Scrutiny Review: Fear of Crime

A Review by the Environment and Community Safety Scrutiny Panel

2016/17

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	Cllr Bob Hare
	Cllr Clive Carter
	Cllr Stephen Mann
	Cllr Anne Stennett
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Chairs Foreword

Crime can have profound effects on local communities. These are not confined just to people directly involved, such as victims and witnesses. It can make others fearful and anxious and also have implications for their health, well-being and quality of life. It is a source of concern that Haringey residents have some of the highest levels of fear about crime amongst London boroughs. These levels are higher than many boroughs with similar characteristics to Haringey but with higher levels of recorded crime.

Successful action to address the crimes that cause the most concerns to local communities should help reduce fear of crime. However, it can be difficult to counter negative publicity, particularly that generated by serious incidents. Communities do not necessarily respond in a uniform way to community safety issues though and specific interventions to reduce fear of crime therefore need to be sensitive to local conditions. Conversely, there is also evidence to show that some of the groups of people with the highest levels of anxiety are amongst those with the lowest level of risk of becoming victims of crime.

A range of actions have been suggested as having the potential to reduce fear of crime but further clarity is still needed on which ones have the potential to be most successful. Evidence from other London boroughs provides no clear patterns on what works and local initiatives in Haringey that were expected to address fear of crime – such as the Team Noel Park pilot – have not always delivered all of the benefits that it was thought they might. The Panel were nevertheless convinced that the extension of licensing for privately rented accommodation, as has been undertaken by a number of other London boroughs, could play a useful role in addressing anti social behaviour.

Neighbourhood Watches can play a useful role in improving communication between residents and the Police but there are challenges in establishing them in some parts of the borough. Finding suitable accommodation to meet is one of these but this could potentially be resolved where it is an issue by the use of very modest amounts of funding from ward budgets.

Our survey provided us with some useful feedback from residents. Of particular relevance were the views that were given on things that can cause anxiety as well as what would make people feel safer. The concerns raised about speeding cars had not been anticipated and should be looked at by the Overview and Scrutiny in more detail. We had also not anticipated that improved street lighting would be raised by so many of the people who responded as something that would make them feel safer and feel that community safety issues should be taken into account in deciding which streets have their lighting upgraded first.

Finally, it should be emphasised that fear of crime is a hugely complex issue and that there are no easy or obvious answers. However, it is crucial to the quality of life of residents that they are able to feel safe and is therefore an issue that deserves a higher level of priority by the Council and its partners.

Councillor Makbule Gunes
Chair

Recommendations:

1. That reducing fear of crime be set as a separate priority by the Community Safety Partnership in the new Community Safety Strategy for the borough.

2. That action plans that may be developed by the Community Safety Partnership to reduce fear of crime be adaptable to local conditions and concerns and include targeted work with sections of the community who are disproportionately affected by it.

3. That, in developing the above-mentioned action plan, further work be undertaken to identify effective interventions, including reference to the outcomes of work by Victim Support on the link between anti social behaviour and fear of crime.

4. That action to improve communication and engagement with the community on crime and community safety issues be set as an ongoing priority for the Community Safety Partnership.

5. That, where necessary, funding from ward budgets be used to assist with the establishment and sustainment of neighbourhood watches through provision for premises hire and refreshments.

6. That the proposed introduction of a borough wide additional licensing scheme to cover houses in multiple occupation and a selective scheme to initially cover 20% of the borough, with a view to extending it across the borough in due course, be strongly supported.

7. That, in view of their positive impact in combating fear of crime, issues relating to crime and community safety be taken into account when selecting which streets are prioritised for upgrading of street lighting.

8. That the Overview and Scrutiny Committee re-visit issues regarding betting shops and, in particular, how any anti social behaviour associated with them is addressed.

9. That a be submitted to a future meeting of the Panel on progress since the implementation of the 20 mph speed limit in residential streets within the borough.

1. Background

1.1 As part of the work planning process for 2016/17, it was proposed that the Panel look in depth at fear of crime. This would consideration of the following issues:

- The Council's objectives and performance in respect of fear of crime, including how data is currently collected and proposals to improve its accuracy;
- The correlation between actual crime levels and fear of crime across the borough;
- Action that could be taken to reduce fear of crime and its effectiveness, including what has proven to be successful in similar local authority areas;
- The impact of visible efforts to reduce fear of crime and whether they provide reassurance; and
- How relevant information is communicated to the public.

Terms of Reference

1.2 It was agreed that the terms of reference would be as follows:

"To consider and make recommendations to the Council's Cabinet and/or the Haringey Community Safety Partnership on how action to reduce fear of crime might be improved so that it is more effective, better targeted and responsive to the concerns of all sections of the community."

Sources of Evidence:

1.3 Sources of evidence were:

- Research and data from a range of sources, including the Mayors Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC);
- Interviews with officers from the Council, partner organisations and other local authorities;
- Responses to a survey of neighbourhood watches and resident associations undertaken as part of the review;
- Consultation responses from a range of young people within Haringey; and
- Performance information.

1.4 A full list of all those who provided evidence is attached as Appendix A.

Membership

1.5 The membership of the Panel was as follows:

Councillors: Makbule Gunes (Chair), Barbara Blake, Bob Hare, Clive Carter, Stephen Mann and Anne Stennett.

Co-opted Member: Ian Sygrave (Haringey Association of Neighbourhood Watches).

2. Introduction

2.1 Research has shown that fear of crime can have negative effects on both individuals and communities and these can sometimes be disproportionate to the level of threat. In particular, fear of crime can erode both individual well being and community cohesion. The anxiety caused can also have a detrimental effect on quality of life and make people more susceptible to becoming a victim. Research commissioned by Age Concern in 2016 showed that it can be associated with low quality of life, limited mobility and poor health status amongst older people.

Causes and Influences

2.2 The causes and influences on fear of crime are complex. Actual levels of crime have a clear and obvious impact and media coverage of specific high profile incidents can generate additional anxiety. However, the Panel heard that the relationship between actual levels of crime and fear of crime is not straightforward.

2.3 Visible signs of neglect in an area are thought to generate fear. Litter, vandalism and poor lighting can lead to a perception by residents of withdrawal of resources. The "broken windows" criminological theory suggests that the appearance of neglect can attract low level disorder and that this can escalate if not tackled. Offenders from elsewhere will be attracted in, leading to more serious disorder and crime and residents will become increasingly more fearful and worried about crime. The theory has been subject to challenge but is still widely accepted and the basis for much policy in this area.

2.4 There is an criminological theory, linked to "broken windows", that certain types of crime or disorderly behaviour - referred to as "signal crimes" - have a disproportionate impact upon fear of crime. Strong signals result from incidents that are of sufficient seriousness to generate a significant degree of public awareness. However, continued exposure to a succession of weaker signals can also have a significant effect.

2.5 The concept of "signal crimes" does not assume that everyone will interpret signals in the same way. Social class, age, gender, ethnicity, previous victimisation and lifestyle may influence how people respond. For example, fear of sexual assault may cause particular anxiety to women whilst for men physical assault may be a greater source of fear.

2.6 In addition, what may be interpreted as a "signal crime" by the residents in one area may not necessarily be regarded in the same way by the residents of a different area. For example, graffiti may be seen by residents as an indicator of emerging problems in a comparatively affluent neighbourhood whilst in a more deprived neighbourhood, where more serious incidents (e.g. gang related/gun crime) take place on a regular basis, additional graffiti may be less of an issue.

Confidence

2.7 Confidence can be linked to fear of crime and relates specifically to how good a job people think the Police are doing. Research has shown that those individuals who are confident that the police do a good job are more likely to:

- Report victimisation;
- Come forward with information to assist cases;
- Cooperate with the police; and
- Obey the law.

2.8 The four key drivers of confidence, according to the model that is used by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), are the following:

- Effectiveness in dealing with crime;
- Engagement with the community;
- Fair treatment; and
- Alleviating local anti social behaviour.

2.9 Although fear of crime is regarded as a driver of confidence, it is not considered to be a major one. Research undertaken by the MPS shows the following:

- Women are more fearful than men;
- Older people are more fearful than younger people;
- Fear of crime is higher for low income and education groups;
- Minority ethnic groups are more fearful than white people;
- Those living in inner city areas more fearful; and
- Perceived physical and social disorder in the local community can increase fear.

2.10 There is evidence that some sections of the community have disproportionate levels of concern about crime. Evidence from the MOPAC suggests that older people and people from some black and minority ethnic communities may have higher levels of anxiety. The “Britain Think” survey that was undertaken by the Council in 2014 also showed a significantly higher percentage of people over the age of 55 felt unsafe going out after dark. Higher levels of concern about anti social behaviour were also reported amongst people describing themselves as Asian or Asian/British. Ironically, both of these groups are at a comparatively low level of risk of becoming victims of crime.

Understanding Fear of Crime

2.11 The Panel received evidence from Molly Blackburn, national lead for anti social behaviour for Victim Support, on their work to develop a better understanding of fear of crime. She stated that the response of local communities to community safety issues was not uniform. There could be a split between areas with high levels of reporting and complaints and areas with lower levels of reporting but a higher proportion of serious issues. Some areas with high crime rates had relatively low levels of anxiety whilst quieter suburban areas with lower crime rates had higher levels. This could lead to

resources not being used in a way that was proportionate to the severity of incidents.

2.12 She stated that a significant percentage of crime went unreported. By the same token, minor issues could assume significance for some people and the resulting anxiety about crime could have a huge impact on their lives, affecting both their behaviour and their response to incidents. She felt that fear of crime was not just about what had happened but also about what might happen in the future. It can also make people more susceptible to becoming a victim by making them appear vulnerable.

2.13 The way in which local authorities promoted crime and community safety issues was very important. There was often insufficient time to put out positive news stories in relation to crime and community safety to counter negative publicity.

2.14 Anti social behaviour was of particular significance and Ms Blackburn reported that one in three people were affected by it to some extent. In dealing with it, there was a risk of criminalising the most socially excluded groups. There was a moral panic associated with anti social behaviour and talking about it could actually heighten levels of concern. Whilst there were real and genuine incidents, harm could also be caused that was not based on actual incidents.

2.15 Neighbourhood agreements, such as that developed by Oldham, could be developed to address high levels of anxiety regarding anti social behaviour. This involved monitoring what was actually happening on the ground. Incidents were tracked and scored and, from this, it was possible to put their severity into perspective. Young people were involved in this process and it was hoped this could break down any negative perceptions that there might be regarding them. As a result of the work that had been done in Oldham, the level of anti social behaviour had gone down and community cohesion increased.

2.16 Victim Support was looking at how it could work more effectively with both victims and perpetrators and it was hoped to develop recommendations on how practice could be improved. They were holding focus groups and speaking to a range of people to obtain their views. The engagement would look at the reasons for heightened levels of concern in some areas. It was envisaged that it would take around a year to complete the work.

3. Strategic Targets and Performance

3.1 Priority 3 of the Council's Corporate Plan 2015-18 is: "A clean, well maintained and safe borough where people are proud to live and work". Objective one is; "To strengthen partnerships and together work with our communities to improve their environment, enable people to feel safe and proud of where they live and work, particularly through reducing anti social behavioural and environmental crime." The outcome indicator for this is fear of crime i.e. "To what extent are you worried about crime in the area?" (% very/fairly worried). The target is for levels across the borough to be down from 36% to 29% by 2018. The figure for quarter 2 of 2016/17 was 42%.

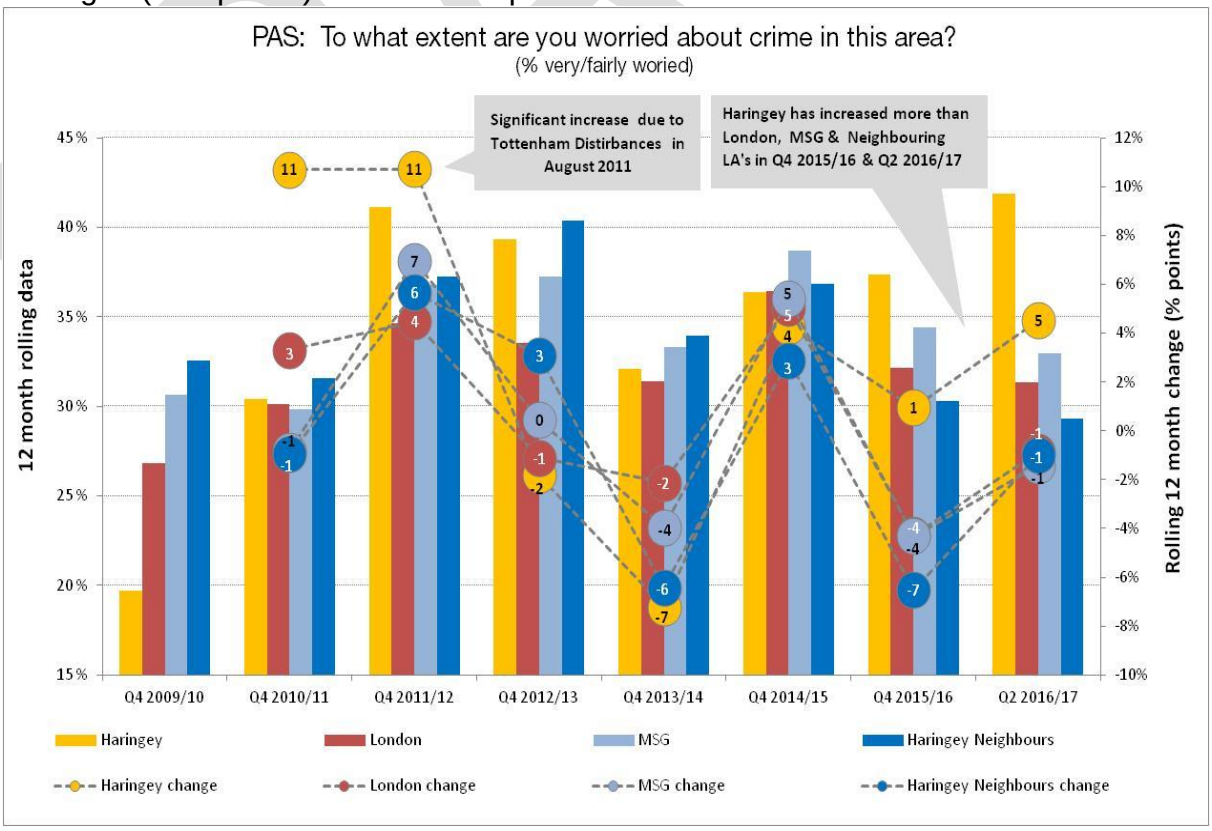
3.2 The indicator is measured using performance information is sourced from the Metropolitan Police Service Public Attitude Survey (PAS) quarterly report, which measures the attitude of Londoners towards policing and identifies priorities and experiences throughout the year. The most valid comparisons can be made with boroughs within Haringey's most similar group (MSG). These are boroughs that share similar social, economic and demographic characteristics. The statistics for Quarter 2 of 2016/17 are below. Alongside are statistics for volumes of reported crime. Boroughs that are part of Haringey's MSG are in bold.

% Worried about crime in this area (Q2 2016/17)	Very/fairly worried	Volume (Total Notifiable Offences) (Twelve Months to October 2016)
Enfield	**47%**	**23,352**
Ealing	**42%**	**27,879**
Haringey	***42%***	***27,754***
Hillingdon	40%	22,426
Redbridge	**40%**	**20,330**
Harrow	39%	13,573
Barnet	38%	25,717
Waltham Forest	**38%**	**21,683**
Hounslow	**37%**	**22,763**
Brent	**36%**	**27,532**
Croydon	**36%**	**30,022**
Barking and Dagenham	33%	17,843
Hackney	**33%**	**28,578**
Islington	33%	27,863
Merton	32%	13,240
Newham	**32%**	**30,600**
Havering	32%	17,428
Lewisham	**30%**	**24,920**
Bexley	29%	13,075
Greenwich	**29%**	**23,269**
Sutton	28%	10,832
Kingston upon Thames	27%	10,358
Lambeth	**27%**	**35,578**
Tower Hamlets	27%	30,180
Camden	26%	29,878
Bromley	23%	20,423

Richmond upon Thames	22%	11,291
Southwark	**21%**	**32,524**
Hammersmith and Fulham	18%	21,092
Westminster	18%	49,683
Wandsworth	**16%**	**24,504**
Kensington and Chelsea	14%	20,313
Total	31%	759,637

3.3 There is currently only one London borough that has a higher percentage of people than Haringey stating that they are either fairly or very worried about crime, although there are a few that have percentages that are close. Of particular note are the figures for Southwark and Lambeth, which are both in Haringey's MSG. These show higher levels of actual crime but levels of worry of crime that are considerably lower – 21% and 27% respectively. Conversely, some outer and predominantly suburban boroughs with significantly lower levels of reported crime than Haringey have broadly similar levels of worry about crime that are. For example, Harrow's figure is 39% despite crime levels that are less than half.

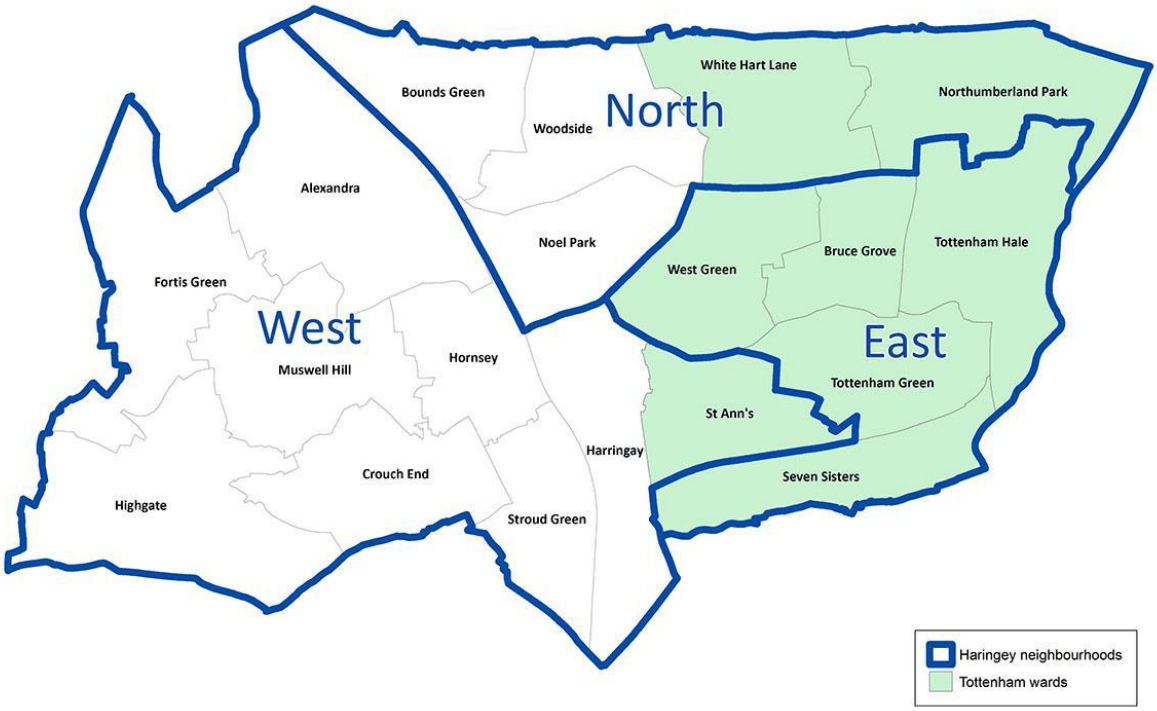
3.4 PAS data going back to quarter 4 of 2009/10 (12 months to March 2010) (Appendix 1) shows that the average annual "worry about crime" return in Haringey is 35%. This ranks 7th highest out of the 15 boroughs in our MSG. It shows an overall increase of 22% from 20% in March 2010 to the current level of 42% (September 2016). This increase is considerably greater than that for London (+4% points), our MSG (+2% points) and our neighbouring boroughs (-3% points) for the same period.



3.5 The highest increase was seen in the 12 months to March 2012 and is likely to be linked to the disturbances in the summer of 2011 and was replicated in most London boroughs. In that year, Haringey recorded an 11% point increase to 41%, which was greater than London, our MSG and neighbouring boroughs. The most recent figure for Haringey of 42% for quarter 2 of 2016/17 is the highest since 2009/10 and one percentage point above the annual return to March 2012. It is noticeable that many boroughs that experienced a spike in fear of crime following the 2011 disturbances have since reverted to previous levels but this has not happened in Haringey.

3.6 Borough wide fear of crime performance information sourced from PAS can be broken down into three separate neighbourhoods which are:

1. Haringey – North;
2. Haringey – East; and
3. Haringey - West.



3.7 Whilst these are not co-terminus with parliamentary constituency boundaries, the average of Haringey North and Haringey East is used as a Tottenham proxy indicator. The figures show that residents in the west of the borough are approximately 9% less worried (67% not very/not at all worried) about crime compared to the borough as a whole (58%).

3.8 The Haringey Community Safety Strategy 2013 – 2017 includes other targets that are of relevance to fear of crime. As part of action to improve confidence in the Police, it has the same target for decreasing worry about crime as the Corporate Plan (i.e. reducing it to 29% by 2018). As part of the action plan for 2016/17 it also includes the following targets:

- Increasing the percentage of people feeling safe at night in the Noel Park ward. The baseline for this was 55%, compared to a borough wide figure of 68%. Noel Park was selected as it is the longest standing high crime area. The Veolia Annual Residents Survey is used to measure this. Current figures (2016) in respect of these targets show the following:
  - Noel Park; 47% felt fairly or very safe at night;
  - Haringey; 65% felt fairly/very safe

3.9 The Team Noel Park pilot that was set up to address a number of issues in the ward, including this, is discussed in detail later on in this report.

Other Questions

3.10 In addition to fear of crime, there are a number of other questions on issues relating to the perception of crime and anti social behaviour in the PAS survey which are relevant, particularly as these relate to issues that can cause disproportionately high levels of concern. The responses from Haringey residents in respect of these for quarter 1 of 2016/17 were as follows:

3.11 These are the following:

Question	**% Haringey**	**% MPS (i.e. London wide)**
To what extent are you worried about ASB in the area? % worried (very/fairly)	24% very/fairly worried, -2% from the previous quarter but +1% from the same quarter in 2015/16. Haringey has seen a trend of -3% since September 2015.	20% very/fairly worried, -1% from the previous quarter and -4% from the same quarter in 2015/16.
To what extent do you think that gun crime is a problem in the area? % problem (major/minor)	21% major/minor problem, + 2% from the previous quarter and +5% from the same quarter in 2015/16. Gun discharges in Haringey offences rose by 3, from 10 to 13, in the year to September 2016	9% major/minor problem, +1% from the previous quarter but -2% from the same quarter in 2015/16.
To what extent do you think that gangs are a problem in the area? % problem (major/minor)	Haringey: 27% major/minor problem, unchanged from the previous quarter and from the same quarter in 2015/16. Haringey gang flagged offences fell by 57% from 164 to 71 in the year to September 2016.	16% major/minor problem, -1% from the previous quarter and -5% from the same quarter in 2015/16.

3.12 These figures may indicate that ASB is not one of the stronger drivers of fear of crime in the borough and that concerns about gang and gun crime are more significant.

Limitations of Data

3.13 The Panel noted evidence from Claire Kowalska, Community Safety Strategic Manager, Commercial and Operations that although the number of respondents to the PAS survey is statistically significant and comes from a representative sample of households, it is limited in scope and involves comparatively few residents. She felt that there was a need to get a more accurate picture of the views of residents and, as part of this, consideration needed to be given to alternative ways of obtaining them.

3.14 Ms Kowalska reported that there are two surveys that are now hoped to provide an more accurate and inclusive snapshot of the views of residents:

- The annual Veolia Haringey Residents Survey of 1400 residents, which is done on a "one-to-one" basis;
- A youth health survey, which would also include questions on issues of concern, such a community safety.

3.15 The Veolia survey of December 2015 provides some further information on the views of residents. Although its primary objective is to conduct a residents satisfaction survey about the services provided by the Council's waste contractor Veolia, it also provides additional feedback on residents feelings about safety. It showed that 20% of people felt either fairly or very unsafe when outside in their area after dark. During the day, this figure was 3%.

Feedback from Young People

3.16 The Panel noted that Haringey Youth Council was re-constituted in 2016 and feedback from it provides a useful snapshot of the views of young people. At its first meeting, the young people present debated what they felt were the biggest concerns of young people in the borough. The top concern was considered to be crime and gangs. The Panel obtained further feedback from the Youth Council regarding this issue as follows:

What sort of things would make you feel safer in Haringey?

1. More visible Police presence but Police that are from Haringey and who have knowledge of local young people.
2. Police Territorial Support Group officers to be less aggressive
3. More street lights e.g. at the basket ball courts

3.17 Feedback relevant to this issue was also obtained from Aspire, who are Haringey's Children in Care Council, by the Children and Young People's Scrutiny Panel as part of their review on Child Friendly Haringey. They stated that a lot of young people do not feel safe and are worried about gangs. Some are reluctant to travel to other areas of the borough away from where

they live due to area based rivalries or "post code" issue. Officers also reported that the post code issue can affect the life chances of young people as they can be reticent to go to other areas for education or training.

3.18 The Youth Steering Group from the Markfield Project, a charity within the borough dedicated to bringing disabled and non disabled children and young people together, also provided some relevant feedback. Safety rated very highly in their priorities and it was also raised in respect of housing, with one young person stating that "Living in Broadwater Farm doesn't feel safe."

3.19 There was a mixture of views regarding the Police and whether they made them feel safer. One group did not feel the Police helped them feel safer. Two members of this group talked about their own personal experiences with the Police. They felt they could not trust the Police and that they needed to be better trained. The other group wanted safer streets and reduced crime and felt that more Police were needed on the streets. In addition, they wanted more Police 'stop and search' and officers outside their college.

3.20 The most recent Haringey Community Strategic Assessment gives some context for the concerns raised by young people. There were 319 victims of serious youth violence in the past 12-months, an increase of 5%. Haringey has the 5th highest volume of all London boroughs. Serious youth violence consists of a combination of robbery and violence, with victims aged 10 to 19. Gang members are becoming progressively younger, some now becoming involved between the ages of 10 to 13.

Panel Survey

3.21 The Panel commissioned an on-line survey that was distributed through neighbourhood watches and resident associations. The purpose of this was to try and find out more about the concerns of residents, its causes and what might help people feel safer. 129 responses were received, covering a range of different post codes across the borough. Whilst it was not necessarily representative of the borough as a whole, it provides a flavour of the opinion of residents.

3.22 12% of respondents stated that they felt either unsafe or very unsafe during the day. At night, this percentage increased to 45%. The figures were particularly high for those living in the N17 and N22 postcodes. Almost two thirds of people (64%) living in N17 felt either unsafe whilst the figure for N22 was 52%.

3.23 Aside from more Police officers on the street, there were a number of recurring themes from the responses regarding what was likely to make them feel safer. Of particular interest was the high percentage of people – 28% (37 respondents) – who identified improved street lighting as something that would make them feel safer. In addition, several people raised issues relating to speeding traffic and groups congregating around betting shop entrances. Houses in multiple occupation and the lack of related enforcement was also referred to.

3.24 Feedback from the survey also revealed that the most common means of obtaining information about levels of crime through hearing about incidents from friends and neighbours, which 60% of respondents stated was their main source of evidence. Social media, the local press and people's own experience were also sources that were used by many. In practice, it is likely that people obtain their information from a range of sources.

4. Action to Address Fear of Crime

4.1 Although there is no action plan to specifically address fear of crime, there are a range of activities that are taken by the Council and its partners that are aimed to provide reassurance to residents and increase confidence. Much day-to-day Police activity is focussed on addressing the crimes that cause particular concern to residents, such as gangs and gun crime. Action is also taken by the Council and its partners to address anti social behaviour, which can also have a big impact of levels of fear/worry about crime.

4.2 The Panel noted evidence that, despite a lot of good enforcement work being undertaken in Haringey, there is often little publicity for it. Haringey tends to be a borough with a high media profile and incidents are often given a high level of prominence. Good quality engagement with the community can make a difference. For example, people who had been in contact with the Police had higher levels of confidence in them than others.

Community Safety Partnership

4.3 The Panel received evidence from Eubert Malcolm, Head of Community Safety and Regulatory Services on action being taken to improve confidence in order to achieve the targets set by the Community Safety Partnership. Although they are focussed on confidence, the actions are also intended to reduce fear/worry about crime.

4.4 An action plan had been developed to support this, linked to the previously mentioned MPS four drivers of public confidence i.e:

- Effectiveness in dealing with crime;
- Engagement with the community;
- Fair treatment; and
- Alleviating local anti social behaviour.

4.5 The actions were focussed on a number of different issues, including the coverage of positive community safety messages, improving engagement and involvement and strengthening joint enforcement. Most of the actions were on track. Of particular note was the success of MetTrace in reducing burglaries. To date, 6,329 kits had been distributed, covering 65% of households in wards where it has been introduced. There were still 2,000 households to go though and the aim was to eventually cover 85% of households.

4.6 Schools had designed a spray on stencil to go on pavements outside of tube stations to warn people to be vigilant when using their mobile phones in order to reduce instances of them being snatched. In addition, it had been planned to set up a digital alert system but this was no longer proceeding. Action to develop a new enforcement page on the Council's website was continuing. There was also a specific Noel Park website which had been set up as part of the Team Noel Park pilot.

4.7 Specific action was taking place to improve engagement with the orthodox Jewish and Polish communities. A number of wards where there were currently low levels of confidence had also been chosen for specific initiatives. Engagement had taken place with 2,000 people so far.

4.8 The reconstituted Youth Council in Haringey would be used to drive engagement with young people. There was also a target of 160 police cadets by the end of the year. In addition, the Fire Service was undertaking home visits to priority people within the community to promote fire safety. 1920 visits had been made so far. The Community Safety Partnership was reviewing the Community Safety Strategy and a draft was due in October 2017. Fear of Crime was likely to be a priority within this.

4.9 The Panel noted that the Council currently paid for six Police officers under an agreement under Section 92 of the Police Act 1996. This means that match funding is provided by the Metropolitan Police, meaning that the Council only pays 50% of the cost. The additional officers are deployed to address priorities set by the Council. However, there are now 20 fewer Police officers for the borough overall than were in 2010 due to Police budget reductions.

4.10 The Panel also received evidence from Chief Inspector Veronica Morrell from Haringey Police. She reported that the response to the issue of fear of crime tended to focus on the need to put more Police officers on the street. This would not necessarily reduce crime but the issue was more concerned with how people felt.

4.11 Improving confidence and addressing mistrust were priorities for the new Borough Commander. Officers had been moved away from other duties to address the issue and an internal restructuring was taking place. A Community Engagement Board had been set up to co-ordinate action, which would include community representation. Work priorities for it were currently being set. A Community and Youth Engagement Team had also been established.

4.12 Ward Panels are locally based and Police managed community/police engagement and consultation groups. Engagement with them was a particular priority and efforts were currently being made to arrange a meeting of their Chairs. Ms Morrell stated that there was scope for different arrangements for ward panels. She noted that wards where there was high demand on Police services tended to get a better service but it was necessary to be mindful of the needs of other areas as there was a danger that they could otherwise be neglected.

4.13 A need had also been identified to establish a media hub. In particular, it was acknowledged that social media presence needed to be improved as it was currently somewhat “ad hoc” in nature. In addition to Facebook and Twitter, there were now newer social media platforms that young people used and these needed to be utilised as well. The message provided via the print medium also needed to be improved. Specific efforts needed to be taken to

engage with “hard to reach” groups as well, such as communities that may be new to the borough.

4.14 There was a commitment by the Police to have a strong presence in schools. Whilst Police funding for work with schools had been cut elsewhere, it had been preserved in Haringey. There was a dedicated officer in every secondary school and links to primary schools were currently being further developed. A newly appointed person was in the process of making contact with primary schools in order to establish points of contact. The schools team also had responsibility for promoting the Police Cadets. In addition, work was now taking place with the Council’s Early Help Service.

4.15 Dedicated schools Police officers undertook a range of tasks:

- They were present at school gates and could be called in by teachers if necessary;
- They also appeared in school assemblies and gave talks on a range of issues, such as stop and search;
- They were a visible presence in and around school.

4.16 A lot of work was also undertaken with neighbourhood watches. It was noted that establishing neighbourhood watch in some areas in the east of the borough could be particularly challenging. Suitable accommodation for meetings was a particular issue as there was currently no funding available for this. The use of watch members’ front rooms for meetings was not always feasible or appropriate.

4.17 The intention was to build bridges with local communities and, in particular, emerging ones. Confidence in the Police had increased in recent months from 53% to 57% and was now at 61%. However, the Metropolitan Police average was 68%.

Anti Social Behaviour

4.18 Anti social behaviour has long been considered as a driver of fear of crime. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 defines anti-social behaviour as acting in a manner that has "caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household" as the perpetrator.

4.19 The Panel received evidence from Alison Pibworth, Team Leader of the Council’s Anti Social Behaviour Action Team (ASBAT) on the work that was currently undertaken in Haringey to address the issue. The team aims to act swiftly in response to a range of issues, including harassment, hate crime, drug misuse and dealing, begging, alcohol related nuisance, prostitution, groups of youths loitering, dangerous dogs and rough sleeping.

4.20 A lack of reports did not necessarily mean that there were no issues and residents could not be reporting them. This could be driven by fear. Drug dealing, rough sleeping and prostitutes had been found in some areas despite there being no or very few reports from local residents. There were known hot spots which had low levels of reporting.

4.21 Ms Pibworth reported that a range of civil actions are taken by the Police and Council in response to anti social behaviour. These have included injunctions, deportations of sex workers and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs). The injunctions had worked well but issues tended to return over a period of time. Introductory tenancies were used which made it easier to evict tenants who committed anti social behaviour. Community Protection Orders could be used and had proven to be very effective tools.

4.22 Residents can use the Community Trigger if they are not happy with the response of agencies to reports of anti social behaviour. Repeat perpetrators and victims are identified and this enables interventions and support to be provided. For example, perpetrators with alcohol issues can be referred for treatment and relevant conditions could be inserted in injunctions. Knowing that successful action had been taken against anti social behaviour helped build confidence, especially amongst victims.

4.23 The service promoted community responsibility, working closely with residents and encouraging them to become involved. An example of this was the Community Champions initiative in Northumberland Park that aimed to empower residents. They regularly attended meetings with residents and Ward Panel meetings. They also worked with residents and Homes for Haringey to improve the local environment. Twice weekly litter picks and rubbish removal on estates had been re-introduced by Homes for Haringey in order to give the area a better impression of being cared for.

4.24 Enforcement action was taken, if possible, using hearsay evidence, which removed the need for residents to attend court. This also provided residents with greater confidence to report incidents. When possible, flyers were delivered to residents when enforcement action had been taken, with the aim of showing that the service had the capability to respond effectively to incidents.

5. Team Noel Park Pilot

5.1 The Panel heard that the Team Noel Park pilot was the prototype for a new partnership approach with the local community, built around shared ambitions to improve the local environment and improve community safety. Its aim was, through active engagement with the community, to build a shared understanding of the community's priorities and a consensus on how to improve outcomes.

5.2 The key outcomes aimed for were:

- A cleaner and safer place;
- Increased satisfaction as a place to live, work/trade and visit; and
- Increased pride in the area.

5.3 The project also sought to strengthen community capacity and resilience so that in future the community would be empowered to play a more prominent role in generating solutions to local priorities. In time, this could potentially involve co-commissioning services and playing a role in affecting behaviour change, with local public services maintaining a supporting and enabling role.

5.4 A further underlying principle was to test an approach to community engagement that was within the current mainstream resources and budgets of the Council and its partners in order to understand the impact better partnership working could deliver in an environment of shrinking resources. The intention was that lessons learnt would be applied to other parts of the borough.

5.5 The Noel Park ward was chosen to test the approach based on specific characteristics about the area:

- It is in the top 3 wards in the borough for violence with injury, robbery, criminal damage and theft from person;
- It is in the top 20 wards in London for the number of criminal offences (and the worst in Haringey) based on the suite of crime indicators used by the MOPAC; and
- Anti-social behaviour and environmental crime are also disproportionately high in Noel Park, with the ward being amongst the worst in the borough for fly tipping.

5.6 At the same time there is a strong sense of community with active involvement in residents' and community groups. The area also has significant social media infrastructure and therefore felt to have the right conditions to forge a transformational relationship with the council.

5.7 The pilot project started in earnest in September 2015. The evaluation of the initiative included consideration of its impact on fear/worry of crime. If successful, it was intended to replicate the approach used in other wards. Crime tends to be concentrated in a small number of electoral wards and the intention was to focus activity on them and particular estates and to look at alternative ways of working. Focus groups were undertaken in Noel Park as part of the evaluation process.

5.8 The Panel received an update on the outcome of the evaluation of the pilot project. The Veolia survey of 2015 obtained the views of 1100 residents, including 200 people from Noel Park. A similar survey had recently been undertaken in order to compare its results with the earlier one to evaluate the impact of the pilot project.

5.9 The pilot had had a number of benefits, including enabling new links to be made with and between community groups in Noel Park and better communication with Members and the Council. It was felt that there was also now greater community ownership of local issues and willingness of partners to work with the Council as well as a more constructive dialogue with the community. In addition, shared ambitions for the local area had been developed between residents and project team.

5.10 Somewhat disappointingly though, there has been little change in feelings of safety amongst residents. In 2015, 55% of Noel Park residents reported feeling safe in the area at night, compared to a borough figure of 68%. The most recent figure was 47% compared to a borough wide figure of 65%. A similar result had been recorded for people feeling safe during the day, with figures for Noel Park going down slightly from 85% to 84% compared to borough wide figures of 93% in 2015 and 91% in 2016. Officers felt that part of the explanation for this were issues concerning low level crime and anti social behaviour originating from Ducketts Common, which had spread into a wider area. In addition, decreases had also been recorded in the percentage of people who said that they were satisfied with the area that they lived in and how the Council was run.

5.11 The pilot project did not have the impact that it was hoped to have. Awareness of issues such as fly tipping and anti social behaviour in the area has increased but it appears that this has led to the perception amongst residents that problems have become worse. It is possible that the focus on these issues had drawn attention to them. A very small number of high profile incidents could also cause significant damage. Consideration is nevertheless being given to rolling out the positive aspects of the pilot elsewhere in the borough, such as the improved dialogue with residents. It is possible that the 2017 survey will show improvements though, especially if there were no serious incidents in the neighbourhood in the meantime.

5.12 Despite the disappointing overall outcome, there had been some positives that had arisen. The pilot had enabled residents to become more familiar with services and senior officers and had enabled the Council and its partners to show that they were trying to address problems. Better links had been developed between the Council and residents with Homes for Haringey. 25% of the borough's crime took place in the Wood Green area and it would be unrealistic to think that all of the problems in the area could be solved easily.

6. Other Boroughs - Case Studies

6.1 A key part of the Panel's work was determining what action, if any, could be taken to reduce levels of fear of crime by identifying interventions that had worked well elsewhere. Contact was made with four London boroughs that had lower levels of fear of crime, including three (Lambeth, Southwark and Newham) from within Haringey's MSG of London boroughs. The aim of this was to determine if there were any specific interventions that they had undertaken which might be behind their lower levels.

Lambeth

6.2 The percentage of Lambeth residents who stated that they are very or fairly worried about crime has gone down from 37% in 2010 to 27% in 2016. There was no single action that was felt to have made a specific difference in reducing levels in Lambeth. However, addressing fear of crime and feelings of safety has been a corporate priority for communications for a number of years. Up until 2016, fear of crime had been identified as the number one concern of residents, with over 40% listing it as a priority area There have been a number of corporate communications campaigns in respect of the issue, some of which were targeted (e.g. violence against women and girls, the night time economy) and some more general.

6.3 It has been a constant presence in their corporate plan. The Council engages regularly with residents groups on the issue, both through the safer neighbourhoods process and groups, such as the old Community and Police Consultative Group and the current Safer Neighbourhood Board, as well as residents groups. They felt the progress that they had made was as a result of spending a sustained period of time talking about the issues with residents and trying to address them where appropriate.

Southwark

6.4 The percentage of Southwark residents who stated that they are very or fairly worried about crime was 21% in 2016, exactly half of Haringey's figure. However, this figure has fluctuated since 2010 and was as high as 42% in 2011. Safer communities have been one of Southwark's Fairer Future Promises within its corporate plan and they had undertaken a range of initiatives on relevant issues, although nothing specifically on fear of crime. They were unaware of the fact that their levels of worry about crime were so low. The one factor that they raised that was felt might possibly have contributed towards this was effective multi agency engagement and work with residents associations. They also had put out a steady stream of communications on anti social behaviour and other community safety issues.

Newham

6.5 Newham has experienced a large drop in the percentage of residents stating that they are worried about crime in their area, as taken from PAS survey data, from 60% in 2009/10 to 32% last year. In particular, there has been a

steady year on year drop from 2012/13, when the figure was 53%. The decline is confirmed by their own survey data.

6.6 There is no specific action plan to reduce fear of crime but they feel that there are a number of things that may have a significant impact on the figures:

- They have taken specific action to increase visible presence on the streets of the borough. The Council has its own team of uniformed Law Enforcement Officers who work alongside the Police. Every ward now has its own dedicated uniformed officer. These deal with a range of issues, including waste and anti social behaviour. In addition, the borough has invested £1.45 million in providing 40 additional Police officers for the borough to deal with crime and community safety issues. Like in Haringey, the officers have been acquired using an agreement under the Police Act 1996 which provides for match funding from the Metropolitan Police.

- Specific action was taken to license all privately rented property in the borough as this was felt to be a source of anti-social behaviour. Since its launch in January 2013, 36,037 licences have been issued and over 800 prosecutions undertaken against landlords, mainly for failing to licence properties and poor conditions.

- Action has also been taken to strengthen commercial licensing in order to clamp down on businesses that were a source of disorder and anti social behaviour.

6.7 In addition, an extra £5 million has been invested in CCTV cameras and infrastructure, including 200 new cameras.

Camden

6.8 The percentage of Camden residents who stated that they are very or fairly worried about crime was 26% in 2016. However, Camden is not part of Haringey's MSG so comparisons need to be treated with caution. Camden's safer communities partnership had prioritised a number of areas for action including domestic violence and abuse, anti social behaviour, estate based issues, the night time economy, serious youth disorder and hate crime. The focus was now more strongly on high risk issues and there had been a range of advertising and campaigns on particular issues.

6.9 There was a lot of engagement with the community. This included Camden Safety Views, which was run by a third sector organisation. As part of this, a survey was undertaken every quarter on the views of people about their neighbourhood and, in particular, anything about crime and anti social behaviour that might be of concern to residents.

6.10 In addition, they had Youth Independent Advisors (YIA) who were a team of young volunteers who advised the Police and liaised with young people. YIA is a scheme run by Camden Safer Neighbourhood Board. It is made up of

young volunteers aged from 15 to 19 years from whom the police, council and other agencies can seek advice on matters relating to crime and community safety. The main focus of the group was to engage with the Police and local Council on areas such as:

- Attending briefing meetings;
- Observing stop and search operations;
- Providing input into police training, particularly with regards to youth engagement;
- Advising the police in engagement activities in school and youth clubs; and
- Encouraging young people to complain when they feel aggrieved; and
- Respond to consultation on dispersal notices and designing out crime on estates.

6.11 There was also a lot of work that took place with Victim Support and, in particular, assisting them to get referrals. There had been a specific focus on communication, marketing and advertising.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 The issue of fear of crime is complex and there are no easy ways of reducing it. Despite this, the Panel has been able to draw some conclusions from the evidence it received.

7.2 The fact that such a high percentage of people in the borough say that they are fairly or very worried about crime issue should be a matter of serious concern to the Council and its partners. The figures are some of the highest in London and significantly higher than many boroughs that are similar to Haringey but have greater levels of crime.

7.3 The effects of crime are not only felt by its direct victims. Fear of crime can have a seriously detrimental effect on the quality of life of residents, can impact on their health and well being and make them more susceptible to becoming a victim. In addition, the "post code" issue in certain areas of the borough can also affect the life chances of young people as they feel less able to take advantage of opportunities in some areas of the borough.

7.4 The current Community Safety Strategy has prioritised action to improve confidence in policing and community safety. It was assumed that successful action on this also lead to a reduction in fear of crime. However, increasing the percentage of people who feel that the Police are doing a good job may not necessarily have this effect. Despite the latest figures showing that confidence has improved within the borough, there is so far no evidence of fear of crime going down. Evidence from the MOPAC also suggests the link between the two issues may have been overstated. Indeed, if improved confidence leads to higher levels of reporting of crime, it is possible that it might even lead to higher levels of fear of crime as it may generate the perception that crime is increasing.

7.5 The Panel notes that fear of crime is likely to be made a separate priority by the Community Safety Partnership within the new Community Safety Strategy for the borough and would strongly endorse this.

Recommendation 1:
That reducing fear of crime be set as a separate priority by the Community Safety Partnership in the new Community Safety Strategy for the borough.

7.6 Although the Panel is of the view that reducing fear of crime should be a priority, it is mindful that this may not be easy to achieve in practice as action that has taken place to date has not been successful. Objective 1 of Priority 3 of the Council's Corporate Plan 2015-18 uses reduction in fear of crime as an outcome indicator on the success of action to improve the environment by reducing anti social behaviour and environmental crime. The target is to bring the percentage of people stating that they are worried about crime down to 29% by 2018. This is not on course to be met and the percentage has actually increased to 42%. In addition, the initiatives undertaken as part of the

Team Noel Park pilot to address environmental crime and anti social behaviour and develop community engagement that were hoped to reduce fear of crime have proven to be unsuccessful in achieving this.

7.7 It is likely to be the case that in areas of the borough where more serious incidents are more common, environmental crime and anti social behaviour is a less significant driver of fear of crime. One explanation that was given for the lack of success of the Team Noel Park in reducing fear of crime is that this was due to issues concerning Ducketts Common spreading out into a wider area which may have overshadowed other improvements. It is possible that such an initiative may work better in areas of the borough with comparatively lower levels of more serious crime.

7.8 Fear of crime does not appear to be uniform amongst residents. What may be the source of a large number of complaints in one area of the borough may not be regarded in the same way by the residents of a different area. For example, the Panel heard that some anti social behaviour "hot spots" within the borough did not attract the high level of complaints that would be expected elsewhere. It is nevertheless important that the response to incidents is proportionate to their severity.

7.9 There is evidence that some sections of the community have disproportionate levels of concern about crime. Evidence from the MOPAC suggests that older people and people from some black and minority ethnic communities may have higher levels of anxiety. The "Britain Think" survey that was undertaken by the Council in 2014 also showed a significantly higher percentage of people over the age of 55 felt unsafe going out after dark. Higher levels of concern about anti social behaviour were also reported amongst people describing themselves as Asian or Asian/British. Ironically, both of these groups are at a comparatively low level of risk of becoming victims of crime.

7.10 The Panel is of the view that an action plan should be developed to reduce fear of crime. This may require both mainstream work to address the types of crime and anti social behaviour that cause residents the most anxiety as well as more specific action to provide reassurance to local communities through improved engagement and communication. The Panel feels that the action plan should be adaptable to local conditions and concerns and include targeted work with sections of the community disproportionately affected by fear of crime, such as older people and people from some black and minority ethnic communities.

Recommendation 2:
That action plans that may be developed by the Community Safety Partnership to reduce fear of crime be adaptable to local conditions and concerns and include targeted work with sections of the community who are disproportionately affected by it.

7.11 The evidence obtained by the Panel from other local authorities showed a range of actions that were felt may have contributed to reduced fear of crime

but it was not possible to be conclusive about them. In addition, action previously taken in Haringey to address the issue has not always achieved its desired result. The Panel is therefore of the view that further work will need to be undertaken to identify interventions that have the greatest potential to be effective. The work on fear of crime and its link to anti social behaviour by Victim Support may provide useful evidence and the Panel would therefore recommend that the outcomes of this be taken into account in developing future action plans.

Recommendation 3:
That, in developing the above-mentioned action plan, further work be undertaken to identify effective interventions, including reference to the outcomes of work by Victim Support on the link between anti social behaviour and fear of crime.

7.12 Successful action to reduce crime and anti social behaviour should help to reduce fear of crime but there is evidence that positive messages are not getting through to residents. For example, there was a strong perception from those responding to the Panel's survey that burglary is going up despite the sizeable decrease in burglary levels that has taken place in areas of the borough recently following the introduction of MetTrace. Of particularly concern is that the survey was distributed primarily through organisations, such as neighbourhood watch, that would be expected to be amongst the better informed sections of the community.

7.13 Not all messages relating to crime and community safety will be positive but it is important the residents are able to gain a balanced picture of issues so that they are able to base their perceptions on sound information.

7.14 The Panel noted that addressing fear of crime and feelings of safety has been a corporate priority for communications in Lambeth for a number of years, where levels of fear of crime are now much lower than Haringey. However, it is mindful that action to address crime and community safety is a partnership activity and, in particular, the Police have an important role to play. It is therefore of the view that Council action to improve communication with residents on such issues would be best undertaken jointly with the Police and through the Community Safety Partnership.

7.15 The Panel feels that further action to improve communication and engagement with the local community on crime and community safety is required and that this should be set as a key and ongoing priority by the Community Safety Partnership.

Recommendation 4:
That action to improve communication and engagement with the community on crime and community safety issues be set as an ongoing priority for the Community Safety Partnership.

7.16 The Panel noted that it is proving very difficult to establish neighbourhood watch in some areas of the borough. This is particularly true of the east of the borough, which only has half the number of ones in the west. The establishment of neighbourhood watches can have a number of benefits. They can demonstrate that people care and have pride in their community, help people share information among neighbours and with the Police, prevent crime and help reassure people, therefore reducing fear of crime and isolation.

7.17 The Panel heard that efforts to establish neighbourhood watches are being hindered by a lack of resources. One particular issue is the lack of suitable venues for meetings. Many people were unwilling or unable to hold them in their own homes and the use of public houses is not feasible as people from some communities are reluctant to go into them for religious or cultural reasons. The Panel is of the view that only relatively modest amounts of expenditure are required to address this issue successfully through funding for meeting venues and refreshments. Each Council ward currently has a small budget and the Panel feels that this could be used for such purposes.

Recommendation 5:
That, where necessary, funding from ward budgets be used to assist with the establishment and sustainment of neighbourhood watches through provision for premises hire and refreshments.

7.18 One specific intervention that officers in Newham felt may have contributed to their large reduction in levels of fear of crime was the introduction of a borough-wide property licensing scheme for all private rented properties. This was felt to have assisted by reducing levels of anti social behaviour.

7.19 The Housing Act 2004 provides for the introduction of a scheme of additional and selective licensing of private sector properties in a local authority's area. Additional licensing relates to HMOs not covered by the mandatory licensing scheme and selective licensing relates to all other private sector dwellings, with exceptions. Both licensing schemes are intended to address the impact of poor quality housing, rogue landlords and anti-social tenants. In an area subject to licensing, all private landlords must obtain a licence and if they fail to do so, or fail to achieve acceptable management standards, the authority can take enforcement action.

7.20 Before an authority can introduce a scheme or schemes, it has to produce a robust evidence base, a draft set of conditions and a fee schedule and carry out a public consultation. Haringey is currently working on its evidence base and it is likely that it will consult on a borough wide additional licensing scheme and a selective licensing scheme initially covering 20% of the borough.

7.21 Any selective scheme that is larger than 20% requires agreement by the Secretary of State. Once the 20% selective licensing has been rolled out, it is hoped that to extend the scheme across the borough over a 4-5 year period, subject to the further development of the evidence base. Eight London boroughs have now brought in such schemes - Barking and Dagenham, Brent, Croydon, Harrow, Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest.

7.22 The draft timetable is as follows:

- Cabinet Report seeking agreement for a borough wide consultation exercise; September 2017.
- Public Consultation; October to December 2017
- Cabinet report on outline of consultation and proposing a scheme; March 2018
- Introduction of scheme; September 2018.

7.23 In view of the evidence from other local authorities concerning the potential of such schemes to address anti social behaviour, the Panel would strongly support the current proposals.

Recommendation 6:
That the proposed introduction of a borough wide additional licensing scheme to cover houses in multiple occupation and a selective scheme to initially cover 20% of the borough, with a view to extending it across the borough in due course, be strongly supported.

7.24 The Panel noted that 28% of those responding to the Panel's survey on fear of crime stated that they felt that improved street lighting would help them feel safer. A number of research projects have suggested that better street lighting can reduce fear of crime although there is less evidence to demonstrate whether it actually reduces actual crime.

7.25 There is currently a programme being undertaken by the Council to upgrade street lighting. This is aimed at upgrading areas to LED energy efficient lighting. As well as being more energy efficient, they are also brighter. Not all of the borough is being upgraded at the moment as there is only sufficient funding to cover areas where current lighting is the oldest at the moment. There is a budget of circa £1 million for this in 2017-18. However, the Panel notes that the upgrade has not proven universally popular with all residents as some consider the new lights to be too bright and intrusive.

7.26 The Panel is nevertheless of the view that crime and community safety issues should be taken into account when deciding which streets within the borough are prioritised for upgrading.

Recommendation 7:
That, in view of their positive impact in combating fear of crime, issues relating to

crime and community safety be taken into account when selecting which streets are prioritised for upgrading of street lighting.

7.27 The Panel notes that issues arising from betting shops were raised by residents responding to the Panel's survey and takes the view that operators have a responsibility to address such issues. The Overview and Scrutiny Committee undertook a successful review on the clustering of betting shops in 2010/11. This made recommendations on a range of issues that may be connected to betting shops, including anti social behaviour. As part of this, engagement took place between the Committee and a number of betting shop operators.

7.28 The Panel is of the view that the issue of betting shops should be re-visited by the Overview and Scrutiny Committee and that this should focus in particular on how any anti social behaviour arising from them is addressed and include engagement with operators.

Recommendation 8:
That the Overview and Scrutiny Committee re-visit issues regarding betting shops and, in particular, how any anti social behaviour associated with them is addressed.

7.29 A number of residents also raised the issue of speeding cars in residential streets response to the Panel's survey and stated that this made them feel less safe in their area. Whilst the 20 mph speed limit is a welcome initiative, there may be a need to consider further how, within current resource constraints, it can be enforced better. The scheme was introduced in February 2016 and, in the light of this, the Panel requests an update on its progress to date at a future Panel meeting so it can review its effectiveness and consider proposals for any improvements that could be made to the scheme.

Recommendation 9:
That a report be submitted to a future meeting of the Panel on progress since the implementation of the 20 mph speed limit in residential streets within the borough.