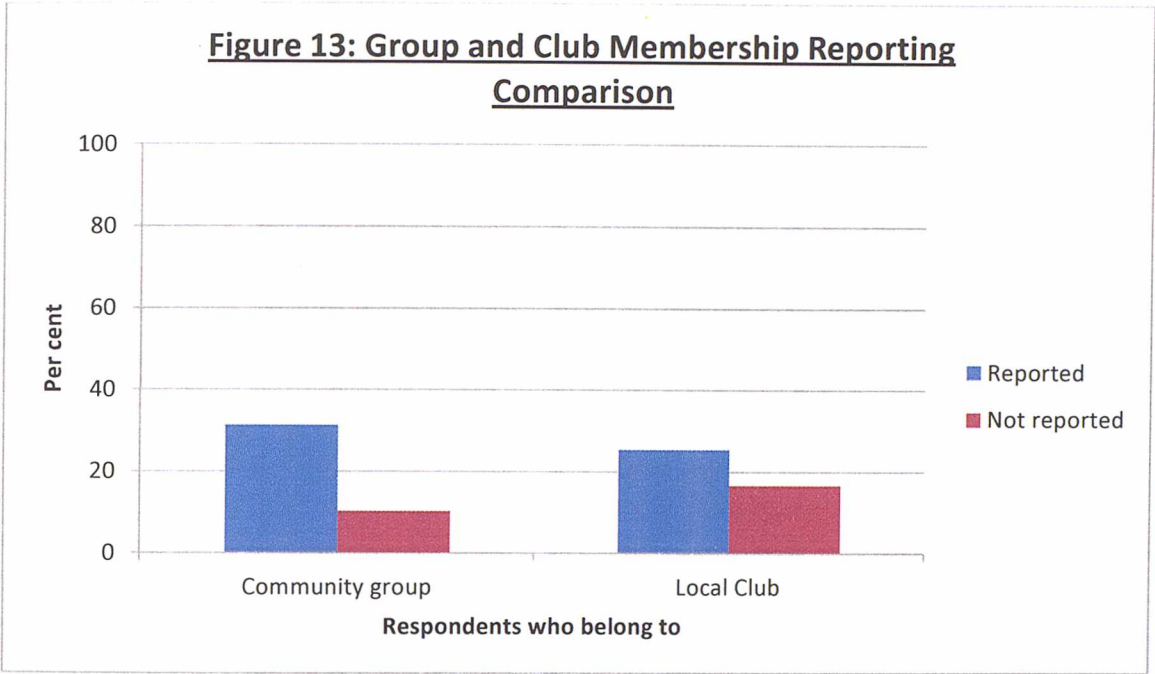
No statistically significant associations were found between whether a respondent belonged to a local club and their reporting behaviour. There was however, a statistically significant association between the reporting of anti-social behaviour and belonging to a community group, X^2 (1) = 12.961, p < 0.01. This indicates those that belong to community groups, are more likely to have reported an incident of anti-social behaviour than those who do not belong to a community group. This association is of interest as it suggests those who have higher bridging social capital in the form of belonging to a community group, are more likely to report an incident of anti-social behaviour than those who do not. This could be the result of those attending community groups having the opportunity to gain information about who to report incidents of anti-social behaviour to from discussion with others. As discussed by Granovetter (1973),

the weak ties evident in bridging social capital relationships can be helpful for people to gain information and opportunity.

The survey did ask what type of community groups they attended however very few completed this section leading to some uncertainty. Further research into this is required as this may help support Granovetter's assertion, especially if these community groups are for example the local neighbourhood police panel group, which would allow people both access to reporting incidents and information on who is best to contact. This finding does not support the notion that those with higher levels of bridging ties are more tolerant, as suggested by Crawford (2006).

In addition to the survey data, the interviews also examined the impact of bridging social capital. Squires (2008) identified bridging social capital as essential for communities in protecting themselves against the effects of anti-social behaviour. Bridging social capital is formed from the connections between people who have less in common but may have some overlapping interest, such as being neighbours or club members (Gilchrist, 2009). Those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour often identified that there were some groups within the area they lived that were very closely linked, as discussed in the previous section on bonding and that community spirit was

good, but they also highlighted there were other groups that they did not see as like themselves:

> "I would say there are a lot of people around here who don't seem to care about themselves, they look a mess and they smell. Don't get me wrong I'm not saying that everyone should be driving around in posh cars or anything, but there is a level of care. It's almost like some people have just given up as they have nothing to live for" (Male, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

> "There are a lot of young families around here that have no comprehension or consideration and respect for neighbours and other people. It's just the way other people are around here" (Female, 46-55 years, part-time employment)

On examination of those who had not reported an incident, the discussions tended to be more positive about the connections that existed within the community, and highlighted that a mixture of different residents (bridging social capital) created a more favourable living environment:

> "There are now quite a few houses in the road that are private so they have different standards, which is good as I think it should be like that." (Female, 26-35 years, at university)

This young mother identified bridging social capital, in the form of a mixture of housing tenure, as beneficial to the community. In particular, she stated there was a positive shift in standards as a result. This view supports Crawford (2006), who identified bridging ties between heterogeneous groups as more likely to

236

develop trust and mutual understanding. The positive benefits of bridging social capital were also highlighted by another interview respondent, who noted that having a mixture of families and generations had allowed people to develop an understanding, as well as an awareness of each other. This also supports Crawford (2006), that outward looking interactive communities may be more favourable for tolerance, trust and respect:

> "There's a real mixture of families and older people which I think is good as it makes the younger generations more aware of the older and vice versa...I also like the community activities that take place as the normal families can mix in with the families that have problems and I think this helps set a standard of behaviour for everyone." (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

The more positive elements of bridging social capital in Bentswood were identified and support Alaimo et al.'s (2010) work on the importance of individual and neighbour participation in neighbourhood activities. Using a community gardening project Alaimo et al. found that participants in the project had more positive perceptions of social capital. In addition these quotations show those who had not responded to a signal by reporting had a different perception of their community than those who had reacted to a signal by reporting. These quotations demonstrate how the mixing of different groups of residents, bridging social capital, brings about changes in behaviour. This supports the statistical data that those with greater trust in their community do not report signals to an

authority underlining the link between the signal crimes perspective and social capital theory and the reporting of anti-social behaviour.

The results of bridging social capital need some clarification using my local knowledge of conflicts between the settled travelling community and long standing residents as discussed previously. Those who had reported an incident or reacted to a signal in Bentswood perceive ties with neighbours to be poor. As those signals the community react to include neighbour noise such as loud music and door slamming, a clear link between the signal crimes perspective and social capital theory is identified. Perceiving ties with neighbours to be poor influences the decision to report signals such as loud music to an authority. The highlighted quotes also confirm that those who react to signals perceive those in their community to be different in some cases physically in terms of appearance (smell and dress) but also in terms of behaviour such as not showing respect for others.

6.3 Linking Social Capital and Reporting Behaviour

Linking social capital refers to the ties that connect people to local service providers and resources such as the police, local authority and housing association. Crawford argues that linking social capital can facilitate social leverage and can provide opportunity and access to information. Three survey

238

items were included to assess the levels of linking social capital with local services. As with the previously mentioned social capital measures, these items ranged from strongly agree, one, to strongly disagree, five. **Figure 14** shows that the levels of general trust follow the other social capital measures, with those who had reported an incident on average having less agreement that local services can be trusted, than those who had not witnessed or experienced an incident to report.

Figure 14: Trust in Local Services Comparison
Total 282 respondents
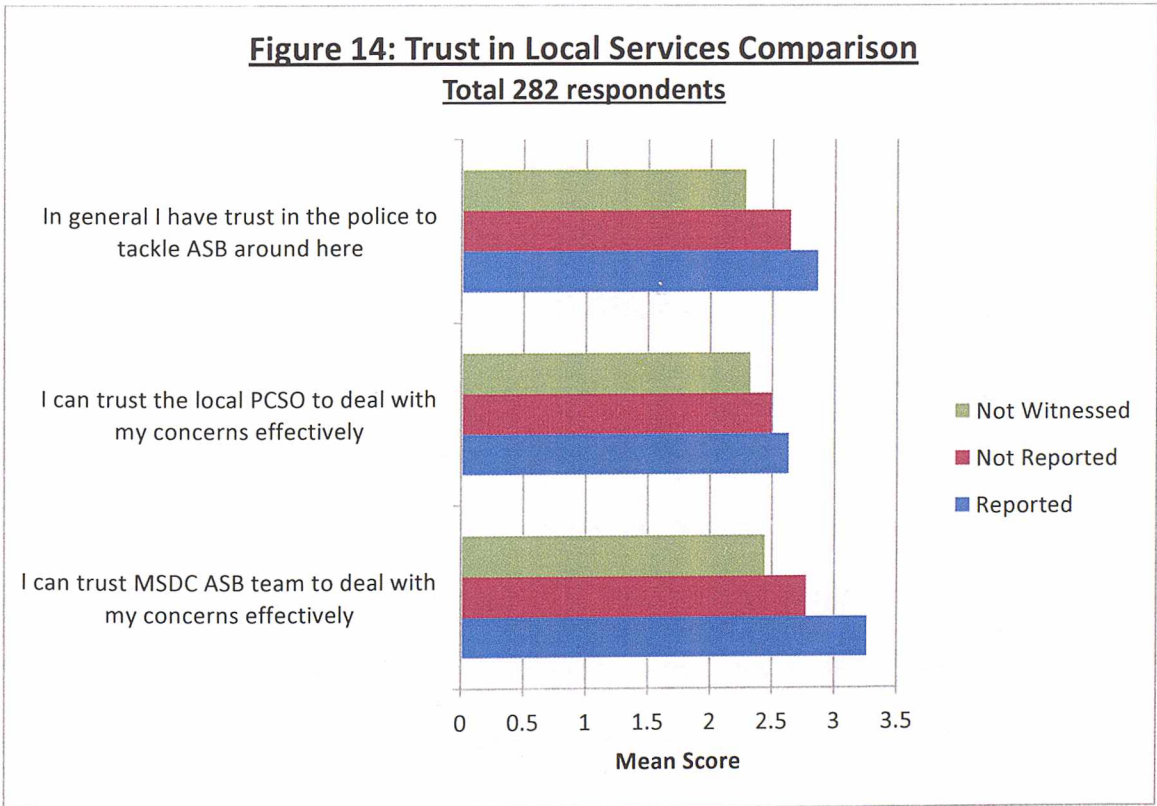
There is very little difference between the level of trust for each of the three services for those who had not experienced or witnessed an incident, compared to varied levels of trust for those who had and had not reported an incident. A highly significant negative relationship was found between reporting behaviour and the item 'In general I have confidence in the police to tackle anti-social behaviour around here' (rpb = -.234, p < .001). Therefore, those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour disagreed more that they have confidence in the police to tackle anti-social behaviour, than those who had not reported or not witnessed an incident.

There was a further significant negative relationship found between reporting behaviour and the item 'I trust the local authority ASB Team to deal with my concerns effectively' (rpb = -.314, p < .01). Therefore, those that had reported an incident disagreed more they could trust the local ASB Team to deal with their concerns effectively. There were no significant relationships found between reporting behaviour and the item 'I can trust my local PCSO to deal with my concerns effectively'. These differences in trust support Thorpe (2009) that those who had not reported an incident in the previous twelve months, were more likely to agree that services were dealing with the issues that matter. This indicates that witnessing or experiencing an incident alters the level of trust an individual has in local services, such as the police or local authority.

Linking social capital was also evident in the interview discussions, with those who had reported an incident often explaining linking social capital in negative terms. The following two quotes highlight how some residents in Bentswood felt that the local housing association was inefficient. The survey did not contain a question relating to the level of trust in the housing association which, given the interview discussions, would have been beneficial and is a limitation of the research design. These residents also mentioned a lack of trust in the housing association that they, and others in the community, had developed as a result:

> "I know that no one has any trust or confidence in the local housing association, as tenancy agreements are not enforced. People get away with basically behaving however they want. I feel the housing officer is not interested in doing anything" (female, 56-65 years, part-time employment)

> "I don't trust the local housing association as we were lied to from the start of moving here. We were told there were no problems with the neighbours which is a joke. My experience of housing officers is they tell you off when you have done something, and then make you do things to make it better. This doesn't seem to be the case here. Some people seem to get away with loads of stuff and the housing association do not enforce the tenancy agreement. This really does need to be sorted, as it just says to people they can do what they like and subject others to misery" (Female, 46-55 years, part-time employment)

Both these residents, one who was a tenant of the housing association and the other not, demonstrate the level of emotion that people had when discussing how let down they felt by local services, in this case the housing association. In addition to the lack of trust and confidence in the local housing association, there was also evidence of poor linking social capital between residents of Benstwood and the local authority as highlighted by the following:

> "I had a very negative experience of the council and would never approach them again as a result of this. I have completely lost any trust that was there" (Female, 36-45 years, part-time employment)

This working mother had contacted the local authority environmental health department, regarding a problem with a neighbour running a business and allowing lead paint to enter her garden. The local authority was unable to pursue the neighbour so ended up having to pay a specialist to remove the lead as it was at a harmful level. She felt that the situation was very badly handled and took so long without a positive result, that if the situation was to arise again she would bypass the local authority and just pay for a specialist.

A second resident, also a working mother, reported an incident of noise nuisance to the environmental health department at the local authority. She felt that the impact the situation was having on her family was not recognised, something the recent Home Office (2012) publication wants to change. She also felt let down, that as her neighbours had sounded reasonable during the local

authority visit, she was written off and just told to get on with it. In her view, how a decision could be made on the basis of this one visit was unfair:

> "I feel that the noise situation was not taken seriously by anyone involved. The impact that had on our lives was not taken seriously. The environmental health team were convinced because the neighbours sounded reasonable, that there was no problem and then just wrote us off" (Female, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

There was evidence that linking social capital was also poor between residents of the Bentswood ward and the local police, although the comments made were less negative than with the other two agencies. One very busy working mother of four, described how her perception was that the police were uninterested as a result of her contact and she felt that this needed to change, as in her view trivial things everyday can become a real problem:

> "The police were completely uninterested...Anything that could be seen as trivial, so by that I mean swearing, minor damage, people outside being abusive, then I wouldn't bother reporting as I know the police would not be interested. I think this is bad though, as all the trivial things build up and then people lose trust in the police as a result. People tell me things that have happened around here all of the time and they have reported things, but nothing has changed so I can see why people don't bother reporting things as there is really no point. It is a shame though as what the police say are trivial and seem not to be bothered with, are a really big issue for people that live with them every day" (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

Another busy working mother also described how the length of time it took for the police to attend after she had called when a neighbour had made physical threats towards her, was frightening and unacceptable. She felt that this experience was likely to make people feel there was no point in contacting the police in future:

> "When we called the police one time it took us over 20 minutes to get through and even then they took ages to get here which makes you think, what is the point in reporting things when this happens? I think that people who do report things and get this response it makes them think what is the point and so don't bother next time" (Female, 46-55 years, part time employment)

Further to this another working mother felt anti-social behaviour was a serious problem, describing a number of occasions where she had seen things she thought needed to be addressed, but felt that nothing ever seemed to change:

> "There is a big drugs problem around here and in the pub, it all seems to come from there. The police have the information on this but nothing seems to be done. I have seen the PCSO with the families and she seems to be laughing with them and you think, I am a law abiding citizen and what support do I get?" (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

This particular resident also highlighted how in her opinion the local police were ineffective and of little help to her. This perception can, as discussed in chapter two, have a real impact on confidence in local authorities such as the police (Myhill, Fildes & Quinton, 2010). For this resident based on her experience her perception of the local police was negative. She also worked in the area explaining during the interview how she often spoke with other local people about her views on the police. This highlights how negative perceptions can spread through communities, even if they have not been directly involved or had any contact with the local police. This finding reinforces the large body of previous evidence showing people who have confidence in the police and partners are more likely to be satisfied with them during encounters (Bradford, 2009; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

The previous chapter discussed the impact of the signal crimes perspective which has been found to be related to linking social capital in Bentswood. Signals such as dog fouling and speeding are impacting on the community but are not reported to authorities. The interviews highlighted that these were not reported as residents feel they would not be take seriously be agencies a clear link between the signal crimes perspective and linking social capital. In addition this identifies the decision to report an incident or signal is influenced by the perception of local authorities.

Ipsos Mori (2010) found communities often state that anti-social behaviour is best tackled through linking partnerships, where community members work alongside agencies. The results of linking social capital in Bentswood show that linkage between services and the communities they serve is poor, which is leading to negative views of those organisations. The findings also support research conducted by Innes and Weston that those who felt anti-social behaviour was a major problem where they lived, also report isolation from services and have lower confidence in them as a result. There is evidence suggesting providing strong links between services and communities has benefits for all involved in the partnership (Dann & Hinchliff, 2009), therefore the current research findings underline the need for linking social capital to be addressed.

6.4 Summary

The high level of bonding social capital evident in Bentswood is positive however, it should also be noted and treated with caution. High levels of bonding social capital can be associated with gang cultures, and there was evidence from the interviews that some residents feel isolated due to strong bonding relationships in particular between the settled travelling community and long standing Bentswood residents.

There is agreement on average, that residents in the Bentswood ward can trust their neighbours. Those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour were in less agreement that they could trust their neighbours, and perceive lower levels of bridging social capital, than those who had not reported and those who had not witnessed or experienced an incident to report. This relationship was statistically significant and confirms that bridging social capital is related to reporting behaviour in Bentswood.

The interview data highlighted some positive examples of bridging social capital by those who had not reported an incident, however many respondents who had reported an incident identified negative aspects of bridging social capital, which supports the survey data and statistically significant results. Those who had responded to a signal by reporting it, perceived neighbours to be more like themselves in terms of values and behaviour, than those who had not reported demonstrating a clear association between the signal crimes perspective and social capital theory.

Those who had not experienced an incident of anti-social behaviour had more confidence and trust in organisations to respond to it. This links with the signal crimes perspective suggesting that incidents or signals do alter trust and confidence for the residents of the Benstwood ward. Those who had reported an incident also had less trust and confidence than those who had not reported an

incident, indicating the level of linking social capital was not as strong as it could be. A limitation of the survey design was that the level of trust in the housing association was not included therefore; a comparison between services is not possible. Interview discussions highlighted aspects of linking social capital that could be improved, and also identified that poor linking social capital influenced the decision to not report an incident.

7. IMPLICATIONS FOR LOCAL PRACTICE, LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The previous three chapters have presented findings and discussion of the main aims of this research project. For these findings to be the most effective, they need to be considered in relation to local practice. This chapter will reflect on what the findings mean for local practice and highlight where changes could be made, to ensure services provide options and opportunities that suit the community. The following chapter will also identify limitations with the research design to allow replication in other areas. Finally, further research opportunities will be identified and discussed.

7.1 Anti-social Behaviour as Everything

The findings in chapter four show residents of the Bentswood ward select a range of issues as anti-social when given a pre-defined list, from the dropping of litter and inconvenient parking, to harassment and drug dealing. Some residents included additional behaviours such as smoking and dog barking when asked if they felt the list was missing anything. To add some context to the lists of behaviours, interview participants were asked to describe what anti-social behaviour was to them. Most interviewees felt it could be anything that was

disrespectful to themselves, or to the community as a whole. This supports large scale research, suggesting anti-social behaviour is defined in broad terms, often with no distinction between incidents that are criminal and anti-social behaviour.

As anti-social behaviour covers such a varied range of behaviours in the minds of the public, local services need to establish what particular issues they are able to address and what they cannot. There was evidence from one interviewee suggesting residents of Bentswood did not understand anti-social behaviour and needed to be informed, so they could make decisions on whether to report issues or not. The same resident described having the information in the form of a leaflet through her door, would have encouraged her to report issues. For local practice this requires a co-ordinated approach between those agencies that have an interest in reducing anti-social behaviour. This will include making decisions on what behaviours can be addressed, setting some guidelines and establishing at what level certain behaviours become unreasonable, for example noise from neighbours. Once established they need to be publicised by local services to the communities they serve, using a variety of media to ensure inclusivity.

The wide variety of behaviours included and the broad descriptions of anything, also present challenges to local service providers in times of economic crisis. Sussex Police have made public they need to make fifty million pounds worth of

savings by 2015, therefore it is likely despite government statements, front line policing will be effected. In addition, other services provided by the local authority and housing association may also be at risk, as efficiency savings are required across the board. As an example it may be in tough economic times, that local authority anti-social behaviour teams decide not to investigate neighbour disputes and instead inform these residents about free local mediation services, rather than trying to carry out mediation themselves which can often be a lengthy process. These decisions will need to be made at a strategic level, but they should not be made in isolation. A consistent approach will ultimately provide service users with the most satisfaction, as highlighted by the current research findings.

On the whole Bentswood residents felt anti-social behaviour was a minor problem, and most believed it had stayed the same over the last year. Very few people felt anti-social behaviour was a fairly big or major problem and similarly small numbers felt it had increased. For local services this is encouraging although, could highlight the need for targeted work in areas where anti-social behaviour has been identified as more of a problem, to resolve these issues and improve local perceptions. There were notable differences in perceptions between those who had and had not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour. These were more defined for those who had reported an incident and felt anti-social behaviour was a major problem. This may present an opportunity to reassure victims at the point of making a report to build confidence in these

services, and therefore in time, alter such perceptions for the better. One interview participant highlighted how this reassurance could be offered:

"I think feedback needs to be given on actions taken, as sometimes that is all that's needed to be reassured even if there's nothing that can be done. It's just nice to hear that they are interested in you and that gives you more confidence to call again next time" (Male, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This level of reassurance would have a time implication for local services, however, does not require any additional financial support as each organisation has staff already working within the community. Changes to call handling procedures may be an option for some services, to ensure from the very first point of contact they are offering reassurance. This is not so easily achieved locally and would require regional changes, in the case of the police and housing association. Less ambitious and of local importance, could be the training of frontline staff in providing reassurance to victims which could be designed for multiple services to avoid duplication and enable consistency.

The results of this thesis identified the majority of incidents that were experienced by residents in Bentswood, were on the surface relatively low level such as dog fouling and the dropping of litter. Very few residents had experienced more serious incidents such as intimidation or harassment. This is a positive finding as it shows serious incidents are uncommon. However, with

nearly half of residents experiencing dog fouling and littering these are the issues that will be most noticeable to more of the community, and therefore more likely to be impacting on daily routine and quality of life. Wood (2004) found a strong association between the frequency of experience and the impact on quality of life, in support of this proposition.

Several residents highlighted changing their routes home or not allowing their children to play outside as a result of these relatively low level issues. Further comments were made about how 'trivial' matters do after a while, build up, and have a large effect on their lives especially if they occur every day. Myhill, Fildes and Quinton (2010) identified that targeting the issues that affect the majority, may alter public perceptions and increase confidence in local services (Tuffin et al. 2006; Myhill & Beak, 2008; Jackson and Bradford, 2009). As a result local services could target these noticeable problems and publicise their successes, as it is likely this will alter perceptions for the majority in the Bentswood ward. As one resident said:

> "I think if we had some sort of community newsletter that told us about the good work that's going on, I would read this and have confidence to tell people about the issues around here and I would feel like things were getting better" (Male, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

7.2 Encouraging Reporting

The results from the survey demonstrate for the Bentswood ward, three quarters of anti-social behaviour incidents go unreported. This is important as it shows official figures compiled by local services are not going to be representative of what is actually occurring. Care should therefore be taken when allocating resources. In the absence of high levels of reporting, there is the temptation for service providers to assume there are no areas of concern, and allocate resources to other issues that are generating higher numbers of calls such as town centre shoplifting. The high level of under reporting is likely to be reflected in other areas within the Mid Sussex District, as well as nationally demonstrated in large scale research.

Actively increasing reporting behaviour for services such as the police can be in some cases counterproductive, in a performance driven culture that aims to keep crime statistics low. This presents a wider issue and one that is not easily overcome however, the removal of some performance indicators recently by central government may help to address some of these issues. Local services will need to jointly decide the message they wish to portray to the communities they serve and provide a consistent approach. Some residents, in particular those who worked and led particularly busy family lives, indicated advertising

what help was available and dedicated to anti-social behaviour would have helped:

> "If there was an easy to remember number dedicated to anti-social behaviour that you could call for everything like this, that would be useful" (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employment)

> "Maybe having a leaflet trough the door saying this is what we have done in your area recently would be good, and with numbers that you could keep to call the right people. You could do this just once a year as I know things cost" (Female, 36-45 years, full-time employed)

The introduction of performance websites such as the National Crime Maps may also have an effect on encouraging people to report incidents. For some it may have negative effects on the future sale of their home. For those in rented or housing association properties it also may inhibit exchanging properties, as well as increase costs associated with home and car insurance. These types of barriers are not easy to defeat and will in most cases be apparent throughout the Mid Sussex District, regionally and nationally. Local services need to be mindful of these barriers and future research may also be interested in looking at how the introduction of such websites has affected the reporting practices of local communities.

The results from the survey indicated the majority of residents who had reported an incident were satisfied with the contact from the service that they had approached, however a large proportion had also indicated they were not. A limitation of the research design included not being able to establish where the dissatisfaction or satisfaction lay, as some respondents had reported to multiple agencies. This may have led to a large proportion of unsure responses. In addition, this question did not allow any elaboration into the reasoning behind this satisfaction or dissatisfaction, although some interview responses did provide context. This could be an area for further research to establish why residents are feeling dissatisfied with reporting incidents.

The findings highlighted for those who had chosen to report an incident, the decision had been made for the majority, on the seriousness of the incident and the prolonged in most cases, impact it was having on their lives. This is important for local services, as those that do make the decision to come forward to report an issue, are likely to have reached the threshold of tolerance as discussed by Hancock and Matthews (2002). They are also likely to be experiencing, in some cases, a range of emotional or physical effects as a result. At the point of contact local services need to be sensitive to the needs of the victim, and recognise the situation is likely to be having a significant impact on the lives of that individual, and their family if applicable. As highlighted by this working mother local services, in this case the local authority, need to take the issue seriously:

"I feel the noise situation was not taken seriously by anyone involved. The impact that it had on our lives was not taken seriously. The environmental health team were convinced because the neighbours sounded reasonable there was no problem and then just wrote us off" (Female, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

Those residents who had not reported an incident most frequently cited they had just accepted it, which complements the previous discussion that reported incidents are likely to be having a significant impact on the victim. This underlines the need for local services to recognise such incidents when reported as they are more likely to be those seriously impacting on the victim. Ipsos Mori (2010) conducted focus groups which highlighted those reporting had done so, due to the real effect they were having on their lives. This suggests a need for recognition across the Mid Sussex area and perhaps nationally, that those who do report are on the majority of occasions, likely to be really suffering. This reinforces the importance of positive first contact with local services.

Other residents believed reporting an incident would have been a waste of time and felt the authorities would not be interested, a clear link between reporting behaviour and linking social capital. The interviews highlighted how local services function had influenced their decision not to report an incident. In particular, there was some negativity around the local housing association and

perception that tenancy agreements were not enforced, with issues not tackled effectively:

> "My experience of housing officers is they tell you off when you have done something, and then make you do things to make it better. This doesn't seem to be the case here. Some people seem to get away with loads of stuff and the housing association do not enforce the tenancy agreement. This really does need to be sorted, as it just says to people they can do what they like and subject others to misery" (Female, 46-55 years, part-time employment)

This perception was evident in several interview transcripts, indicating the local housing association should take this into consideration. It is likely publicity around the good work done by the local housing association in tackling anti-social behaviour, would help improve this perception. Such a finding also underlines the need for all local services to be mindful of the perception inaction has on reporting an incident, and may affect future reporting behaviour. Combined with the finding that many residents speak with friends and family about their reporting experiences, local services need to ensure contact with residents is positive from the start and follow up is made. This will help residents taking the time to come forward feel they have been taken seriously, and reduce the likelihood of whole communities loosing trust in those services.

Another significant finding surrounds those who felt they had a disability or long term illness who were more likely to report an incident than those who do not. In light of high profile cases such Fiona Pilkington in 2007 (IPCC, 2009), this stresses the need for local services to ensure they have robust assessment practices to ensure the most vulnerable in society are protected. This is not just a local concern but should be built into service provision from all sectors and in all areas. Sussex Police were selected in 2010 as a pilot area for the implementation of a vulnerable adult risk assessment. This risk assessment is carried out at the point of first contact with all callers to the organisation and is then followed up by a local community officer, with a more thorough assessment if initial responses highlight concerns. This has now been adopted as force practice with a view to ensuring all partner agencies use the same system in future. The findings from this project highlight the importance for such a system to be implemented in all services as soon as possible.

The high numbers of residents with a disability or long term illness reporting, could show that in Bentswood local services have been successful in identifying those vulnerable members of the community through these assessments. It was noted in some interviews the Bentswood ward does have a particularly dedicated Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), who may have the local knowledge to ensure this confidence is built with the most vulnerable. As this is an assumption further research into this would be of benefit to establish the causes of this, as it may be applicable to encouraging reporting behaviour in the

wider community. This may also add some supporting evidence to the evaluation of the use of the vulnerable adult risk assessment process.

A further explanation to the higher numbers of those with a disability or long term illness reporting incidents surrounds mental health. As the type of disability is not identified, it is possible some of these individuals have mental health issues which may influence their reporting behaviour. I know locally there are some residents who persistently contact the police and local authority, due to gaps in local mental health provision. These agencies therefore, have to provide support in alternative ways such as through constant reassurance and education around what behaviours are appropriate to be reporting. Further research into this area and the impact mental health has on the reporting of anti-social behaviour is required. In particular how much time authorities spend working with those who may not be receiving the support they require from other services such as health.

Additionally the increased number of calls from those with a disability or long term illness could also be a result of the social processes within Bentswood. Research by MIND (2007) identified those with additional needs tend to be victimised more than those without. The current findings support this. This also requires consideration of Erikson's (1966) work which demonstrated how strong bonded groups can ostracise certain groups within society. In Erickson's work

this led to severe consequences for those minority groups such as branding. In the case of Bentswood those with a disability or long term illness may be on the receiving end of this majority group dominance, as they do not fit in with what society expects.

Linking with bonding social capital, it has been noted there are very strong bonded familial groups, such as the settled travelling community, within the Bentswood ward that many residents perceive to have power over others within the community. These strongly bonded groups could therefore be perceived by those with additional needs as being anti-social and therefore reporting more. Further research into the role these group processes may play in local communities such as Bentswod would be of interest, in particular how these relate to the reporting of crime and anti-social behaviour.

7.3 Signal Control

Survey respondents were asked to select from a list what behaviours they had experienced locally, with many selecting multiple issues. This made it difficult to determine which of the selected list had led to this increased feeling of fear. It would have been more useful to ask participants to identify which of the selected behaviours they were thinking about when answering the questions around fear

and safety. Despite this the types of signals identified through the interviews were wide ranging and included mugging, noise nuisance from neighbours and damage to their property. This does establish a baseline; however with small numbers of participants it did not allow any substantial discussion. Additional research is required for local services to establish exactly what signals the community are responding to before any definitive changes to policy can be made, however with nearly half experiencing dog fouling and litter it is likely that focusing on these types of signals would impact on the community the most.

Those who had reported an incident were more concerned for their safety which is of interest to local services. It is to be expected given the previous discussion around the substantial effects incidents had on victims, that those already suffering emotionally and physically will have a heightened sense of fear. An alternative explanation to the relationship between reporting an incident and the impact it has on safety, could be that agencies are not responding effectively or providing appropriate reassurance to victims. This also links with the findings around perception discussed earlier in the chapter. There is some evidence this could be the case:

> "It's just nice to hear that they are interested in you and that gives you more confidence to call again next time" (Male, 46-55 years, full-time employment)

This is an opportunity for local services to ensure they are providing effective reassurance when reports are received. It may be beneficial for further research to be carried out with respondents, to identify if they feel more could be done at the point of contact to reassure them. It is clear victims are going to already be vulnerable at the point of reporting, and local services could be doing more to signpost individuals for help with wellbeing. A recent change to the structure of National Health provision has seen the introduction of Health and Wellbeing Services within many local authorities, including Mid Sussex. These services may wish to consider commissioning projects specifically to support the wellbeing of victims of anti-social behaviour. Another option is the use of victim support services. Victim Support in Mid Sussex currently only work with victims of crime. However, the findings underline the need for services to be extended in the area to cover victims of anti-social behaviour, as they suggest the emotional and physical effects are just as serious as those for victims of crime.

Many victims in Bentswood had changed an element of their routine or behaviour to counteract the effects of anti-social behaviour. The findings indicate the change in routine and behaviour is evident for both those who had and had not reported an incident, presenting more of a challenge to local services. Whilst identifying those who had reported is possible, local services are unlikely to identify those who had not reported an incident. However, the information gained is of importance as for example, if a particular road becomes associated with a certain type of anti-social behaviour, this may lead to a number of other

residents avoiding that location and could create community tensions or 'no go' areas over time. This is especially relevant if those reporting do not feel their concerns are being addressed effectively.

Some of the barriers to reporting an incident to local services were identified in previous chapters. These barriers need to be noted by providers to ensure they are offering a service reflecting the needs of the community. If confidence is improved it is likely to have a positive effect on the number of residents who feel reporting an incident is worthwhile. They are more likely to believe action will be carried out and that local services are interested. Some residents highlighted that the method of reporting for example, by telephone or email, was a problem. They felt that face to face contact was more personable:

> "I think if there was a day a week when you could pop and see your local housing officer and police officer that would be good, as I could just have a chat rather than ring someone. I would prefer to do this really" (Female, 36-45 years, part-time employment)

7.4 Too Close for Comfort

Bonding social capital is relatively high in the Bentswood ward. This indicates there are strong bonds between friends and family, with most people having some level of this support available to them. Many respondents had discussed

anti-social behaviour matters with friends and family, using them for emotional support and as a coping mechanism for what they had experienced. This is of interest to local services as it highlights that those who live alone and have limited family or friend support, are likely to need more emotional support than those who have strong bonding ties. Therefore, when individuals make contact with local services regarding anti-social behaviour, establishing the level of friend and family support is necessary to ensure victims are supported, and the effects of the victimisation are limited. If support is limited services could signpost to support services.

The high level of bonding social capital is positive for local service provision, although it should also be treated with caution. With Lin (2002) arguing strong bonding social capital can be harmful for communities, local services need to be mindful these relationships may in some cases create, a gang culture and isolate members of the community creating community tensions. The work by Cohen (1972) suggested something done by an out group can be condemned by in group dominance as it embarrasses and threatens the norms of the group, blurring the boundaries and creating what he termed 'folk devils'. This reinforces the danger strong bonding social capital presents for those who do not conform to the dominant groups ideals. The high level of bonding social capital also links to Becker's (1963) labelling theory in which social groups make social rules applying them to others and labelling those who do not conform as outsiders.

The previously mentioned work of Erickson (1966), where the dominant group singles out those in the minority with serious consequences is also relevant.

Comments made by participants during the interview discussions indicate some residents do feel isolated by certain groups within the Benstwood community, in particular settled travelling family groups, and have felt intimidated and threatened by these ties. Local services working in the community such as Police Community Support Officer's, Anti-social Behaviour Co-ordinators and Housing Officers need to be made aware of the possible effects such harmful relationships can have on community members. The negative aspect of bonding social capital is of particular interest for anti-social behaviour sanctions, where evidence is required for action to be taken. It is likely the strong bonds that exist may result in situations where persistent anti-social behaviour may continue. If only those outside the group (non-familial relations) contact authorities but are in the minority, the situation will be perceived as a lifestyle clash or less serious as a result. It is also likely that evidence will be limited as very few people will come forward reducing the likelihood of obtaining legal sanctions. Local services may need to consider training staff to ensure they are aware of these possible relationships within communities.

7.5 Bridging the Gap

In the Bentswood ward those who had reported an incident were more likely to perceive lower levels of bridging social capital. Previous research identified bridging capital as important for developing trust and tolerance within communities, therefore local services should have an interest in facilitating bridging ties within the community. Many respondents who had reported an incident, highlighted negative aspects about relationships with neighbours, feeling disconnected from them and commenting they were unlike themselves. For local practice this presents a problem for the allocation of housing. Many of those who identified their neighbours as the source of their anti-social behaviour problem, perceived themselves to have greater respect for themselves as well as the community. They mostly disagreed that their neighbours had any respect and felt that their culture in the case of the settled travelling community, did not allow them to effectively live side by side. This thesis is not advocating segregation for certain cultures however is highlighting how these differences can in some cases have a huge impact on the quality of life for many.

Those who had not reported an incident talked about more positive aspects of their community; such as the mixing of housing tenure and generations. Local services need to be aware that creating ties within the community between different generations and social backgrounds, could improve tolerance and

levels of trust. Therefore working with the different community groups to find a solution so that diverse communities can live together is required, a clear association with linking social capital that will be discussed later in this chapter. Activities provided within the community were highlighted as an effective way of bringing together all residents who would not normally mix. It is recognised however, that in tough economic times providing these types of activities is going to be more difficult.

The Bentswood area does have a community café run by the local church allowing residents to use facilities such as the internet. There is no community building in the area that is seen as independent from religion, which for some people is likely to be a limiting factor. A community centre may encourage residents to use the facilities and therefore develop bridging ties with other residents. This centre could be used to provide the activities that were highlighted by some, to be positive in developing community relationships. A community centre would allow a central point for activities to be co-ordinated such as sporting events, community fun days or community gardens as those proposed by Alaimo et al (2010).

A community centre could also provide practical help to local residents around parenting and may influence anti-social behaviour within the community. Such an approach would reflect the governments' current drive towards targeting what

they term 'troubled families'. In addition it could offer support to families from different groups such as the long standing family groups and settled travelling community on what is expected of community life within the Bentswood ward to promote what bridging ties are in existence. This would be an expensive option although, may prove to be a valuable resource in developing bridging social capital and arm the community with the skills to make positive changes for the future.

The findings around bridging social capital again present local services with an opportunity to build resilience within communities, against the effects of anti-social behaviour, by developing an understanding and level of tolerance to respect others. Squires (2008) argued communities need to develop bridging social capital in order to respond to anti-social behaviour. The responses from the residents of the Bentswood ward support this. Local services will face a challenge in developing bridging ties within a community that has demonstrated strong bonding ties, however there are initiatives and schemes that could help in bringing about a change in this direction. The use of community neighbourhood watch schemes, for example, could be encouraged in the area as they are likely to bring together those from a mix of housing tenure and social backgrounds. Other initiatives such as community tidy up days could be instigated as a step towards developing bridging ties, as one resident commented:

"I think if the general area was made to look nicer it would be more appealing. When there's a mess around this encourages others to do the same" (Female, 26-35 years, at university)

The use of neighbourhood agreements could be considered as they bring together areas of the community, however if these agreements are broken it is likely any trust that has developed may be effected. More recently the use of community advocates or champions has been proposed by government. This could be a chance for the Bentswood ward to pilot such a scheme to see whether bridging ties could be developed from within the community, rather than local services trying to do this from the outside. Given the previous discussion around bonding ties, community advocates would need to be representative of the whole community, rather than from a particular group already in existence within Bentswood.

This suggestion needs to consider the discussions by Bourdieu (1986), who believed social capital was a source of privilege that benefited high society, and had little relevance for other sections of society except to exclude them from opportunities for development. Hall's (2000) work on social capital in Britain suggests there is a class factor, with middle class people more likely to be members of voluntary associations, while working class households enjoy higher levels of informal sociability. Any community advocacy therefore may require some acknowledgement of the potential class divisions within the Bentswood

ward. Based on Bourdieu's (1984) work it is likely the social distribution within Bentswood, means that those who belong to the same social group and occupy the same position in social space will share the same tastes. As a result these divisions, which have been built up over generations, will mean that any policy changes to encourage reporting behaviour or the mixing of communities may be a challenge. The current research thesis did not examine class factors therefore this could be an area for further development.

One of the main limitations of this research surrounds the limited number of respondents from particular ethnic groups and age ranges, which restricted the level of analysis that could be carried out. The majority of the research design surrounded the use of categorical data, automatically limiting the range of statistical power that was confounded by very small numbers within certain groups. To more effectively examine bridging capital, as well as a number of other factors within this research project, either a larger sample is required or the selection of a more diverse area. One problem with diversity within the district of Mid Sussex, is that it is a predominantly white middle class area within the commuter belt for London. Therefore the level of diversity is particularly poor in all areas. This may explain some respondents' perceptions of bridging social capital, as those who do not fit this type are automatically different and perhaps seen as a problem. This would be an interesting area of future research to ascertain whether there are differences between areas with more and less diversity.

7.6 Providing Links

The findings in relation to linking social capital could be argued as the most important for local practice. The results indicate those who had reported an incident had less trust and confidence in local services. The discussions with residents at the interview stage, showed the importance of local services taking victims concerns seriously, and victims being able to see actions. A co-ordinated approach is needed to ensure victims do feel their concerns are being taken seriously by all service providers. This may require partnership training to ensure all agencies that come into contact with victims, follow a similar process so victims are considered at the centre of any investigation. This supports recent government guidance (Home Office, 2012) of a victim centred approach to anti-social behaviour, ensuring service providers do consider and understand the impact of anti-social behaviour on victims' lives.

The interviews showed many residents felt they needed to see actions carried out as a result of their effort to report. In particular, several spoke about how the local housing association were considered to be ineffective in managing and enforcing their tenancy agreements. This had led to limited trust in the association and had also, in their view, made the situation worse and the impact on their own lives greater. This view was held by both private home owners and those who lived in housing association managed properties, which is of interest and shows this view is not a reflection of a tenure problem. For local practice it

may be useful for the housing association and other partners to provide information to residents of Benstwood about what actions have been carried out in relation to anti-social behaviour. This is something residents did suggest:

> "I think having a leaflet to tell you what sort of things you can report and to who is a good idea, and would help remind you that you are able to do something about things if you want to. It would also be good to hear about the success stories and would give you confidence to report things" (Female, 26-35 years, at university)

Creating the opportunity for residents to have their say and have the confidence to approach local agencies about anti-social behaviour, is another aspect local services should be interested in developing. If training is provided to local services on a victim centred approach, the next step is to ensure the community has access and opportunity to report their concerns. The survey data emphasized some residents were unaware the Bentswood ward has a dedicated Police Community Support Officer (PCSO). Many more did not know the local authority provided a service to support victims of anti-social behaviour. The police and local authority therefore have the opportunity for a targeted campaign in the Benstwood ward, to provide residents with information on who to contact and what they can expect if they do. It is likely other areas within the Mid Sussex District would also benefit from an awareness campaign of this nature.

The influence of linking social capital on the signal crimes perspective also needs to be highlighted for local practice. Many signals such as dog fouling, speeding and damage to property are not reported to an authority as the community perceive authorities to not be interested in acts such as these. As a result, a large number of anti-social behaviour incidents that have a real impact on the community go unreported. The signal crimes perspective which led to the National Reassurance Policing Programme advocates targeting those issues that matter to communities will increase confidence in authorities. Local services need to therefore ensure they identify what the issues of concern to the community are before starting to address links with the community, as this is likely to fundamentally be influenced by the perception of key signals.

A recent White Paper on anti-social behaviour allows the police, local authority and housing association to capitalise on developing elements of linking social capital. This guidance suggests anti-social behaviour would be best tackled using a much smaller number of sanctions, which should be easier to obtain and less bureaucratic. This paper announced the abolition of Anti-social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) with the replacement Criminal Behaviour Orders amongst other measures, such as injunctions, that have the potential for resolving some of the issues that communities currently do not feel supported with. Once these new powers are available local services have the chance to build confidence within communities by promoting what is available to protect them. These will need to include publicity around successes and the promotion of community advocates if

these are available, as well as highlighting community schemes such as neighbourhood watch. The new powers also include the debated 'community trigger' that will allow residents to force agencies to take action if they have persistently complained and seen none. Whilst these schemes will allow links between communities and services to develop, it does open the system towards abuse particularly by eccentric and vexatious complainants.

7.7 Summary

As anti-social behaviour covers such a varied range of behaviours in the minds of the public, local services will need to make decisions on what behaviours can be addressed. Once established they need to be publicised by local services to the communities they serve. There were notable differences in perceptions between those who had and had not reported an incident of anti-social behaviour. At the point of contact local services need to be sensitive to the needs of the victim, and recognise the situation is likely to be having a significant impact on the lives of that individual, and their family if applicable. This reinforces the importance of positive first contact with local services.

With nearly half of residents experiencing dog fouling and littering these are the issues that will be most noticeable to more of the community, and therefore

more likely to be impacting on daily routine and quality of life. Local services could target these noticeable problems and publicise their successes, as it is likely this will alter perceptions for the majority in Bentswood. Local services need to be mindful of the perception inaction has on reporting an incident, and that it may affect future reporting behaviour.

Another significant is that those who felt they had a disability or long term illness were more likely to report an incident. In light of high profile cases such Fiona Pilkington in 2007 (IPCC, 2009), this stresses the need for local services to ensure they have robust assessment practices to ensure the most vulnerable in society are protected. Further research into the role group processes may play in local communities such as Bentswod would be of interest, in particular how these relate to the reporting of crime and anti-social behaviour.

The types of signals identified through the interviews were wide ranging and included mugging, noise nuisance from neighbours and damage to their property. Those who had reported an incident were more concerned for their safety which is an opportunity for local services to ensure they are providing effective reassurance when reports are received. These services may wish to consider commissioning projects specifically to support the wellbeing of victims of anti-social behaviour. Another option is the use of victim support services.

Bonding social capital is relatively high in the Bentswood ward. Local services need to be mindful these relationships may in some cases create a gang culture and isolate members of the community creating community tensions. Comments made by participants during the interview discussions indicate some residents do feel isolated by family groups in the community, and had felt intimidated and threatened by these ties.

Local services need to be aware that creating ties within the community between different generations and social backgrounds, could improve tolerance and levels of trust. Activities provided within the community were highlighted as an effective way of bringing together all residents who would not normally mix. It is recognised however, that in tough economic times providing these types of activities is going to be more difficult.

8. CONCLUSION

The previous chapter examined the research findings and what implications they may have on local practice, highlighting where limitations existed, and discussing opportunities for further research. This final chapter presents a brief summary and conclusion of the main findings including the wide ranging local understanding of the term anti-social behaviour, the implications and their significance. Chapter two presents discussion on the use of centralised Home Office Policy that was based on the notion that anti-social behaviour was easy to define, and categorising it allowed a uniformed approach in identifying the extent of the problem and producing targets for reduction. However, locally driven research such as that by Innes (2004) and the signal crimes perspective, has suggested a centralised approach is not effective in the definition and management of anti-social behaviour. Innes and Weston (2010) promote the use of local level research to identify the anti-social behaviour issues that matter to communities. Further, this thesis brings together social capital theory within this locally driven approach, to understand the reporting of anti-social behaviour in an area of relative deprivation.

Recent Home Office (2012) guidance suggested that anti-social behaviour is a local problem that will be different in each and every community. The importance of local level research when investigating anti-social behaviour was identified by

Innes (2004), who advocates that in order to address anti-social behaviour effectively, locally driven research is required to establish what behaviours are effecting communities the most. Based on my interest in the reporting of anti-social behaviour and a review of the literature on the subject, the main aim of this research thesis was to explore the local perceptions, experience and reporting behaviour of people in a small urban location, and establish whether signal crimes and social capital play an important role in this.

The main research question was divided into five areas. The first of these was to investigate understanding of the term anti-social behaviour in the given area and relate this to previous research findings. Providing a profile of the reporting and perception of anti-social behaviour in the chosen location was the second aim. Thirdly, an examination of what social factors may influence the reporting of anti-social behaviour in the selected area was proposed. The influence of the signal crimes perspective (Innes, 2004) and elements of social capital theory (bonding, bridging and linking) were identified as the fourth aim of this research thesis. The final aim was to make recommendations and suggestions for further development and the application of findings to current practice.

The selected area for this research thesis was Bentswood, a small urban location within the district of Mid Sussex. Bentswood was chosen based on social composition, in particular its higher score on the child poverty indices and

the mix of housing tenure. Using the survey, understanding of the term anti-social behaviour identified a range of behaviours that Bentswood residents deemed anti-social. These behaviours included those that are clearly criminal such as damage to private or public property, as well as other behaviours, such as shouting and noise from neighbours. The interview data augmented the survey and demonstrated that for most, anti-social behaviour could be anything that impacted on their lives or showed a lack of respect for themselves or the community.

The understanding of the term in Bentswood, supports previous research conducted by Ipsos Mori (2010), that anti-social behaviour is often defined in broad terms and covers a range of behaviours. Supporting this further, there was no clear distinction made between incidents of anti-social behaviour and crime. Interview respondents referred to drug dealing and racially motivated graffiti, both criminal in nature. Further to this, chapter four showed the majority of survey respondents felt that damage to public property was anti-social behaviour, another clearly criminal matter. This lack of distinction in Bentswood between crime and anti-social behaviour confirms the findings produced by Millie et al. (2005). Centrally imposed definitions are unlikely to cater for all behaviours that the public feel are anti-social, in particular some of the issues identified through this thesis such as smoking clearly an individual opinion, school parking which is only relevant if you live close to a school or have school

age children and bonfires that are not a problem if you live in a high rise block, despite these greatly effecting daily living in some cases.

The implications of these findings for local practice include the need to establish local guidance on what anti-social behaviour issues local services feel they can address, given the broad range it encompasses. This will require publicising local guidelines at what level noise nuisance, for example becomes a problem. All services with an interest in anti-social behaviour reduction will need to adopt these to ensure consistency. Such a process would benefit other areas of the district, although given the differences in tolerance it is likely there will need to be some variation, so a uniform approach would not be appropriate. This highlights a centrally imposed approach to the definition and management of anti-social behaviour would be ineffective, and should therefore be considered by central government. This thesis confirms recent guidance that a very local level approach is the most appropriate and supports previous research such as Innes and Weston (2010) where participants varied greatly in their perceptions of anti-social behaviour.

In identifying a reporting profile for the Bentswood ward including perceptions and experiences, the survey data showed the majority of residents felt anti-social behaviour was a minor problem which had stayed the same over the previous twelve months. Although not statistically significant, those who had not

reported an incident were more likely to say anti-social behaviour was a minor problem. The interviews highlighted some of the context around these perceptions. Those who felt anti-social behaviour was a serious problem described the impact the persistent loud music and drunken behaviour was having on their lives. Other interviewees felt anti-social behaviour was a minor problem and identified issues such as dog fouling and litter that whilst had an impact, were not relentless. On this theme very few Bentswood residents had experienced serious incidents of anti-social behaviour, however nearly half had experienced the dropping of litter and dog fouling. The detail shown in chapter five from the interviews, found that residents had experienced different types of signals, such as noise from neighbours and drug dealing, and also showed the consequences to their wellbeing.

The survey established that nearly three quarters of anti-social behaviour goes unreported in the Bentswood ward. The few reported incidents were usually reported to the police rather than the local authority or housing association. Reported incidents are those that are particularly distressing or upsetting to the victim or witness. The survey asked respondents to identify if they had reported anti-social behaviour incidents to anyone other than an official authority. Most had not, although for those who did, they chose to report the issues to friends and family. Interview discussions established that this was as a coping mechanism to help deal with the victimisation. The interviews reinforced the survey findings showing how these incidents were having a huge impact on their

daily living. Chapters four and five discussed this impact on quality of life in detail, and refers to residents not being able to study and complete exams as a result of noise nuisance, as well as not being able to use their own garden or feel safe in their own home after persistent intimidation from neighbours.

The low levels of reporting in Bentswood are likely to be replicated across England and Wales and beyond. Factors such as the influence of crime mapping, which has been recently introduced, are undetermined and further research is required to establish the effects these may have on the decision to report. Those who had chosen to report based their decision on the seriousness of the incident, thus local services need to understand that when contact is made it is likely the victim is suffering a range of emotional and physical effects. This research thesis demonstrates how these are having serious consequences on day to day living. Those who had not reported an incident said they had not done so as it would have been a waste of time and that local services would not be interested. As a clear link between reporting behaviour, the signal crimes perspective and linking social capital, negativity was identified towards certain services such as the local housing association not enforcing tenancies. At a local level the perception of inaction had an effect on reporting behaviour. It is however probable this is not just a local phenomenon and services need to be mindful of this.

The third aim of this thesis was to identify what social factors may help explain the reporting of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood. The survey design mostly produced categorical data meaning a series of Chi Squared tests were run to identify what social factors may be associated with the reporting and not reporting of anti-social behaviour. No significant associations were identified between reporting behaviour and how long a participant had lived at their address, the size of their friend network, belonging to a local club, educational qualifications, who a participant lives with, their gender, employment status, voting behaviour, age, size of their family network and ethnicity. Some of these were statistically insignificant as the sample size was insufficient in some categories to allow comparison.

A significant association was found between the reporting of anti-social behaviour and whether a survey respondent felt they had a long term illness or disability. Those who felt they had a disability or illness had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour more than expected and made up 25 per cent of the total number who had reported an incident. Prior research by MIND (2007) found most people with a long term illness or disability do not report their victimisation as they do not feel that they will be taken seriously. Combined with the knowledge that the Bentswood ward has a very dedicated PCSO the current findings indicate local practices may be supporting vulnerable victims to feel they are taken seriously and as a result more are willing to come forward to report. However, it is not known whether those with a disability experience more

anti-social behaviour than others and therefore are victimised more leading to the higher reporting rate.

The findings that those with a disability or long term illness in Bentswood are more likely to report, has several implications for local and national practice. With very high profile national cases such as Fiona Pilkington the consequences of not identifying vulnerable and repeat victims are obvious. At a local level a risk assessment has been in operation as a means of identification. The current findings could reflect the success of this although further research is required to be certain, which would be of interest to central government. In addition investigation into whether this higher reporting is a result of a lack of service provision would also benefit local and national services. The role that group processes may play in this current findings should be considered for future research. With previous research by Erickson (1966) showing that those who are outside the norm can be alienated, thorough research may have wide ranging conclusions. My own professional experience says that those with a disability are experiencing more anti-social behaviour due to their vulnerability, therefore they are victimised more on the basis of their difference to the rest of the community.

An examination into the impact of the signal crimes perspective and the reporting of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood, found the community is

responding to a range of signals. The house to house survey unexpectedly found that Bentswood residents had, in most cases, experienced a number of different signals which made identifying which signals were responded to difficult. However, the interviews did identify signals that had led to reporting behaviour such as racist graffiti, persistent noise from neighbours and drug dealing. In addition signals such as dog fouling, speeding and littering were also effecting the community and acting as signals but were not reported as victims perceived local agencies to not be interested. This is a clear link between linking social capital and the signal crimes perspective.

Residents who had experienced a signal or an incident were more likely to report they feel less safe both during the day and after dark, when compared to those who had not been exposed to a signal or incident. In addition, those who had reported an incident also felt less safe during the day and after dark than those who had not reported but had been exposed to a signal. It is likely that the type of signal experienced may impact on this, or the way the signal has been interpreted by the individual. The interview discussions discovered that in most cases those signals that were affecting residents the most were those that were persistent and were having a real impact on their quality of life.

There were no statistically significant relationships between the behaviour change and emotional items of the signal crimes measures. However, there

were small differences noted within both the survey and interview data. The most notable of these is that personally witnessing or experiencing a signal or incident, does affect how individuals feel fear and changes their behaviour. As an example some Bentswood residents discussed walking certain routes home and not using their gardens as a result of exposure to a signal. There is little difference between these changes in behaviour or levels of fear for those who had or had not reported an incident which supports Innes (2004) signal crimes perspective.

For local practice the findings around safety reinforce earlier recommendations for reassuring those who report incidents. Chapter four proposes the use of local well-being services to provide assistance to victims of anti-social behaviour, to assist this further research could examine what victims feel could be done differently at the point of reporting. A limitation of the survey research design was that the types of signals were not easily identifiable. Therefore for future replication including a survey item that identifies what incident respondents are referring to would be beneficial. This thesis demonstrates identifying the signals that the community are responding to is essential. The findings in relation to behaviour change require services within anti-social behaviour settings to be mindful of how community tensions may result and 'no-go' areas can develop, as well as acknowledge that certain signals will be having a significant impact on every-day life.

Whilst encouraging for local service providers that very few residents in the Bentswood ward had not experienced serious incidents, there is an opportunity to improve the quality of life for many by focusing on the signals experienced by the majority, such as littering and dog fouling. This again is likely to be of interest nationally as the potential gains from targeting these lower level problems are wide ranging. My own professional experience suggests targeting lower level problems would be beneficial and likely to affect how residents feel about their area. At the many community meetings I attend dog fouling, littering and speeding are regularly discussed as important issues to the community.

The impact that social capital has on the reporting behaviour of those in the Bentswood ward was identified as the fourth aim of this research thesis. The social capital results were divided to reflect the three main types: bonding in the form of ties with family and friends, bridging in the form of ties with neighbours and linking in the form of ties with authorities. A high level of bonding social capital was evident in the Bentswood ward with most having ties with friends and family. Within these bonding relationships many victims of anti-social behaviour had discussed the incidents with their support network mainly as a means of coping with the situation, in line with the research by Green and Pomeroy (2007) where victims of crime use close ties as a means of support.

The high level of bonding social capital, while not statistically significant from survey responses in relation to reporting behaviour, is important for local practice. As with establishing vulnerable victims, the role that social support appears to play as a coping mechanism for the residents of Benstwood is of interest to service providers. Identifying what level of support is available to a victim at the point of reporting could be considered. If a victim has limited social support agencies could signpost to services such as wellbeing providers to alleviate some of the negative aspects of being a victim. This approach in practice does not mean that those with social support are given less opportunity to access services, more that care should be taken in ensuring those in more need are aware of what is available to them. This is something that may be of use not just at a local level but across England and Wales. Further research may be required to establish what victims with limited social support; feel is the most useful level of support.

The negative aspect of strong bonding social capital is also important on a local and national scale. The potential for strong ties to influence reporting behaviour cannot be ignored. The work of Cohen and Becker discussed in chapter two shows that those in the group minority may be singled out by the majority as being different, and therefore excluded and ostracised. In the management of anti-social behaviour these group processes are important. These are particularly important for anti-social behaviour sanctions and evidential practices, where agencies rely on numbers of people to come forward to

progress court action. If victims are in the minority group within a community, obtaining the level of evidence required for sanctions could present a problem. It is likely that as the majority would be within the group very few residents will come forward to support authority action and give evidence. Comments made by Bentswood residents suggest these strong majority group ties are operating locally with a number of familial groups living in very close proximity. In addition my own professional practice has highlighted this element of group process to be an issue, and previous work by Hughes (2007) also demonstrates how group processes may lead to evidential concerns. In light of the recent Home Office (2012) changes to anti-social behaviour legislation further research into how group processes may play an important part in the reporting and management of anti-social behaviour in communities is required.

Bridging social capital, in the form of ties with neighbours, was evident and there was on average agreement that residents in Bentswood can trust their neighbours, although those who had reported an incident of anti-social behaviour tended to be in less agreement. Residents who had reported an incident also perceived lower levels of bridging social capital than those who had not reported an incident, as well as those who had not witnessed or experienced an incident to report. This relationship was statistically significant and confirms that bridging social capital was related to reporting behaviour in Bentswood. Bringing the signal crimes perspective and social capital theory together within this thesis also identified that those who reported a signal generally talked

290

negatively about their neighbours, than those who had not reported a signal. During interviews those who had reported a signal talked more positively about the community mixing with different generations and families.

Despite the majority of Bentswood residents not belonging to community groups or local clubs, a statistically significant association between community group membership and reporting behaviour was identified. Those who had reported an incident were more likely to be members of a community group, supporting Granovetter (1973) that bridging social capital relationships can be helpful for people to gain information and opportunity. One disadvantage of this was that many respondents did not specify what community group was attended therefore it is difficult to determine if these groups were the local police panel for example.

The implications of the results on bridging social capital include the opportunity for local services to improve neighbourhood relations. The provision of community activities was proposed as a way of developing more diverse relationships between community members, although it was recognised that in tough economic times this is likely to be a challenge. There have been schemes run locally to try and address this such as Motiv8 activities where groups of young people from different families visit activity centres with local PCSO's to try and address both bridging and linking social capital. These schemes have

indicated they could be successful. The use of neighbourhood agreements that require residents to agree to a set of rules governing community living could be an option locally although further research into their effectiveness is needed. Recent government guidance around community advocates who act as representatives of the community to local services and model positive behaviour, may present an opportunity for the Benstwood ward, although in light of the findings around bonding social capital, care is needed in selecting the right people from a range of social groups. Bourdieu's (1984; 1986) work suggests that such schemes may not be as effective as predicted, as he argues that social capital is the result of generational class divides that are not easily overcome. Research into Bourdieu's ideas at a local level would benefit services and allow them to develop policy to reflect the social make up of the community they serve.

One of the main limitations of this thesis surrounds the limited number of respondents in particular categories such as age and ethnic groups. Whilst this was unavoidable in a predominantly white area, this did not allow statistical comparison for some factors and will have undoubtedly affected the results. This lack of diversity raises an important discussion around the interpretation of anti-social behaviour. This thesis identifies that a locally driven approach to managing it is required however there is the danger still for certain groups within communities to be targeted as a result. For example residents in Bentswood from minority ethnic groups could be targeted as they are different to the

majority as demonstrated by Cohen (1972), discussed previously. Likewise interpretations by different local government political parties could result in the use of anti-social behaviour policies to segregate certain ethnic groups within communities.

Considering linking social capital, those who had not experienced an incident of anti-social behaviour had more confidence and trust in local services such as the police to respond to it. Those who had reported had less trust and confidence indicating that contact with services at the point of reporting, is having an impact on the level of trust and could therefore be improved. A limitation of the survey design was that the level of trust in the housing association was not included; therefore a comparison between services was not possible. Interview discussions highlighted aspects of linking social capital that could be improved including: the enforcement of tenancy agreements by the local housing association; residents being taken seriously by the local authority and incidents being recognised as important by the police.

For local practice the importance of taking victims seriously at the point of contact was underlined by the results of this thesis. This is likely to be similar across other areas of England and Wales. The findings demonstrate how trust in service providers is diminished as a result of the perception of inaction. Services therefore need to publicise the work they carry out in local communities to

ensure residents are aware that actions are taking place. As noted this is not going to be just a local need but one that is important across England and Wales and beyond. Recent government guidance has demonstrated how victims feel detached from services and that little is done to address anti-social behaviour concerns. Ensuring a victim centred approach would benefit linking social capital and ultimately provide reassurance to victims.

These findings confirm the recent Home Office (2012) publication that a locally driven approach to anti-social behaviour is best placed to ensure victims are supported. The guidance proposes that the changes to the legislation will allow local professionals more freedom to address the concerns that matter to communities more efficiently. This thesis reinforces this guidance and enhances understanding of what victims consider when choosing to report an incident of anti-social behaviour. This thesis should be considered as a means to provide some of the context to the under reporting as identified in the Home Office guidance and at a local level within the Bentswood ward.

The significance of the local understanding of anti-social behaviour in Bentswood can be considered in two main ways. Firstly, it highlights the need for services to develop local service plans of what can be addressed within the legislative boundaries, whilst being mindful to the potentially harmful effects on victims. Secondly, as many things to some degree can be considered anti-

social, local and national plans will need to devise ways of managing those who persistently complain about matters, that whilst are having a great effect on the individual, cannot be addressed using the legislation. The introduction of a 'community trigger' that allows an individual to force agency action as proposed in the Home Office (2012) guidance, is likely to provide an opportunity for these individuals to challenge the system, although it is uncertain what benefits this will bring.

The significantly high level of under-reporting demonstrated by this research thesis was not a surprise based on previous research. However this thesis provides the opportunity for developing further research into what other factors may influence reporting behaviour. This thesis identifies that having a long term illness or disability influences reporting behaviour, with more reporting incidents than the wider population. Reasons behind this difference have been proposed, including the use of robust risk assessments in developing trust, but also negatively the effects that group processes may have in singling out those who do not fit in with the community. Significantly, this thesis reinforces the notion that vulnerable victims need to be identified and processes need to ensure there is not a repeat of the horrific cases reported such as Fiona Pilkington.

The signal crimes perspective is shown by this thesis to be a useful tool in understanding what issues are affecting communities. Signals such as noise

from neighbours and drug dealing lead to reporting, whereas dog fouling and littering act as signals but are not reported as local services are perceived to be uninterested in addressing them. The role that the signal crimes perspective plays indicates that being exposed to an incident does affect fear and risk. This means that victims who present themselves to services will require adequate reassurance. Of further significance is the finding that many victims will have changed an aspect of their routine or daily life as a result of experiencing an incident of anti-social behaviour. The current thesis supports the signal crimes perspective proposed by Innes (2004) and provides an original contribution to the research base both in terms of geographical area including the methodology used as well as its combination with elements of social capital theory.

The literature around social capital is vast however very few studies have examined the role it plays in relation to anti-social behaviour. The current thesis provides a unique investigation into the role bonding, bridging and linking social capital plays in influencing the reporting behaviour of a small urban community. Whilst the results should be treated with caution as they are the result of one small location, the findings do allow some projections to be made. These include the role that strong bonding ties may play in excluding some aspects of communities including those with a disability or long term illness. The negative effects strong bonds can have on applying for anti-social behaviour sanctions, in terms of limited evidence and community support have been highlighted. The legislative changes proposed recently do not provide sufficient information on

how evidential problems will be addressed. The proposals this thesis makes to investigate how group processes may influence these ties are of wider importance as a result of the Home Office guidance and the lack of current detail.

Bridging social capital in the form of trust in neighbours, working together with neighbours and belonging to their neighbourhood, was examined using this research thesis. Bridging social capital was found to influence reporting behaviour. This means that encouraging trust, belonging and working together within communities may be an area of future development for government policy. However recognising the work of Bourdieu and acknowledging that bringing communities together can be a significant challenge especially where different cultural groups reside and long standing familial relationships are flourishing.

Finally, linking social capital defined as trust in authorities has been identified as low as a result of poor victim contact and perceptions of inaction. A culture change within service providers to a victim centred approach would alleviate some of these issues and remove some of the barriers between authorities and the public. The Home Office (2012) White Paper proposes a change to a victim centred system; therefore it is anticipated in time this culture change will occur given the right support. The unique relationship between the signal crimes

perspective and linking social capital theory demonstrated by this thesis underlines the importance of services to adopt of different approach.

Overall it is to be expected that anti-social behaviour can effectively be anything in the minds of the public although, this thesis identifies that in most cases it is something that affects quality of life as it is persistent, or is so upsetting that a one off incident is enough to create a reaction. The high level of under reporting is likely to continue despite schemes and policy changes to reduce this, as individual tolerance is a factor that will influence this decision. Services on a local and national level have the opportunity to alter perceptions of anti-social behaviour by offering a reassuring first contact with victims. This will also impact on reducing the effects that signal crimes and incidents play, as well as improve the level of linking social capital between communities and the agencies that serve them.

9. REFERENCES

Adler, P. S, & Kwon, S., (2002) Social Capital: Prospects For a New Concept. *Academy of Management. The Academy of Management Review* 27: 17-40.

Akcomak, I. S. & Weel, B. T. (2008) The impact of social capital on crime: evidence from the Netherlands. *Discussion Papers Series, 3603.* Available at http://ftp.12a.orgld.3603.pdf Accessed 20 May 2012.

Alaimo, K., Reischl, T. M & Allen, J. O. (2010) Community gardens, neighbourhood meetings and social capital. *Journal of Community Psychology,* 38 (4), 497 – 514.

Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003) *C.38*. London: HMSO.

Armitage, R. (2002) *Tackling anti-social behaviour: what really works*. NACRO Community Safety Practice Briefing.

Arneil, B. (2006) *Diverse Communities: The Problem with Social Capital*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ashworth, A. (2004) Social control and anti-social behaviour: the subversion of human rights? *Law Quarterly Review*, 120, April 263 – 291.

Audit Commission, (2006) *Neighbourhood crime and anti-social behaviour: Making places safer through improved local working*. Community Safety National Report May 2006. London: Audit Commission.

Babbie, E. (1990) *Survey Research Methods*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Ball, K., Cleland, V. J., Timperio, A. F., Salmon, J. Giles-Corti, B. & Crawford, D. A., (2010) Love they neighbour? Associations of social capital and crime with physical activity amongst women. *Social Science & Medicine*, 71, 807 – 814.

Bannister, J., Fyfe, N. & Kearns, A. (2006) Respectable or respectful? Incivility and the city. *Urban Studies*, 435, (6), 919 – 937.

Bauman, Z. (1995) *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Becker, H. (1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of deviance*. New York: The Free Press.

 Bennet, T. (1994) Confidence in the police as a mediating factor in fear of crime. *International Review of Victimology*, 3, 179 – 194.

Beyerlein, K. & Hipp, J. R. (2005) Social capital too much of a good thing? American Religious Traditions and Community Crime. *Social Forces*, 84 (2), 995 – 1013.

Bloor, M. Frankland, K. Thomas, M. & Robson, K. (2001) *Focus Groups in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Boeck, T., Gage, M., Adamason, J., Cheney, J. & Pye, S. (2007) *Social capital and stronger communities in Leicestershire*, Leicester: CVS Community Partnership.

Boeck, T. Fleming, J. & Kemshall, H. (2006) The context of risk decisions: does social capital make a difference. *Qualitative Social Research,* 7, (1).

Bottoms, A. E. (2006) Incivilities, Offence and Social Order in Residential Communities. In A. Von Hirsch & A. Simester (Eds.) *Incivilities Regulating Offensive Behaviour*. Oxford: Hart Publishing

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction*. London: Routledge Kegan & Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Box, S. & Hale, C. (1986) Unemployment, Crime and Imprisonment: The enduring problems of prison overcrowding. In R. Matthews & J. Young (Eds.) *Confronting Crime*. London: Sage.

Bradford, B. (2009) The Quality of Police Contact: Procedural Justice Concerns among victims of crime in London. *LSE: Working Paper*.

Bryman (2004) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Buckingham, A. & Saunders, P. (2004) *The survey methods workbook*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Budd. T. & Sims, L. (2001) *Anti-social Behaviour and disorder: Findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey*. London: Home Office.

Burney, E. (1999) *Crime and Banishment: Nuisance and exclusion in social housing*. Winchester: Waterside Press.

Burney, E. (2000) Ruling out Trouble: Anti-social behaviour and housing management. *The Journal of Forensic Psychology*, 11 (2), 268 – 273.

Burney, E. (2005) *Making People Behave: Anti-social Behaviour, Politics and Policy*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Burt, R. (2000) The network structure of social capital In B. M Staw & R. I. Stutton (Eds.) *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, New York: Elsevier.

Campbell, A. (1991) *The Sense of wellbeing in America*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Carr, H. & Cowen, D (2006) Labelling: Constructing definitions of anti-social behaviour? In J. Flint (ed.) *Housing, Urban Governance and Anti-social Behaviour: Perspectives, Policy and Practice*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Casey, L. (2005) Mob justice or yob control? Debate with Shami Chakrabhati Society Guardian, 19 March. Available at www.society.guardian.co.uk

Chambers, M. (2010) *A State of Disorder: Moving beyond the ASBO in tackling anti-social behaviour*. London: Policy Exchange.

Chaplin, R., Flatley, J. & Smith, K., (2011) Crime in England and Wales 2010/11. *Home Office Statistical Bulletin*. London: Home Office.

Chartered Institute of Housing (1995) *Neighbour nuisance : ending the nightmare*. Good practice briefing No. 3. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Cicourel, A. V. (1982) Interview, surveys and the problem and ecological validity. *American Sociologist*, 17, 11 – 20.

Cohen, S (1972) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers*. Oxford: Malcolm Robertson.

Cohen, S. (2004) *Folk, Devils and Moral Panics*, 4th Edition, Oxford: Blackwells.

Cohen, S. & Willis, T. (1985) Stress, social support and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98, 310 – 357.

Coleman, J. S. (1988) Social Capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 85 – 120.

Coleman, J. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Costley, C., Elliott, G. & Gibbs, P. (2010) *Doing Work Based Research: Approaches to enquiry for Insider-researchers*. London: Sage.

Coulthard, M., Walker, A. & Morgan, A. (2002) People's perceptions of their neighbourhood and community involvement: Results from the social capital module of the general household survey 2000. *London: National Statistics*. Available online at http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/nci0602.pdf (Accessed 13 May 2012)

Crawford, A. (2006) Fixing Broken Promises? Neighbourhood wardens and social capital. *Urban Studies*, 43 (5), 957 – 976.

Cresswell, J. W. (2007) *Qualitative inquiry and research design choosing among five approaches* (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cresswell, J. W. (2009) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crime and Disorder Act (1998) *C.37*, London: HMSO.

Cutrona, C. E. & Russell, D. (1990) Type of social support and specific stress: Toward a theory of optimal matching. In B. R. Sarason, I. G. Sarason & G. R. Pierce (Eds.) *Social Support an Interactional View*. New York: Wiley.

Dann, S. & Hinchliff, E. (2009) Confidence in Policing: A Hackney Case Study. *Policing,* 3 (4), 318 – 321.

Davies, P., Francis, P. & Jupp, V. (2011) *Doing criminological research*. London: Sage.

Dekker, P. & Uslaner, E. M. (2001) *Social Capital and Participation in Everyday Life*, In E. M. Uslaner (Ed.). London: Routledge.

DeWalt,K. M. & DeWalt, B. R. (2011) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers* (2nd Edition). Plymouth: AltaMira Press.

Dijker, A., Van Alphen, L., Bos, A., Van De Bourne, B & Curfs, L. (2011) Social Integration of People with Intellectual Disability: Insights from a Social Psychological Research Programme. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, 55 (9), 885 – 894.

Ditton, J. & Innes, M., (2005) The role of perceptual intervention in the management of crime fear. *In N. Tlley (Ed.) Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety*. Devon: Willan.

Durlauf, S. N., (2002) On the empirics of social capital. *The Economic Journal* 112: 459-479.

Erikson, K. T., (1966) *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Experian (2011) *Community Profiling: Mid Sussex Partnership*. London: Experian. Accessed February 5th 2012: http://www.midsussex.gov.uk/media/MSP_Final_Report.pdf

Farrall, S. & Ditton, J. (1999) Improving the measurement of attitudinal responses: An example from a fear of crime survey. *International Journal of Social Research*, 2 (1), 53 – 68.

Farrall, S. & Gadd, D. (2004) Research Note: The frequency of the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44, 127 – 132.

Field, A. & Hole, G. (2003) *How to Design and Report Experiments*. London: Sage.

Ferraro, K. (1995) *Fear of crime: Interpreting victimization risk*. Albany: SUNY.

Flatley, J., Kershaw, C., Smith, K., Chaplin, R. & Moon, D. (2009) Crime in England and Wales 2009/10: Findings from the British Crime Survey and police recorded crime. *Home Office Statistical Bulletin.* London: Home Office.

Flint, J. (2006) *Housing, Urban Governance and Anti-social Behaviour: Perspectives, Policy and Practice*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Foley, M. & Edwards, B. (1999) Is it time to dis-invest in social capital? *Journal of Public Policy,* 19, pp 141 – 173.

Foucault, M. (1979) *History of Sexuality: Volume 1*. Allen Lane: Penguin.

Fowler, J. (2009) *Survey research methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Frane, A. & Roncevic, B. (2003) Social Capital: Recent Debates and Research Trends. *Social Science Information* 42: 155-183.

Frieze, I., Hymer, S. & Greenberg, M. (1987) Describing the crime victim: Psychological reactions to victimization. *Professional Psychology, Research and Practice*, 18, 299 – 315.

Fukuyama, F. (1999) *Social Capital and Civil Society*. Accessed 12 May 2012: http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/seminar/1999/reforms/fukuyama.htm

Gideon, L. & Mesch, G. S., (2003) Reporting Property Victimization to the Police in Israel. *Police Practice and Research*, 4 (2), 105 – 117.

Gilchrist, A. (2009) *The Well-connected Community: A networking approach to community development*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Goodman, L. A., Liang, B., Helms, J. E., Latta, R. E., Sparks, E. & Weintraub, S. R. (2004) Training counselling psychologists as social justice agents: Feminist and multicultural principles in action. *Counselling Psychologist*, 32 (6), 793 – 837.

Gourash, N. (1978) Help seeking: a review of the literature. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 6, 413 – 424.

Granovetter, M. (1973) The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 1360 – 1380.

Green, D. L & Pomeroy, E. C. (2007) Crime victims: What is the role of social support? *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma*, 15 (2), 97 – 113.

Greenberg, S., Rohe, W. & Williams, J. (1985) *Informal Citizen Action and Crime Prevention at the Neighbourhood Level: Synthesis and Assessment of the Research. National Institute of Justice Report*. Washington, D.C: US Government Printing Office.

Guba, E. G. (1990) The alternative paradigm dialogue. In E. G. Guba (Ed.) *The paradigm dialogue* (pp. 17 -27). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hale, C. (1996) Fear of crime: A review of the literature. *International Review of Victimology*, 4, 79 – 180.

Hall, P. (2000) Social Capital in Britain, *British Journal of Politics*, 29, 417 – 461.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. & Roberts, B. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Halpern, D. (2005) *Social Capital.* Cambridge: Policy Press.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Routledge.

Hancock, L. (2000) Going around the houses: researching in high crime areas. In R. King & E. Wincup (Eds.) *Doing Research in Crime and Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hancock, L. & Matthews, R. (2002) Crime, Community Safety and Toleration. In R. Matthews & J. Pitts (Eds.) *Crime, Disorder and Community Safety*. London: Routledge.

Hanifan, L. J. (1916) The Rural School Community Centre. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 67, 130-138.

Harradine, S., Kodz, J., Lernetti, F & Jones, B. (2004) Defining and measuring anti-social behaviour. *Home Office Development and Practice Report 26*, London: Home Office.

Harrison, A., Dawson, P. & Walker, A. (2009) Surveys in the MPS: Journey of Change in understanding and practice. *Policing*, 3, (4), 340 – 346.

Hawdon, J, & Rydon, J., (2009) Social Capital, Social Control, and changes in Victimization rates. *Crime & Delinquency*, 55 (4), 526 – 549.

Head, E. (2005) *Caring and paid work in the lives of lone mothers*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, Bristol.

Head, E. (2009) The ethics and implications of paying participants in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12 (4), 335 – 344.

Heaton, P. (2006) Does religion really reduce crime? *Journal of Law and Economics*, 49: 147 – 172.

Henning, C. & Lieberg, M. (1996) Strong ties or weak ties? Neighbourhood networks in a new perspective. *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*, 13, 3 – 26.

Hitchens, P. (2003) *A brief history of crime: The decline of order, justice and liberty in England*. London: Atlantic Books.

Home Office (2011) Crime in England and Wales: Quarterly Update. *Home Office Statistical bulletin*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2012) *Putting victims first: More effective responses to anti-social behaviour*. London: Home Office.

Hope, T. (2001) Community crime prevention in Britain: A strategic overview. *Criminal Justice*, 1, 421 – 439.

Housing Act (1996) *C. 52*, London: HMSO.

Howe, K. R. (1988) Against the quantitative-qualitative incompatibility thesis or dogmas die hard. *Educational Researcher*, 17, 10 -16.

Hughes, G. (2007) *The Politics of Crime and Community*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hunter, A. & Baumer, T. (1982) Street traffic, social integration and fear of crime. *Sociological Enquiry*, 52, 123 – 131.

Independent Police Complaints Commission Report (2011) *Fiona Pilkington*. London: Independent Police Complaints Commission. Accessed 11 June 2012 from: http://www.ipcc.gov.uk/news/Pages/pr_240511_pilkington.aspx

Innes, M., (2004) Signal crimes and signal disorders: notes on deviance as communicative action. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 55, (3), 335 – 355.

Innes, M. & Fielding, N. (2002) From community to communicative policing: Signal crimes and the problem of public reassurance. *Sociological Research Online*. Accessed 7th August 2011 from: www.socresonline.org.uk/7/2/innes.html

Innes, M. & Weston, N. (2010) *Re-thinking the policing of anti-social behaviour*. London: HMIC.

Ipsos Mori (2010) *Policing anti-social behaviour: The Public Perspective*. London: Ipsos Mori.

Jackson, J., & Bradford, B., (2009) Crime, Policing and Social Order: On the expressive nature of public confidence in policing. *British Journal of Sociology*, 60, (3), 493 – 521.

Jefferson, T. & Hollway, W. (2000) The role of anxiety in fear of crime. In T. Hope & R. Sparks (eds.) *Crime, Risk and Insecurity*. London: Routledge.

Kawachi, I., Kennedy, B. P. & Glass, R. (1999) Social capital and self-rated health: a contextual analysis. *American Journal of Public Health*, 89, 1187 – 1193.

Kennedy, B. P, Kawachi, I., Prothrow-Smith, D. Lochner, K. & Gupta, V. (1998) Social Capital, Income Inequality, and Firearm Violent Crime. *Social Science & Medicine*, 47 (1), 7 – 17.

Kershaw, C., Nicholas, S. & Walker, A. (2008) Crime in England and Wales 2007/08: Findings from the British Crime Survey and police recorded crime. *Home Office Statistical Bulletin*. London: Home Office.

Krishna, A. (2001) Moving from the Stock of Social Capital to the Flow of Benefits: The Role of Agency. *World Development* 29: 925-943.

Krishna, A. & Uphoff, N. (2002) Mapping and measuring social capital through assessment of collective action to conserve and develop watersheds in Rajesthan, India. In C. Grootaert & T. Van Bastelaer (Eds.) *The Role of Social Capital in Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kumar, R. (1996) *Research Methodology: A step by step guide for beginners*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lane, D. A. (1987) Personality and Anti-social Behaviour: A long term study. *Personality and individual differences*, 8, (6), 799 – 846.

Lin, N. (2002) *Social Capital: A theory of social structure and action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loader, I., Girling, C. & Spurs, R. (1998) Narratives of decline: Youth disorder and community in an English Middletown. *British Journal of Criminology*, 38, 388 – 403.

Lochner, K., Kawachi, I. & Kennedy, B (1999) Social Capital: a guide to its measurement. *Health & Place*, 5, 259 – 270.

Lupton, D. & Tulloch, J. (1999) Theorizing fear of crime: Beyond the rational irrational opposition. *British Journal of Sociology*, 50 (3), 507 – 523.

Macdonald, S. (2006) A suicidal woman, roaming pigs and a noisy trampolinist: Refining the ASBO's definition of 'anti-social behaviour', *Modern Law Review*, 69 (4): 630-639.

Mackenzie, S., Bannister, J., Flint, J., Parr, S., Millie, A. & Fleetwood, J., (2010) The drivers of perceptions of anti-social behaviour. *Research Report 34*, London: Home Office.

Maguire, M. (2000) Researching street criminals. In R. King & E. Wincup (Eds.) *Doing Research on Crime and Justice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marsh, C. (1982) *The survey method: The contribution of surveys to sociological explanation.* London: Allen and Unwin.

May, T. (1993) *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

May, T. (2001) *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process (3rd edition).* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

McNeil, P. & Chapman, S. (2005) *Research Methods, third edition.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Messner, S. F. Baumer, E. P. & Rosenfeld, R. (2004) Dimensions of social capital and rates of criminal homicide. *American Sociological Review*, 69 (6), 882 – 903.

Middleton, A. Murie, A. & Groves, R. (2005) Social capital and neighbourhoods that work, *Urban Studies*, 42, 1711 – 1738.

Miller, J. & Glassner, B. (2000) The inside and the outside: Finding realities in interviews. In D. Silverman (Ed.) *Qualitative Research Theory, Method and Practice.* London: Sage.

Millie, A., Jacobson, J., McDonald, E & Hough, M. (2005) *Anti-social Behaviour Strategies: Finding a balance.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Millie, A. (2007) Looking for anti-social behaviour. *Policy and Politics*, 35 (4), 611 – 627.

Millie, A. (2009) *Anti-social Behaviour.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

MIND (2007) *Another assault: Mind's campaign for justice for people with mental health problems.* Mind: London.

Mohan, J., Twigg, L., Barnard, S. & Jones, K. (2005) Social Capital, geography and health: a small area analysis for England. *Social Science & Medicine*, 60, 1267 – 1283.

Mustakas, C. (1994) *Phenomological research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Myhill, A. & Beak, K. (2008) *Public Confidence in the Police*. London: NPIA.

Myhill, A., Fildes, & Quiton (2010) *The 'single top down target' – what are the issues the public feel are not being dealt with?* London: NPIA Research Briefing.

Myhill, A & Quinton, P. (2010) Confidence, Neighbourhood Policing and Contact: Drawing together the evidence. *Policing*, 4, (3), 273 – 281.

Nagel, T. (1986) *The view from nowhere*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nakhaie, M. R. & Sacco, V. F. (2009) Social Capital, Individual Disorders and Property Offences. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 32, 392-399.

National Audit Office (2006) *Tackling Anti-social Behaviour*. London: The Home Office.

Newey, G. (1999) *Virtue, Reason and Toleration: The Place of Toleration in Ethical and Political Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Nieswladomy, R. M. (1993) *Foundations of nursing research*. Norwalk, CT: Appleton & Lange.

Nixon, J, Hodge, N. Parr, S. Willis, B. & Hunter, C. (2007) Anti-social Behaviour and Disability in the UK. *People, Place and Policy Online*, 2/1, pp. 37 – 47.

Noaks, L. (2000) Private Cops on the Block: a Review of the Role of Private Security in Residential Communities. *Policing and Society*, 10, pp 143-16.

Noaks, L. & Wincup, E. (2004) *Criminological Research*. London: Sage.

Oakley, A. (1981) Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.) *Doing feminist research*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Paradis, E. K. (2000) Feminist and community psychology ethics in research with homeless women. *American Journal of Community Psychology,* 28 (6), 839 – 858.

Power, A. & Wilmot, H. (2007) Social Capital within the neighbourhood. *London: Centre for Analysis Exclusion*.

Prins, H. (1995) *Offences, Deviants or Patients?* Second Edition. London: Routledge.

Public Order Act (1986) *C. 64*, London: HMSO.

Pullen, D. (1973) Community Involvement In C. Ward (Ed.) *Vandalism*. London: The Architectural Press.

Purdue, D. (2001) Neighbourhood governance: leadership, trust and social capital. *Urban Studies,* 38 (12), 2211 – 2224.

Putnam, R. D. (1993) Making Democracy Work. Civic traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000) Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Read, J & Baker, S. (1996) *A survey of the stigma, taboos and discrimination experienced by people with mental health problems*. Mind: London.

Ritchie, J & Spencer, J. (1994) Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research. In A. Bryman and R. G. Burgess (Eds.) *Analyzing Qualitative Data*, London: Routledge.

Rix, A., Joshua, F., Maguire, M. & Morton, S., (2009) Improving public Confidence in the Police: A Review of the Evidence. *Home Office Research*

Report 28. London: Home Office.
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/horr28c.pdf (Accessed 29 March 2011)

Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers*. Cambridge, USA: Blackwell.

Rosenfeld, R. Messner, S. F. & Baumer, E. P. (2001) Social capital and homicide. *Social Forces*, 80, 283 – 309.

Ruback, R. B. (1994) Advice to crime victims: Effects of crime, victim and advisor factors. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 21 (4), 423 – 442.

Sampson, J. R. & Grove, W. B. (1989) Community Structure and Crime: Testing social disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (4), 774 – 802.

Sampson, J. R., Raudenbusch, S. & Earls, F. (1997) Neighbourhoods and violent crime: A multi-level study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277 (5328), 918 – 924.

Sampson, J. R. & Raudenbusch, S. (1999) Systematic social observation of public spaces: a new look at disorder in urban neighbourhoods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105 (3), 603 – 651.

Sampson, J. R. & Wilson, W. J. (1995) Toward a theory of race, crime and urban inequality. In J. Hagan & R. D. Peterson (Eds.) *Crime and Inequality*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Saraga, E. (1996) Dangerous Places: The family as a site of crime. In J. Muncie 7 E. McLaughlin (Eds.) *The Problem of Crime*. London: Sage.

Schwind, H. D. & Zwenger, G. (1992) The dark number: Analysis of motives for non-reporting theft in three studies. *Studies on Crime and Crime Prevention*, 1 (1), 115 – 126.

Scribbins, M., Flatley, J., Parfrement-Hopkins, J & Hall, P., (2010) *Public Perceptions of policing, engagement with the police and victimisation: Findings from the British Crime Survey.* London: Home Office Statistical Bulletin.

Semmens, N., Dillane, J. & Ditton, J. (2002) Preliminary findings on seasonaility and the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42 (4), 798 – 806.

Silverman, D. (1998) Qualitative/Quantitative. In C. Jenks (Ed.) *Core Sociological Dictomies.* London: Sage.

Skogan, W. G. (1976) Citizens reporting of crime: Some national panel data. *Criminology*, 13 (4), 535 – 549.

Smith, J. A. (1995) Semi-structured interviewing and qualitative analysis. In J. Smith, R. Harre & L. V. Langenhove (eds.) *Rethinking methods in psychology* (pp. 9 – 26). London: Sage.

Squires, P., Cunningham, L. & Fyvie-Gauld, M. (2004) Perceptions of ASB in the London Borough of Sutton. Brighton: Health and Social Policy Research Centre, University of Brighton.

Squires, P. (2008) *ASBO Nation: The criminalisation of nuisance*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Squires, P., (2008) Conclusions: the future of anti-social behaviour? *In Squires, P (ed.) ASBO Nation: The criminalisation of nuisance*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Stake, R. E. (1995) *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stanko, E. A. & Bradford, B. (2009) Beyond Measuring 'How good a job' Police are doing: The MPS model of confidence in policing. *Policing*, 3 (4), 322 – 330.

Stienmetz, C. (1984) Coping with a serious crime: Self help and outside help. *Victimology*, 9, 324 – 343.

Stone, V., Agulnik, D., Grant, C. & Fitzpatrick, A., (2005) *Measuring Public Confidence in the Police.* London: Home Office.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (2002) Handbook of Mixed Methods. London: Sage.

Taub, R. P. (1984) *Patterns of Neighbourhood Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, J., Twigg, L. & Mohan, J., (2009) *Investigating perceptions of anti-social behaviour and neighbourhood ethnic heterogeneity in the British Crime Survey*. London: Royal Geographical Society.

Tellis, W. (1997) Application of a Case Study Methodology. *The Qualitative Report*, 3 (3).

Thorpe, K (2009) *Public perceptions of the police and local partners – results from the BCS year ending September 2008*. London: National Statistics.

Thorpe, K. & Wood, M. (2004) Attitudes to ASB in S. Nicholar and A. Walker (Eds.) *Crime in England and Wales 2002/2003 Supplementary Volume 2. Crime and Disorder and the Criminal Justice System – Public Attitudes and Perceptions.* London: Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate.

Tuffin, R. J., Morris, J. & Poole, A. (2006) *An evaluation of the impact of the National Police Reassurance Programme*. London: Home Office.

Turner, M, Cullen, F., Sundt, J & Applegate, B., (1997) Public Support for Community Based Sanctions. *The Prison Journal*, 77 (1), 6 – 26.

Tyler, T. & Fagan, J. (2008) Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crimes in their communities? *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law*, 6, 231 – 275.

Tyler, T. & Huo, Y. (2002) *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Uslaner, E. M. (2001) Volunteering and social capital: how trust and religion shape civic participation in the United States. In E. M. Uslaner (Ed.) *Social Capital and Participation in Everyday Life*, pp. 104 - 117. London: Routledge.

Waiton, S. (2008) *The Politics of Antisocial Behaviour: Amoral Panics*. Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge.

Walklate, S. & Evans, K. (1999) *Zero Tolerance or Community Tolerance? Managing Crime in High Crime Areas.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Wellman, B. & Wortley, S. (1990) Different strokes for different folks: Community ties and social support. *American Journal of Sociology*, 96, 558 – 588.

Whitehead, C. M. E., Stockdale, J. E. & Razzu, G. (2003) *The economic and social costs of anti-social behaviour*, London: London School of Economics and Political Science.

Wilson, J. Q. & Kelling, G. L. (1982) Broken Windows: The police and neighbourhood safety. *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 249, (3): 29 – 38.

Wood, M. (2004) *Perceptions and experience of anti-social behaviour: Findings from the 2003/2004 British Crime Survey*. London: Home Office.

Woolcock, M. (2000) Why should we care about social capital? *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration,* pp. 17-19.

WSCC (2007) *West Sussex Ward Profiles 2007*. Accessed 30 September 2011: http://www.westsussex.gov.uk/idoc/2007

Yardley, L. & Bishop, F., (2007) Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: A pragmatic approach. In C. Willig and W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research methods in psychology (pp. 352 – 370).* London: Sage.

Zara, G. & Farrington, D. P. (2009) Childhood and adolescent predictors of late onset criminal careers. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38, 293 .

Zhang, S., Anderson, S. G. & Zhan, M. (2011) The differentiated impact of bridging and bonding social capital on economic wellbeing: An individual level perspective. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 38 (1), 119 – 142.

10. APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A

This survey asks about your views on anti-social behaviour around here/where you live. The survey is part of a PhD students' university project but the overall responses may also be used to improve local services such as the council and police. If you take part you will be entered into a free prize draw to win a £25 voucher of your choice. The survey is confidential. Personal details required for the prize draw will be kept separately from the survey.

Please write the name of the road where you live _____ Date _____

The first part is about your views on anti-social behavior

1. Which of the following do you consider to be anti-social behaviour (please tick if agree):

☐ Inappropriate driving
☐ Underage drinking
☐ Excessive noise from neighbours
☐ Abandoned vehicles
☐ Intimidation of your neighbours
☐ Harassment of your neighbours
☐ Urinating in public
☐ Intimidation towards you
☐ Intimidation towards your family
☐ Harassment of your family
☐ Harassment towards you
☐ Frequent loud music from neighbours
☐ Graffiti
☐ Dog fouling
☐ Damage to public property such as park benches or bus shelters

☐ Dropping litter in the street
☐ Fly-tipping (dumping of rubbish/waste illegally)
☐ Damage to your own property
☐ Shouting in public places
☐ Swearing in public places
☐ Inappropriate drug/substance use
☐ Inconvenient parking in your street
☐ Verbal abuse towards you
☐ Verbal abuse towards your family
☐ Nuisance telephone calls
☐ Verbal abuse towards your neighbours
☐ Large groups of more than 10 young people in public spaces such as parks
☐ Other (please write in space below)

Other not found above:

2. Have you experienced any incident of anti-social behaviour from this list around here in the last 12 months?
   ☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 4**

Yes I have experienced (please tick):

☐ Inappropriate driving
☐ Underage drinking
☐ Excessive noise from neighbours
☐ Abandoned vehicles

☐ Intimidation of your neighbours
☐ Harassment of your neighbours
☐ Urinating in public
☐ Intimidation towards you

319

APPENDIX A

- ☐ Intimidation towards your family
- ☐ Harassment of you
- ☐ Harassment towards your family
- ☐ Frequent loud music from neighbours
- ☐ Graffiti
- ☐ Dog fouling
- ☐ Damage to public property such as park benches or bus shelters
- ☐ Dropping litter in the street
- ☐ Fly-tipping (dumping of rubbish/waste illegally)
- ☐ Damage to your own property
  - ☐ Other

- ☐ Shouting in public places
- ☐ Swearing in public places
- ☐ Inappropriate drug/substance use
- ☐ Inconvenient parking in your street
- ☐ Verbal abuse towards you
- ☐ Verbal abuse towards your family
- ☐ Nuisance telephone calls
- ☐ Verbal abuse towards your neighbours
- ☐ Large groups of more than 10 young people in public spaces such as parks

3. Anti-social behaviour affects people in many different ways. Listed below are some statements about the effects of anti-social behaviour. Would you agree or disagree with the following (please circle):

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
3a. Since experiencing anti-social behaviour I have stopped going to certain areas	1	2	3	4	5
3b. Since experiencing anti-social behaviour I have stopped going out after dark	1	2	3	4	5
3c. Since experiencing anti-social behaviour I have felt frightened for myself	1	2	3	4	5
3d. Since experiencing anti-social behaviour I have felt frightened for my neighbours	1	2	3	4	5
3e. Since experiencing anti-social behaviour I have felt frightened for my family	1	2	3	4	5

→IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED QUESTION 3 NOW GO TO QUESTION 6

APPENDIX A

4. You have not experienced anti-social behaviour in the last 12 months but have you been made aware of any incidents of anti-social behaviour?
    - ☐ Yes → **GO TO QUESTION 4a**
    - ☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 7**

4a. Please select from the following how you were made aware (please note more than one may apply)

- ☐ The local newspaper
- ☐ Talking to family
- ☐ Talking to neighbours
- ☐ Talking to friends
- ☐ Neighbourhood watch newsletter
- ☐ Other please specify_____

5. Anti-social behaviour affects people in many different ways. Listed below are some statements about the effects of anti-social behaviour. Would you agree or disagree with the following (please circle):

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5a. Since being made aware of anti-social behaviour I have stopped going to certain areas	1	2	3	4	5
5b. Since being made aware of anti-social behaviour I have stopped going out after dark	1	2	3	4	5
5c. Since being made aware of anti-social behaviour I have felt frightened for myself	1	2	3	4	5
5d. Since being made aware of anti-social behaviour I have felt frightened for my neighbours	1	2	3	4	5
5e. Since being made aware of anti-social behaviour I have felt frightened for my family	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX A

6. Have you reported an incident of anti-social behaviour to the police, council or housing association in the last 12 months?
   ☐ Yes → **GO TO QUESTION 6a**
   ☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 6d**

6a. To whom did you report this incident? (Please note more than one may apply)

☐ Police
☐ Housing Association
☐ Local council

6b. Were you satisfied with the response to reporting this incident?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Not sure

6c. What was the reason for reporting the incident:

☐ Insurance purposes due to damage caused
☐ The incident was dangerous/serious/upsetting and needed to be addressed
☐ Felt needed to for the good of the community
☐ Did not want the incident to happen to another victim/person
☐ Other

→NOW GO TO QUESTION 6e

6d. What is the reason for you not reporting an incident:

☐ Not witnessed an incident → **GO TO QUESTION 7**
☐ Did not want to get involved
☐ Just accepted the incident
☐ Thought that the authorities (police, housing association or council) would not be interested
☐ Would be a waste of time
☐ Feared reprisal
☐ Other

6e. Did you report the incident to any of the following:

- ☐ A family member
- ☐ A friend
- ☐ An elected local councillor
- ☐ Community leader
- ☐ Church Leader
- ☐ Neighbourhood Watch representative
- ☐ None of the above

The next few questions are about where you live

7. How long have you lived at your current address:

- ☐ Less than a year
- ☐ Between 1 and 5 years
- ☐ Between 5 and 10 years
- ☐ Between 10 and 15 years
- ☐ Between 15 and 25 years
- ☐ More than 25 years

8. Which of the following best describes your home?

- ☐ Private rented
- ☐ Social/council housing
- ☐ Mortgaged or owned
- ☐ Shared ownership
- ☐ Other

9. Thinking about where you live would you say that you have:

- ☐ A large network of **friends** to count on for help and support
- ☐ A small network of **friends** to count on for help and support
- ☐ No network of **friends** to count on for help and support
- ☐ Not sure

9a. Thinking about where you live would you say that you have:

- ☐ A large network of **family** to count on for help and support
- ☐ A small network of **family** to count on for help and support
- ☐ No network of **family** to count on for help and support
- ☐ Not sure

Thinking about where you live please read the following and circle the number that best describes your view for each statement.

APPENDIX A

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
10. I can trust my neighbours	1	2	3	4	5
11. People around here get along with one another	1	2	3	4	5
12. I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5
13. If there is a problem around here people work together to get it solved	1	2	3	4	5
14. Most of the time people around here try to be helpful	1	2	3	4	5
15. Families around here keep their children under control	1	2	3	4	5
16. I care about what my neighbours think about my actions	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel safe around here during the day	1	2	3	4	5
18. I feel safe around here after dark	1	2	3	4	5

19. Do you belong to any local community groups?
☐ Yes
☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 20**

19a. If Yes How many do you attend?
☐ 1
☐ 2
☐ 3 +

19b. How often are these groups?
☐ Daily
☐ Weekly

☐ Fortnightly
☐ Monthly
☐ Quarterly
☐ Yearly

> Please list groups:

20. Do you belong to any local clubs?

☐ Yes
☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 21**

20a. If Yes How many do you attend?

    ☐ 1
    ☐ 2
    ☐ 3 +

20b. And how often are these groups?

☐ Daily
☐ Weekly
☐ Fortnightly
☐ Monthly
☐ Quarterly
☐ Yearly

> Please list clubs:

21. Did you know that Mid Sussex District Council has an Anti-social Behaviour Team who you can report incidents to and receive advice from?

☐ Yes
☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 23**

22. I can trust the Mid Sussex District Council Anti-social Behaviour Team to deal with my concerns effectively (please circle below)

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

23. Did you know that Sussex Police have a Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) that works in this area?

    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No → **GO TO QUESTION 25**

24. I can trust the local Police Community Support Officer to deal with my concerns effectively (please circle below)

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

25. In general I have confidence in the police to tackle anti-social behaviour around here (please circle below)

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

26. Around here do you consider anti-social behaviour to be:
- ☐ Not a problem at all
- ☐ A minor problem
- ☐ A fairly big problem
- ☐ A major problem
- ☐ Not sure

27. Over the last 12 months do you think that anti-social behaviour has increased, decreased or stayed the same around here?
- ☐ Increased
- ☐ Decreased
- ☐ Stayed the same
- ☐ Don't know

The final few questions are about you

28. Are you:
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

29. Which of the following best describes what you are doing at the moment
- ☐ At school/college/university
- ☐ unemployed
- ☐ part time employed (less than 20 hours per week)
- ☐ full time employment (more than 20 hours per week)
- ☐ Stay at home parent/carer
- ☐ Retired

30. Do you consider yourself to have a disability or long term illness?
☐ Yes
☐ No

31. If you are old enough to vote did you vote at the last local or national election?
☐ Both
☐ Only Local
☐ Only National
☐ None
☐ Not old enough

32. Which of the following best describes the highest educational qualification you have:
☐ Doctorate
☐ Masters Degree
☐ Degree
☐ National Diploma
☐ A Levels
☐ GCSE or O Levels
☐ BTEC Awards
☐ NVQ Qualifications
☐ None

33. Which of the following best describes who you live with? (more than one may apply)
☐ I live with my parents/step parents
☐ I live alone
☐ I live with friends
☐ I live with my child/children
☐ I live with my husband/wife/civil partner
☐ I live with my partner/girlfriend/boyfriend
☐ Other (specify) _____

34. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?
☐ Under 16 years
☐ 16 to 25 years
☐ 26 to 35 years
☐ 36 to 45 years
☐ 46 to 55 years
☐ 56 to 65 years
☐ 66 to 75 years
☐ 76 to 85 years
☐ Over 86 years

APPENDIX A

35. Please describe your ethnic origin:

☐ Indian
☐ Pakistani
☐ Bangladeshi
☐ Any other Asian background
☐ Caribbean
☐ African
☐ Any other Black background
☐ Chinese
☐ Mixed White & Black Caribbean
☐ Mixed White and Black African
☐ Mixed White and Asian
☐ Any Other Mixed background
☐ White British
☐ White Irish
☐ Any other White background
☐ Gypsy or Irish Traveller
☐ Other
☐ Don't Know
☐ Do not wish to say

Thank you for taking part in this survey. Please complete the enclosed form to ensure you are entered into the prize draw and place these together for collection.

APPENDIX B

This research project is part of a PhD students' university project however the responses may be used to improve local services such as the council and Police.

The 10 minute survey asks about your views on anti-social behaviour where you live. Taking part is voluntary. If you have any questions after taking part you can contact the researcher (details below)

Name of researcher: Lucie Venables Contact telephone 01444 477489

Contact at London Metropolitan University if required: Tara Young 02073201275

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX C

Please complete the following to be entered into the prize draw:

Name _____ _____

Contact telephone number _____

Email address _____

In addition to this survey I am also asking a small number of people to complete a short interview (maximum 45 mins) about their experiences of anti-social behaviour. You will be given a £10 voucher for your time. If you would be interested in this please tick box

☐ **Interested in interview**

Please place with survey & return

APPENDIX D

Interview Schedule

The research project is carried out by a London Metropolitan University PhD student investigating anti-social behaviour in the local area.

The questions asked will include some on your views on anti-social behaviour for example this interview will cover topics such as what is anti-social behaviour, how it effects you and where you live and what things effect whether you report anti-social behaviour.

There will be a question that asks whether you have witnessed an incident of anti-social behaviour. Anti-social behaviour can be very upsetting and can cause a great deal of harm. There is support available in Mid Sussex for victims of anti-social behaviour that can be accessed anonymously using the leaflet supplied.

The interview is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time if you wish. The interview will take up to one hour and requires you to answer a series of questions.

The answers that you give will be confidential which means that you will be anonymous and no personal data will be presented in the research findings or passed on to anyone else. The responses you give will be held securely by the researcher and will be used as part of a PhD thesis by the student. The results of this thesis may be used to inform local policy on dealing with anti-social behaviour.

1. What do you think and feel when you hear the term anti-social behaviour?

2. Tell me about where you live (prompt if needed – do you feel safe, is it a strong community)

3. Do you think that anti-social behaviour is a problem in the area where you live?

4. Tell me about the incident of anti-social behaviour that you witnessed in the last 12 months

5. Did this incident change the way you feel in your community or change your behaviour?

6. Why did you report/not report the incident of anti-social behaviour that you witnessed?

7. Would you report an incident of anti-social behaviour in future?

If yes who to?

If no why?

8. If you did not report an incident was there someone that you did report it to or discuss it with such as a friend or family member?

9. Can you think of any ways that would make the reporting process easier for you and would encourage more people to come forward?

Informed Consent Form

The research project is carried out by a London Metropolitan University PhD student investigating anti-social behaviour in the local area.

The questions asked will include some on your views on anti-social behaviour for example this interview will cover topics such as what is anti-social behaviour, how it effects you and where you live and what things effect whether you report anti-social behaviour.

There will also be a question that asks whether you have witnessed an incident of anti-social behaviour. Anti-social behaviour can be very upsetting and can cause a great deal of harm. There is support available in Mid Sussex for victims of anti-social behaviour that can be accessed anonymously using the leaflet supplied.

The interview is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time if you wish. The interview will take no longer than 15 minutes and requires you to answer a short series of questions. The answers that you give will be confidential which means that you will be anonymous and no personal data will be presented in the research findings or passed on to anyone else. The responses you give will be held securely by the researcher and will be used as part of a PhD thesis by the student. The results of this thesis may be used to inform local policy on dealing with anti-social behaviour.

I give permission for _____

of _____ **to take**

part in the proposed research project

Signed _____

Print Name _____

Date _____

Signed Researcher _____

Date _____

APPENDIX H

Reported Thematic Grid – What is Anti-social Behaviour

Anything	Inappropriate behaviour	Something that cannot be resolved	No respect
I think that it is anything that causes annoyance and disturbance really.	It means to me people acting in a way that makes life difficult or uncomfortable for someone else - sometimes unbearable actually. It is just behaviour that is out of place or time for the situation so you can have really outrageous parties and that is ok once in a while as expected but if this happened repeatedly then this would not be acceptable.	I think it is behaviour that is on-going. I mean not a one off that you have to just live with. It is anything that is on-going and not resolved and also that the authorities have an inability to do anything about so you continue to suffer as a result. I don't think either that people fully understand what is or constitutes anti-social behaviour. I think people do need to be told, what t is so people know how to handle themselves and victims know what they should and should not accept.	I think it is all about not giving consideration to others around them really.
I think of everything that makes me or other people feel intimidated or scared when either out and about or in your own home. It can mean lots of different things really and I suppose	I think it is lawlessness and behaviour that falls short of breaking the law.		I would say that it means any nuisance really. I understand that you cannot have absolute quiet or anything but I do think people should show some respect.

that it is different from person to person but for me it can mean anything that intimidates or frightens me.			
It encompasses all sorts of things really from the very minor like dropping litter up to people being sworn and spat at in the street. Crimes against people really, crimes against people are anti-social. Anything that is against what people think is appropriate behaviour and offends people or property. To list them all would be lengthy. Anti-society behaviour basically.			I basically feel that it is the things that include criminal behaviour and wilful damage. The people who do it just don't seem to care about their surroundings. It is interfering with peoples lives, you know, disrupting them. You can't enjoy or look forward to a weekend cause you know there is going to be problems and trouble and noise.
			I think anti-social behaviour is not behaving and having respect for the people in your community you know behaving in such a way that is offensive to others.

Not Reported Thematic Grid – What is Anti-social Behaviour

Respect	Unresolved	Anything
It is just the start of being disrespectful. I was taught to respect my elders and think about my actions and how they may affect others. Anti-social behaviour is about a lack of respect really for others.	A load of thugs running riot, smashing things up like and running riot. That sort of thing. I suppose though if there is an unresolved issue I can see how that could become a problem.	I think that is a tricky question. I suppose that it is behaviour that shouldn't be accepted in society. Stuff that makes other people feel uncomfortable so can be anything that makes people feel uncomfortable.
I suppose it is a step beyond what I would call discourtesy so going beyond that stage. It is where people are rude, it is a step beyond where it becomes aggravating and annoying.		
I think that there are a group of people in society who do feel that they can just do what they like and that what they do doesn't affect other people and I would say they are anti-social.		

Reported Thematic Grid – Tell me about where you live

Safety	Community Spirit	Environmental Factors	Respect
I am very worried when I go out at dusk and night here. I especially worry about my husband walking back from the train station at night after reading about the incidents on the newspaper. My husband has preferred routes home to avoid certain areas. The local pub as well just seems so unwelcoming and you don't feel safe going in there.	There is definitely no community spirit that is for sure unless you are related to one of the neighbours in some way. There are too many neighbours related to others which is a huge problem around here. They are all too close to each other and seem to believe that they can dominate others in the area and almost use it as like a threat - you will have to answer to my cousin type thing.	We are very contented here there are always people around during the day like as there are offices opposite and since the pub opposite closed we have had nothing to worry about at all and in general feel quite safe here.	I would say that looking around here there are a lot of people who don't seem to care about themselves they look a mess and smell. Don't get me wrong I am not saying that everyone should be driving around in posh cars or anything but there is a level of care. It is almost like some people have just given up as they have nothing to live for. There are also a lot of travellers that live around here which I am not sure people are aware of and they always seem to attract trouble.
I feel relatively safe living here to be honest.	It is not a close knit community. We are very friendly with one set of neighbours. There has been one incident over planning where we all got together but that is it. NIMBYISM at its best.	I would say that this is a socially deprived area.	In this road most of the housing is social housing and there are a lot of young families that have no comprehension of consideration or respect or neighbours and other people. My family are normal and respectful but I would say only around 4 or

			5 houses around here have the same respect for others that we do.
I suppose I feel quite safe here compared to where I used to live on the council estate. We came home one day there to find our hedge burnt down. There was definitely more anti-social behaviour when we lived around there compared to here. Here is suburbialand really.	There are no problems with neighbours or anybody in fact everyone is brilliant but you couldn't say that there are people that you could call on or you couldn't easily say lets get a gang together or anything like that you just have to close everything up and hope for the best. We get on very well with the neighbours and do try and look out for each other like putting each others dustbins away and things. We look out when needed. I think if there was something I really needed I could count on the neighbours to help out.		
I do feel safe living here. I don't have any particular concerns for my safety. I walk to local places during the day and after dark and have always felt safe.	I do keep an eye out for neighbours but I am not sure though that I would say it is a close community.		

The community is not bad on the whole and I do feel safe living here.	I would not say that this is a close knit community but we get along with the neighbours and speak to each other and help each other out when we can but we don't all get together or anything like that.		
I feel safe living here but I would not say that it is a strong community.	I think it would be difficult to say there was a strong community. I think it could be as many families have lived here for generations but it just never seems to happen. I think there are pockets of the community that are very strong but I think you would be pushed to say that there is good community spirit as a whole.		
No it is not safe around here. I don't feel safe when I go to the local shops after dark as more often than not there are groups of people standing outside the local pub that is next door that just shout and swear at you as			

you past which is unnerving. I just think this is not a particularly safe area from what I see and have experienced.			

Not Reported Thematic Grid – Tell me about where you live

Safety	Community Spirit	Environment
I would not go out after dark around here alone as I am disabled I feel vulnerable as I don't have much mobility I feel I could not run away from someone if there was a problem.	When it snowed last year everyone pulled together as well and we all helped the older residents and we cleared the road and all clubbed together as a community so there is community spirit. I do think though there are a few people that ruin it for everyone else but generally speaking community spirit is good.	You get a nice feeling when you live somewhere like this. It is a lovely area. Everyone rallies round as well.
I would say that I am now more wary after dark than I was prior to the incident. I tense up when I hear things around me and I never would have before. The darkness does make me feel more isolated but it doesn't stop me going out but only because I have things that I need to do after dark.	The area has never really been a neighbourly area you know we are on nodding terms with the houses either side but I would not say that we are particularly friendly. Some of the neighbours are thoughtless and don't consider the impact of their behaviour on others.	

I do feel safe living here but if I was older and perhaps on my own so without a husband then perhaps I wouldn't feel as safe.		
I was really frightened when I first moved in but once I moved in it was better than expected. I do feel safe during the day around here not so much at night but I do still go out if I need to.		

Reported Thematic Grid – Is ASB a problem where you live

Serious Problem	Minor Problem	Not a problem
Yes I would say that it is a problem around here. I have witnessed shouting in the street a lot of the time, dogs barking non-stop and loud music. I just think there is a general lack of respect and consideration for others around here.	It is generally not a problem around here it is only when the pub opposite is open. It has made a big difference now that it has been closed.	Not really. There have been little incidents like the one that happened to us where a window was broken. The main problems are dog fouling and litter really.
Yes very much so it is just the way people are around here. Just now before you arrived my neighbour over the road was out on her doorstep shouting and swearing at	There are just small things really, the dropping of litter, leaving rubbish lying around that kind of thing. Dog mess really annoys me as that is a problem around here. It is	No I don't think so. When there have been groups around outside out the front of my house on the recreation area making a bit of noise I have always approached them

someone. There is always something going on in this street.	only a small issue in the grand scheme of things but it does cause a lot of distress and gets everywhere.	and been polite and said look its a bit late I know you're having a good time but there are families around here that may be trying to sleep and they are most of the time polite back and then go away. I would say it is very rarely that you see or hear about a serious incident around here.
	I don't think that there is a major problem generally there are only really the problems that come from the travellers that live around here.	I would say that it is comparatively rare but it does happen and we do see it. We quite often hear people walking back from the pubs at the weekend and see the litter they leave the next day. It is rare though and we are not in a bad area really.
	Yes I do but not a dangerous problem more to do with quality of life than anything.	
	Yes I do but I actually think it is a problem everywhere not just here but I do recognise that it is a less of a problem than in other areas where I have lived in the past. The dog mess is less serious but it does have a real impact on your life.	

Not Reported Thematic Grid – Is ASB a problem where you live

Serious Problem	Minor Problem	Not a problem
Yes it is a problem there is no doubt about it but of there were murders happening I would probably say it wasn't.	I think the usual stuff happens around here with the local kids but that is about it really.	There is very little anti-social behaviour around here. Definitely very minimal may be there are things that go on that I don't know about though!
Definitely but not people that live in this road. There is a big drugs problem around here and in the pub it all seems to come from there. The police have the information on this but nothing seems to be done. I have seen the PCSO with the families and she seems to be laughing with them and you think I am a law abiding citizen and what support do we get?		
Yes I do. I mean because I think that anti-social behaviour can be anything. I would say that litter is a problem. Late at night and at weekends I do always hear a lot of people shouting which I think is almost expected around here.		

APPENDIX H

Reported Thematic Grid – Reasons for reporting

Serious	Effect on life	Feelings
As we knew there were children at the house this made us feel that we had to call rather than just leave it. I think maybe if there weren't any children there we would have been less likely to call to be honest. The situation sounded really serious.	We were really worried about what may happen to the children if he got inside the house - you don't know whether he is going to hurt them. Our lives are controlled by the behaviour of our neighbours who just live their lives pretty much as they wish and say tough to everyone else. We cannot relax in our own home which is disgraceful.	I was just so angry about this - racism is serious and unacceptable and I felt that I needed to tell someone and get it removed as soon as possible to protect the community. I just could not ignore this.
I felt I needed to report this due to the seriousness of the drugs. I think if it hadn't been class A I maybe would have just left it.	The noise was during the day while I was trying to study so it had a big effect on me. I know there are a lot of people who won't report things as they are worried they will be found out and they don't want that.	I was so cross and mad and felt how dare they do this to me so wanted them to be sorry about it. I also wanted them to know people cannot just get away with things like this.
The times that I have reported are because of fear for the children that live there.	I did not report it until the third time as I thought maybe it was just a one off. I am sure there are a lot worse things going on that the police have to deal with but to me this had started to become a real problem.	The defecating was absolutely disgusting and I did not want him to get away with it. It was just such an awful thing to do. Things do need to be pretty bad before I pick up the telephone.

	I think when you are frightened like that it takes it on a step further than the situation just being a one off that you can accept. The second issue we reported the neighbour noise we were only sleeping for 4 hours a night over a period of time this really starts to get you really badly.	
	What was happening was having a major effect on our lives. It was almost mental torture as a result of it all. I could not sleep as was just worrying about it all the time. I hated being in the house especially when there were groups outside on the pavements. I have argued with my wife and children and ruined 5 years of my life because of this.	
	I had repeatedly asked my neighbours to turn the music down but the responses I ahd were either negative or nasty.I got to the point where I was feeling I should not have to be doing this constantly going around and having to feel like this in my own home. I just could not think here anymore. I think that it also didn't help that the music	

	that was played was really offensive language and was also that type that has a really powerful beat so would just give you a huge headache.	
	I feel that I would only report incidents that may have a serious impact on someone or me or my family. A few weeks ago someone let their dog foul right outside our gate. I did not report this as who would I be able to report. But I suppose if this was happening all of the time and having a big impact on the children and myself then it is worth reporting to someone.	

Not Reported Thematic Grid – Reasons not for reporting

Did not know who to report to	Seriousness	Resolved self	Not seen who	Police attitude
I did not know who to report these things to really and you just sort of get used to having these problems really and accept them.	It would have to be a very serious incident for me to report a situation or I would need to be witnessing something taking place. I do feel I have become	For the noise from the neighbours my partner approached them about it and it has got better since then to be honest. I would rather	I also have no idea who is doing the dog fouling so that would make it difficult to report.	The police happened to stop by and they seemed completely uninterested. They were not interested in the culprits at all. All they wanted to

	less considerate over time so think that perhaps people do report little things now as less tolerant.	talk to the person and try and resolve it than go to the housing or police for something like this. The neighbours can be a bit of a problem but I think it is better to try and talk to them about it than make things difficult for them by going to housing as a much better way of dealing with it.		do was to come in and complete some form with us rather than go and look for the ones that had done it. I am not sure whether a neighbour had reported the noise and that is why the police appeared.
		I think I would prefer to approach a person about an issue as it is better to try and resolve it yourself than go running to an authority as that is when people get more upset with you.		

APPENDIX H

Reported Thematic Grid – Reported to anyone else

Friends	Family	Others	No one
We have spoken to friends and family about it and it does put them on edge about the situation. It comes to something when your own family don't want to visit you and are scared to come as they don't want their cars damaged and they cannot have a conversation due to the noise.	Yes I did speak to family members on the telephone. I was so cross I felt I needed to sort of vent my anger about the situation.	We did talk to the local councillor and she was lovely and came out to see us and called us after to check we were ok which made us feel so much better.	I don't like talking to anyone about it as it makes me so angry to be honest as you can probably tell.
I have spoken to friends and family that live elsewhere yes but would not speak to anyone locally as they are all related.		Yes we tell all the neighbours when we see something suspicious we sort of get the word around like an informal neighbourhood watch scheme really.	
I did talk to friends about the problems that we had just sort of in conversation like nothing more really.			
Yes I have told friends about this so that they could be vigilant really and have a look			

in the area.			
We spoke to friends about the neighbour issues yes as it was having such an impact on our lives.			
I spoke to both friends and family I think mainly to try and cope with what was happening and have a moan about it to someone and make me feel better. I found it quite useful to speak to people who were having similar problems and how they were feeling and sort of support each other really.			
I spoke to lots of people about it but not locally. My bad experienced may have changed some of my friends views about the council I am sure			

Not Reported Thematic Grid – Reported to anyone else

Friends	Family	Others	No one
Yes I have discussed the issue with friends, some good friends will even ask how things are when I see them. I suppose I use speaking to friends as an outlet to talk about things I see without bothering an authority. It is probably a classic case of not telling the right people about the problems I face. I think there does need to be an outlet though and this is important to be able to talk about the issue with someone else this makes it easier to talk about the problem and share it but when you are on your own like I am you cannot do this so it makes it harder. I suppose this makes me feel a bit self-conscious about being on my own really.	Everyone who visits me always comments on the parking situation so yes we do end up talking about it but that is it really.	I have also spoken to some neighbours about the driving just sort of did you hear that the other day type thing but not a major discussion. I think I would say general chit chat than anything.	I haven't spoken to anyone about the dog fouling as just accepted it really but when I have had problems in the past I have spoken to friends and family as support.
	Yes I did speak to family just because I was so angry more		

	than anything. I did not say to them I was disappointed as I think we all expect that the police are like this. They never came back either to let you know what happened. The law does not seem to look after the average law abiding person.		
	I have spoken to family about the dog fouling yes as it was right outside our front gate so have moaned about it to others as it is just disgusting.		

Reported Thematic Grid – Report again in future

Serious	Always	No
I would only report again as I would hope that some sort of record is kept on people so that the housing association can see that there has been a previous complaint. I would not just report anything to the police or housing association it needs to be something that would either be hurting me or my family or upset me in a serious way or something	I would definitely report a similar incident again but would probably take the name of who I reported it to and if nothing happened again I would follow it up. I do not have much faith in the political system however racist graffiti is something that we should be taking a stand against so whoever is in charge should take it seriously.	I was not satisfied with reporting the noise issue to the housing association at all. It was all very badly handles in my opinion. The length of time that it went on for was far too long. Each day that went by was even less sleep for us. We were effectively stuck in this terrible situation. We ended up having to move to this house which is only 250

that was happening in front of me such as a serious incident.	Racist graffiti is very serious and if we do not take a stand against it, who are we and what are we doing?	yards away which is madness.
Yes I would report again as I would want to make sure it was logged as I don't want to see this area being taken over by drug dealing. If there was a less serious issue I would deal with it myself. I think for me to report something to the police or some other authority it would have to be upsetting other people and be a real nuisance otherwise I think I would just accept whatever it was.	I now have no time for the housing association as an organisation as a result of reporting to them. I would have to report things though as there is no other way to resolve them.	
For the domestic incident yes I would report this without a doubt.	Yes I would report it straight way now as I was so upset the last time it happened. Having spoken to the PCSO we know that they are just as much against the pub re-opening as us so will now always report as it will help our cause	
Yes I would but would need to be serious. Minor things like litter and dog fouling I would not bother as a waste of time.	Yes I would report again as there was no way I could do anything about it myself.	

I don't really want to report things unless I feel I have to. But I would if there was a build up of things again. I don't want to have to report people as I suppose I feel that it is sort of grassing up on people which I don't like. I have seen lots of other things that I haven't reported as I don't feel they have had an effect on me or reached that point where I feel I have to say something. I think this point is when emotionally I feel I cannot continue with the situation or it upsets me enough.	Yes I will keep reporting stuff as I want the evidence to help us get moved. I would hope that by doing this at some point the housing would actually do something about it if they keep getting harassed about the situation.	

Not Reported Thematic Grid – Report in future

Serious
Yes but it would have to be serious or on-going to the extent that it was really effecting my life. I would not want to bother the police with some minor issues although I recognise that people do all of the time. The moped driving for example the noise of them revving their engines does affect your quality of life and does get to you after a while.
Yes but it would have to be particularly bad for me to do so and I would need to have actually seen something that I thought was worthy of reporting rather than just after the event.
I would definitely report someone hurting someone else if I saw that happening as I just cannot stand this. I think I would probably report something if I could see it happening. I suppose as well I would report anything that has a serious consequence on me or my children or my husband. I am not really worried about the consequences of reporting things really I

would just do it if I thought it was a problem.

If it was damage to my car, my home or an assault on one of my children then yes I would but if it was fighting that was happened outside into the street then no I wouldn't as I know the police would not do anything about it. Anything that could be seen as trivial so by that I mean swearing. minor damage to my property, people outside being abusive then I wouldn't bother as I know by the time they got here or started to do something it would be too late. I think this is bad though as all the trivial things build up and then people lose trust in the police as a result. People tell me things that have happened around here all of the time and they have reported things and nothing has changed so I can see why people don't bother reporting things as there is really no point. It is shame though as what the police say are trivial and seem not to be bothered with is a really big issue for people that live with them everyday.

I think for the dog fouling if that got worse then I might report it but you just sort of expect it to be like this it fits in with the area but I do agree it shouldn't be happening. I know that it has been a lot worse around here as it was bad when I first moved in so it has got a lot better as there are families that have moved in seem to be a lot nicer than those that lived here previously.

Reported Thematic Grid – What could help people report more

See Actions	Numbers/Anon reports	Follow up	Enforce tenancy	Serious response
I know that no-one around here has any confidence in the local housing association to do anything about anti-social behaviour and their tenants. The tenancy agreements are not enforced. If people could	I think if you could guarantee confidentiality for reporting things from the word go more people would come forward. I trust the police but a lot of people around here don't.	It is nice to have a follow up as you do need to know what has happened otherwise there is no point.	My experience of housing officers is that they tell you off when you have done something and then made to do things to make it better. This doesn't seem to be the case with here. Some people seem to get away with loads	I feel that the noise situation was not taken very seriously by anyone involved. The impact that had on our lives was not taken seriously. The environmental health team were convinced because the neighbours sounded

see that tenancies were enforced and were told about the things that are happening to make sure they were and successes they have had in reducing anti-social behaviour it would increase confidence.			of stuff and the housing association do not enforce the tenancy agreement. This really does need to be sorted as it just says to people they can do what they like and subject others to misery.	reasonable that there was no problem and then just wrote us off.
I think if we had some sort of community newsletter that told us about the good work that was going on I would read this and have confidence to tell people about the issues around here.	The only other way I think would help is to report things anonymously as I would not go out and challenge anyone like you used to years ago.	I think feedback needs to be given on actions taken as sometimes all that is needed is that people need to be reassured even if there is nothing that can be done.	The tenancy agreements are not enforced around here at all so you may as well not have on to be quite honest. It should not be like that.	I am sure there lots of people have worse problems than us but I know that everyone things that their problem is important. At our time of life and circumstances you want to be able to get to bed at a reasonable hour and not be disturbed by shouting outside and things being thrown or cars being damaged. We moved here for peace and quiet in our twilight years you know so we do want a bit of

				peace and quiet and that's all we want.
I think that the police could come around a bit more and have a look.	I think most people don't report stuff as they do not know who to call and they also think that nothing will be done about it.	I think if I had been kept up to date about the incident that I had reported about the drug dealing and been told what had happened as a result of my call I would feel a lot more confident in reporting something again in future.	I think that the lesson to learn from this whole situation is that things need to be enforced and then someone needs to keep on top of it to make sure people don't fall down again. We have tried to sell our house but no one wants to buy it when they look at next door.	
There is a perception that nothing gets done around here. I think if a few people saw results from what local services were doing this would give them confidence. A media campaign along the lines of see it report it would be a good idea with a personalised photo of who	A phone number that is dedicated to reporting anti-social behaviour and also perhaps being able to report anonymously.	Nobody came back to us when we reported the things so a follow up would also have been nice a few weeks later just so we knew they were thinking of us like. Just them sort of saying we will keep an eye out would make us feel a lot better and more likely to call them again.		

you can report to would be great.				
With our complaints we never see anything change so it would be good to see that reporting has led to some changes as when you see nothing you have less faith in the situation. You know it makes me really angry to see people mistreating their homes as there are many people who are desperate for a home. It is just a few families that don't give a stuff.	If there was an easy to remember number that you could for everything that would be useful.	When you make a call to the housing association you never really know what has happened with the situation. I think they should call you back to ask if things are ok.		
		I think overall I would have just liked to have been told what was happening when you report as o one ever gets back to you.		

APPENDIX H

Not Reported Thematic Grid – What could help people report more

Publicise who to report to	Publicise successes	Cafe drop in	Tidy up area
I think having a leaflet to tell you what sort of things that you can report and to who is a good idea and would help and remind you that you can do something about some things	I think also publicising the good work that is done by the unit would be a good idea as I would then be more likely to use such a service when I know they have had some success.	I think maybe having a local police officer that came to say the local cafe every month so you knew where they would be and for how long and could go and have a chat if you had a problem would be helpful and would make you feel as though they were interested in you. Maybe the police don't realise how bad things are sometimes and I suppose they will say well how can we do anything about it when we don't know what the problems are.	I think if the general area was made to look nicer then it would be more appealing. Like if the road was kept cleaner. The state of some properties is a problem and could be improved - when there is mess on the front of some properties this attracts others to do the same.
If we had something on the back of the Mid Sussex Matters Magazine that comes through the door like a cut and keep types thing with useful numbers that would be good.	It would also be good to find out about successful things that the police or housing association have done around here as well.	I think if there was a day a week when you could pop and see your local housing officer and police officer that would be good as I could just pop and have a chat rather than have to ring someone. I would prefer to do	

		this really.	
I think having a dedicated anti-social behaviour service and this being widely publicised would help. If I knew there was something like this then I would be more inclined to report things.	Maybe having a leaflet through the door saying this is what we have done in this area recently would be good and with number that you could keep to call the right people. Maybe a leaflet just once a year as I know things cost.	I think that having someone based at a local cafe or centre would be good to chat about concerns that you had rather than a uniformed person or an authority figure.	

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

How much of a problem is ASB around here?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not a problem at all	58	20.4	20.4	20.4
	A minor problem	177	62.3	62.3	82.7
	A fairly big problem	29	10.2	10.2	93.0
	A major problem	4	1.4	1.4	94.4
	Not sure	16	5.6	5.6	100.0
	Total	284	100.0	100.0	

Around here has ASB decreased increased or stayed the same

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Increased	19	6.7	6.7	6.7
	Decreased	36	12.7	12.7	19.4
	Stayed the same	152	53.5	53.5	72.9
	Not sure	77	27.1	27.1	100.0
	Total	284	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported and not reported comparison for is ASB a problem around here

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Valid	A minor problem	1	50.0	50.0	50.0
		A fairly big problem	1	50.0	50.0	100.0
		Total	2	100.0	100.0	
Yes	Valid	Not a problem at all	2	3.9	3.9	3.9
		A minor problem	31	60.8	60.8	64.7
		A fairly big problem	13	25.5	25.5	90.2
		A major problem	4	7.8	7.8	98.0
		Not sure	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
		Total	51	100.0	100.0	
No	Valid	Not a problem at all	56	24.7	24.7	24.7
		A minor problem	142	62.6	62.6	87.2
		A fairly big problem	14	6.2	6.2	93.4
		Not sure	15	6.6	6.6	100.0
		Total	227	100.0	100.0	
88.00	Valid	A minor problem	3	75.0	75.0	75.0
		A fairly big problem	1	25.0	25.0	100.0
		Total	4	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported and not reported comparison for has ASB decreased increased or stayed the same

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Valid	Increased	1	50.0	50.0	50.0
		Decreased	1	50.0	50.0	100.0
		Total	2	100.0	100.0	
Yes	Valid	Increased	4	7.8	7.8	7.8
		Decreased	9	17.6	17.6	25.5
		Stayed the same	36	70.6	70.6	96.1
		Not sure	2	3.9	3.9	100.0
		Total	51	100.0	100.0	
No	Valid	Increased	14	6.2	6.2	6.2
		Decreased	25	11.0	11.0	17.2
		Stayed the same	114	50.2	50.2	67.4
		Not sure	74	32.6	32.6	100.0
		Total	227	100.0	100.0	
88.00	Valid	Decreased	1	25.0	25.0	25.0
		Stayed the same	2	50.0	50.0	75.0
		Not sure	1	25.0	25.0	100.0
		Total	4	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Have you reported an incident of ASB in last twelve months

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	51	18.0	18.4	18.4
	No	143	50.4	51.6	70.0
	Not Witnessed	83	29.2	30.0	100.0
	Total	277	97.5	100.0	
Missing	88.00	7	2.5		
Total		284	100.0		

ASB reported to Police

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	33	11.6	64.7	64.7
	No	18	6.3	35.3	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

ASB reported to Housing Association

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	6.3	35.3	35.3
	No	33	11.6	64.7	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

ASB reported to Local Council

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	3.9	21.6	21.6
	No	40	14.1	78.4	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

Satisfied with the reporting response

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	24	8.5	47.1	47.1
	No	19	6.7	37.3	84.3
	Not Sure	8	2.8	15.7	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported incident to family member

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	26	51.0	52.0	52.0
		No	24	47.1	48.0	100.0
		Total	50	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	2.0		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	Yes	37	16.3	24.8	24.8
		No	112	49.3	75.2	100.0
		Total	149	65.6	100.0	
	Missing	Not Applicable	77	33.9		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	78	34.4		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported incident to a friend

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	19	37.3	38.0	38.0
		No	31	60.8	62.0	100.0
		Total	50	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	2.0		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	Yes	26	11.5	17.4	17.4
		No	123	54.2	82.6	100.0
		Total	149	65.6	100.0	
	Missing	Not Applicable	77	33.9		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	78	34.4		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported incident to an elected local councillor

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	5	9.8	10.0	10.0
		No	45	88.2	90.0	100.0
		Total	50	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	2.0		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	No	149	65.6	100.0	100.0
	Missing	Not Applicable	77	33.9		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	78	34.4		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported incident to community leader

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	2	3.9	4.0	4.0
		No	48	94.1	96.0	100.0
		Total	50	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	2.0		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	No	149	65.6	100.0	100.0
	Missing	Not Applicable	77	33.9		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	78	34.4		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported incident to church leader

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	2	3.9	4.0	4.0
		No	48	94.1	96.0	100.0
		Total	50	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	2.0		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	Yes	1	.4	.7	.7
		No	148	65.2	99.3	100.0
		Total	149	65.6	100.0	
	Missing	Not Applicable	77	33.9		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	78	34.4		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported incident to Neighbourhood Watch Rep

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	1	2.0	2.0	2.0
		No	49	96.1	98.0	100.0
		Total	50	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	2.0		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	No	149	65.6	100.0	100.0
	Missing	Not Applicable	77	33.9		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	78	34.4		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported to no one else (authority or above)

Have you reported ASB in last 12 months			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	Missing	Not Applicable	2	100.0		
Yes	Valid	Yes	20	39.2	95.2	95.2
		No	1	2.0	4.8	100.0
		Total	21	41.2	100.0	
	Missing	Not Applicable	29	56.9		
		88.00	1	2.0		
		Total	30	58.8		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	Yes	104	45.8	95.4	95.4
		No	5	2.2	4.6	100.0
		Total	109	48.0	100.0	
	Missing	Not Applicable	117	51.5		
		88.00	1	.4		
		Total	118	52.0		
	Total		227	100.0		
88.00	Missing	88.00	4	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting comparison and do you consider yourself to have a disability

Excluded NW			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	Valid	Yes	13	25.5	25.5	25.5
		No	38	74.5	74.5	100.0
		Total	51	100.0	100.0	
No	Valid	Yes	14	9.8	9.9	9.9
		No	128	89.5	90.1	100.0
		Total	142	99.3	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	.7		
	Total		143	100.0		
Not Witnessed	Valid	Yes	14	16.9	16.9	16.9
		No	69	83.1	83.1	100.0
		Total	83	100.0	100.0	
88.00	Valid	Yes	3	42.9	42.9	42.9
		No	4	57.1	57.1	100.0
		Total	7	100.0	100.0	

Significant Chi-Square Test Disability & reporting behaviour

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.764[a]	2	.021
Likelihood Ratio	7.502	2	.023
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.333	1	.068
N of Valid Cases	278		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.71.

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reasons for reporting ASB

Reported for Insurance purposes due to damage caused

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	2.5	13.7	13.7
	No	44	15.5	86.3	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

Reported as was dangerous/serious/upsetting and needed to be addressed

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	27	9.5	52.9	52.9
	No	24	8.5	47.1	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

Reported as felt needed to for the good of the community

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	7.7	43.1	43.1
	No	29	10.2	56.9	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reported as did not want the incident to happen to another victim/person

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	3.9	21.6	21.6
	No	40	14.1	78.4	100.0
	Total	51	18.0	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	229	80.6		
	88.00	4	1.4		
	Total	233	82.0		
Total		284	100.0		

Reasons for not reporting ASB

Not reported as did not want to get involved

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	9.9	12.6	12.6
	No	194	68.3	87.4	100.0
	Total	222	78.2	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	57	20.1		
	88.00	5	1.8		
	Total	62	21.8		
Total		284	100.0		

Not reported as just accepted the incident

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	90	31.7	40.5	40.5
	No	132	46.5	59.5	100.0
	Total	222	78.2	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	57	20.1		
	88.00	5	1.8		
	Total	62	21.8		
Total		284	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Not reported as thought authorities would not be interested

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	25	8.8	11.3	11.3
	No	197	69.4	88.7	100.0
	Total	222	78.2	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	57	20.1		
	88.00	5	1.8		
	Total	62	21.8		
Total		284	100.0		

Not reported as would be a waste of time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	29	10.2	13.1	13.1
	No	193	68.0	86.9	100.0
	Total	222	78.2	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	57	20.1		
	88.00	5	1.8		
	Total	62	21.8		
Total		284	100.0		

Not reported as feared reprisal

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	3.2	4.1	4.1
	No	213	75.0	95.9	100.0
	Total	222	78.2	100.0	
Missing	Not Applicable	57	20.1		
	88.00	5	1.8		
	Total	62	21.8		
Total		284	100.0		

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and Community Groups

Belong to any community groups

Excluded NW			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	Valid	Yes	16	31.4	31.4	31.4
		No	35	68.6	68.6	100.0
		Total	51	100.0	100.0	
No	Valid	Yes	15	10.5	10.5	10.5
		No	128	89.5	89.5	100.0
		Total	143	100.0	100.0	
Not Witnessed	Valid	Yes	19	22.9	22.9	22.9
		No	64	77.1	77.1	100.0
		Total	83	100.0	100.0	
88.00	Valid	Yes	1	14.3	14.3	14.3
		No	6	85.7	85.7	100.0
		Total	7	100.0	100.0	

Significant reporting and belong to community group chi squared test

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.961[a]	2	.002
Likelihood Ratio	12.813	2	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	.398	1	.528
N of Valid Cases	277		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.21.

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and Local Clubs

Belong to any local clubs

Excluded NW			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	Valid	Yes	13	25.5	26.5	26.5
		No	36	70.6	73.5	100.0
		Total	49	96.1	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	2	3.9		
	Total		51	100.0		
No	Valid	Yes	24	16.8	16.9	16.9
		No	118	82.5	83.1	100.0
		Total	142	99.3	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	1	.7		
	Total		143	100.0		
Not Witnessed	Valid	Yes	17	20.5	21.5	21.5
		No	62	74.7	78.5	100.0
		Total	79	95.2	100.0	
	Missing	88.00	4	4.8		
	Total		83	100.0		
88.00	Valid	No	6	85.7	100.0	100.0
	Missing	88.00	1	14.3		
	Total		7	100.0		

Chi Squared Tests – Not significant

Reporting and belong to local clubs

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.272[a]	2	.321
Likelihood Ratio	2.215	2	.330
Linear-by-Linear Association	.200	1	.655
N of Valid Cases	270		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.80.

Reporting and Educational Qualification

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.006[a]	8	.433
Likelihood Ratio	7.686	8	.465
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.541	1	.214
N of Valid Cases	277		

a. 6 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

Reporting and what doing at the moment

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.491[a]	5	.914
Likelihood Ratio	1.989	5	.851
Linear-by-Linear Association	.049	1	.825
N of Valid Cases	277		

a. 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .55.

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and housing tenure

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.213[a]	4	.016
Likelihood Ratio	14.696	4	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	.237	1	.626
N of Valid Cases	278		

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .37.

Reporting and how long lived at address

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.488[a]	5	.482
Likelihood Ratio	4.703	5	.453
Linear-by-Linear Association	.046	1	.830
N of Valid Cases	278		

a. 1 cells (8.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.49.

Reporting and ethnicity

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.275[a]	11	.276
Likelihood Ratio	12.354	11	.338
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.138	1	.144
N of Valid Cases	276		

a. 19 cells (79.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and age

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.328[a]	7	.620
Likelihood Ratio	5.920	7	.549
Linear-by-Linear Association	.096	1	.756
N of Valid Cases	276		

a. 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .55.

Reporting and gender

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.205[a]	1	.651		
Continuity Correction[b]	.085	1	.771		
Likelihood Ratio	.203	1	.652		
Fisher's Exact Test				.748	.382
Linear-by-Linear Association	.204	1	.652		
N of Valid Cases	277				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.60.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and size of friend network

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.529[a]	3	.210
Likelihood Ratio	4.192	3	.242
Linear-by-Linear Association	.131	1	.717
N of Valid Cases	277		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.29.

Reporting and size of family network

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.895[a]	3	.273
Likelihood Ratio	4.044	3	.257
Linear-by-Linear Association	.584	1	.445
N of Valid Cases	272		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.23.

Reporting and Voting

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.601[a]	4	.331
Likelihood Ratio	5.225	4	.265
Linear-by-Linear Association	.822	1	.365
N of Valid Cases	277		

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .37.

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and live with parents

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.480[a]	1	.489		
Continuity Correction[b]	.130	1	.718		
Likelihood Ratio	.445	1	.505		
Fisher's Exact Test				.507	.339
Linear-by-Linear Association	.478	1	.489		
N of Valid Cases	276				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.96.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Reporting and live alone

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.468[a]	1	.494		
Continuity Correction[b]	.203	1	.652		
Likelihood Ratio	.494	1	.482		
Fisher's Exact Test				.643	.337
Linear-by-Linear Association	.466	1	.495		
N of Valid Cases	276				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.47.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and live with child/children

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.002[a]	1	.961		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.002	1	.961		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.541
Linear-by-Linear Association	.002	1	.961		
N of Valid Cases	276				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.85.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Reporting and live with husband/wife/partner

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.004[a]	1	.952		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.004	1	.952		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.546
Linear-by-Linear Association	.004	1	.952		
N of Valid Cases	276				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.18.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

APPENDIX I SPSS OUTPUT

Reporting and live with girlfriend/boyfriend

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.001[a]	1	.970		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.001	1	.970		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.617
Linear-by-Linear Association	.001	1	.970		
N of Valid Cases	276				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.07.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Reporting and live with friends

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.227[a]	1	.633		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.409	1	.522		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.815
Linear-by-Linear Association	.227	1	.634		
N of Valid Cases	276				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Signal Crimes Risk Comparison

Excluded NW		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Yes	I feel safer around here during the day	51	1.00	5.00	1.9804	.94848
	I feel safe around here after dark	51	1.00	5.00	2.6275	1.05756
	Valid N (listwise)	51				
No	I feel safer around here during the day	143	1.00	3.00	1.6503	.50711
	I feel safe around here after dark	143	1.00	5.00	2.1958	.87419
	Valid N (listwise)	143				
Not Witnessed	I feel safer around here during the day	83	1.00	4.00	1.6265	.59900
	I feel safe around here after dark	83	1.00	4.00	1.9880	.80386
	Valid N (listwise)	83				
88.00	I feel safer around here during the day	7	1.00	2.00	1.8571	.37796
	I feel safe around here after dark	7	2.00	4.00	2.4286	.78680
	Valid N (listwise)	7				

Correlations – Signal crimes risk

		I feel safer around here during the day	I feel safe around here after dark	Excluded NW
I feel safer around here during the day	Pearson Correlation	1	.551**	-.167**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.005
	N	284	284	277
I feel safe around here after dark	Pearson Correlation	.551**	1	-.230**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	284	284	277
Excluded NW	Pearson Correlation	-.167**	-.230**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.000	
	N	277	277	277

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlations – Social Capital

		Excluded NW	I can trust my neighbours	People around here get along with one another	I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood	If there is a problem people around here work together to get it solved	Most of the time people around here try to be helpful	Families around here keep their children under control	I care about what my neighbours think about my actions	I feel safer around here during the day	I feel safe around here after dark
Excluded NW	Pearson Correlation	1	-.199**	-.185**	-.191**	-.158**	-.185**	-.292**	-.034	-.167**	-.230**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001	.002	.001	.009	.002	.000	.578	.005	.000
	N	277	277	277	277	275	277	277	276	277	277
I can trust my neighbours	Pearson Correlation	-.199**	1	.725**	.560**	.562**	.529**	.414**	.323**	.460**	.385**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	277	284	284	284	282	284	284	283	284	284
People around here get along with one another	Pearson Correlation	-.185**	.725**	1	.607**	.622**	.662**	.442**	.369**	.486**	.394**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	277	284	284	284	282	284	284	283	284	284

I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood	Pearson Correlation	-.191**	.560**	.607**	1	.565**	.588**	.549**	.313**	.385**	.465**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	277	284	284	284	282	284	284	283	284	284
If there is a problem people around here work together to get it solved	Pearson Correlation	-.158**	.562**	.622**	.565**	1	.652**	.494**	.256**	.295**	.382**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	275	282	282	282	282	282	282	282	282	282
Most of the time people around here try to be helpful	Pearson Correlation	-.185**	.529**	.662**	.588**	.652**	1	.514**	.272**	.487**	.440**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	277	284	284	284	282	284	284	283	284	284
Families around here keep their children under control	Pearson Correlation	-.292**	.414**	.442**	.549**	.494**	.514**	1	.272**	.348**	.377**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	277	284	284	284	282	284	284	283	284	284
I care about what my neighbours think about my actions	Pearson Correlation	-.034	.323**	.369**	.313**	.256**	.272**	.272**	1	.395**	.178**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.578	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.003
	N	276	283	283	283	282	283	283	283	283	283

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlations – linking social capital

		Excluded NW	I can trust the MSDC ASB Team to deal with my concerns effectively	I can trust the PCSO to deal with my concerns effectively	In general I have confidence in Police to tackle ASB around here
Excluded NW	Pearson Correlation	1	-.314*	-.122	-.234**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.093	.000
	N	277	65	190	277
I can trust the MSDC ASB Team to deal with my concerns effectively	Pearson Correlation	-.314*	1	.706**	.690**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		.000	.000
	N	65	68	60	68
I can trust the PCSO to deal with my concerns effectively	Pearson Correlation	-.122	.706**	1	.713**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.093	.000		.000
	N	190	60	196	196
In general I have confidence in Police to tackle ASB around here	Pearson Correlation	-.234**	.690**	.713**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	277	68	196	284

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).   **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlations – Signal Crimes

		Since Experiencing Stopped Going to Certain Areas	Since Experiencing Stopped Going Out After Dark	Since Experiencing Felt Frightened for Self	Since Experiencing Felt Frightened for Neighbours	Since Experiencing Felt Frightened for Family	Have you reported ASB in last 12 months
Since Experiencing Stopped Going to Certain Areas	Pearson Correlation	1	.713**	.680**	.586**	.701**	-.019
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.394
	N	200	200	200	199	199	196
Since Experiencing Stopped Going Out After Dark	Pearson Correlation	.713**	1	.723**	.582**	.677**	.026
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000	.358
	N	200	200	200	199	199	196
Since Experiencing Felt Frightened for Self	Pearson Correlation	.680**	.723**	1	.695**	.682**	-.055
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.222
	N	200	200	200	199	199	196
Since Experiencing Felt Frightened for Neighbours	Pearson Correlation	.586**	.582**	.695**	1	.741**	.021
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.383
	N	199	199	199	199	198	195
Since Experiencing Felt	Pearson Correlation	.701**	.677**	.682**	.741**	1	.058

Frightened for Family	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000		.209
	N	199	199	199	198	199	196
Have you reported ASB in last 12 months	Pearson Correlation	-.019	.026	-.055	.021	.058	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.394	.358	.222	.383	.209	
	N	196	196	196	195	196	278

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).