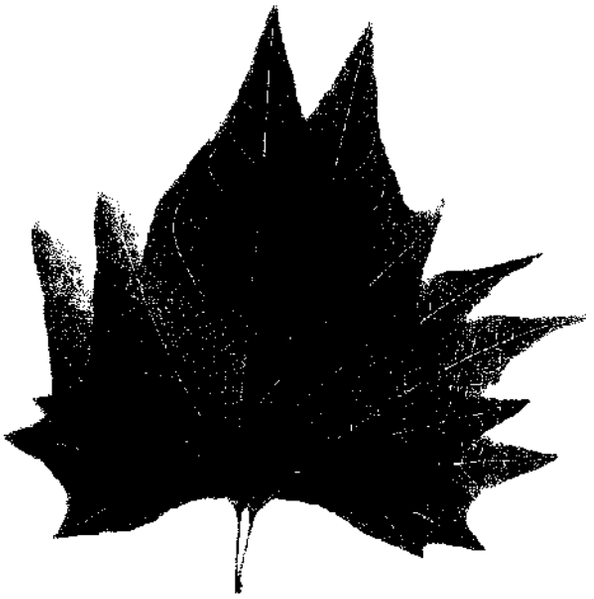
University of Brighton

Health and Social Policy Research Centre

An evaluation of the Ilford Town Centre CCTV system

Dr Peter Squires

December 1998



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Contents and acknowledgements

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Peter Squires
Health & Social Policy Research Centre
University of Brighton, September 1998.

Executive Summary: An Evaluation of the Ilford town centre CCTV system

The evaluation

In the course of this study, a total of 1,532 people were interviewed in two surveys, approximately twelve months apart, before and after the installation of the Ilford town Centre CCTV system. The surveys investigated the levels of support amongst local people for the CCTV system and examined the system's impact upon people's sense of safety in the town centre area.

In addition, we examined police data on crimes recorded from June 1996 to December 1997. These statistics were presented for the following three areas: Redbridge as a whole, Ilford Police Division and the CCTV surveillance areas of the town centre. Similarly, data relating to incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police CAD Bureau (January 1996 to December 1997) were analysed. The CAD Data was available for the three areas referred to above and also the Ilford Police Sector. From this data we were able to assess the impact of the introduction of the CCTV cameras upon recorded crime trends.

The opinion surveys: Over 90% support the Ilford CCTV Scheme

The Ilford CCTV system was very popular with local people. In virtually all of the population groups considered, support for the CCTV system stood comfortably above 90%. Furthermore, for all groups, levels of support rose between the first and second surveys.

Support before	Support After
92.6%	95.2%

Women appeared marginally keener on the cameras than men. Similarly, all of the age groups considered here showed support levels at over 90% in both the 'before' and 'after' surveys. Ethnic origin also appeared to have little impact upon levels of support for CCTV.

Neither people's links to the town centre, their employment status nor the frequency of their visits appeared to influence the approval levels given to the CCTV cameras, with all groups again registering over 90% in favour. Neither people's experiences as victims of crime nor as witnesses of crime appeared to make much difference to their feelings about the CCTV system.

Factors affecting people's knowledge of the CCTV scheme

In the first survey January/February 1997, 40% of those we interviewed already knew about the CCTV scheme. By the time of the second survey this figure had risen to just over 70% of our respondents.

Gender and Age

In both surveys women outnumbered men, no doubt confirming the sex composition of both the town centre retail labour market and of 'shoppers' more generally.

- Slightly more men than women were aware of the cameras in either survey.
- Respondents aged between 40 and 60 were the better informed about the CCTV proposal (before the cameras were installed).
- Once the CCTV system was installed those aged under thirty were most aware of the cameras.

Victims and witnesses

Respondents to both surveys were also asked whether they had ever been a victim of crime or whether they had ever witnessed offences in the town centre.

- Marginally more victims were aware of the cameras.
- In the first survey, victims of violence (53%) were most aware of the CCTV proposal.
- In the follow-up survey 72% of victims of burglary knew of the cameras.

Visit frequency and personal safety

Few people described themselves feeling unsafe during the day time in Ilford town centre, although there were relatively more during the night time (including over 50% of female respondents). There was a noticeable gender pattern to people's reported sense of safety.

- Before the cameras, 59% of men and 31% of women described themselves feeling 'very safe' in the daytime.
- After the cameras, the percentages feeling 'very safe' rose to 62% for men and 43% for women (for women a 12% increase).
- At night-time before the cameras, 35% of men and 65% of women described themselves feeling 'unsafe.'
- After the cameras had been instalied only 30% of men and 56% of women said they felt unsafe at night.

The more times a person visited the town centre the more they were likely to be aware of the CCTV proposal or of the cameras themselves. After the cameras were installed, 74% of those feeling Very safe' during the day and 82.5% of those feeling very safe at night knew about them. **Looked at another way, in the second survey, 60% of those who reported feeling 'very unsafe' at night didn't know the cameras were there.**

Estimates of offence frequency

As well as asking our respondents about their feelings safety or, perhaps, their fears about crime, we also attempted to ask them about their sense of the likely frequency of certain offences in the town centre. While it is only people's perceptions being measured, it is reasonable to suppose that if people think that offences are happening less often they may draw some reassurance from this.

- Respondents' estimates of the frequency of offences in the Ilford town centre were always lower in the follow-up survey. This was true for all the age, sex, and ethnic minority sub-groups considered in the surveys.

- However, crime victims' estimates of offence frequency did not change from one survey to the next and 'offence witnesses' believed that the frequency of offending had increased. The experiences of both groups may have shaped their particular outlooks raising issues about levels of reassurance and support for such groups.

Taken together with the evidence that more people feel more confident and less fearful of the town centre, then it appears that the CCTV system has helped contribute to a growing sense of personal safety in the town centre. Such beliefs are a vital element in how the people feel about the town centre and working with and further encouraging such attitudes is important in cultivating the kind of 'feelgood factor' that successful and safe town centres need.

In the follow-up survey:

- 56% of respondents claimed to feel safer during the daytime (54% at night).
- Persons aged over 50 (69% feeling safer) and women (66% safer) appeared to gain the greatest reassurance from the cameras.

Rather fewer, however, said that the cameras had led them to increase the frequency of their visits to the town centre.

Support for CCTV and wider social attitudes

Our final questions looked at the relation between support for CCTV and wider social attitudes to crime and disorder and how these might be best addressed. Generally, support for CCTV appears not to be not the preserve of any particular section of opinion. Instead, people seem to regard it as another tool with which to help manage (or re-impose order upon) places and behaviours deemed problematic. A properly managed CCTV system is seen as complementary to and supportive of broader community safer planning objectives.

Crime and Incident Trends

20% reduction in recorded crime over 5 months following CCTV installation

The second part of this evaluation assessed the impact of the Ilford CCTV system upon crime and incident trends in the Ilford town centre. Overall, in the 5 months following the commencement of the installation of CCTV cameras in Ilford town centre (May 1997 to October 1997), recorded crime fell by almost 20% (see below). Although the following two months saw slight increases in recorded crime, by the end of 1997 offences in the town centre were down by a clear 17% compared to the six-month period immediately prior to the installation of the cameras.

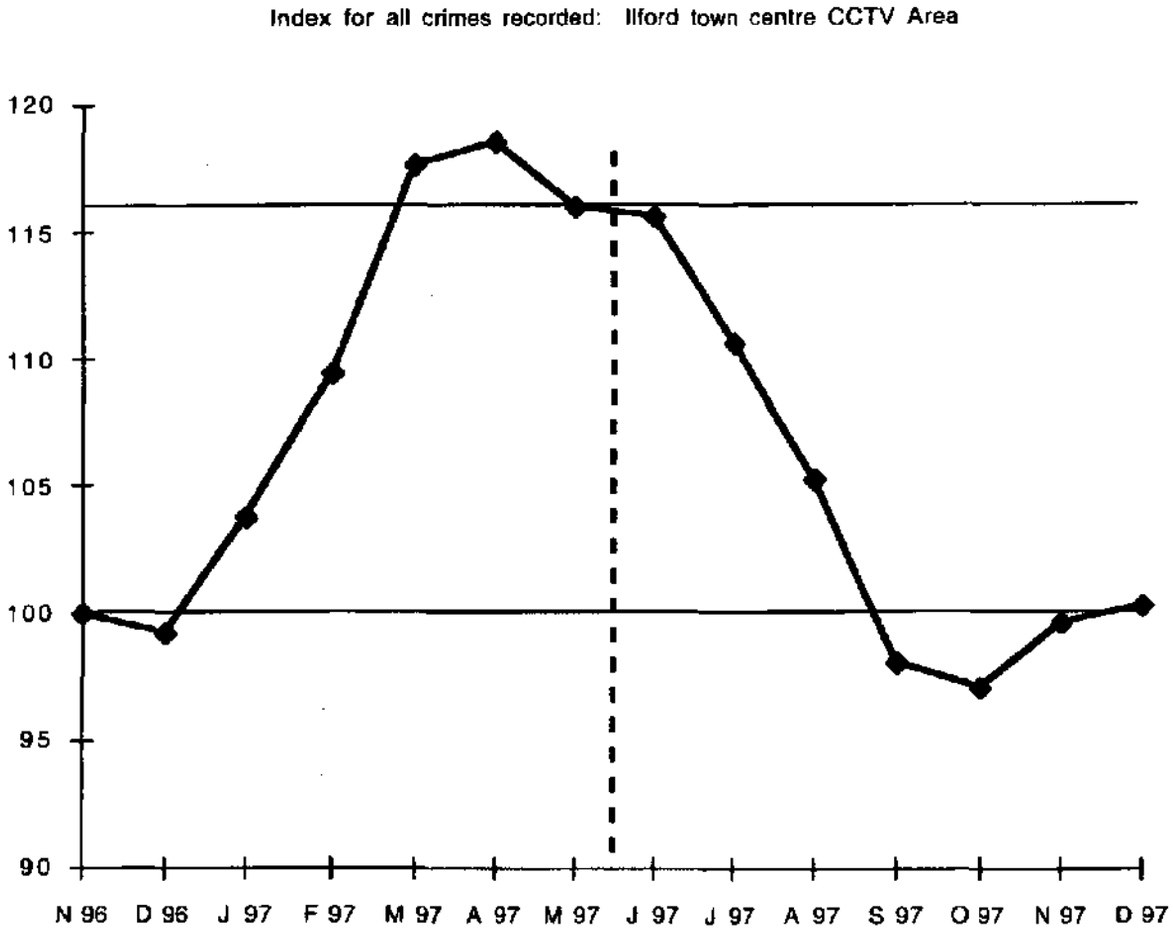
The crime trend analysis

A number of wider factors clearly impact upon offences patterns in any given area. These can include issues such as social context, the level of integration of CCTV support into police command and control systems, the management of incident response and CCTV support to investigation and evidence gathering - to say nothing of wider community safety measures and police operations. These were largely excluded from this study.

The recorded crime data was supplied for Redbridge, the Ilford Division and the CCTV area. A further area, rather like a donut around the town centre, was created by subtracting figures for the CCTV area from those for the Ilford Division as a whole. This area can provide valuable information about changing crime patterns in areas adjacent to those covered by CCTV - perhaps allowing us to identify displacement or 'halo' effects from the town centre cameras. The raw crime figures were recalculated as moving averages and presented in the graphs using a percentage index. The value of this method (commonly used in crime prevention impact evaluation) is that it

gives a very clear picture of the percentage increase or decrease in the number of offences in a given area. (Refer to the graph below. The method of statistical analysis is more fully explained on pages 40-41 in the Main Report.)

Percentage indexed trend for all crimes recorded in the Ilford Town Centre CCTV area.



This graph shows the percentage index for all recorded crime in the Ilford Town Centre CCTV area. The number of offences in November 1996 is treated as the percentage index (100%) and all subsequent monthly totals are presented as a percentage of the November figure. Clearly crime rose throughout the year until the CCTV cameras were installed, after which there was an even sharper fall until October 1997. The slight rise in November and December 1997 is thought to reflect the proactive policing operations in the town centre in the run-up to Xmas. Rising levels of violence and disorder around this time also tend reflect people's consumption patterns.

Crime Patterns Compared

- Recorded crime rose by some 17% for the first 4 months of 1997, but fell back by 20% during May to September, the falling trend clearly coinciding with the process of CCTV camera installation.

While the impressive 20% fall in the CCTV area crime figures is to be welcomed, the rise during the first four months must also be explained. There is some evidence that the positive effect of the cameras was being felt in parts of Ilford town centre not actually covered by cameras, but also some evidence of potential offence displacement.

Violence

- During April to October 1997 violent offences fell by as much as 34% in the Ilford town centre CCTV area.

- The CCTV area reveals by far the most significant reduction in the frequency of assaults - falling by some 15% during April to October.

- The fall in robbery offences in the CCTV area is particularly dramatic, falling almost 70% over six months. Less positive is the evidence that, in the non-CCTV areas adjacent to the town centre, a rising trend is visible from June 1997 onwards, suggesting the displacement of some robbery activity beyond the camera areas.

Burglaries

- Burglary offences, rising in the first part of 1997, show a significant reduction (almost 40%) in the town centre CCTV area following the installation of the cameras.

- Domestic burglaries fell by some 30% prior to the installation of the cameras but, afterwards, non-domestic burglaries fell sharply whilst domestic burglaries rose again. These might be grounds for suggesting some displacement in the offenders' choice of targets but the number of incidents occurring each month are too low to draw reliable conclusions.

- During May to November 1997 almost a 60% reduction in non-domestic burglaries was achieved in the town centre CCTV area. Commercial and retail premises are undoubtedly amongst the greatest beneficiaries of the investment in CCTV security.

- The trend for domestic burglaries is rather erratic. However, by the end of the year domestic burglaries had fallen overall by some 40% in six months.

Vehicle related crime

- Vehicle related offences fell by over 50% during the second half of 1997.

Shoplifting

- Following the introduction of CCTV, almost a 50% reduction was achieved in rates of shoplifting in the town centre. With the introduction of the 'Townwatch' radio link, developed during 1997, it will be interesting to assess how the decline in shoplifting is sustained

Drugs offences

- From mid 1997 onwards 'possession' and 'possession with intent to supply' offences fell by nearly 50% over a five month period after CCTV installation. Unfortunately, however, virtually all of this reduction was wiped out in the final 3 months of the year and drugs offences returned to the levels (around seven offences a month) at which they stood at the beginning of the year.

Criminal damage offences

- Criminal damage offences appear to be especially susceptible to the influence of CCTV. A 38% reduction in criminal damage offences was achieved over a three month period after the CCTV cameras went up.

Thefts from the person offences

- After the CCTV installation, theft from the person offences in the CCTV area fell away by some 70%, while the trend in the adjacent areas continued to rise.

CCTV scheme objectives

When the Ilford CCTV scheme was launched a series of key objectives were identified. These concerned:

- ***the reduction in overall levels of crime in the CCTV area,***
- ***a reduction in level and seriousness of late night disturbances,***
- ***the reduction of car crime,***
- ***the reduction of personal theft and robbery offences, and***
- ***a reduction in the public's fear of crime.***

Conclusion

In the course of this evaluation evidence has been presented to show that the key offences targeted by the CCTV initiative **all appear to be falling.**

Furthermore, the steep falls in most offence patterns coincide with the installation of the CCTV cameras. Equally, in a range of other offence categories, a sharp fall in the trend also appears to coincide with the installation of the CCTV cameras.

Finally, as we have seen in the opinion surveys, **people report being more confident about Ilford town centre,** they now feel it to be less prone to crime and significant numbers claim to **feel safer** while they are there. Admittedly, relatively few people seem to think they will visit Ilford more often but the fact that their perceptions of the town centre have begun to shift for the better is undoubtedly a move towards a more positive, healthy and safe town centre environment.

It is particularly clear that businesses working in the town centre are amongst the most obvious direct beneficiaries of the CCTV system by virtue of sharply falling levels of commercial burglaries, falling rates of shop theft and declining vandalism and criminal damage costs and, presumably, reduced insurance costs. Furthermore, the Redbridge Business Crime Audit in 1993 suggested that only some 6% of shoplifters were actually reported to the police. It follows that there is much 'play' in the officially recorded figures and therefore any crime prevention initiative designed to reduce the attractiveness of Ilford as a shoplifting target will not only impact upon known crime, but also the considerably larger number of offences currently going unreported. A much greater potential 'saving[1] for Ilford businesses.

Furthermore, it is fair to add that businesses are also the indirect beneficiaries of the reduced levels of victimisation faced by their customers. Finally, the emerging evidence of an seemingly widely shared perception of Ilford as safer town centre is an important foundation upon which both commercial success and an improved quality of life for local people can be built.

Summary of crime trends in the Ilford CCTV area

Explanatory note

There are differing ways of calculating the percentage increase or decrease in statistical series such as crime figures. One method, drawing upon the information in the index graphs in this report, is to describe the percentage change between two given points. Another method is to calculate the total number of offences occurring, in this case between July and December 1997, (after the installation of the CCTV cameras) and compare this figure with the number of offences occurring during the same months the previous year. In view of the complex crime trends identified and described in this evaluation (offences rates peaking in mid 1997, falling and then rising again) both methods are adopted here and the results are summarised in the following table. [Continued after the table.]

Offence type	**Is the crime trend rising or falling?**	**Percentage change**	**Numbers involved**
All Crime	**Falling**	20% reduction in 5 months, 17% during the second half of 1997	205 less offences compared to the last 6 months of 1996.
		15% down compared with the equivalent months of 1996.	
Criminal Damage	**Falling**	30% reduction during the second half of 1997.	33 less offences compared to the last 6 months of 1996.
		26% down compared with the equivalent months of 1996.	
Shoplifting	**Falling**	55% reduction over 6 months	86 less offences compared to the first 6 months of 1997.
	Rising : compared with equivalent months of 1996	10% increase compared with equivalent months of 1996	30 more offences compared to the last 6 months of 1996.

Vehicle related offences (theft of/theft from).	Falling	48% reduction over second half of 1997 11% reduction compared with equivalent months of 1996.	15 less offences compared with the last 6 months of 1996.
Thefts from the person	Falling	59% reduction over second half of 1997. 13% reduction compared with equivalent months of 1996.	14 less offences compared with the last 6 months of 1996.
Violence	Falling	34% reduction over 7 months, 10% fall during the second half of 1997 21% reduction compared with equivalent months of 1996.	44 less violent offences compared with the last 6 months of 1996
Assaults	Falling	15% reduction over 7 months, 9% fall during the second half of 1997 8% reduction compared with equivalent months of 1996.	10 less assaults compared with the last 6 months of 1996
Robbery	Falling	42% fall during the second half of 1997. 50% reduction compared with equivalent months of 1996.	10 less robberies compared with the last 6 months of 1996.

Drugs Offences	**Falling**	40% reduction over 6 months, mid year, 1997.	No change compared with the last 6 months of 1996.
Burglary	**Falling**	40% reduction over 6 months, 34% fall during the second half of 1997 24% reduction compared with equivalent months of 1996.	13 less offences compared with the last 6 months of 1996.
Domestic Burglary	**Falling**	51% reduction over the second half of 1997.	2 less offences compared with the last 6 months of 1996.
Non-Domestic Burglary	**Falling**	25% reduction over the second half of 1997.	11 less offences compared with the last 6 months of 1996.

Note, continued.

Neither method of calculation used here is inherently better or more accurate than the other. One (using the index trends) picks out the immediate impact of any crime prevention measure - usually a significant fall in the numbers of offences recorded. The other situates the effect of the CCTV cameras in a somewhat longer time frame.

Both measures need not agree for us to draw conclusions about the impact of the CCTV system. For instance in a number of offence types considered here, recorded crimes rose steeply for the first part of 1997, then fell sharply for much of the rest of the year (often rising again in November/December, relating to both the pre-Xmas consumer boom, alcohol consumption in the festive season and proactive policing initiatives to deal with both). When the observable crime trends are more complex, Rising-Falling-Rising, for instance, it is still reasonable to draw conclusions about the impact of CCTV even though the crime figures may not fall all the way back to their original levels. As in many crime prevention project evaluations, the real issue concerns the sustainahiliry of the crime reductions achieved in the early months and there is some evidence in a number of offence categories that these crime reductions were not being sustained to the end of 1997. It is important that this issue is monitored and the ensuing crime trends tracked over a longer timescale.

Main Report

Introduction

This report makes an evaluation of the Town Centre CCTV system installed in Ilford during May/June 1997. The evaluation is, in most respects an impact evaluation, as defined by the Home Office Crime Prevention Agency (CPA, 1998). The two major components of the project involved: (1) an assessment of the impact of the CCTV system upon crime trends and patterns in the Ilford town centre area and (2) an assessment of the effect of the system upon the public's fear of crime and sense of personal security when using the town centre. However, in the course of the public opinion surveys undertaken it was also useful to attempt to examine a range of other factors, such as levels of support for the cameras, frequency of visits to the town centre, attitudes to the police and crime prevention - factors which may be useful in the developing process of community safety planning.

In the course of this evaluation, a total of 1,532 people were interviewed in two surveys, approximately twelve months apart, before and after the installation of the Ilford town Centre CCTV system. The surveys sought to investigate the levels of support amongst local people for the CCTV system and to assess the impact of the system upon people's sense of safety in the town centre area. In a second strand of the evaluation, statistics of offences recorded by the police during June 1996 to December 1997 were examined. These statistics of crimes recorded covered: Redbridge as a whole, Ilford Police Sector and the CCTV surveillance areas of the town centre. Similarly, data relating to incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police CAD Bureau (January 1996 to December 1997) were analysed. The aim of the analysis was to assess the impact of the introduction of the CCTV cameras upon recorded crime trends.

It is invariably the case that CCTV systems are introduced as part of and complementary to, a series of wider initiatives designed to reduce crime, promote community safety and reassure the public. The same is true in Ilford. Such initiatives could all impact upon both the observable trends in recorded crime trends and the views of the public in response to our surveys. However, in the nature of CCTV impact evaluation, there is often very little opportunity to disentangle these distinct influences. For the large part, therefore, while they can be recognised as part of the changing context within which CCTV operates, they may have to be disregarded in impact evaluation terms. In the course of the research it was possible to conduct interviews with local Police commanders and a number of police officers, and with relevant local authority personnel regarding the CCTV system. These interviews, also covering a number of operational issues relating to CCTV enabled us to throw a little light upon a number of 'policing and community safety issues' affecting the Ilford town centre and help set a context for this evaluation.

The Ilf ord CCTV public opinion surveys

In this section of the report we present findings derived from the before and after surveys of public attitudes regarding the CCTV surveillance system installed in Ilford town centre. The original intention was to sample opinion before the system was installed and then, once again, after one year of its operation. In fact the first phase survey was undertaken during December 1996 and February 1997, the CCTV system was officially launched during June 1997 and the follow up survey took place during February 1998, eight months after the system went into operation and a full year after the initial survey. A total of 1,532 people were interviewed in the two surveys, 750 in the first survey and 782 in the second.

The survey was based upon a questionnaire, a copy of which can be found in appendix 4, at the end of this report. The questionnaire, a version of which had been trialled earlier in Brighton, was designed to be completed either by respondents alone or administered by interviewers. Our intention was to examine the attitudes of town centre users (residents, shoppers, employees and other more occasional tourist and leisure users) to a number of issues relating to the CCTV scheme. At first, we were uncertain how easy it might be to obtain an appropriate and representative sample of town centre users in an efficient and economical way. Following an approach we had found relatively successful in our earlier evaluation of the Brighton CCTV scheme, an approach was made to a number of large local employers, requesting their assistance in distributing survey forms to their staff. The employers asked to participate were largely drawn from a list of those whose parent company had supported or sponsored the Ilford CCTV application and they were usually very helpful in distributing the questionnaires and arranging for the collection of those completed.

A survey comprising only town centre employees, however, would be rather unrepresentative of town centre users in general so a second strategy was adopted. Another approach was needed in any event as the employee survey did not produce a large enough sample and a number of the questionnaires received from employees were incomplete or otherwise spoiled. These were discarded from the sample. The sample was completed by an on-street survey, undertaken in February 1997. An initial analysis of the employee-based sample showed the population groups relatively under-represented and these were specifically targeted in the street survey. A team of interviewers from Brighton contacted members of the public using the Ilford town centre. Our thanks go to Ilford Police who were able to station their Crime Prevention caravan at the entrance of the Exchange, helping provide a very visible focus for our survey activity. A total of 750 questionnaire were returned from the first phase of the survey. The main characteristics of the sample can be see in table one which follows.

For the 'one year after' survey a decision was taken to draw the entire sample from an 'on street' survey. With the CCTV system in place, employers

seemed rather less willing to co-operate in the distribution of questionnaires and this, along with the somewhat distorted sample produced and the need to complete the sample with some on-street surveying anyway, helped us arrive at the decision. Once again the Police Crime Prevention caravan was placed at the entrance of the Exchange to draw the public's attention to the nature of the surveying. The day's on-street surveying was extraordinarily successful and a total of 782 persons were contacted. The key characteristics of the sample are outlined in table 1 (below). While there are some relatively small differences between the characteristics of the 'before' and 'after' samples, these are fairly minor by comparison with the similarities. If anything the 'after' sample more closely reflects the population of Ilford town centre users. However, the most striking thing about the two sample groups are their similarities and we therefore believe them to be fairly representative of the wider population of town centre users. Comparing both surveys with the 1995 Ilford Shopping Survey (London Borough of Redbridge, 1995) then the age profile of our samples are similar, although our samples - partly by design - sought to contact a higher proportion of males.

The questionnaire covered a range of issues including; descriptive personal information, connection to the town centre and frequency of visits, any history of victimisation, any experience of criminal activity in the town centre, whether the respondent had installed additional crime prevention equipment at home and their knowledge of the CCTV proposal. We also tried to gauge our interviewees' levels of fear or concern about crime and personal safety, so one question asked about fearfulness when out alone in the town centre during the daytime or at night. For many, especially older or female respondents, the question was not an issue, over a third (35%) of all women respondents simply didn't visit Ilford at night and a further 26% said they did so only rarely).

We also asked respondents to estimate the possible frequency of a range of topical offences. Some interviewees were reluctant to make guesses and, if this was the case, the interviewers were asked not to push the question. The responses to such a question only measure people's perceptions and the point is not to match the answers given with the police crime figures to see how accurate a view the public holds rather, such information, taken alongside other findings about people's reported sense of safety, can go some way to see how reassured the public are by given crime prevention initiatives. The figures produced by this aspect of the 'before' and after exercise were interesting in that in all of the offence categories used in the evaluation the average frequency score was lower (crimes occurring less often) in the 'after' survey. Only two of the population sub-groups examined took a contrary view. This certainly doesn't in any way prove that there was less crime 'after CCTV but it is interesting that the public, in general, seemed to think there was. This is, no doubt, a small step in the right direction for public reassurance. Full details on this aspect of the 'before' and 'after' comparison are given later.

Next, respondents were asked to rate, on a one to five scale, their opinion on a number of possible statements about the scheme (for example, 'It might prevent crime,' It might help the police respond/ 'It might be a threat to civil liberties' and so on). In all there were eleven such statements to evaluate (some to cross-check the others). Finally, the last section of the questionnaire sought to assess respondents' general attitudes to crime problems in Britain today. Respondents were asked to register their views regarding a number of possible responses to crime, whether, for instance, they would like to see more police officers on the streets, whether they thought the courts should issue tougher sentences, or whether children ought to be more disciplined and responsible. A copy of the survey questionnaire is enclosed as appendix four at the end of the report.

Table 1 Sample Characteristics: Before and After
Number, percentages in brackets.

Sample characteristics	**BEFORE**[1] Sample 750 respondents	'**AFTER**' Sample 782 respondents
Gender:		
Male	300 (40%)	361 (46.2%)
Female	450 (60%)	421 (53.8%)
Age:		
Under 20	76 (10.1%)	140 (17.9%)
20-29	**214** (28.5%)	182 (23.3%)
30-39	176 (23.4%)	135 (17.3%)
40-49	100 (13.3%)	81 (10.4%)
50-59	87 (11.6%)	73 (9.3%)
60-69	56 (7.4%)	101 (12.9%)
70 plus	41 (5.4%)	70 (8.9%)
Asian	105 (14%)	131 (16.5%)
Black/Afro-Caribbean	59 (7.8%)	74 (9.4%)

Victim Experiences:		
Never	436 (58%)	485 (62%)
Once	172 (22.9%)	211 (26.9%)
More often	137 (18.2%)	81 (10.3%)
Victim of: ** (% of all victims)		
Violence	26.8%	27.7%
Property Crime*	66.3%	61.3%
Witness Experiences:		
None	64.4%	61.6%
At least once	31.7%	34.3%
Offence Witnessed: ** (% of all witnesses)		
Violence	41.1%	36.8%
Other	46.6%	45.7%

NOTES:

* Theft offences (including, shoplifting & vehicle related) and criminal damage

** In the case of multiple victimisation or witnessing more that one offence, respondents were asked to indicate what they considered to be the most serious offence.

We cannot claim that the first phase of our 'before and after' survey design actually caught public opinion cold and unformed. It is entirely possible that some of our respondents had formed their opinions regarding the proposal - or CCTV in general - as a result of local or national publicity about CCTV, basing their views about the initiative upon what its advocates or detractors thought it might or might not achieve. In any event, the views that people expressed about CCTV in the 'before' survey may not have been based upon much direct experience, but would tend to reflect either their fears and insecurities or their aspirations for a safer town. In this sense, our 'before' survey does ask the kind of speculative and hypothetical questions that Short and Ditton (1995) have criticised. However, we do not believe that this renders the answers we were given any less interesting or significant, it simply recognises them as aspirations rather than definitive statements about CCTV. Of course these issues are not relevant to the follow up questionnaire where, with the system having been in operation for 8 months, interviewees were asked to say whether they actually did feel any safer or whether they actually visited Ilford town centre more frequently.

Analysis

The results of the survey were coded to produce a database and analysed by computer using a Minitab statistics package. Initially a number of descriptive graphs were produced. Subsequently we undertook a number of cross tabulations, comparing and contrasting levels of support for CCTV in relation to a selected number of factors.

Survey Results

In the 'before' questionnaire we aimed to:

(i) examine levels of knowledge about the CCTV scheme, particularly in relation to the respondents' primary links with the town centre (i.e. resident, employment, leisure).

(ii) document levels of approval or opposition to the scheme, again, especially in relation to age and gender, socio-economic background, history of victimisation, any experiences of crime in the town centre or other general attitudinal factors.

In the 'after' questionnaire we were particularly interested in:

(i) whether the CCTV system had had any impact upon people's fears and concerns about the town centre and about crime and their own personal safety.

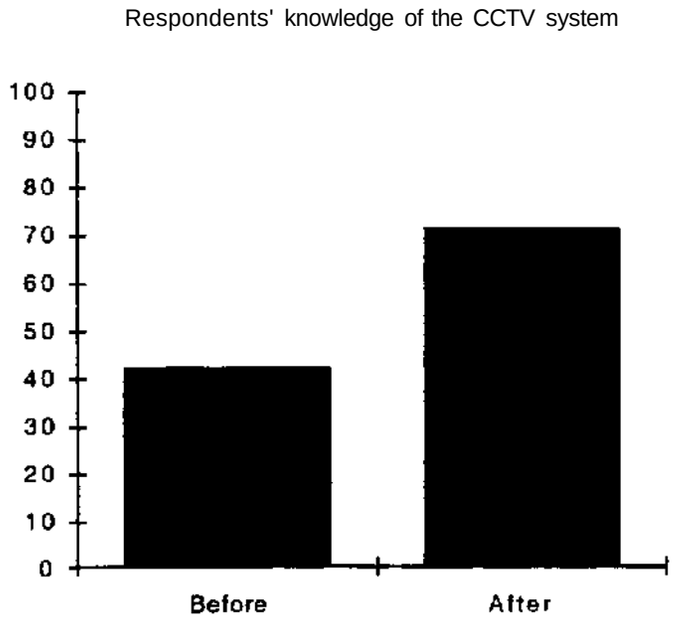
(ii) whether support for CCTV had altered in any way since the introduction of the cameras. In both cases, if there had been changes in people's attitudes we were keen to discover the extent to which the changing opinions were confined to some groups or widely shared. If opinions had shifted we also wanted to know why.

We will deal with our findings on each of these topic areas separately.

Awareness of the CCTV scheme

We were interested to establish the proportions of people using the town centre who knew about the scheme. In the first survey January/February 1997 40% of those we interviewed already knew about the CCTV scheme. At the time of the second survey we were not surprised to see that this figure had risen to just over 70% of our respondents.

Figure 1. Respondents' awareness of the CCTV system



In the first survey, we did not ask where the majority had obtained their information about the scheme, but consider the 40% a respectable number of people suggesting that the Community Safety Partnership's efforts to disseminate information about the system were relatively successful. In the later survey we rather took it for granted that most people would be aware of the cameras - by virtue of having seen them. In this sense, the almost 30% of our respondents who were unaware of the cameras might be interpreted in different ways. It could be taken to mean that the camera system is fairly unobtrusive or it could suggest that almost a third of town centre users had not been reached by the publicity about it. The seventy percent also raises for us an evaluation issue. The whole purpose of the follow up survey was to assess people's sense of safety and security and their attitude to the town centre and CCTV in the light of the camera scheme. If 30% of the second sample still didn't know about it, their views on a number of the issues in which we were interested would be rather less relevant. For instance, if a respondent hadn't known about the CCTV system, our question 'Do you feel safer because of CCTV?' would have made little sense. Consequently, in a number of cases it has been necessary to exclude the 30% from the evaluation. In the discussions accompanying the diagrams which follow, we will indicate when this is the case.

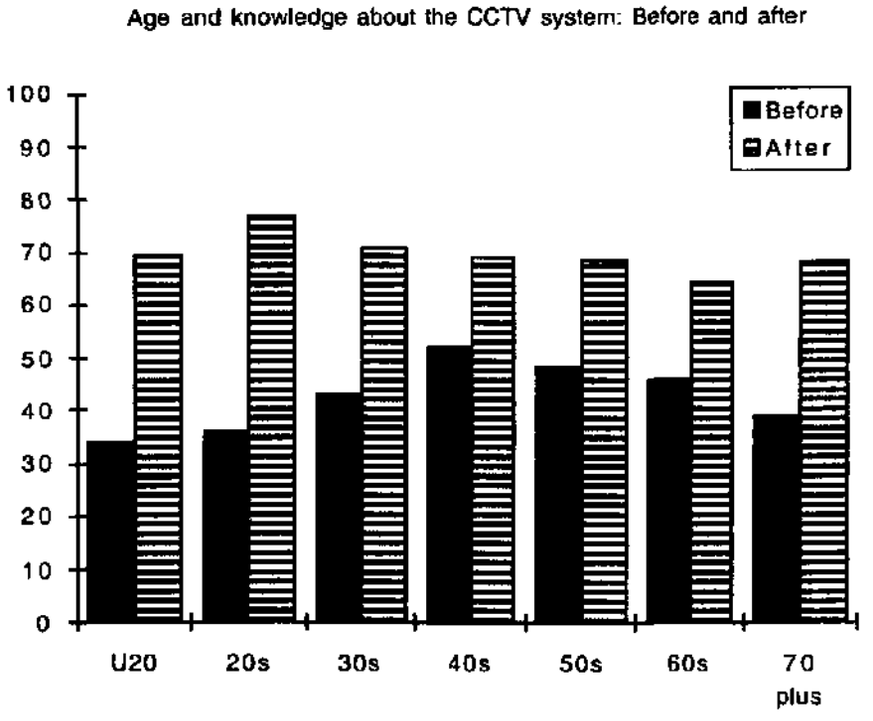
Factors affecting knowledge of the CCTV **scheme**

We first examined the macro factors that might affect levels of knowledge, gender, age and factors relating to socio-economic status were amongst our main areas of interest. The percentages reported below are based upon full samples of respondents

Gender and Age

In both surveys women outnumbered men, no doubt confirming the general composition of the town centre retail labour market and the gendered nature of shopping as an activity. (London Borough of Redbridge, 1995) We discovered that gender appeared to have a small impact on knowledge about the CCTV system. In the first survey, 46.5% of men knew about the CCTV scheme and 39% of women. In the later survey, 76% of men were aware of it and 65.7% of women.

Figure 2. Age and knowledge about the CCTV system: before and after



Clearly "middle-aged' people {aged 40 to 60) were the better informed about the CCTV system before it was installed, and a number of explanations may account for this (perhaps their employment in the town centre) whereas the under 30s were the least well informed about it. Without resorting to unflattering stereotypes about young people's interest in local policy-making, it is not difficult to see them as being relatively less interested in publicity about town centre management plans. But perhaps of rather more concern, it is not uncommon to find young people omitted from local communication networks regarding the making of local plans even, in some commentators eyes, excluded from the consultation processes which influence the planning of their communities. (Brown, 1995, Measor & Squires, 1997, Squires, 1998.)

However, once the CCTV system was installed it is quite a different story, the under thirties became the most aware of the cameras and the percentage of young people aware of the CCTV system has shown the greatest leap. Again, this is not too surprising a result, for in Honess and Charman's research on public attitudes to CCTV (Honess & Charman, 1995) more men, especially young men, appeared notably better informed about the detailed location of cameras. We might speculate about the reasons for their peculiarly well informed knowledge on this issue. Prior to undertaking the surveys, we had supposed that fear of crime and employment in the town centre might have led to increased levels of awareness of the scheme amongst women but this was not borne out by the results.

Employment status

In an opportunity sample of the kind we undertook, conducted largely on the street, it was difficult to collect accurate data about social class. Instead we attempted to gain information about employment status. Employment status, it seems did have some impact on levels of knowledge of the scheme. In the initial survey part-time workers (a gendered sample) were most aware of the CCTV system, but by the time of the second survey the full-time workers were most aware. In both samples, the unemployed, students and retired people were most unaware of the cameras. We concluded, therefore, that a person's occupational status, in particular employment in the town centre itself, gave these respondents a direct interest in town centre safety, made it more likely that channels existed for informing them of new developments in the town centre and thereby ensuring that they would be the better informed about the CCTV scheme. This interpretation is to some extent confirmed in that we also asked respondents their principal reason for being in the town centre area and whilst, in the first survey, residents were most aware of the CCTV plans (52%) in the second survey employees were most aware (79% employees, residents 75%). In both surveys shoppers and those using the town centre for 'leisure' were least aware of the CCTV scheme (shoppers, 36 to 66% aware of CCTV and leisure users 29 to 64% aware of CCTV).

Victims and witnesses

Our before and after samples were also asked whether they had ever been a victim of crime or whether they had ever witnessed offences in the town centre. Our reason for including such questions was the assumption that either experience might increase a person's preoccupation with crime and safety issues, thereby making them more alert to information about crime prevention issues. It is, however, difficult to say that the results were particularly conclusive. In the 'before' sample 41% of non-victims and 42% of victims were aware of CCTV, though 46% of repeat victims knew about the proposal. In the follow-up survey 68.8% of non victims, 73 percent of victims and 76.5% of repeat victims were aware of the cameras. In the before survey, victims of violence (53%) were most aware of the CCTV proposal. In the follow-up survey 72% of victims of burglary knew of the cameras and,

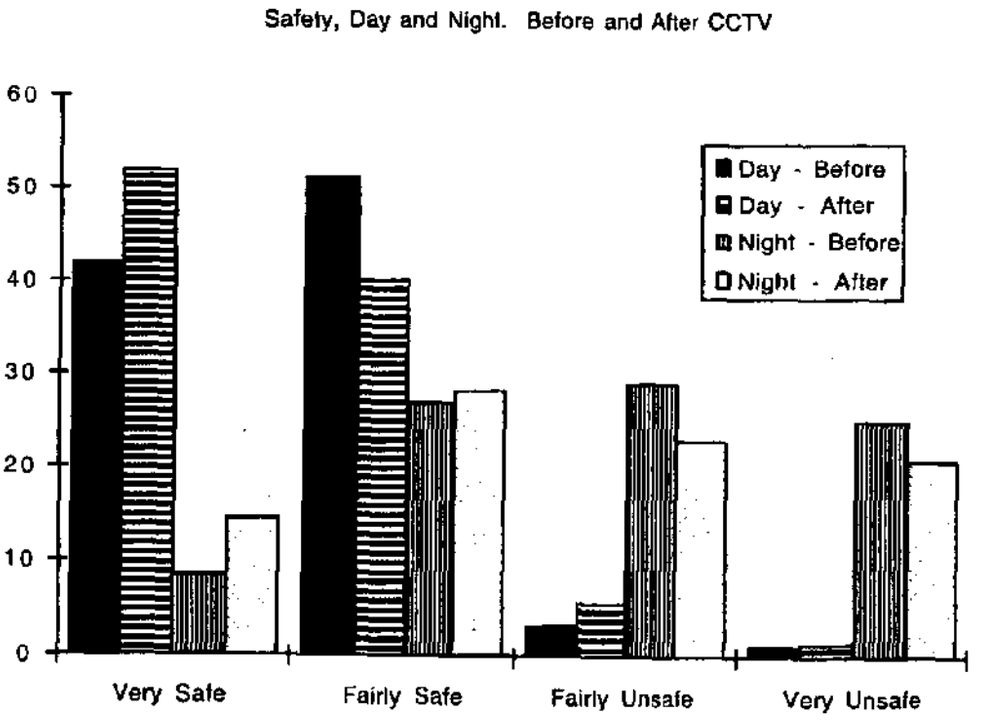
although the numbers were small, 95% of victims of vehicle crime and 89% of victims of racial harassment.

Frequency and safety

Not surprisingly, the more times a person visited the town centre the more they were likely to be aware of the CCTV proposal or of the cameras themselves, once installed. This was true of both those using the town centre in the daytime as well as of those using the town at night.

We also wanted to know how people felt when using the town centre. Figure 3, which follows, describes the results.

Figure 3 **Safety, day and night. Before and after the CCTV system**



More people described themselves as feeling 'very safe' during the daytime in Ilford town centre after the cameras had been installed although, conversely, slightly more described themselves as feeling 'unsafe' (percentage based upon low numbers). At night-time, however, significantly more respondents described themselves as feeling Very safe' or 'fairly safe[1] and significantly less described themselves as feeling 'fairly' or 'very unsafe.'

Before the CCTV system was installed those describing themselves as most unsafe during either the daytime or the night-time were less likely to know about the CCTV proposal. Thus *77%* of those who said they felt very unsafe

in the daytime and 55% of those feeling unsafe at night didn't know about the CCTV proposal. After the cameras were installed, 74% of those feeling very safe during the day and 82.5% of those feeling very safe at night knew about them. Looked at another way, when only 30% of the 'after' sample as a whole didn't know the CCTV cameras were there, 60% of those who felt 'very unsafe' at night didn't know they were there.

There was a noticeable gender profile to people's sense of safety both in the day time and at night. Before the cameras, 59% of men and 31% of women described themselves feeling 'very safe' in the daytime, after the cameras the percentages feeling 'very safe[1] rose to 62% for men and 43% for women (for women a 12% increase). At night time, before the cameras 35% of men and 65% of women described feeling 'unsafe' whereas after the cameras had been installed only 30% of men and 56% of women said they felt unsafe at night.

Approval of the CCTV Scheme

The overwhelming fact about the levels of support for the CCTV proposal in either survey is that, for virtually all the population categories within our samples, support hardly ever drops below approval levels of 90%. In the first survey, 92.6% of the entire sample supported the CCTV proposal, in the second, 12 months later, this had risen to 95.2% supporting the CCTV cameras. In view of this fact, the following discussion will concentrate upon a number of issues relating to this support, in so doing identifying those cases where support appears to vary from the average.

Gender made relatively little difference to the level of support, women were slightly more keen on the proposal before and slightly more supportive of the cameras after than men (women 93% before, 97% after; men 92% and 93%). Similarly, although some surveys have found young people to be the least enthusiastic about CCTV, all the age groups registered support levels over 90% in both the 'before' and 'after' surveys. Likewise, race had little impact upon levels of support, 94% of white respondents in the first survey supported the proposal compared to 92.4% of Asian and 89.8% of black and Afro-Caribbean respondents. Twelve months later, levels of support amongst the three groups were: 96% white, 91.6% Asian and 94.6% black and Afro-Caribbean.

Neither people's links to the town centre, their employment status nor the frequency of their visits appear to influence the approval levels given to the CCTV cameras with all groups registering over 90% in favour. However, one of the highest groups registering their displeasure at the cameras (in the second survey) were residents, 5.2% of whom said they were not in favour of the cameras. However, neither people's experiences at victims of crime nor as witnesses of crime appeared to make much difference to their feelings about the CCTV cameras. Amongst all the victim and witness categories examined, the group least supportive of the CCTV proposal were witnesses of violent

offences and even then, 88% of them were in favour of the CCTV proposal. Twelve months later, with the cameras installed, 96% of witnesses of violence were in favour of them. Witnesses to shoplifting, many of whom would have been store employees were particularly enthusiastic about both the CCTV proposal and, twelve months later, the CCTV cameras themselves (93% and 95% approval scores).

There was growing or sustained levels of support for CCTV on a range of further indicators:

Statement	**Before** % agreeing	**After** % agreeing
CCTV will prevent crime	81.8%	83.5%
Ilford will be safer	80%	94%
CCTV will help the police	93.3%	93%

However, the following findings also emerged:

Statement	**Before** % agreeing	**After** % agreeing
CCTV is a threat to civil liberties	18.6%	19%
CCTV is a waste of money	7.3%	8.1%
Prefer more PCs on the beat	73.6%	75.8%
I don't trust the police to use the system fairly	20.8%	18.6%

Two of the more negative attitudes to CCTV - 'threat to civil liberties' and 'waste of money' - appear slightly more widely subscribed to in the 'after' survey even though they remain strictly minority view points. The number of people arguing that they would prefer to see more police officers on the beat (the implication was instead of CCTV) grew by 2% over the twelve months, but this is not surprising for proposals to have more police officers on the beat as a kind of visible reassurance policing strategy tends to achieve high levels of support in similar public surveys.

The final measure, 'trusting the police' is perhaps less directly relevant to the routine operation and control of the Ilford scheme as the system is not in the hands of the police. However, the fact that the police will be responding to incidents identified on camera, working in conjunction with the CCTV system

and using the CCTV tapes as evidence, necessarily associates the CCTV cameras with policing. Public confidence in CCTV and the means by which it is operated remains an important issue to consider. As we have seen overall numbers mistrusting the police appeared to fall slightly in the months after the CCTV cameras were installed.

Estimates of offence frequency

Alongside our respondents' feelings of relative safety or, perhaps, their fears about crime and the risks of victimisation while in the town centre, we also attempted to ask them about their sense of the likely frequency of certain topical offences in the town centre. The following table indicates the average estimated frequency scores of respondents for the 'before' and 'after' surveys.

Respondents' Estimated frequency of selected offences

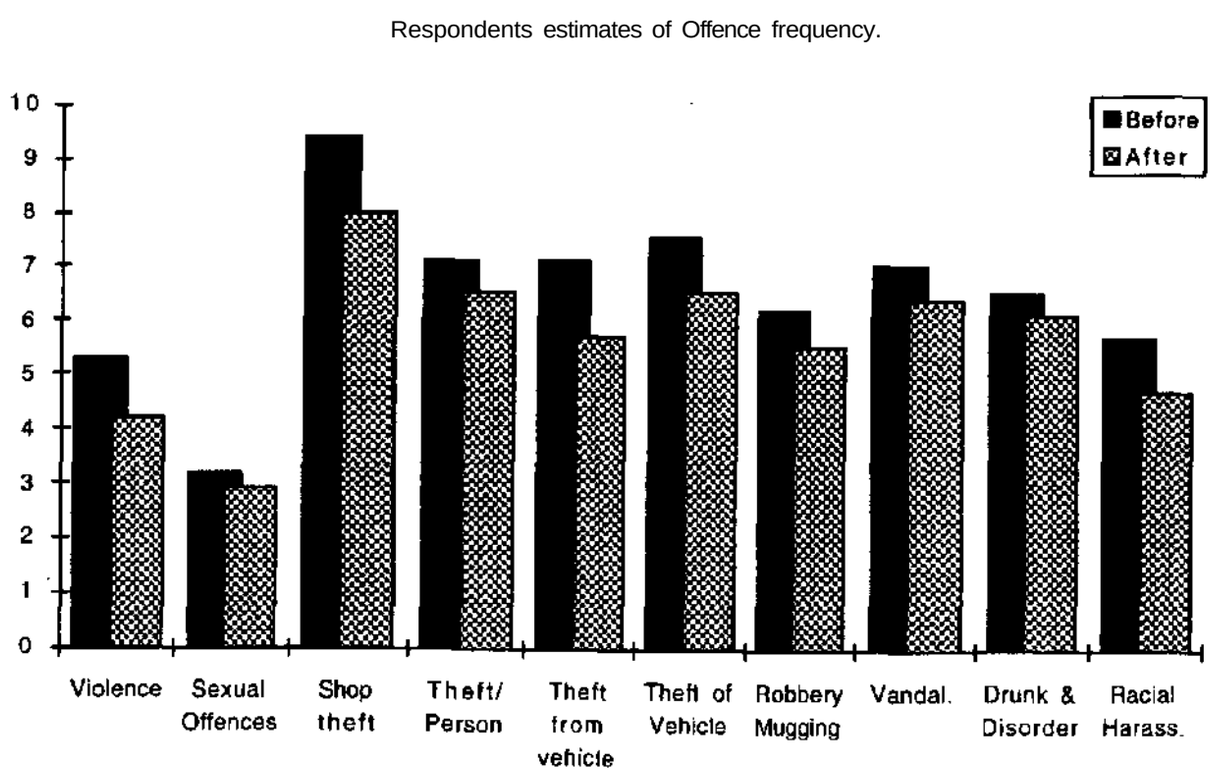
OFFENCE	BEFORE average estimated frequency score		AFTER average estimated frequency score	
Violence	5.3	approx once a week	4.2	less than once a week
Sexual offs.	3.2	approx once a fortnight	2.9	approx once a fortnight
Shoplifting	9.4	more than once a day	8.0	about once a day
Theft from person	7.1	3-4 times a week	6.5	2-3 times a week
Theft of vehicle	7.1	3-4 times a week	5.7	once or twice a week
Theft from vehicle	7.5	4-5 times a week	6.3	2-3 times a week
Robbery/Mugging	6.2	2-3 times a week	5.5	about once a week.
Vandalism	7.01	3-4 times a week	6.4	2-3 times a week
Drunk & Disorderly	6.5	2-3 times a week	6.1	2-3 times a week
Racial Harassment	5.7	once or twice a week	4.7	about once a week

What is being measured here is only people's perceptions but, arguably, if people think that offences are happening less often now than at some earlier point this is at least one step in the right direction. If people feel that offences are less frequent they may also feel themselves to be at a lower risk, so findings about estimates of offence frequency can, taken with other data indicate a declining fear of crime and a greater confidence amongst the local population. Obviously, it is also important to ensure that any perceptions are broadly shared by all sections of a population.

Selected Respondent Groups' Estimated frequency of topical offences

OFFENCE	BEFORE average estimated frequency score	AFTER average estimated frequency score
Asian RH score	6.2	5.1
Black RH score	6.1	5.0
Women - Sex offs	4.5	3.3
Women - violence	5.9	5.0
Age 60 plus	5.4	5.1
Former victims	5.43	5.43
Witnesses	5.1	5.6

Figure: 6 Estimates of offence frequency in Ilford town centre



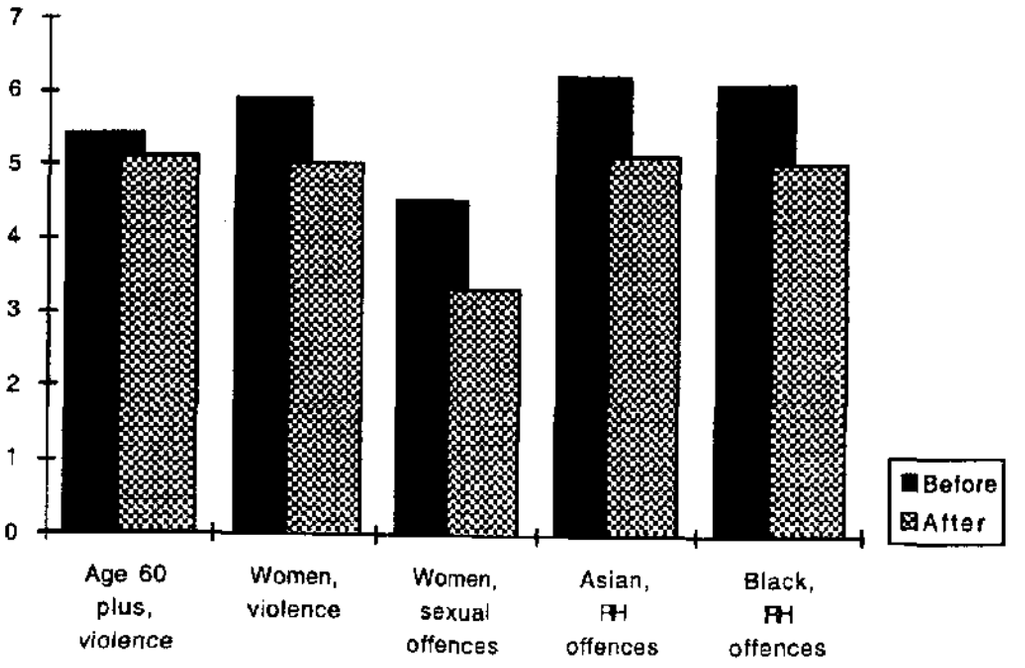
As figure five shows, respondents' estimates of the frequency of offences in the Ilford town centre were always lower in the follow-up survey, eight months after the installation of the CCTV cameras. As noted earlier, the point of such an exercise is not to test the accuracy of their perceptions - although (with shoplifting judged to be the most common) the frequency order that respondents came up with is at least plausible. For what it is worth, however,

we can compare people's estimates with the Ilford crime figures (see the graphs in appendix one, bearing in mind these relate to offences recorded by the police which will reflect differing proportions of offences actually committed).

People appear to under estimate the number of violent offences, slightly over-estimate the number of vehicle offences, seem to have a good idea about the frequency of shoplifting, over estimate the extent of thefts from the person, but have a fair idea of the frequency of vandalism offences. The suggestion that people believe there is less violence than that recorded by the police is at least interesting, although the real point to this analysis is the finding that people seem to believe that offences are becoming less common in the town centre after the introduction of CCTV. Moreover as the frequency scores cited earlier and figure seven, below, indicate although particular population groups will disagree with the sample as a whole as to the average frequency of certain types of offences, they tend to share the perception that the frequencies of such offences are falling.

Figure 7 Selected respondent groups estimates of offence frequency

Selected groups of respondents estimates of the frequency of key offences.



The only exceptions to this were crime victims, whose estimates of the frequency of offences appeared to remain exactly the same throughout the period, and witnesses who seemed to think that offending had become more common. It is at least plausible to suggest that their own experiences as

witnesses during the past year may be responsible for shaping their beliefs on this issue. While acknowledging these caveats and the limitations of the findings described in figures six and seven, taken together with the evidence (figure 3) that more people feel more confident and less fearful of the town centre - both day and night - then a particular picture is built up. The CCTV system has helped contribute to a growing sense of personal safety in the town centre with people generally believing that less offences now take place there. Such beliefs are a vital element in how the people feel about the town centre and working with and further encouraging such attitudes is important in cultivating the kind of 'feelgood factor' that successful and safe town centres need.

To explore this question still further, we specifically asked respondents to the follow-up survey whether they thought they felt safer in the town centre since the introduction of the CCTV cameras. The results are described below. Only the responses of those who were aware of the existence of the CCTV cameras (prior to being surveyed) are included.

Figure 8 Feeling safer in the town centre following the introduction of **CCTV**

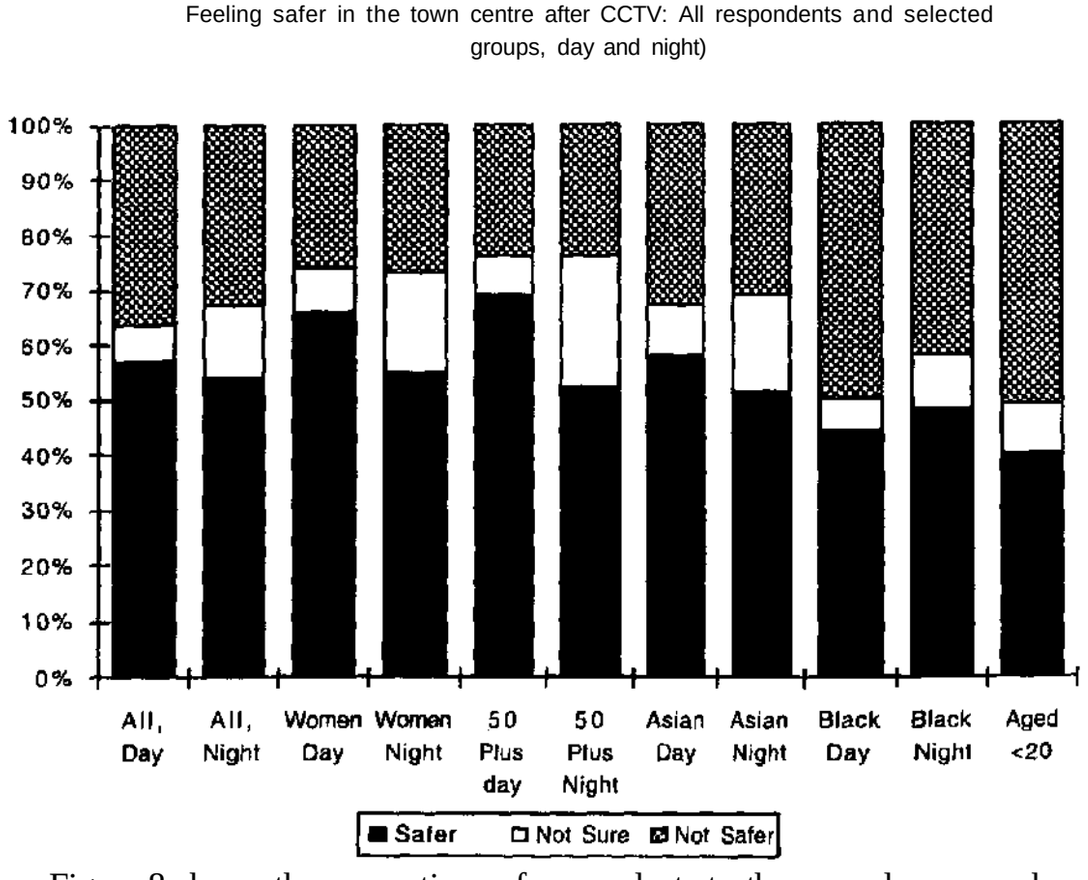


Figure 8 shows the proportions of respondents to the second survey who were aware of the CCTV cameras describing themselves as 'feeling safer', 'not

feeling safer' or 'not sure'. The first two columns show the overall percentages, in the daytime 56% said they felt safer, 6.8% were not sure either way and the remainder said they felt no safer following the installation of the cameras. Clearly these are generally positive and successful findings, with over half the sample feeling safer both day and night. The remaining columns detail the feelings on this issue of particular sub-categories of the population surveyed. The graph may appear to show a rather surprising result, that the cameras offer more reassurance during the day time. What it actually shows is that the CCTV system offers reassurance to more people in the day time - more people visit the town centre at day time. Interestingly, the less often that persons described themselves as visiting the town centre at night, the more reassuring they found the cameras but, of course, there are a number of factors in play here.

Of the sub-categories considered, people over fifty appeared to be most reassured by the cameras (69%), followed by women (66%) and people of Asian ethnic origin (58%). Those apparently least reassured by the cameras were people aged under 20 (41%), people opposed to CCTV (44%, not shown in the graph) and Black people (44%). Neither former witnesses of crime nor previous crime victims appeared to be any more reassured by CCTV than the average.

Despite the numbers claiming to feel more reassured and therefore safer by virtue of the CCTV cameras, only 16.5% of the sample claimed that they actually visited the town centre more often (75% said they did not and 8.5% were not sure). Some 46% of people contacted in the 'before' survey had thought themselves likely to visit the town centre more often once CCTV cameras were installed. Clearly, questions which ask members of the public to speculate about future behaviour are inherently unreliable. As it stands, even the 16.5% figure is difficult to verify without further research.

Support for CCTV and wider social attitudes

A final sequence of questions on both the 'before' and 'after* surveys concerned the extent to which those respondents enthusiastic about CCTV linked their support for the cameras to other general measures which might have a bearing upon crime and disorder policies within the locality. The findings, which are at any rate fairly general, might be useful in helping understand the prevailing preferences of the local community when questions of community safety planning are under consideration.

The nine different 'crime control' proposals are outlined in the before and after surveys (appendix 4, question 17 on the 'before' survey, question 18, 'after'). The views of all respondents (before and after) supporting CCTV were compared with their responses to the nine separate statements. The least popular measures were arming the police (21%) and introduction of a national ID card (56%). Five of the general proposals achieved support in the seventies, reducing unemployment (71%), more investment in education and

welfare (74.6%), more police on the beat (74.7%), harsher punishment (77.5%) and more for young people to do (78%).

The two most popular 'proposals' were 'more creative opportunities for young people to divert them from offending' (82%) and 'more discipline for children and young people[1] (86%).

The lessons that might be drawn from such results are probably quite limited, though it may be worth noting a few points. Significantly, the three most popular proposals all relate to young people. Whether young people are the main source of the principal crime and disorder concerns in Ilford is open to question, though certainly, during the period of the project, the related issues of juvenile offending and alleged social and moral decline were certainly prominent in the national media. However, in most peoples eyes, the CCTV proposal seems to sit fairly easily with both socially re-constructive and diversionary initiatives to tackle youthful offending and disorder as well as more punitive, and disciplinary measures and a stronger policing presence. In other words, support for CCTV is not the preserve of any particular section of opinion, instead, people seem to regard it as another tool with which to help manage (or re-impose order upon) places and behaviours deemed problematic. That said, a properly managed CCTV system can be seen in a role complementary to and supportive of broader community safer planning initiatives. CCTV cameras appear to spend quite some time focused upon young people though the respondents to our surveys appeared to see no contradiction between investment in opportunities, diversion projects and, broadly, social crime prevention initiatives and the additional protection of CCTV surveillance as a potential deterrent or an aid to police response.

Part 2

Analysis of the Crime and Incident Trends

Crimes and Incident Data Analysis

The second half of this evaluation attempts to assess the impact of the Ilford CCTV system upon crime and incident trends in the Ilford town centre. While, for many people, the apparent 'crime reduction effect' of a particular crime prevention initiative may be the only factor worth considering, we have to be very wary of both the statistics we use and the conclusions we may wish to draw from them.

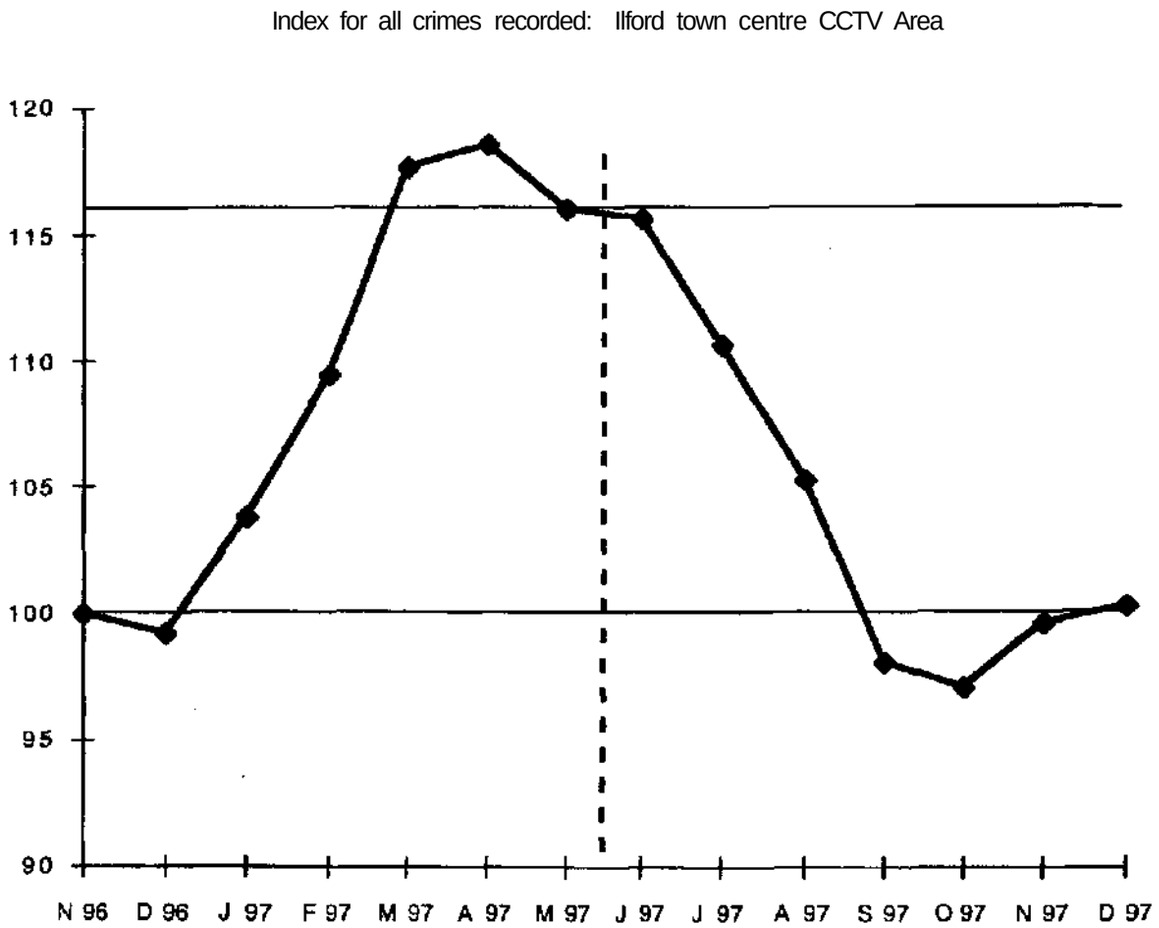
For instance, all the advice and, seemingly, all the research and evaluation so far available, suggests that CCTV systems make the greatest contributions to effective and preventive policing when combined with a range of other policing and crime prevention initiatives (Edwards, Brown, Squires & Measor, 1996). Furthermore, the objective, in installing CCTV systems is not the establishment of a sociological experiment in deterrence, but the establishment of a safer community. It follows that any evaluation of an effective CCTV system is not able to discount the impact of a range of associated policing and crime prevention initiatives. The best that can usually be achieved is a comparison of crime and incident figures prior to the introduction of a new system (eg. CCTV) and close observation of the developing crime and incident trends after the system becomes operative as all concerned learn to use the new systems to best effect. This is not a before and after' evaluation project therefore but, rather, 'before and during.[1]

In view of the fact that both crime problems and crime management strategies in any given community are constantly evolving and developing, we are often unable to 'prove' conclusively that a single crime prevention initiative has had a given crime reduction effect. The most useful conclusion is typically that a given community is safer or less crime-prone than prior to some date on which new crime prevention measures were installed. To acknowledge this however, is not to admit defeat in crime prevention evaluations but simply to recognise the complexity of the issue. Having said this however, the pages which follow describe a marked coincidence between the installation of the CCTV system and a dramatic down-turn in all the categories of recorded crime considered in this evaluation. This certainly goes a long way to demonstrate the significant contribution, that the CCTV system has played in helping the police respond to crime problems in the town centre.

Thus, figure 2.1, which follows, shows that, in the 5 months following the commencement of the installation of CCTV cameras in Ilford town centre (May 1997 to October 1997), recorded crime fell by almost 20%. Although the following two months saw slight increases in recorded crime, by the end of 1997 offences in the town centre were down by a clear 17% compared to the period immediately prior to the installation of the cameras. The evaluation methodology and the use of percentage index graphs is explained later. In making use of such statistics, however, we encounter a second evaluation problem. It concerns both the ways in which statistics of crimes and incidents

are recorded and compiled by the police and the ways in which one might interpret the emerging trends. We discuss the issuer more fully in a later section covering the presentation of data in this report

Figure 2.1 Percentage indexed trend for all crimes recorded in the Ilford Town Centre CCTV area.



Evaluation Parameters

This report examines the impact of the CCTV system installed in Ilford Town Centre upon crime and incident trends recorded by the Metropolitan Police. In terms of the 'guidance' issued by the Home Office Crime Prevention Agency (Crime Prevention Agency, 1988) this aspect of the study is primarily an **impact evaluation.** The CCTV system was to be assessed in terms of its impact upon a series of crime and incident trends within the surveillance area - and within the Ilford Sector more generally. The crime and incident trends identified as being of particular concern and identified in the original CCTV bid document formed the basis for this evaluation. Thus, the factors to be taken into consideration in this impact evaluation involve:

1.1 **Incidents recorded by the Police** and, specifically:
1.2 **Public Order Incidents** and **disturbances**, disturbances in licensed premises, public drunkenness, breaches of the peace, community problems, racially motivated incidents and other disturbances and calls for police assistance.)
1.3 **Violent incidents** (including incidents involving offensive weapons, assaults, assaults on police officers) and **sexual assaults.**
1.4 **Burglary incidents** (dwellings and non dwellings)
1.5 **Vehicle crime incidents** (theft of theft from)
1.6 **Theft incidents** (primarily 'shoplifting')
1.7 **Criminal Damage** incidents.

2.1 **Crimes** (Total crime recorded) and specifically:
2.2 **Violent Crime** (ABH, GBH, Affray, Wounding, sexual offences, robbery)
2.3 **Burglary** (Dwelling, Non-Dwelling (HO Codes 28,30) and Aggravated Burglary (HO Codes 29,31)
2.4 **Theft of and from motor vehicles**
2.5 **Thefts from the person,**
2.6 **Drugs offences** (possession/possession to supply)
2.7 **Shoplifting** (HO Code 46)
2.8 **Criminal Damage** (HO Code 58)

The statistical analysis

Data on the incidents included in this evaluation, covering the whole of 1996 and 1997, were supplied by the Metropolitan Police CAD Bureau at Tintagel House. The CAD data relating to the precise CCTV area was produced by cross-referencing the incident data with the grid references in the Greater London Map used by the CAD operators and carefully eliminating the map reference squares falling outside the range of the cameras. The data on crimes was obtained from Ilford Police covering the period June 1996 to December 1997. Ideally the crime figures would also have run from the beginning of 1996 but variations in the way in which the data were kept and difficulties in accessing statistics prior to the June of that year forced the decision. The differing timespans covered by the figures necessitated a slight difference in the ways in which the crime and incident figures were analysed but this has not had any significant impact upon the overall results. In each case, figures existed for at least 12 months prior to the CCTV system installation and for the seven months afterwards. The data on crimes in the precise CCTV surveillance area were based upon crimes recorded on the town centre beats and then any locations falling beyond camera range were excluded. There are, therefore, minor differences in the way the precise CCTV area has been defined in relation to the production of the relevant crime and incident trends but these are unlikely to be of any real significance in the overall evaluation. Although slightly different in either case, however, the area parameters were

consistently applied in the generation of each set of figures used in the evaluation.

There is a view (Short & Ditton, 1995) which suggests that less than a full year may be too short a period to permit definitive conclusions about the impacts of crime prevention innovations and, indeed, our own earlier study of the Brighton CCTV scheme was only able to detect a very small influence after six months. (Squires & Measor, 1996a) Only in our final report, after 12 months of CCTV in Brighton, did the full picture of the scheme's crime reduction impact become apparent. Thus in that survey, although over the year, we discovered a 10% reduction in property offences in the Brighton town centre surveillance area it was clear that it had taken some three to four months for this trend to begin to register. (Squires & Measor, 1996b) Furthermore, as there is often some seasonal variation within crime and incident trends, a full year analysis allows a more confident conclusion to be drawn about the durability of the resulting trends. In the case of Ilford, however, waiting a full year was not an option.

That said, however, as has been noted already, in this evaluation we have clearly detected some significant crime reduction effects within the first seven months operation of the scheme (although not without some other more ambiguous findings) undoubtedly suggesting that the scheme represents at least an initial success. However, it might be worthwhile repeating such evaluations after a further year and, perhaps periodically, thereafter, particularly in the light of Brown's observation that, "the effect of cameras on crime may start to fade in the longer term." (Brown, 1995, p.vi) Ongoing evaluation of this sort is generally recommended as part of a package of measures designed to ensure the system is running at optimum efficiency levels for, "to sustain the effect of the cameras... [they] must be used [above all] to increase the risk of arrest for offenders." (Brown, op. cit.) In due course, when the Government's new Crime and Disorder legislation comes on stream, this kind of crime analysis and community safety auditing is likely to feature far more centrally as a key local government responsibility as local authorities respond to the challenge of comprehensive community safety planning. In that new context, the evaluation of specific initiatives such as CCTV will necessarily fall within a wider community safety context and the early lessons derived from CCTV evaluation, {see Squires & Measor, 1996a) that surveillance systems are potentially much more effective when operated in conjunction with a range of other police initiatives and wider crime reduction strategies, are likely to be further borne out.

Unfortunately, these wider factors, including further issues such as system control, the integration of CCTV into police command and control systems, the management of incident response and support to investigation and evidence gathering - to say nothing of wider community safety measures - were largely excluded from this study.

Presentation of the Statistical Data

The data supplied consisted of monthly totals for 'All Crime' and 'All Incidents.' This was then subdivided, again by month, into the particular crime and incident categories identified earlier. The incidents data was supplied for Redbridge as a whole, the Metropolitan Police's JI Division, the Ilford Sector and the precise town centre surveillance area. The Crime data was supplied for Redbridge, the Ilford Division and the CCTV area. Subtracting the figures for the CCTV area from those for the Ilford Division provided another important survey area comprising the areas adjacent to the town centre but not within the CCTV surveillance area. This area, rather like a donut around the town centre, can provide valuable information about changing crime patterns in areas adjacent to those covered by CCTV and may allow us to identify displacement or 'halo' effects from the town centre cameras. Figures relating to this 'donut' area were calculated for both crimes and incidents. Ideally the 'donut[1] area would need to be defined fairly tightly around the surveillance area itself (for instance relating to Ilford Sector, as in the CAD incident data, but for crimes we only had access to figures for the larger JI Division.

In the following report, the reworked data is presented in two main forms. The raw figures have been recalculated as **twelve-month** (incidents) **or** six-**month** (crimes) **moving averages.** The vertical dotted line in the graphs marks the point at which the CCTV system was installed. The advantage of computing the figures as moving average is that it stabilises the visible trends (by eliminating monthly or seasonal fluctuations) making them easier to see and also allows one to recognise the relative scale of different 'crime or incident[1] patterns (see, for example, figure 2.2 which follows).

The second method of presentation takes these moving average figures and recalculates them on a percentage index basis in order to allow a clear picture of the percentage increase or decrease in the relevant crime or incident trends to emerge. The advantage of using indexed graphs is that they allow direct comparison between different (and perhaps otherwise unrelated) sets of figures, allowing any trends to emerge much more clearly. The indexed graphs are calculated back to November or December 1996, with the initial figure representing 100 and each subsequent monthly moving average expressed as a percentage of that figure (see figure 2.1 earlier). The obvious advantage of the indexed graphs lies in the clear picture they give of relevant trends and the comparisons they allow.

The decision to present the data in these two different ways was taken with a view to presenting the evidence of the impact of Ilford's CCTV system in the most appropriate and accessible fashion. It is often noted that the presentation of statistics is a very particular 'science' and that statistics can be used to demonstrate many different things. This is equally true of the criminal statistics where 'crimes recorded' might often reflect police activity and decision making more accurately than they reflect illegal activity, as it were, out on the streets. The familiar disparity between crimes recorded by

the police and the figures produced by the British Crime Survey suggesting that only one in three or even one in four of certain offences are reported to the police (assaults, criminal damage, minor theft from the person) indicates something of the limitations of relying only upon the 'crime' figures. (BCS, 1992, p.15) In this evaluation however, we have also had access to the incidents reported to or recorded by the police allowing us to have a little more confidence in the underlying trends emerging.

Not all incidents will be crimes, however, and in Redbridge as a whole, the number of incidents recorded fluctuates around 4,300 compared to approximately 2,500 crimes recorded per month (see figure A3.1 in appendix three). In the town centre CCTV area itself a different pattern prevails (see figure 218) with a fairly steady, though slightly rising pattern of incidents - approximately 230 per month - but a pattern of crimes rising from approximately 200 in December 1996, rising to almost 240 in April 1997 and then falling back to their former levels by the end of the year. These different ratios between incidents and crimes in the different area reflect differences in the types of incidents themselves and also different patterns of policing. For instance, in the town centre, the fairly common offence of shoplifting may only come to light when a culprit is apprehended by a store detective and this may or may not be recorded as an incident. When the shoplifter is interviewed he or she may admit to a number of further offences thereby leading to the recording of additional crimes but perhaps no incident. Similarly, in the town centre, a more intensive or proactive style of policing may generate additional numbers of arrests and ultimately crimes recorded without there being incidents (calls to the police, requests for assistance) generated and recorded.

The following graphs, focus upon the crime reduction effect of the cameras in the CCTV area and the town centre but, as suggested, these results are situated within a wider examination of the background crime and incident trends within Redbridge and the Ilford sector. The Report begins by examining the background crime and incident trends before focusing more directly upon the town centre and CCTV surveillance area itself. Following this, an effort is made to assess if any offence displacement effects might be attributable to the installation of the cameras.

Displacement of offending and/or 'Halo' effects

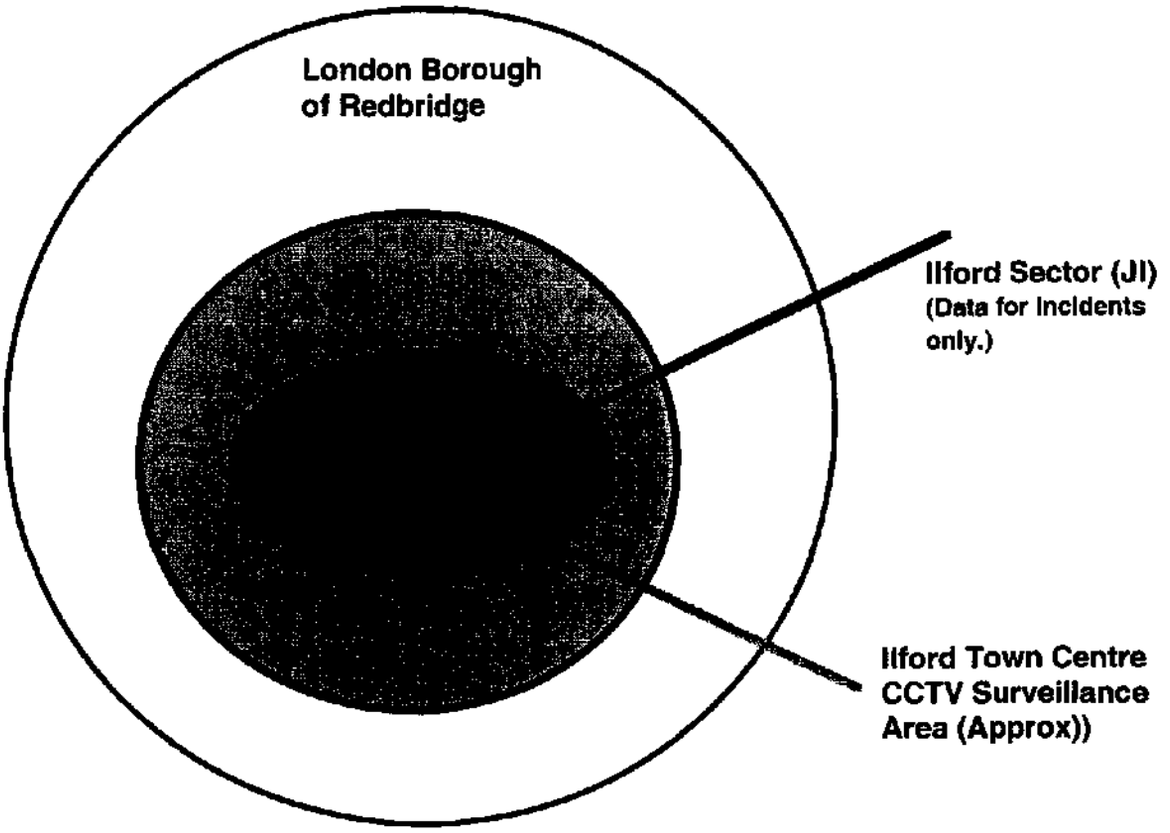
In CCTV evaluation the question of crime displacement is often raised but seldom satisfactorily answered. Hence, focusing upon parts of a town centre not covered by the cameras (as demonstrated in the following evaluation diagram) offers an opportunity to examine the extent of such localised displacement. Unfortunately this apparently simple question is complicated by what researchers have identified as a 'halo effect', or 'diffusion of benefit' - crime reductions occurring in areas adjacent to those actually covered by crime prevention measures. (Brown, 1995, Oc and Tiesdell, 1997) Evidence of such potentially contrary processes occurring makes a definitive answer to

the displacement question difficult to provide. Nevertheless, later in the report, when examining the CCTV and non-CCTV areas of the town centre we consider these issues and comment on the available evidence.

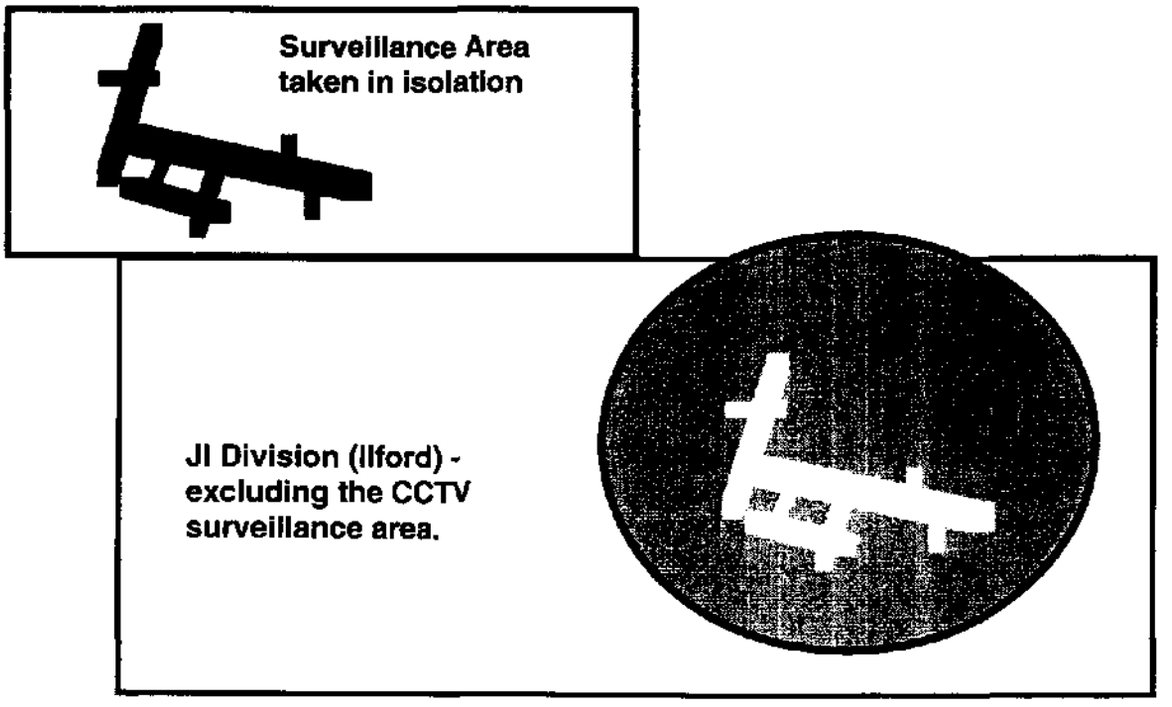
Wider comparisons

Finally, an attempt has been made to assess how the results from Ilford's CCTV system measure up against existing evaluations of other CCTV schemes around the country upon which there is sufficient available data. A graph in Appendix 5 compares the 12 month record (6 months before, 6 months after) of the Ilford CCTV system with the crime trend indices emerging from CCTV evaluations undertaken in Brighton, Crawley, Birmingham and Newcastle, and East Grinstead and Burgess Hill, both in Sussex.

The Evaluation sequence is described in a **diagram on the following page.**



Examining for displacement or "halo" effects.



INCIDENT TRENDS (Data from the CAD Bureau. Tintagel House.)

Figure 2.2 Incident trends in the four areas.

Diagram showing the proportions of incidents recorded in Redbridge, Jl Division, Word Sector and the llford town centre CCTV area

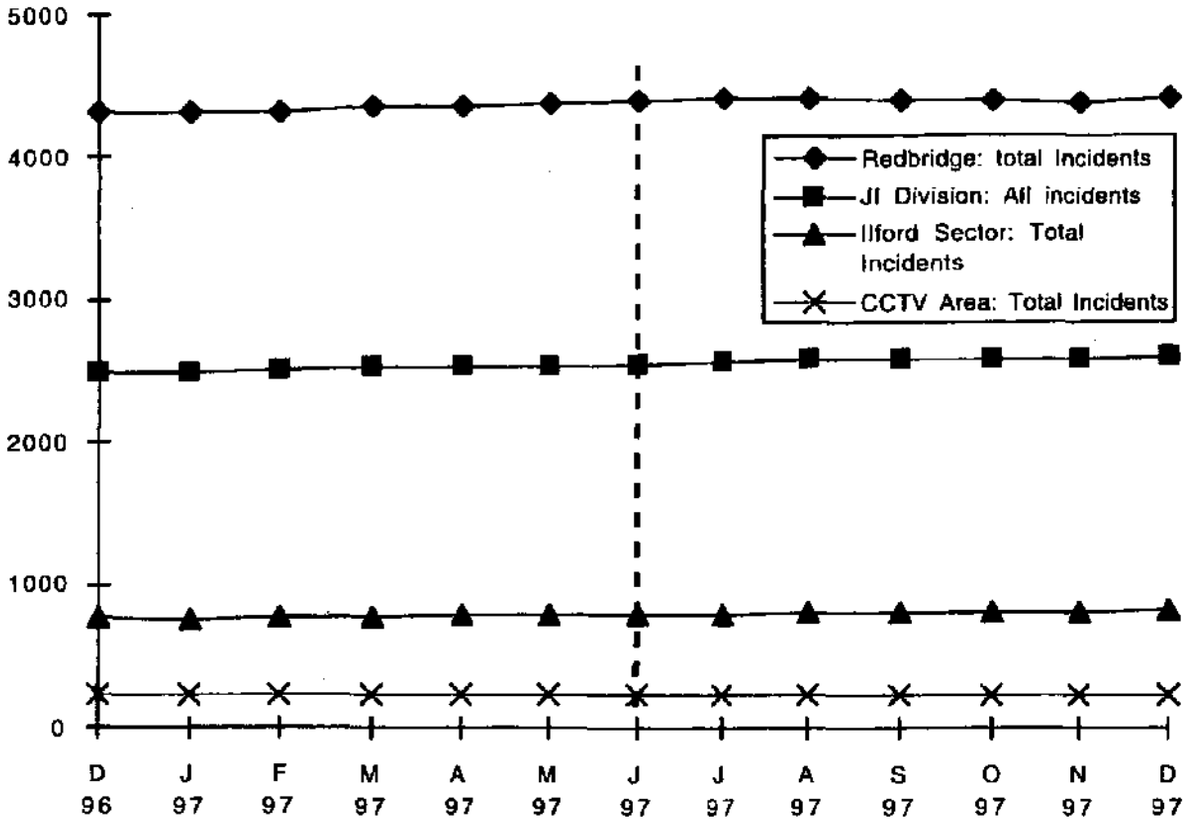
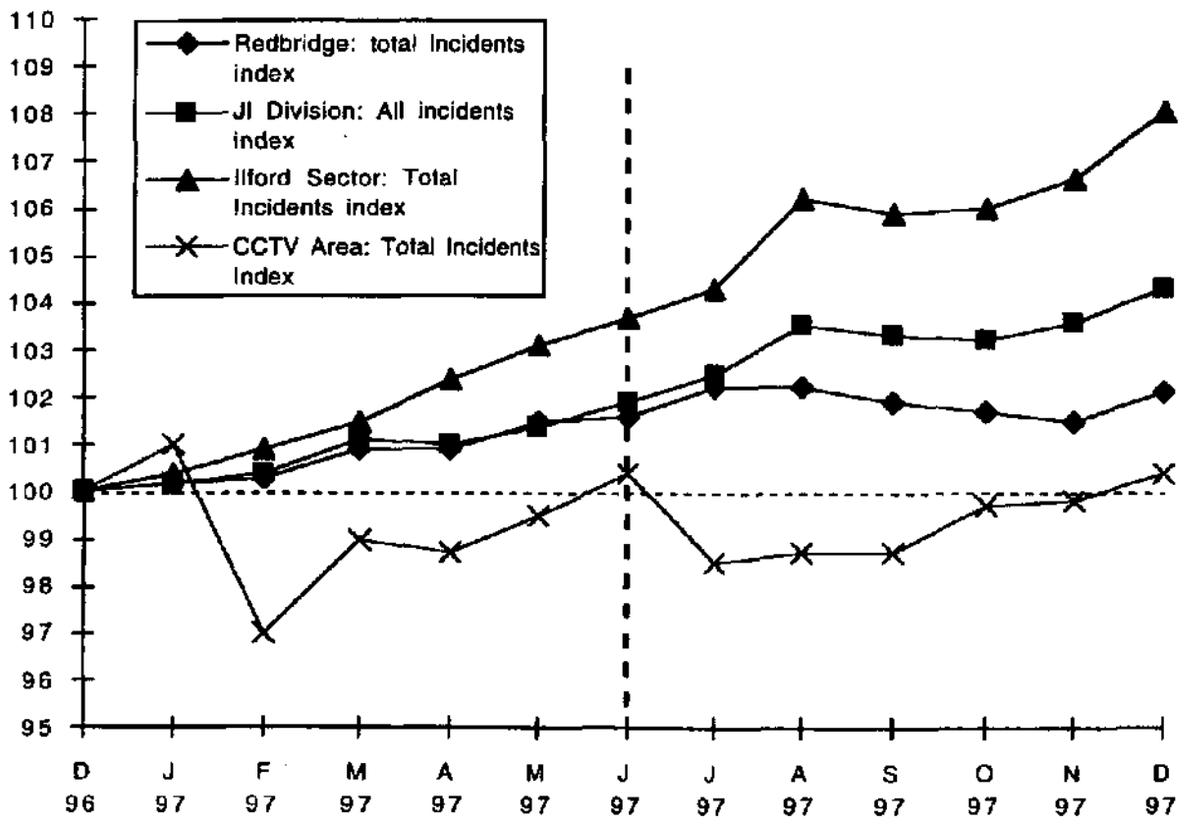


Figure 2.2 simply presents the patterns of incidents recorded in Redbridge as a whole, the Jl Division, llford Sector and the town centre CCTV area. The trends are presented as 12 month rolling averages and the vertical dotted line indicates the month at which the CCTV system was launched. Aside from the relative proportions of incidents recorded in the four areas, consistent throughout the period, and the comparatively small number of incidents recorded for the actual CCTV area, the most obvious thing about these trends is the fact that they appear highly stable with no significant deviations either before or after CCTV. Converting these figures to a percentage index graph, figure 2.3 which follows, allows a closer comparison of these trends.

Figure 2.3 Percentage indices for the incident trends

Indices for incidents recorded in Redbridge, JI Division, Ilford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area

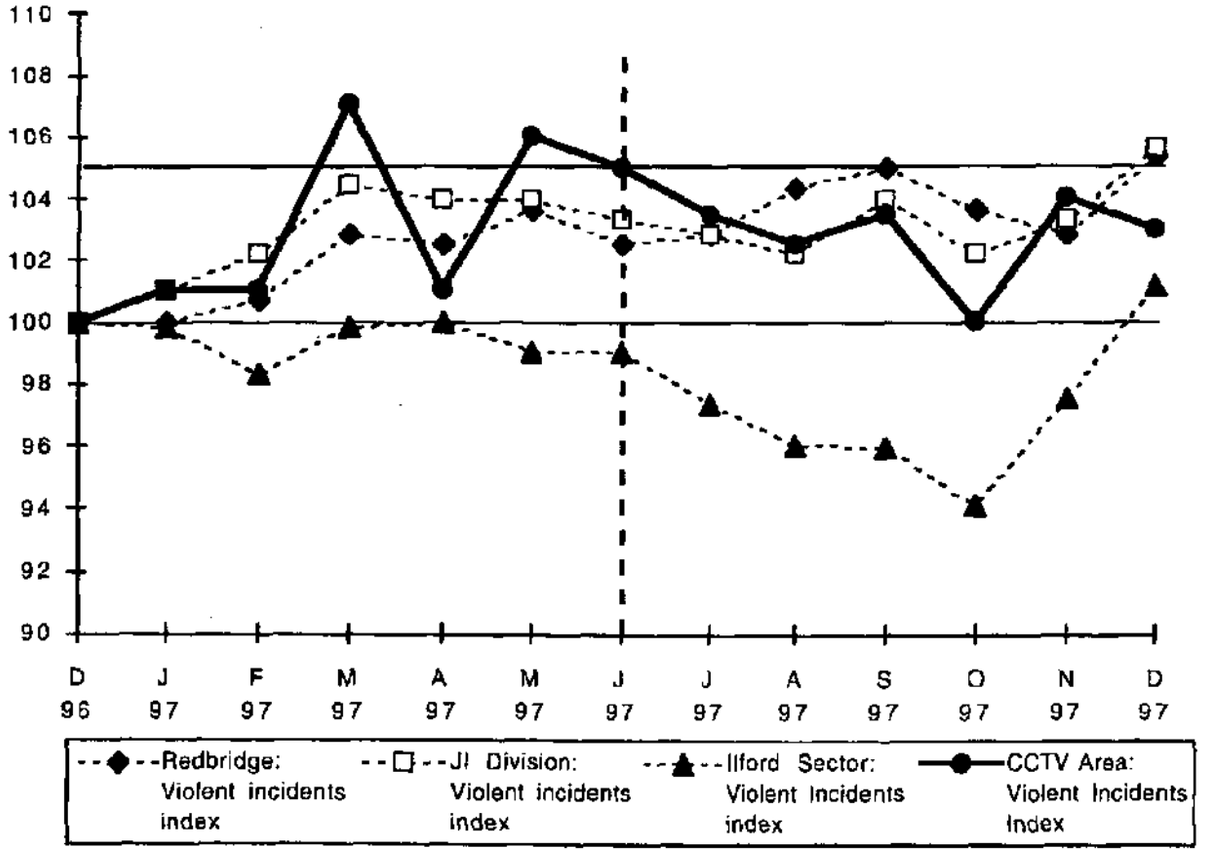


When the incidents trends are recalculated on a percentage index, it becomes clearer that there are different trends evident. Note the percentage vertical scale and the range of the graph commences. The lowest reading is 97% (incidents in the CCTV area in February 1997) and the highest, approximately 108%, (Ilford Sector, December 1997). The different trends are clearly visible with Ilford Sector rising fastest, but consistently, throughout the period. Encouragingly, the incidents recorded for the CCTV area show a dip from June to November 1997, the five months immediately following the CCTV installation, although by the end of the year the figures have risen to slightly above the level they were at 12 months earlier. There is also another noticeable dip in the CCTV area figures between January and February. The fall in the CCTV area figures appears to have made no little impact on the Ilford Sector incidents trend as a whole, which continue to rise although the figures for the JI Division and Redbridge appear to fall back slightly in the latter half of 1997.

The following five graphs present the trends for specific incident trends - incidents which were of particular concern to the Redbridge Safer Communities Partnership. These involve, in turn, violent incidents, burglaries, vehicle crime incidents, shop theft incidents and criminal damage incidents. Each graph compares incident indices for the same four police areas as figure 2.3. The following five graphs should be considered in relation to figures 2.9 to 2.15 which present direct comparisons between the town centre CCTV area and the Ilford Sector area not covered by the cameras and allow us to address the question of displacement. Details on the relative scale of incidents in the four areas can be found in the graphs in Appendix 2.

Figure 2.4 Violent incidents in Redbridge, JI Division, Ilford Sector and the CCTV area.

Indices for violent incidents recorded in Redbridge, JI Division, Ilford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area

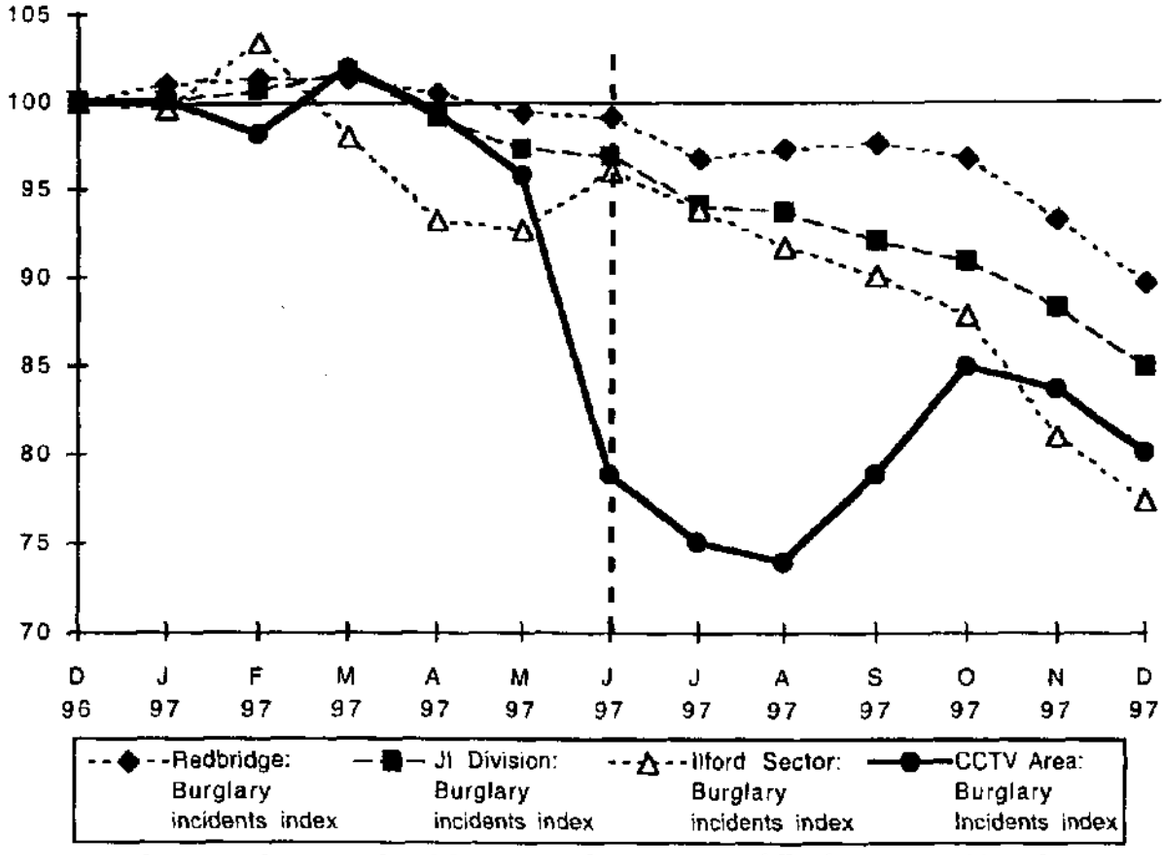


The pattern of violent incidents (incidents involving offensive weapons, assaults, assaults on police officers and sexual assaults) in the CCTV area is the most erratic of the three trends, but generally moving downwards after May 1997 when the cameras were first being installed. For the year overall,

the violence trend is up by approximately 3%, but down almost 3% for the second half of the year after the camera installation. Trends for the JI Division and Redbridge as a whole are fairly stable, rising by 5% throughout the year whereas the Ilford Sector trend turns sharply downwards (by 5% over four months) after June 1997 before moving steeply upwards during November and December. Explaining such differing trends is never easy but it may that during the initial implementation of the CCTV scheme, some different policing initiatives were adopted in the Ilford sector casing violent incidents to fall. In the CCTV area itself, however, the additional 'eyes on the street[1] may have picked up potentially violent incidents as they occurred, thereby increasing the rate of incident recording in this area.

Figure 2.5 Burglary incidents in the four areas

Indices for Burglary incidents recorded in Redbridge, JI Division, Ilford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area

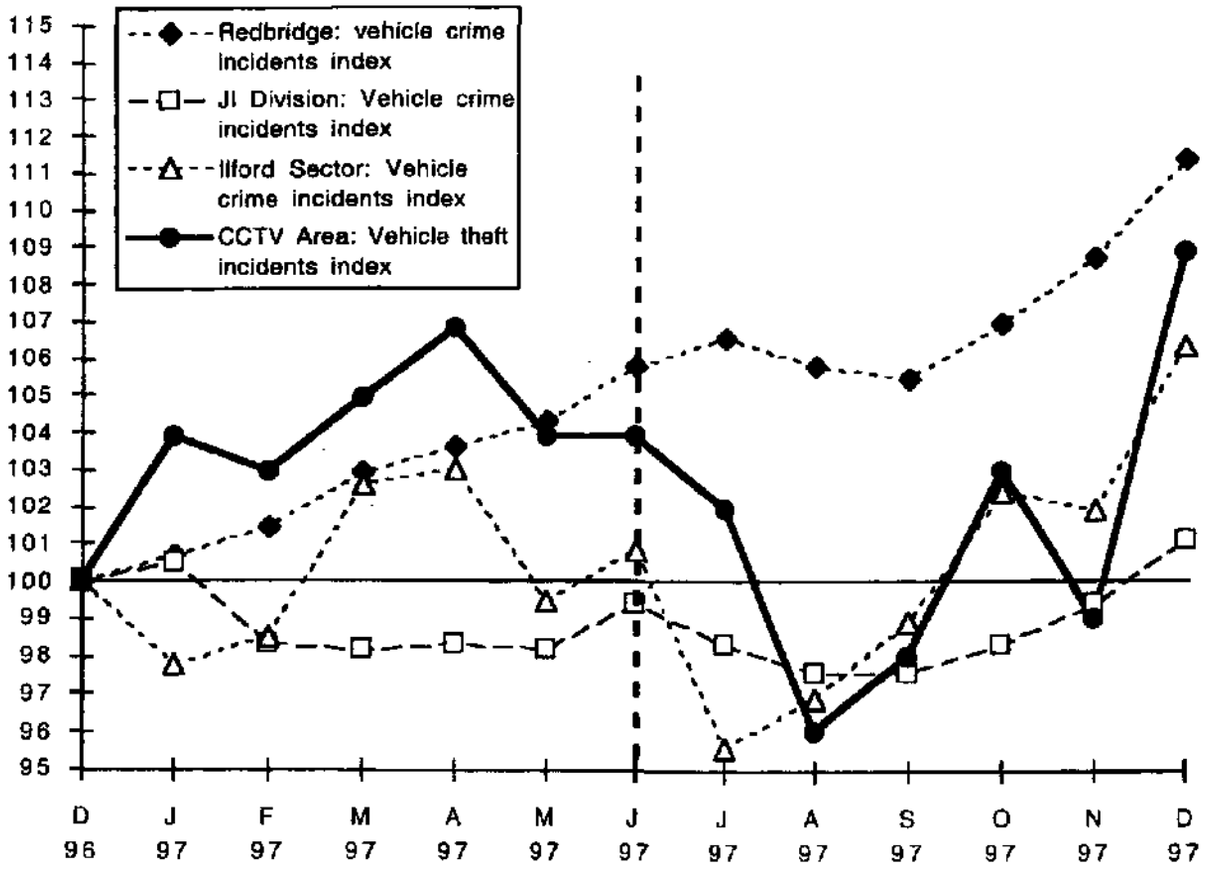


Burglary incidents in the CCTV area show a steep fall after May 1997 when the cameras were first being installed, falling by some 25% over 4 months. This decline is not sustained as the next two months see an increase once more, though falling away again by the end of the year. Overall the fall in

burglaries in the CCTV area is approximately 20% with the trend rejoining the more consistently falling trends of the other areas. On the face of it, it would appear that, alongside the generally falling pattern of the non-CCTV areas, CCTV in Ilford town centre gave a significant downwards jolt to the burglaries occurring there. Although this downwards shift was not sustained for the entire evaluation period the downwards trend appears to be continuing.

Figure 2.6 Vehicle crime incidents in the four evaluation areas

Indices for Vehicle crime incidents recorded in Redbridge, Jl Division, Hford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area

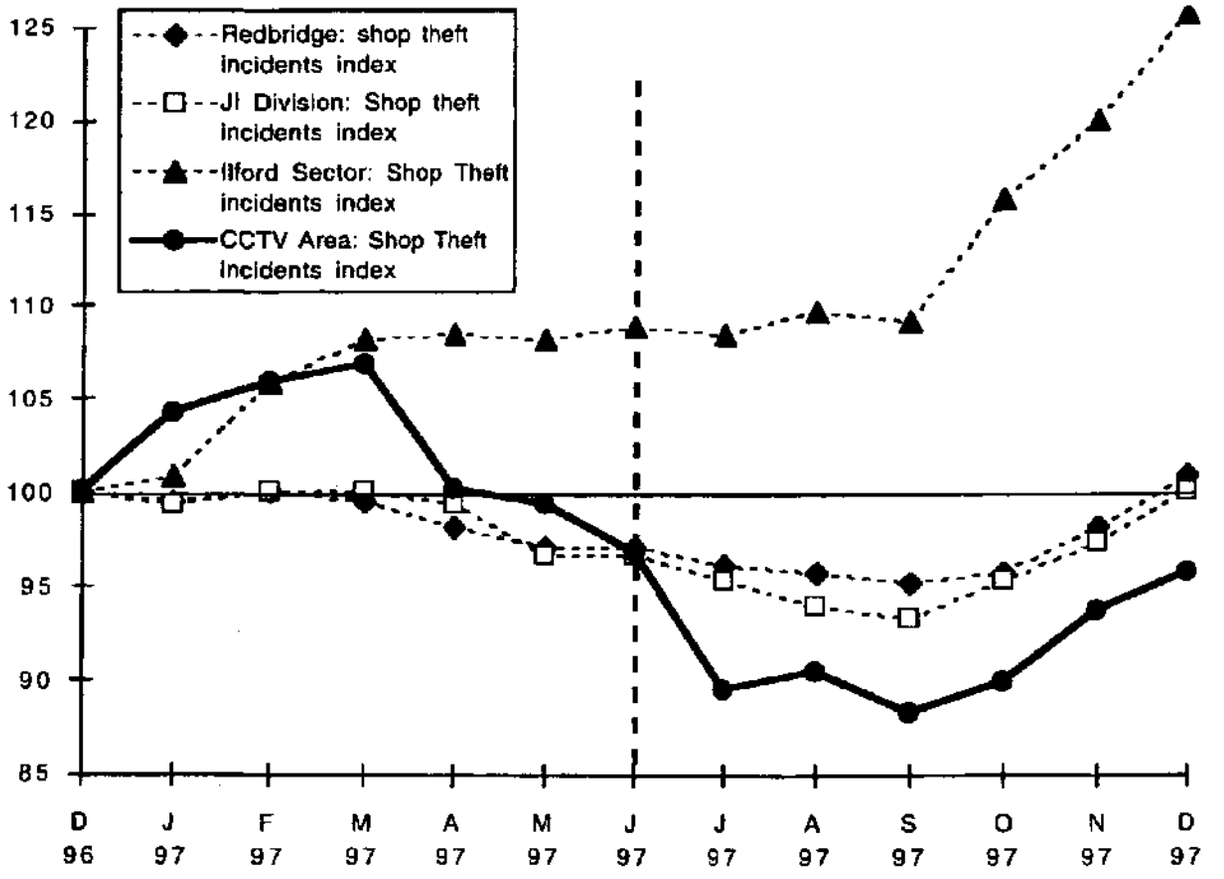


The overall rate of vehicle crime (reports of theft of or theft from motor vehicles) incidents is rising in the London Borough of Redbridge (a 12% increase throughout the year). Against that general backdrop the figures for the other three areas show some interesting variation. The JI Division shows a fairly consistent pattern, ending the year only one percent up. Ilford Sector and the CCTV area indicate a more variable trend. The CCTV area itself shows a declining trend after April 1997, the fall accelerating after the

installation of CCTV. Over the four months an 11% reduction in vehicle crime was achieved. Unfortunately, this falling trend was not sustained and, by the end of the year, vehicle crime incidents were 4% up on their level when the CCTV cameras were first introduced. A similar pattern, though with less pronounced peaks and troughs, prevails in the larger Ilford Sector. In the light of these figures it might be appropriate to examine further the nature of these incidents and the security of car parking facilities in the sector. However, in view of the fact that these rising incident trends are not reflected in the vehicle crime trends (see figure 2.26) it may be that 'false' or over-sensitive car alarms might account for the disparity.

Figure 2.7 Shop theft incidents in the four areas

Indices for shop theft incidents recorded in Redbridge, JI Division, Ilford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area

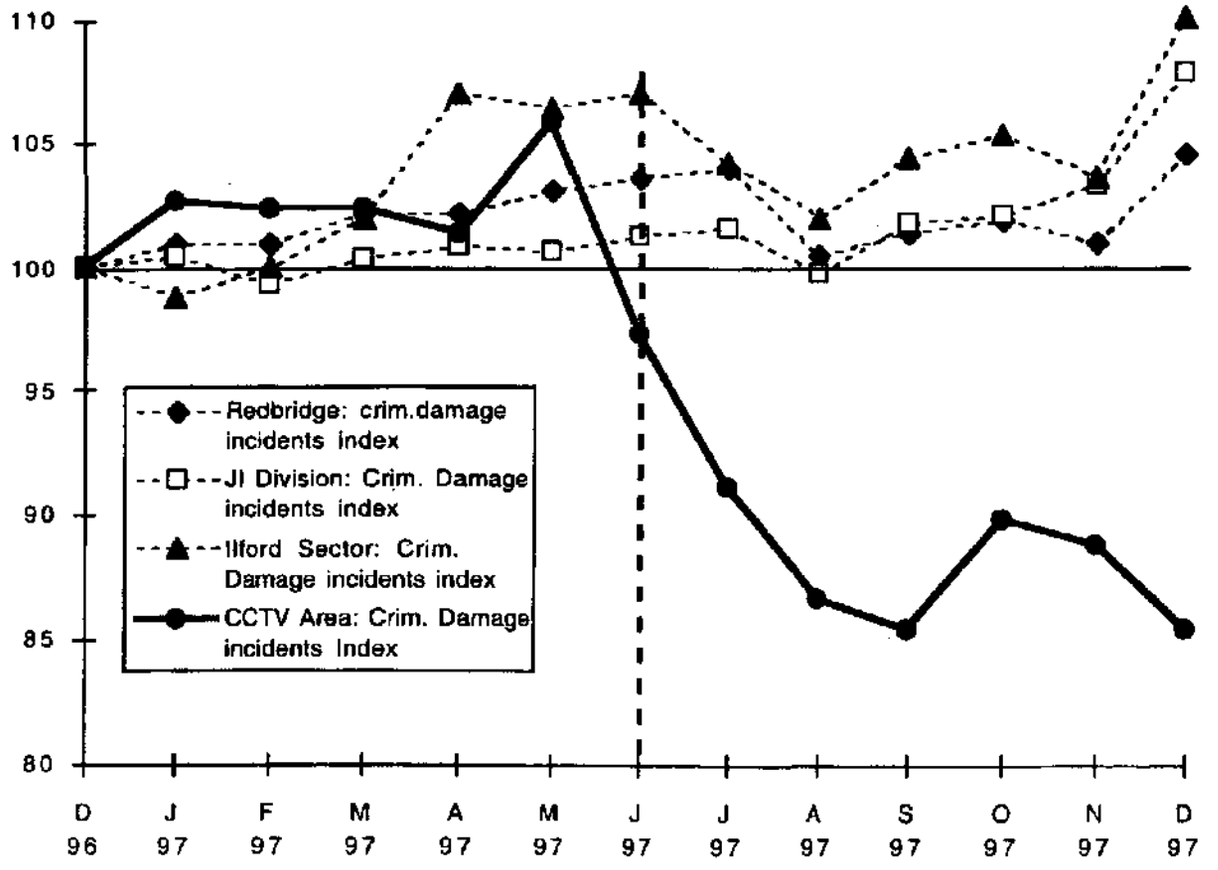


Shop theft incidents are clearly falling after March 1997 but begin to rise again after September. The patterns for Redbridge as a whole and the JI Division are very similar, although the Ilford Sector and, especially, the town centre CCTV area, covering the main shopping areas, are obviously more

interesting. Most intriguing of all is the apparent evidence of some displacement of shoplifting out of the CCTV as, after September 1997, the Ilford Sector figure climbs sharply. This apparent displacement of shoplifters is especially evident in figure 2.14 (comparing the CCTV area with the Ilford Sector area not covered by the cameras) which follows later.

Figure 2.8 Criminal Damage incidents in the four areas

Indices for criminal damage incidents recorded in Redbridge, Jl Division, Ilford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area



Pre-existing CCTV evaluations (see for example Squires 1998a) have shown CCTV to have a particularly dramatic effect on criminal damage incidents and Ilford town centre appears no exception. In four months there is a significant 20% reduction in criminal damage incidents, standing in marked contrast to the generally rising patterns in the other areas and across the Borough as a whole.

COMPARING INCIDENT TRENDS IN THE TOWN CENTRE CCTV AREA AND IN THE ILFORD SECTOR AREA NOT COVERED BY CCTV.

The following six graphs are intended to complement those preceding by directly comparing the CCTV area with adjacent areas of the Ilford Sector not covered by the cameras.

Figure 2.9 Total incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared.

Indices of Incidents recorded within Ilford town centre:
Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it (JI/non-CCTV area).

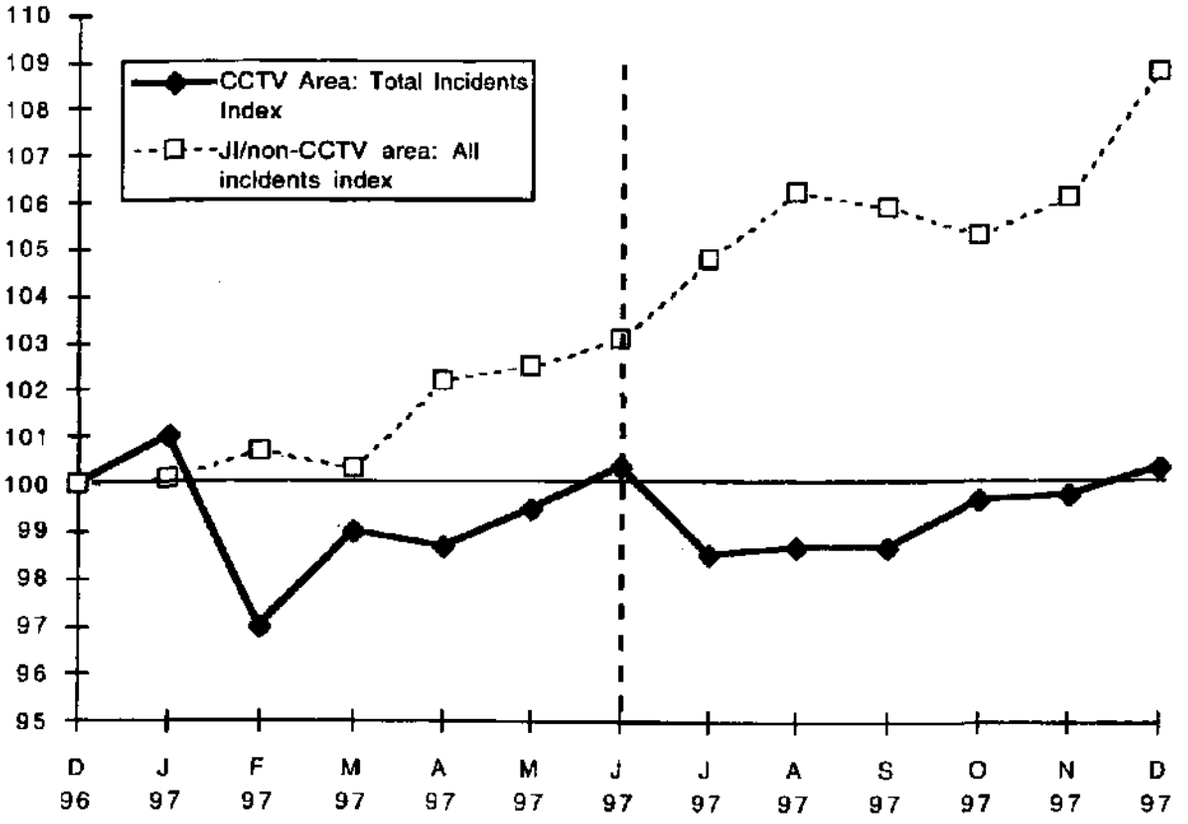
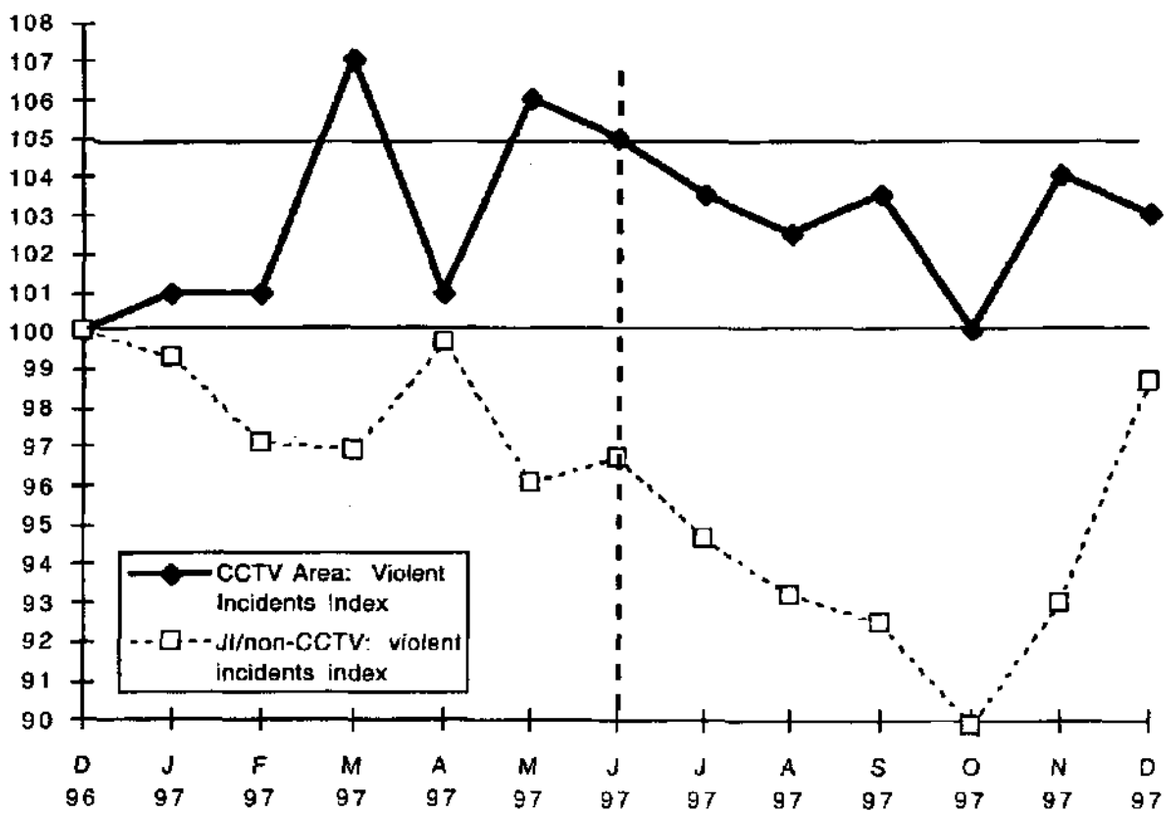


Figure 2.9 makes the overall trends very clear. While the non-CCTV area shows a generally rising pattern of incidents, ending the year some 9% above its original level, factors peculiar to the town centre have restrained the level of incidents reported there. For four months after June 1997 it appears that the camera system prompted a dip in the incident trend and, although this was not sustained, the town centre trend appears to have been restrained.

The sharp drop in the town centre figures between January and February cannot be fully explained by the available statistical data although it coincided with **a** Crime Prevention Week initiative in Ilford town centre and, intriguingly, the first wave of the CCTV public opinion survey for this evaluation.

Figure 2.10 Violent incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared.

Indices of Violent Incidents recorded within Ilford town centre:
Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it {JI/non-CCTV area).

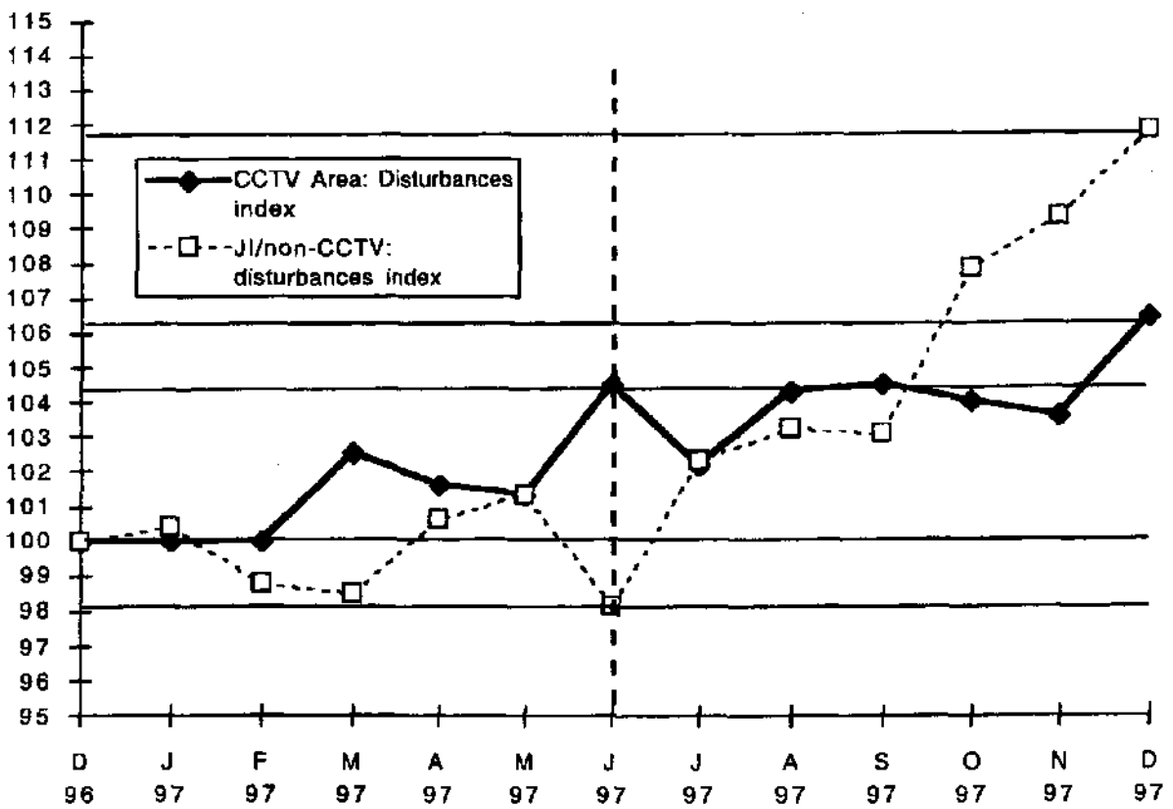


On the face of it the trend on violent incidents is less encouraging but these figures need to be set in the context of public reactions to apparent disorder and potentially violent incidents - and police reactions to these - in the town centre. Secondly, the figures in this diagram need to be read in conjunction with those of figure 2.19 which reveal a fall of approximately 30% in recorded violent crime in the CCTV area. It may be that general concerns about violence prompt the public to report potentially violent incidents in the town centre, or that the CCTV camera operators may be witnessing disorderly or potentially violent incidents as they begin, allowing the police to respond

more quickly before serious offences occur. Looked at another way, therefore, a high incidence of disorder or rising numbers of reports of violent incidents and a falling rate of violent crime may be a very positive outcome, suggesting an effective police response to reports of such incidents.

Figure 2.11 Disturbance incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared.

Indices of disturbance incidents recorded within Ilford town centre.
Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it (JI/non-CCTv area).

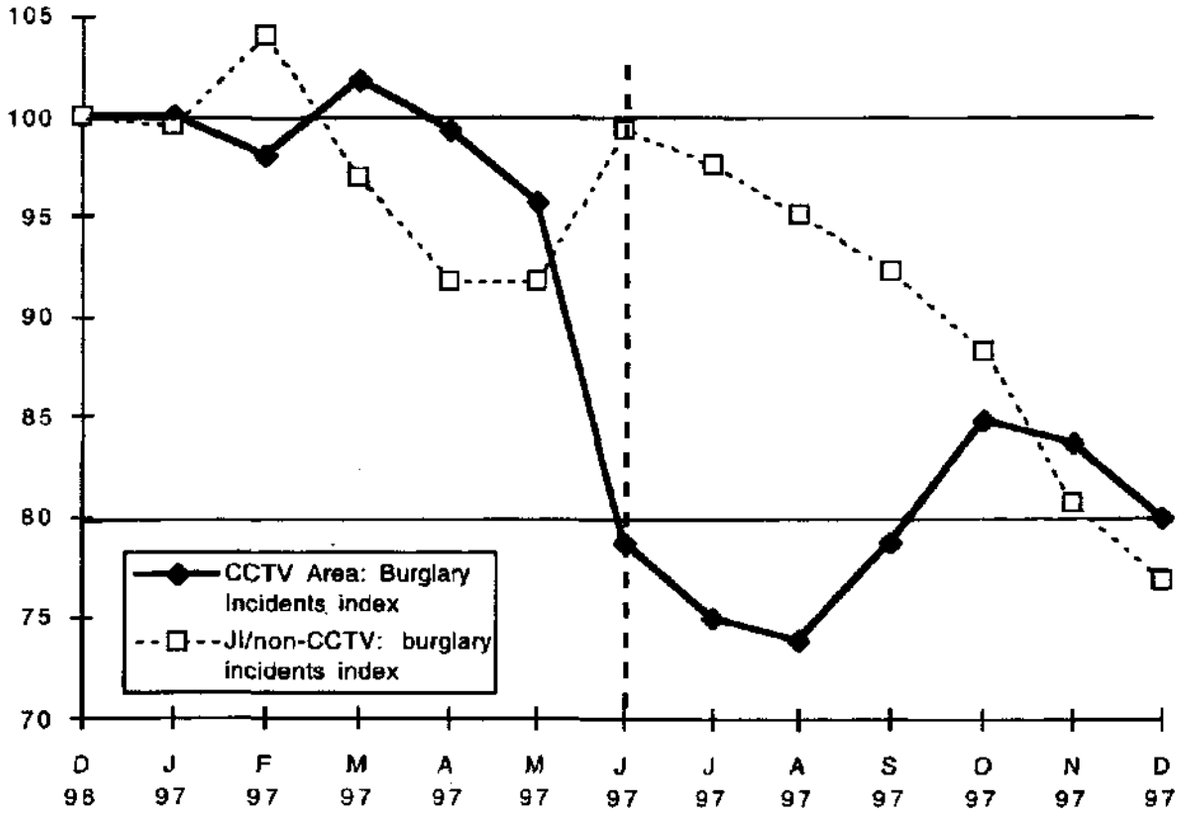


'Disturbance' incidents can comprise a wide range of actual issues, from drunken and disorderly behaviour, noise and juvenile 'nuisance.' Clearly, not all such incidents are likely to be affected by the installation of CCTV cameras but, even so, while the underlying trend is up by almost 12% for the year, this appears to have been restrained in the CCTV area. Indeed, during August to October 1997, while the town centre trend noticeably levels out, the non-CCTV are trend begins its steepest climb, suggesting that perhaps some of the 'disturbance factors' were being displaced beyond the range of the cameras.

Increases in disturbances during December are not unusual, often relating to Xmas, parties and the consumption of alcohol.

Figure 2.12 Burglary incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared

Indices of burglary incidents recorded within liford town centre:
Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it (JI/non-CCTV area).

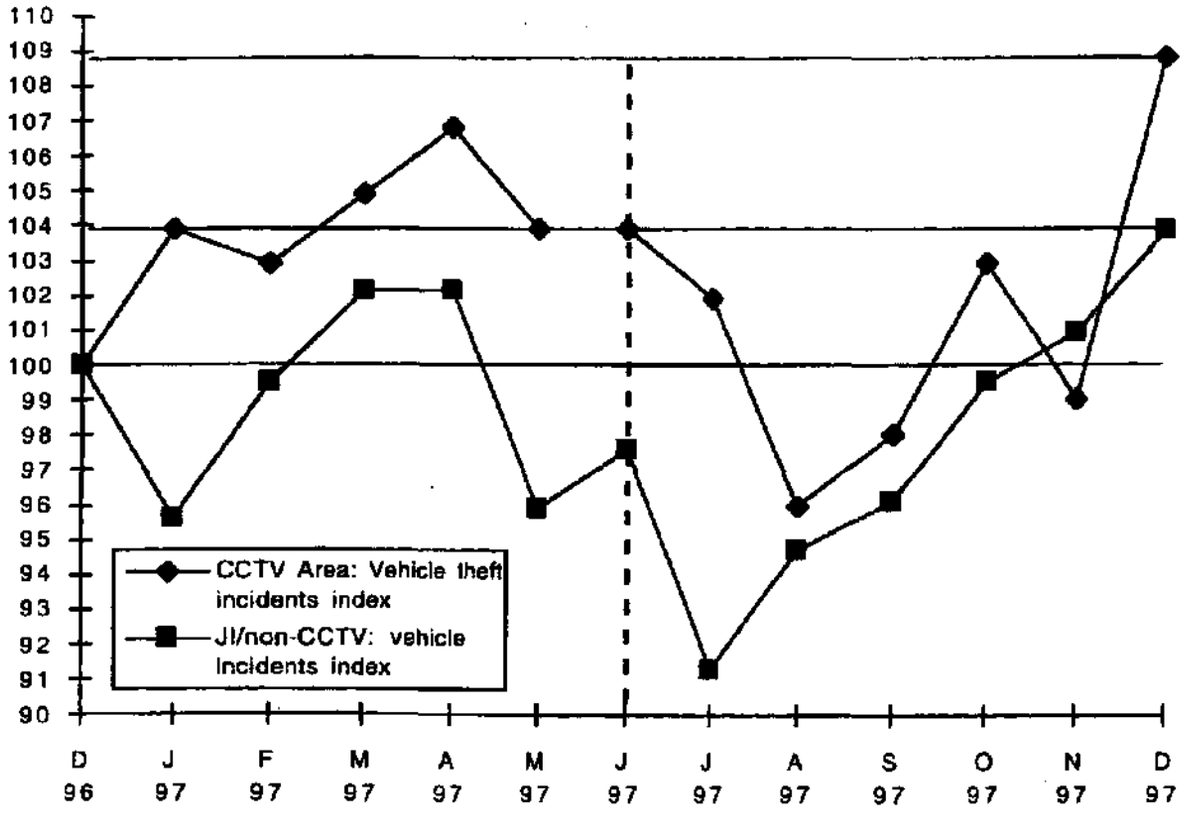


In recent years, burglary has been the subject of a number of policing and crime prevention initiatives intended to frustrate either the activities of the burglars themselves or disrupt the circulation of stolen goods (Operation Bumblebee, and subsequent initiatives). It may be that the generally falling pattern of burglary incidents (already noted in figure 2.5) are a result of both successful policing initiatives in this area and the increasing resort to burglar alarms in commercial and domestic settings. That said, the 27% fall in burglary incidents during April to August 1997 is fairly dramatic although it is not quite sustained until the end of the year. The sharp fall in the May to June figures, the steepest monthly fall of all, while the CCTV cameras were being installed, coinciding with a sharp rise in the non-CCTV area figures,

might suggest some displacement of burglary activity, although this is not reflected in the burglary crime figures (see figures 2.21 to 2.25).

Figure 2.13 Vehicle theft incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared.

Indices of vehicle theft incidents recorded within Ilford town centre: Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it {JI/non-CCTV area).

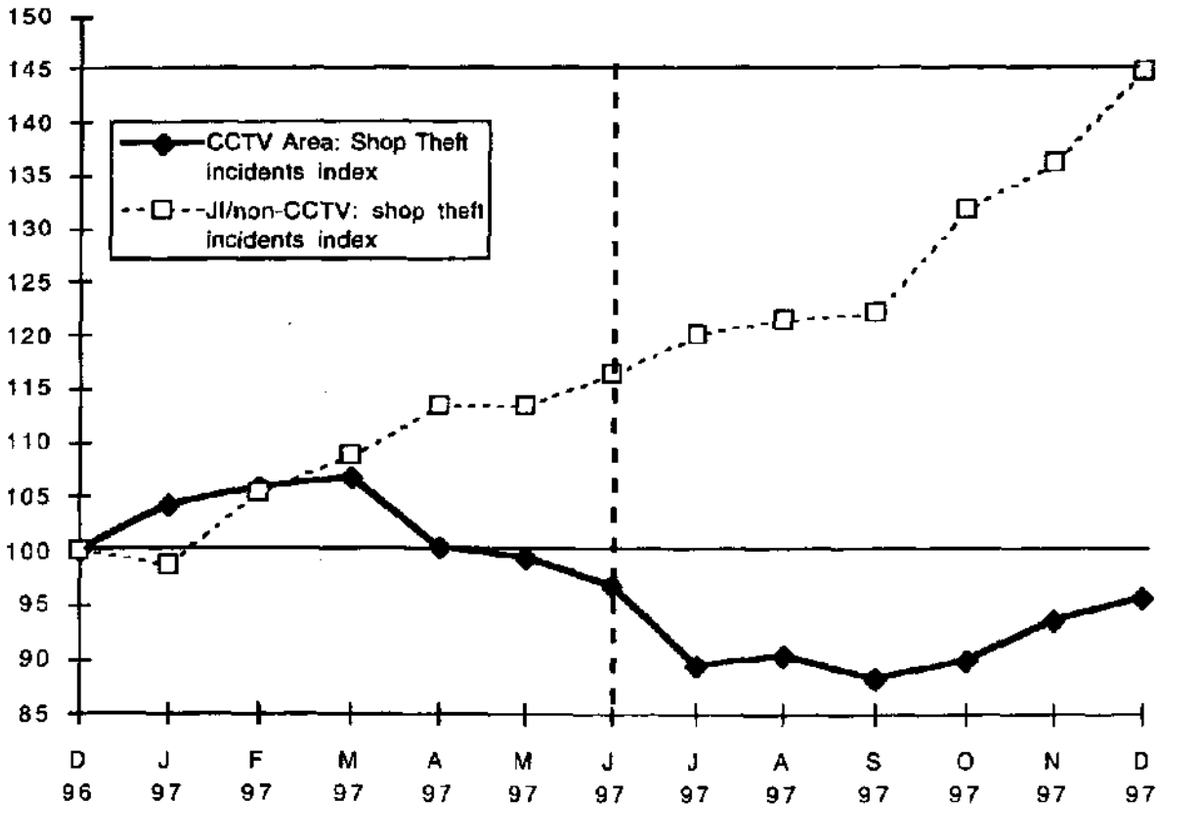


As figure A2.3 (Appendix 2) shows, the number of vehicle related incidents (relating to thefts of and thefts from motor vehicles) averages only around ten per month (compared to around 50 per month in the Ilford Sector). Accordingly, small fluctuations in the numbers of cars stolen or broken into in any one month can significantly affect the observable trends. Even so, the trends within and beyond the CCTV area are remarkably similar, both generally rising from January to April, falling from April to July/August by around 10% each and climbing again (by approximately 14% each) to the end of the year. It may be that the installation of CCTV cameras prompted or accelerated the falling incident trends in the middle third of the year, but it does occur in the area not covered by CCTV. One explanation may be that potential offenders did not know this {ie. which car parking areas were

within camera range) so for a few short months so "diffusion of benefit' extended into the non-CCTV area, until such time as potential offenders worked out the coverage of the CCTV system (also, blind spots within the camera area). Before speculating further, however, it is worth noting (as on figure 2.26) that the resurgence in vehicle related incidents is not reflected in the number of vehicle related crimes although the falling crime trend clearly levels off in the final two months of the year.

Figure 2.14 Shop theft incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared

Indices of shop theft incidents recorded within Ilford town centre:
Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it (JI/non-CCTV area).

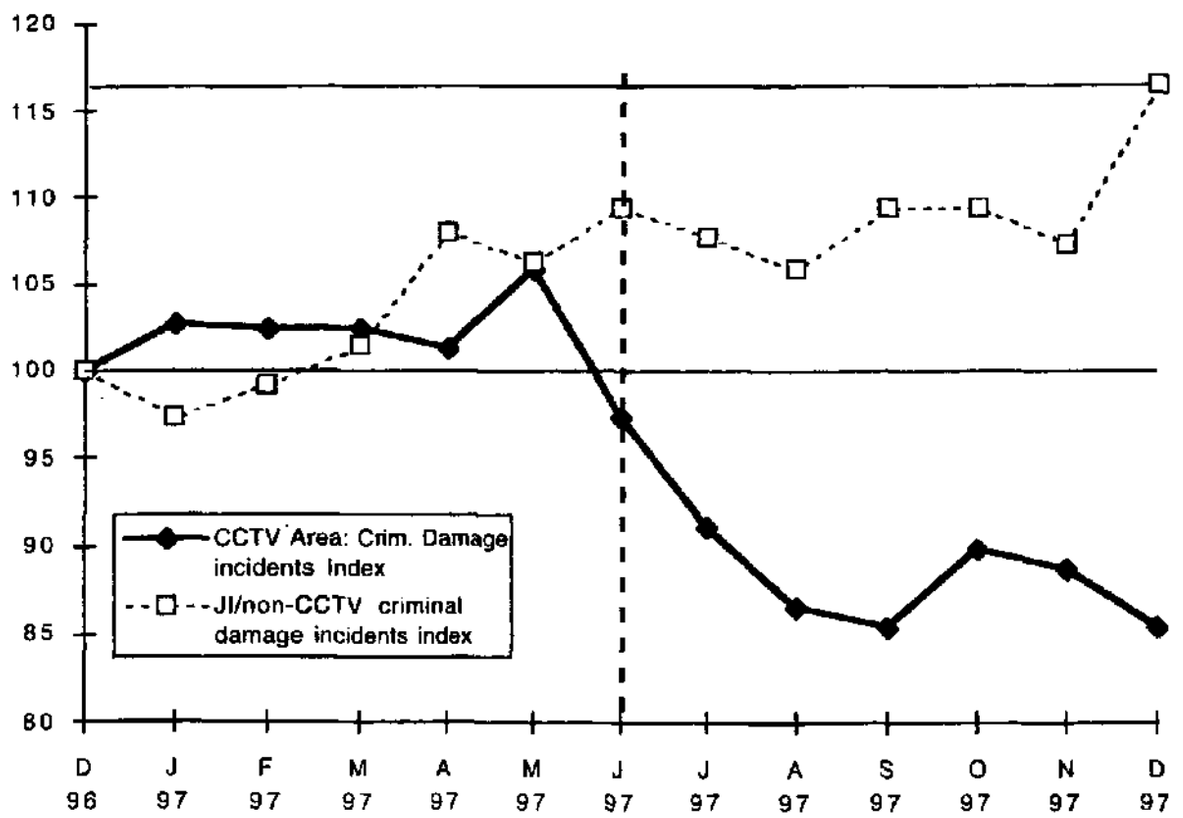


As we have already noted, the pattern of shop theft incidents depicted in figure 2.14 shows a markedly divergent pattern for the CCTV and non-CCTV areas from March 1997 onwards. Taking this graph in conjunction with that in figure 2.28, covering shoplifting offences, there are apparently some inconsistencies, though it may be that the two graphs are measuring rather different things. Much shoplifting will only come to light as a crime when a

culprit is apprehended (they may then admit to a sequence of prior offences which are recorded as crimes but these are very unlikely to have ever been noted as incidents). Incidents of shoplifting recorded as incidents, therefore, are likely to be only a relatively small proportion of shop thefts - those brought to the attention of the police perhaps before a suspect may have been apprehended or perhaps before his or her identity is known. A reduction in these incidents, **as** depicted in the foregoing graph is clearly welcome, but probably tells rather less than the crime data in figure 2.28.

Figure 2.15 Criminal damage incident trends: CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared.

Indices of Criminal Damage incidents recorded within Ilford town centre: Within the CCTV surveillance area and beyond it (JI/non-CCTV area).



As we have noted earlier in relation to figure 2.8, criminal damage incidents seem particularly susceptible to the influence of CCTV surveillance and figure 2.15 above simply confirms the reduction (approximately 20%) in criminal damage incidents following the installation of the cameras. The benefits of CCTV appear not to be diffused to the adjacent off-camera areas and the sharp upturn in incidents here in December 1997 may indicate some criminal damage displacement occurring.

CRIME PATTERNS AND THE PERCENTAGE CRIME INDICES COMPARED

NOTE:

In the following graphs (Figures 2.16 to 2.32) the statistical data relates to Redbridge as a whole, Ilford (JI) Division, and the town centre CCTV area. A further area (the 'donut' area) was created by subtracting the CCTV area figures from those for Ilford Division. In the graphs this is referred to as the "non-CCTV" area.

Within the graphs, however, the data labels are wrongly applied, any references to 'Ilford Sector,' should actually refer to 'Ilford Division' (we have no crime data specifically relating to the Ilford Sector). The main headings to the graph, however, following the figure number, are correct.

It was a simple error to make but difficult and especially time-consuming to correct. The problem only came to light as the draft report was completed. Because it was only a problem of labelling, a decision was taken not to rerun all the graphs (at least two weeks work) but simply to alert readers to the error.

Figure 2.16 All Crimes recorded: Moving averages for Ilford Division, the CCTV and Non-CCTV areas.

Comparison between crime trends within the town centre CCTV Area and, the Ilford sector non-CCTV area and Ilford sector as a whole.

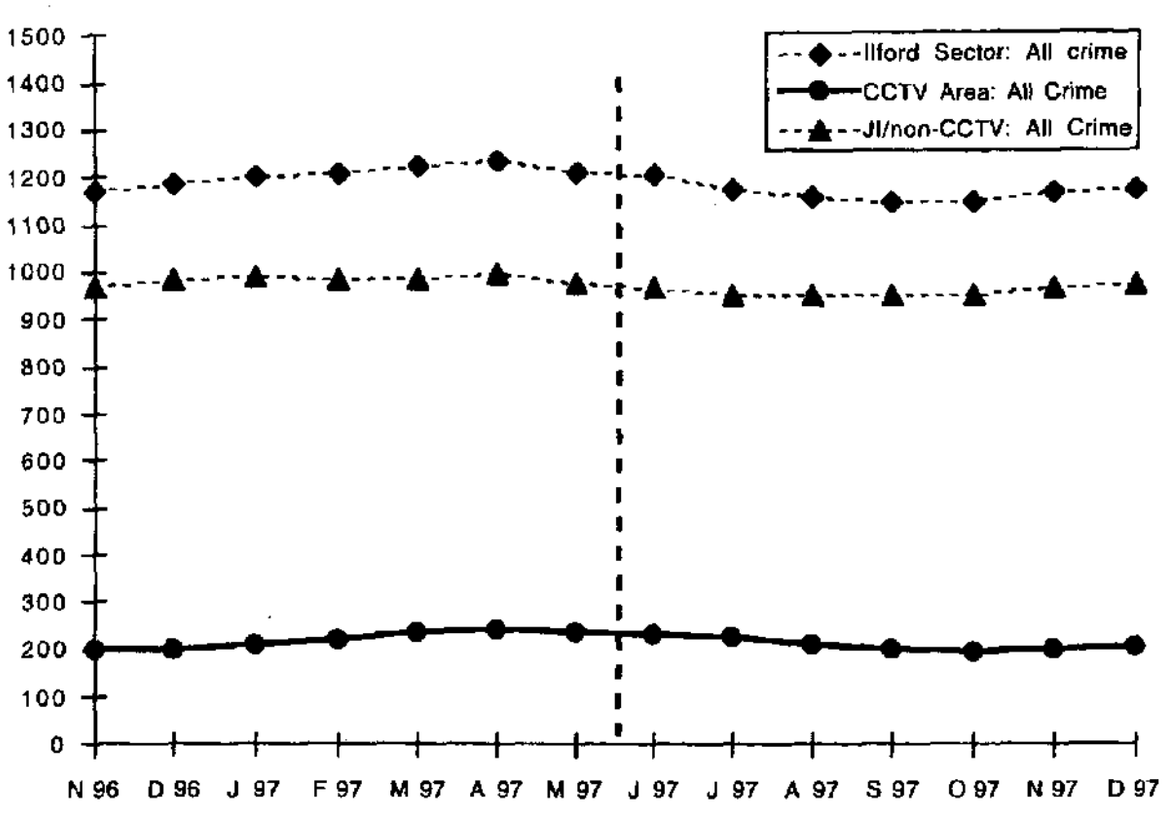


Figure 2.16 simply plots the six-monthly moving averages for crimes recorded in Ilford Division, the CCTV area and non-CCTV areas. The crime figures in this section of the report are all based upon six-monthly moving averages with the percentage index based upon these dating back to November 1996.

Figure 2.16 shows clearly the relatively stable trends, with the town centre area accounting for roughly one sixth of all crime recorded in the Ilford Division. The scale of graph permits little detail to emerge relating to the trends but all the trends appear to turn downwards around the middle of the year. In the following sequence of graphs these trends will be indexed allowing us to consider them in more detail for each category of offence.

Figure 2.17 All Crime recorded: Indices for all four areas (Redbridge, Ilford Division, the CCTV Camera area and the non-CCTV area).

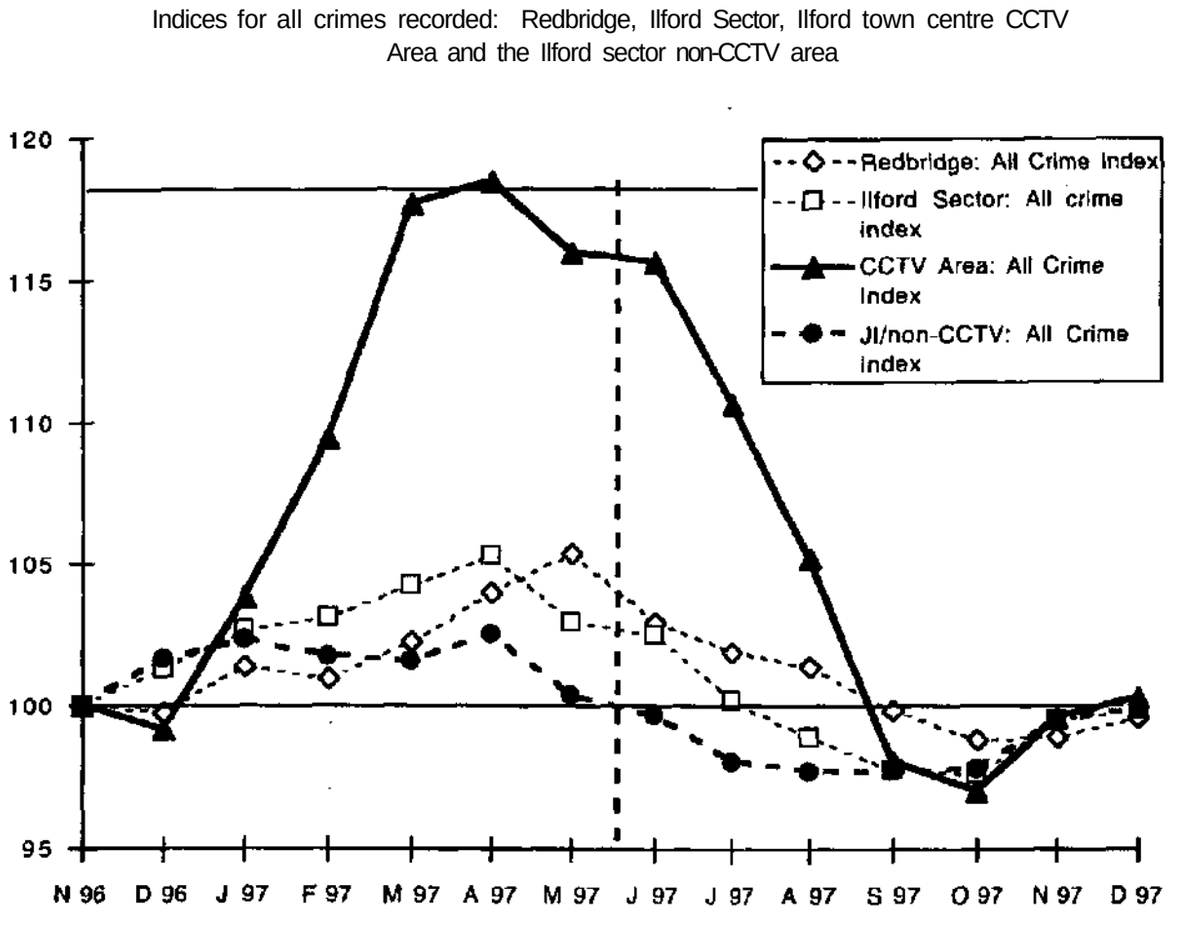


Figure 2.17 repeats the basic Ilford town centre CCTV area crime pattern presented in Figure 1.1, with crime rising by some 17% for the first 4 months of the year, but falling back by 20% during May to September, the falling trend coinciding with the process of CCTV camera installation.

The CCTV area figures are plotted here alongside those for Redbridge, Ilford Division and the Ilford non-CCTV area, all of which appear to be falling consistently. By the end of the year all the percentage indices a closely grouped. While the impressive 20% fall in the CCTV area crime figures is to be welcomed, it is apparent that the CCTV area bucks the trend in two ways and, other than as a result of increasingly intensive or nroactive policing, the available data is insufficient to account for increasing crime rates recorded in the town centre during the first four months of 1997. loking at figure A3.4

(appendix 3) it is apparent that the increased rate of recorded crime is not reflected in the ratio of incidents recorded in the town centre for these months.

Figure 2.18 Indices for Crimes recorded in the CCTV area as **compared with the adjacent non-CCTV areas of Ilford Division**

Comparison between the indices for crimes recorded within the town centre CCTV Area and the Ilford (Jl) sector area not covered by the cameras.

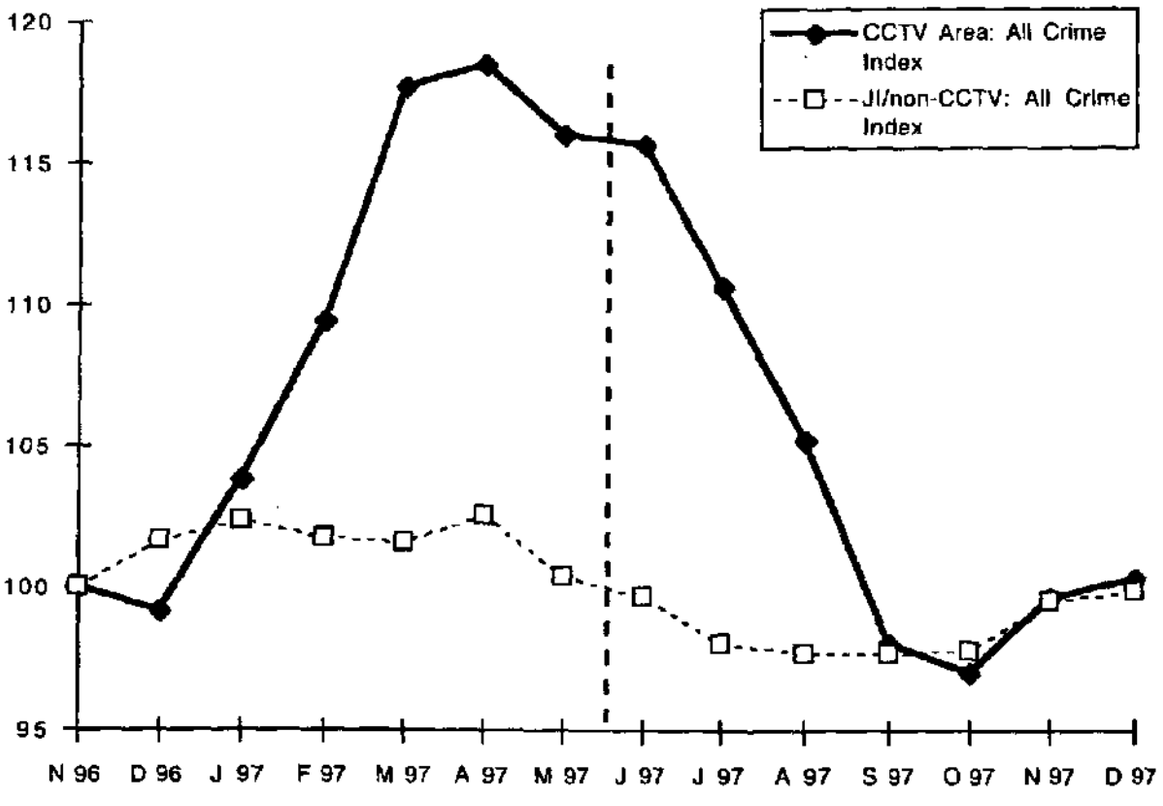
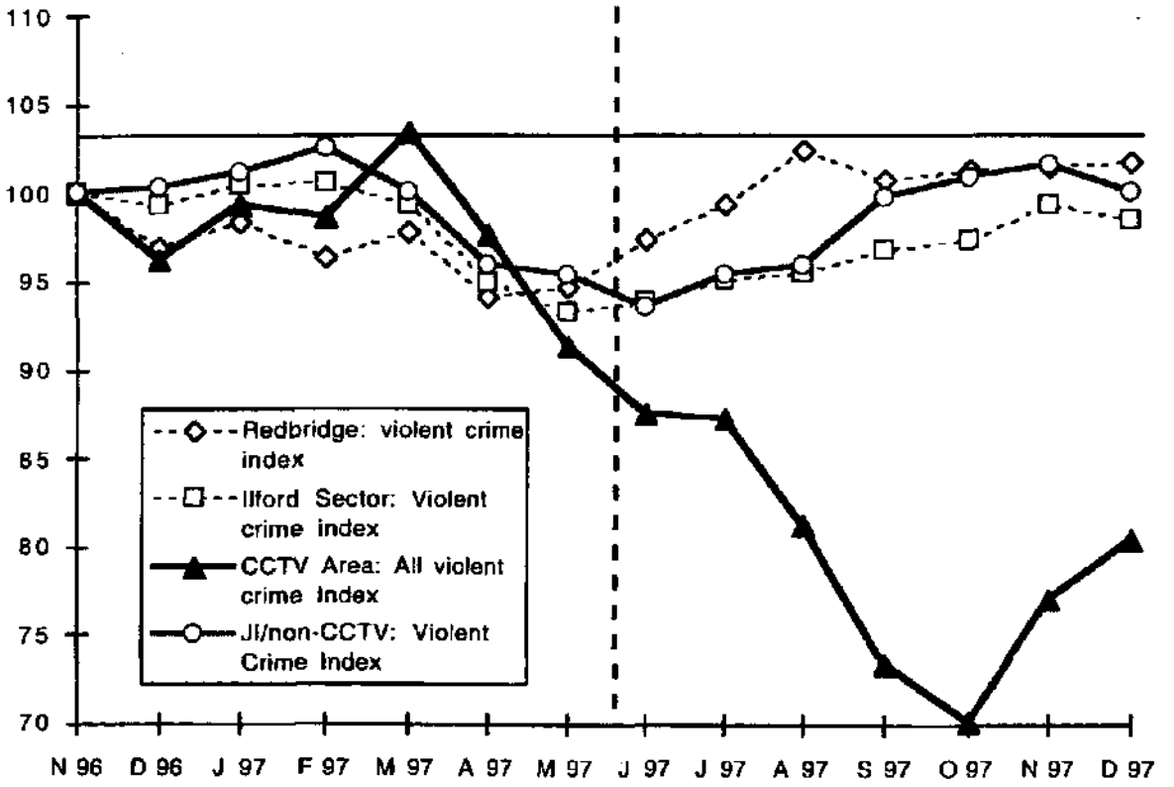


Figure 2.18 simply repeats the crime trend indices from figure 2.16 but permits a direct comparison to be made between the CCTV and non-CCTV areas. As both areas indicate a falling rate after May 1997, this suggest some initial diffusion of benefit from the CCTV area to the adjacent areas, but no evidence of offence displacement.

Figure 2.19 Indices for Violent Offences recorded: all four areas

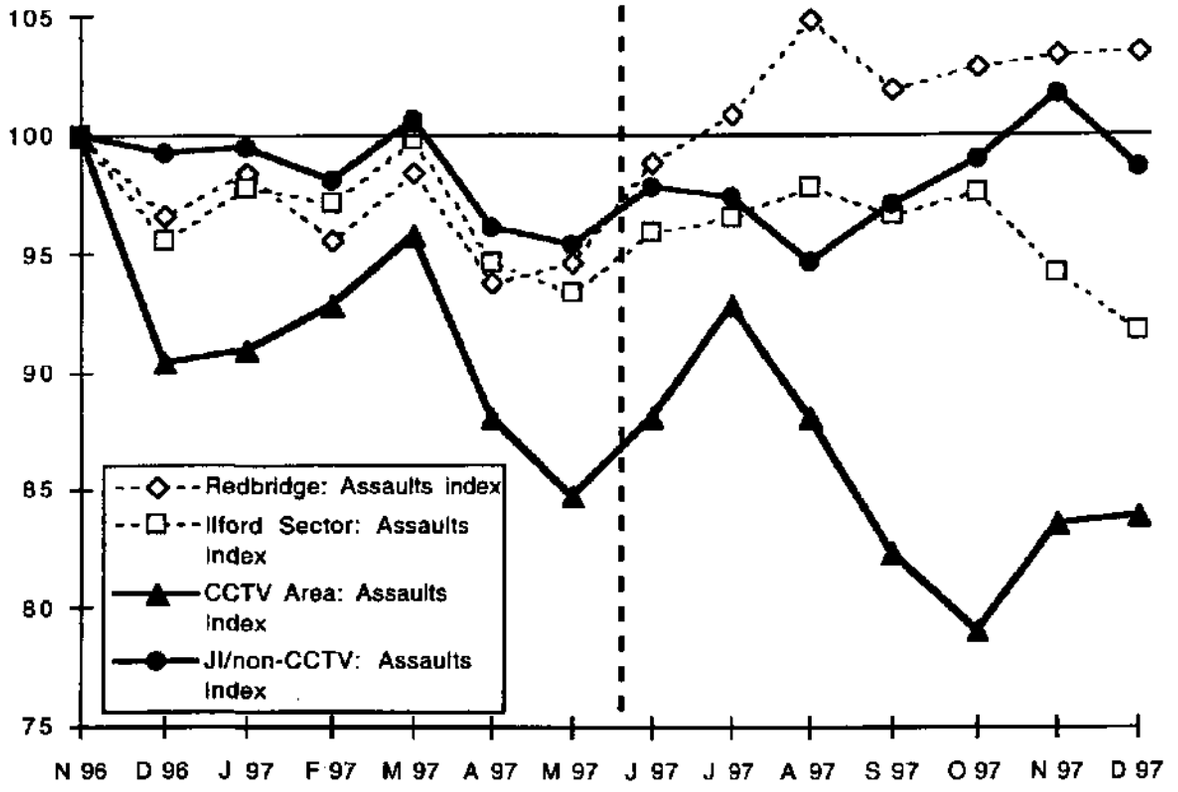
Comparison between indices for all violent offences recorded within Redbridge, the Ilford Sector, the town CCTV area and the Jl sector area not covered by the cameras.



According to the Redbridge Business Crime Audit (1993) only half of violent attacks on retail employees were reported to the police, so recorded offences are only likely to roughly approximate underlying incident trends. Nevertheless, a priority should be to establish an environment in which attacks are less likely to occur and respond effectively when they do. In this light, the fact that during April to October 1997 violent offences fell by as much as 34% in the Ilford town centre CCTV area has to be regarded positively. Although the first two months of this fall are partially reflected in the other areas covered by this evaluation (suggesting that the CCTV may not be the only factor precipitating this result) the falling trend in the CCTV area is steeper and sustained for considerably longer, strongly suggesting the influence of the CCTV cameras. The trend begins to rise again during November and December although, despite the familiar seasonal rise in violence and disorder as we approach Xmas and the new year, the available data do not allow us to account for this end of year increase. No other offence categories show such a marked 'pre-Xmas' increase with the exception of drugs offences and burglaries of non-domestic premises.

Figure 2.20 Indices of assaults recorded in Redbridge, Ilford Division and the town centre CCTV area.

Comparison between indices for all assaults recorded within Redbridge, the Ilford Sector, the town centre CCTV area and the Jl sector area not covered by the cameras.

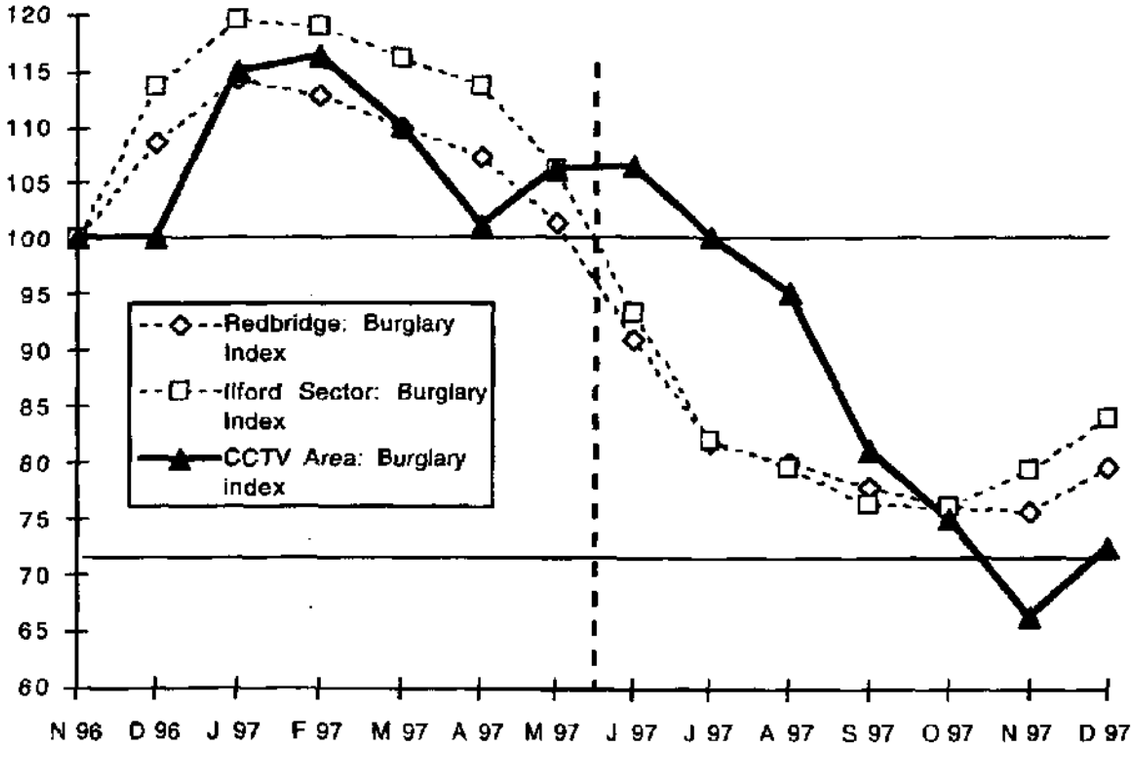


While the CCTV area reveals by far the most significant reduction in the frequency of assaults - falling by some 15% during April to October - the trend is far from straightforward. In Redbridge as a whole assaults rise slightly (by 5%) during the latter part of 1997 whilst the Ilford Division figures are down by some 8% over the whole year. Comparing the CCTV and non-CCTV areas directly, the trends reflect one another for the first half of the year but diverge significantly after July as rates in the CCTV area fall and those outside it rise. Ordinarily, this might indicate some displacement of assaultive behaviour except this would be fairly unusual, the locations where assaults are common tend not to change (usually pubs and clubs) although initiatives such as CCTV may have some bearing upon the kinds of customers they attract. It is more likely, however, that the differing trends are the result of differing patterns of policing in the different areas, in conjunction with the surveillance cameras.

Figure 2.21 Indices of burglaries recorded in Redbridge, Ilford Division and the town centre CCTV area

The following graphs (figures 2.21 to 2.25) deal with burglaries in the town centre CCTV area and other related areas.

Indices of burglaries recorded within Redbridge, the Ilford sector (Jl) and the CCTV area of Ilford town centre.



During 1993 26% of Redbridge businesses experienced at least one burglary (Redbridge Business Crime Audit, 1993) and their is evidence that the burglary problem was being addressed long before the advent of CCTV. As figure 2.21 clearly shows recorded burglary offences, rising somewhat in the first part of 1997 have shown a significant reduction (almost 40%) in the town centre CCTV area since the cameras were installed. The burglary trends in Redbridge as a whole and Ilford Division were also in marked decline for most of 1997, though the fall is not so dramatic as that for the town centre. We considered some of the possible reasons for this falling pattern earlier, in relation to figure 2.12

Figure 2.22 All burglaries recorded in the town centre CCTV area and the adjacent non-CCTV areas of Ilford Division.

Indices of burglaries recorded within the CCTV area of Ilford town centre and the non-CCTV area of Ilford sector

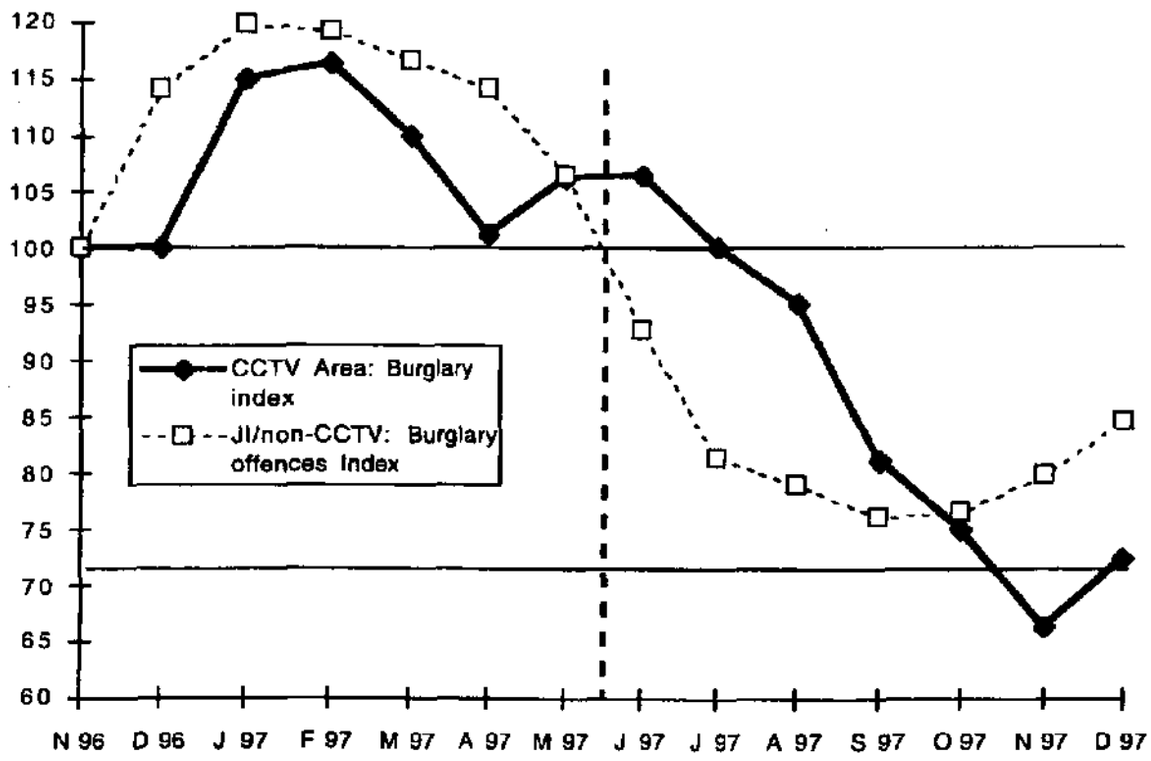
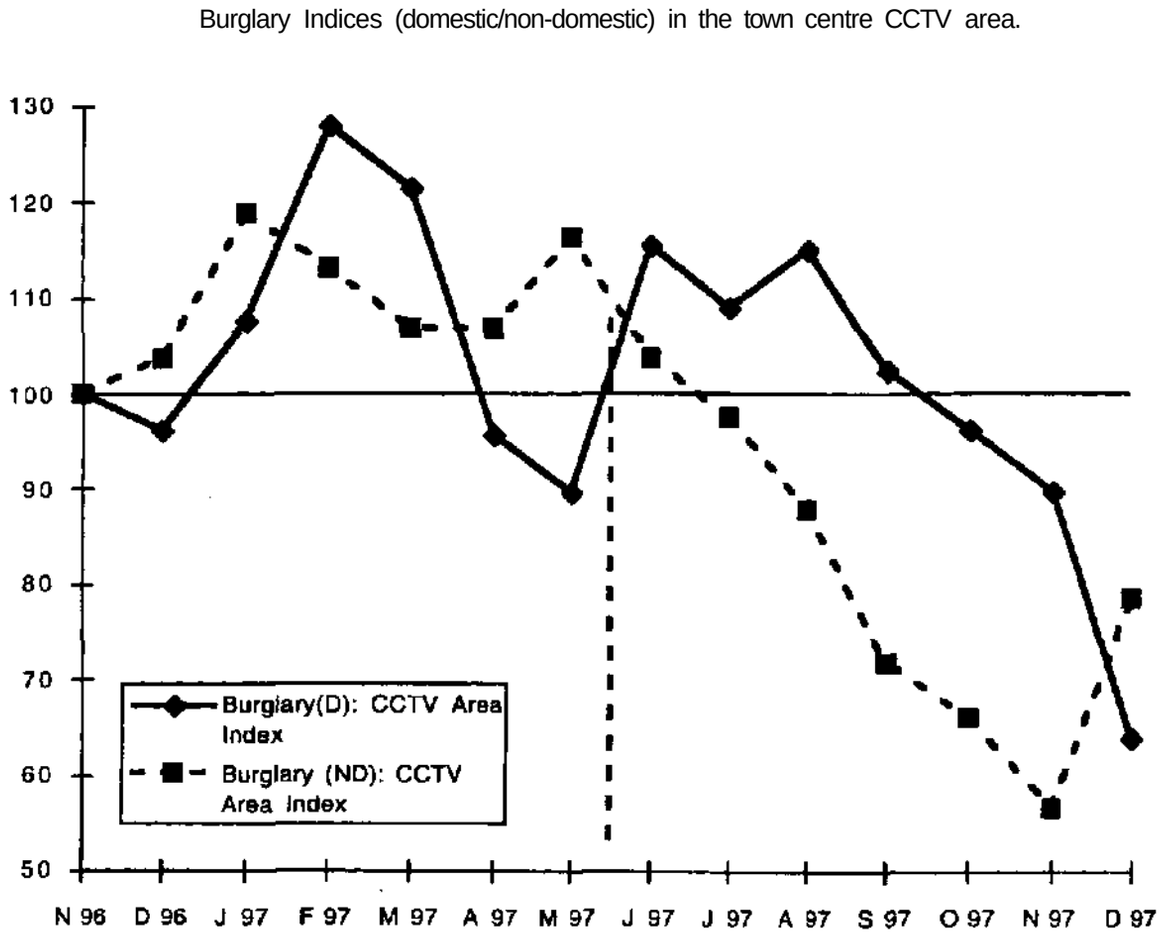


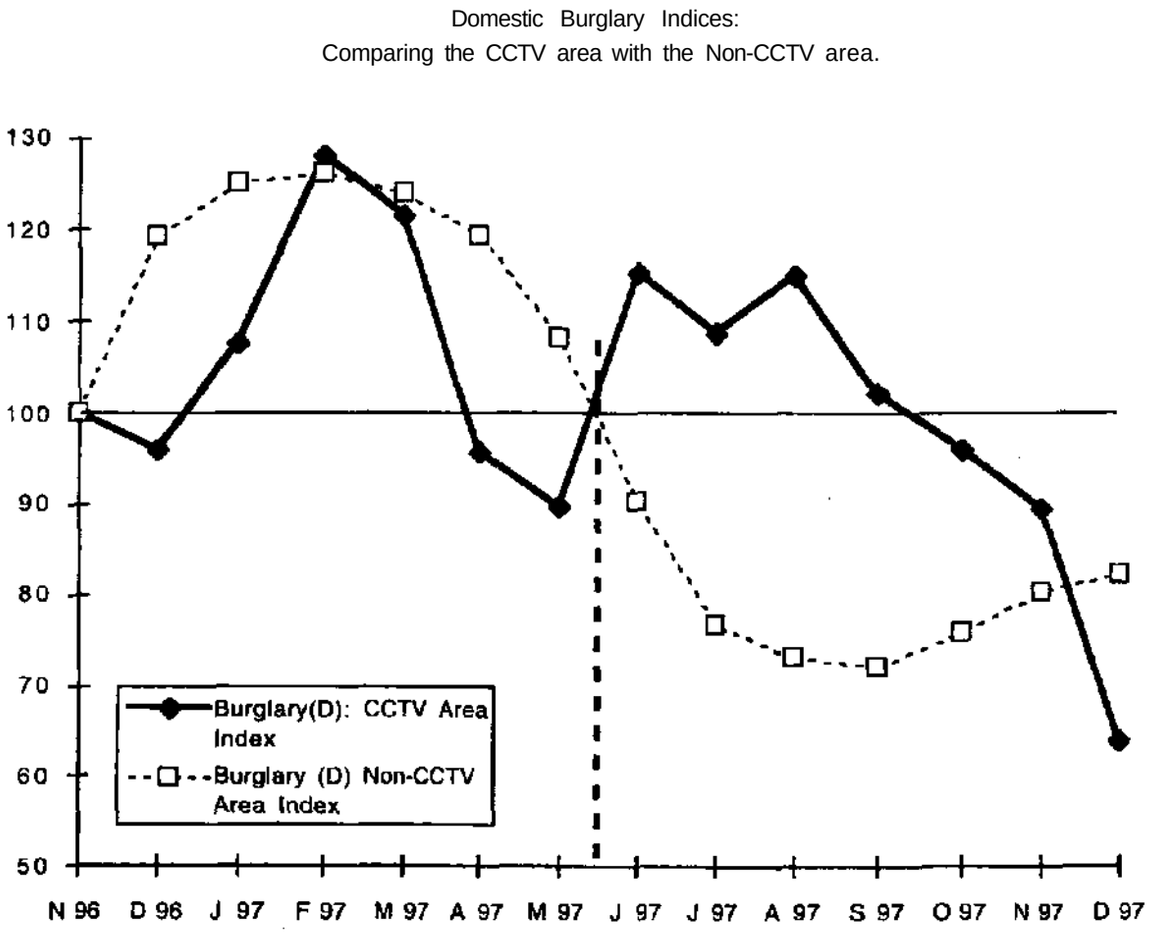
Figure 2.22 draws a direct contrast between the burglaries recorded in the CCTV area **and** those recorded in the adjacent non-CCTV areas of Ilford Division. The graph adds relatively little to our understanding of the trends for this offence although, in the context of a generally falling trend, the town centre CCTV cameras appear to have helped sustain the downward trend in the surveillance area.

Figure 2.23 Indices for domestic and non-domestic burglaries in the town centre CCTV area.



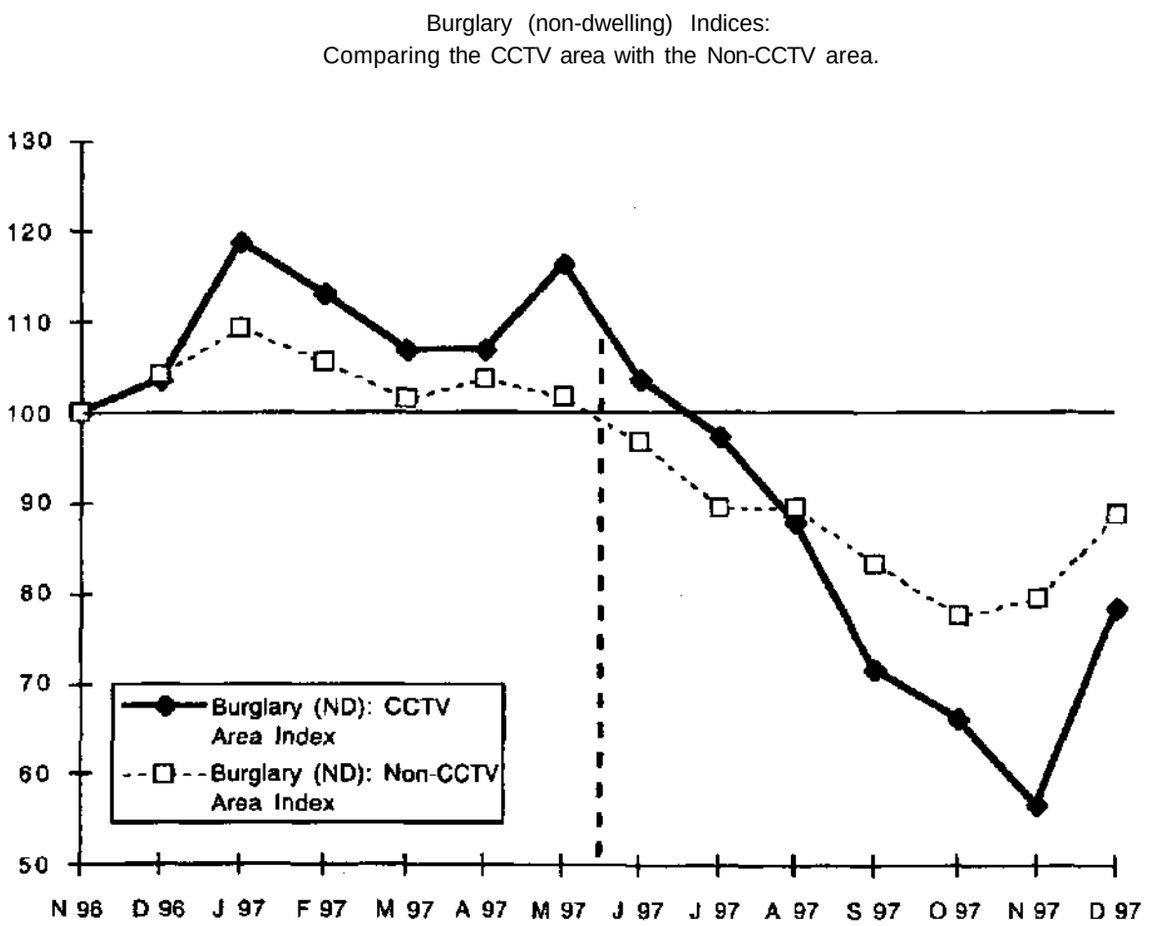
In view of the fact that, as in Ilford, CCTV cameras are typically installed in town centre locations where the potential burglary targets are generally thought to be high value retail outlets and commercial premises, there remains a question about the relative security of residential accommodation in these areas. Figure 2.23 compares the burglary trends in relation to the two types of premises. The results are fairly inconclusive. Domestic burglaries fell by some 30% prior to the installation of the cameras but, once they were installed, non-domestic burglaries fell sharply whilst domestic burglaries rose again. These might be grounds for suggesting some displacement in the offenders' choice of targets but with the number of incidents occurring each month being so low (averaging only between two and three per month) a couple of quite isolated incidents could completely distort the pattern. In any event, both types of burglary fell significantly (by 40 and 30%) in the CCTV area during the latter part of 1997, although non-domestic burglaries appeared to rise once again in December.

Figure 2.24 Domestic burglaries inside and outside the CCTV area



In the context of a general and steadily falling trend in domestic burglaries, from February onwards, during 1997, the trend for domestic burglaries in the CCTV area reveals some fairly dramatic reversals. Again, the monthly totals are low and unreliable for the construction of trends, but there may be a case for saying that domestic premises appear to have suffered an increase in burglaries during the three months in which the CCTV system was installed. By the end of the year domestic burglaries have once again fallen by over 40% in six months, but the 25% increase during May to August might merit further investigation. It may, after all, be simply a product of police crime recording practices.

Figure 2.25 Non-domestic burglaries inside and outside the CCTV **area**



The argument about domestic burglaries advanced earlier in relation to figure 2.24 may be supplemented by the evidence of figure 2.25 for, following the installation of CCTV there is no sudden peak in non-domestic burglaries in the town centre. Instead the trend in figure 2.25 is strictly downwards (by almost 60%) from the month of camera installation. The commercial and retail premises are undoubtedly the greater beneficiaries of the investment in CCTV security, there may still be a question about the relative security of residential premises.

Figure 2.26 Vehicle related offences in the four evaluation areas

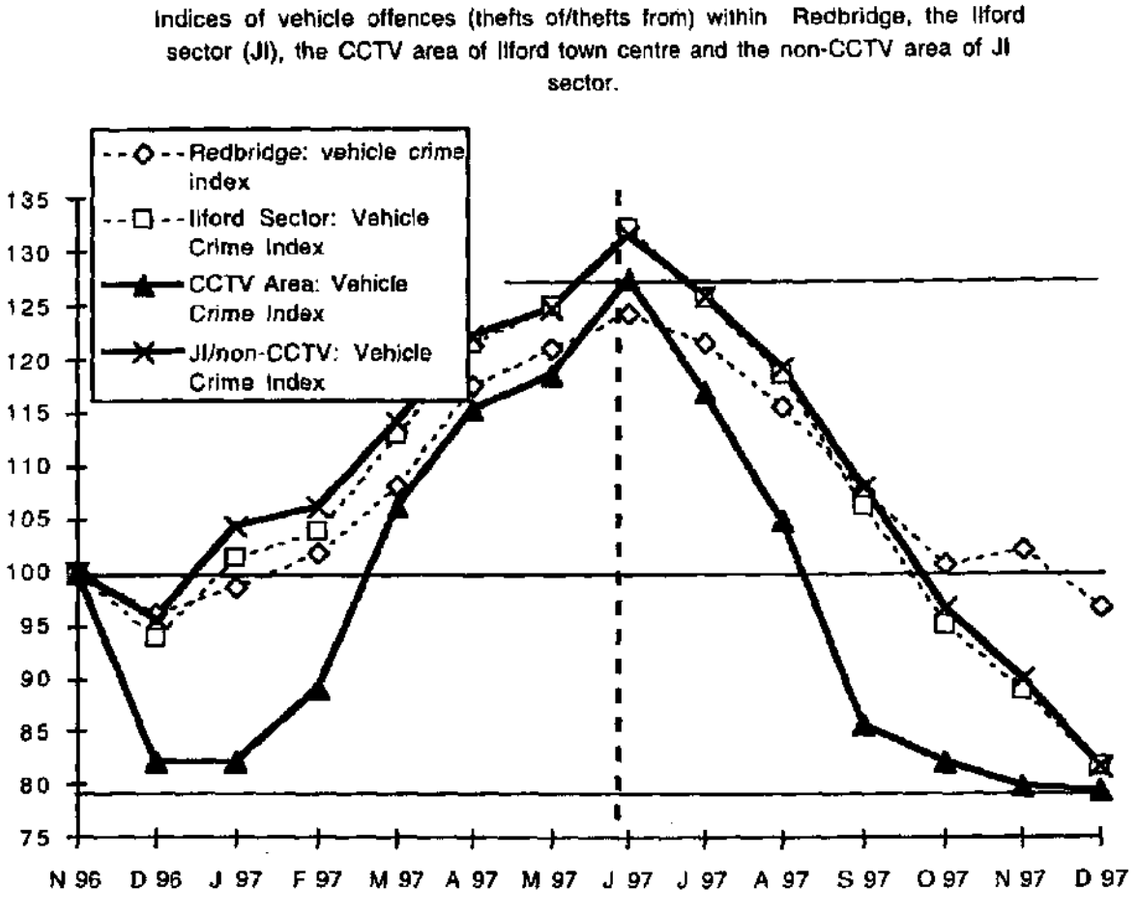
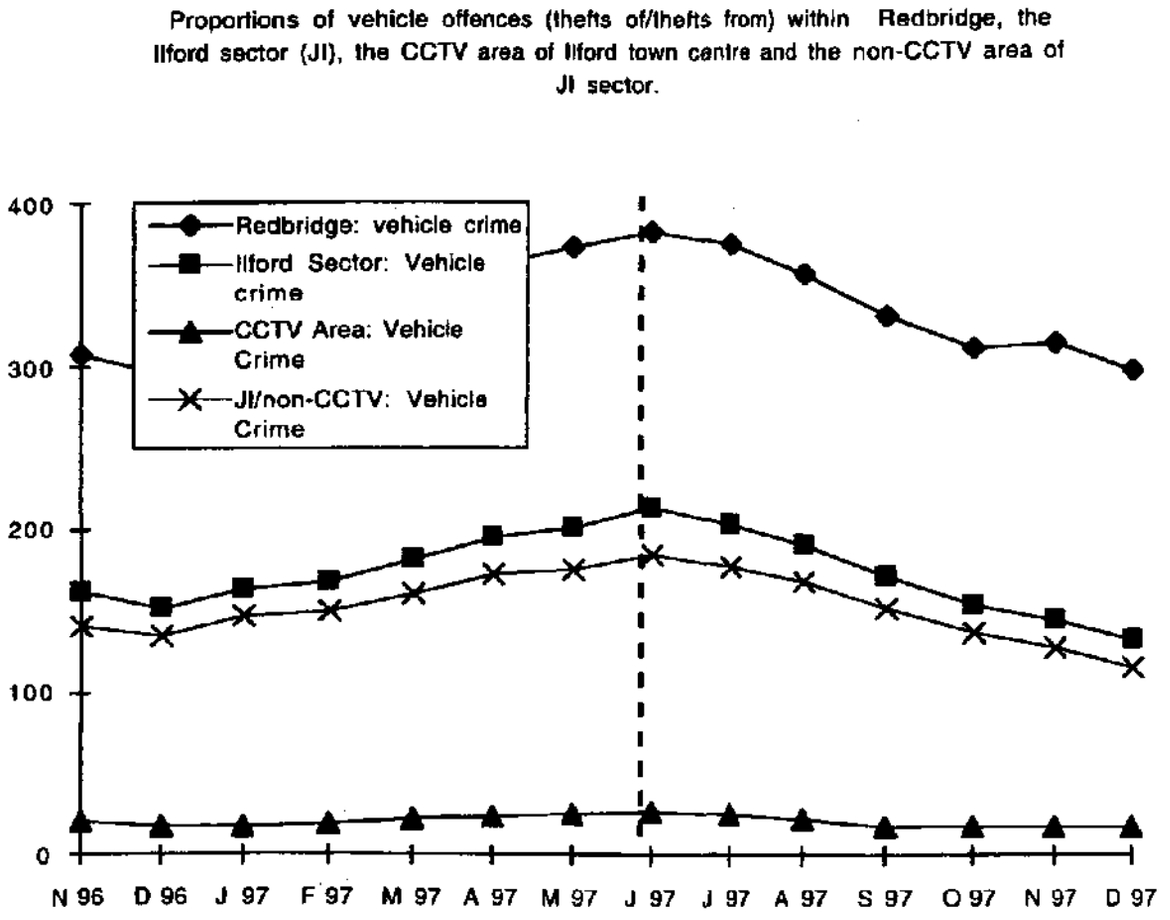


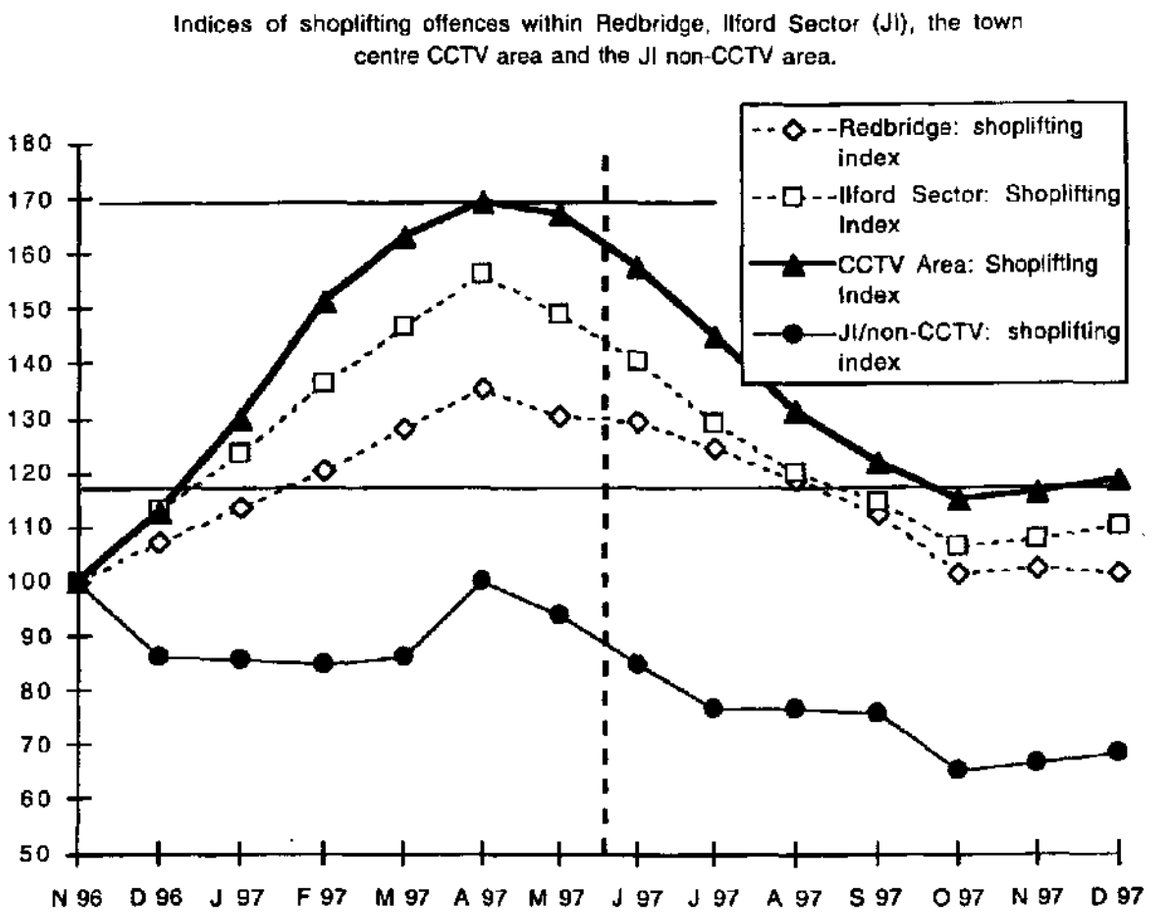
Figure 2.26 presents a, nothing if not dramatic, picture of the turnaround of vehicle related offences during 1997. The falling trend in the CCTV surveillance area (approximately 50% down in six months) exceeds that of the other evaluation areas. However, CCTV cannot be an explanation for the falling trends in Redbridge as a whole and the whole of the Ilford Division for, as figure 2.27 shows, vehicle offences in the CCTV area represent only a very small proportion of the overall totals in Redbridge and in Ilford Division as a whole. There are, on average, only around twenty vehicle related offences a month in the CCTV area, between a hundred and fifty and two hundred in the Ilford Division, and usually over three hundred a month in the whole of Redbridge

Figure 2.27 Proportions of vehicle related offences in the four evaluation areas.



Taking figures 2.26 and 2.27 together, and in relation to the discussion following figure 2.13 on vehicle related incidents, then it is clear that, whilst the fall in vehicle crime after June 1997 is to be welcomed and, in the CCTV area itself, the cameras could be said to be playing a part in helping push the trend down, the sharply rising trend between December 1996 and May 1997 also has to be explained. Unfortunately, the available data do not suggest an answer.

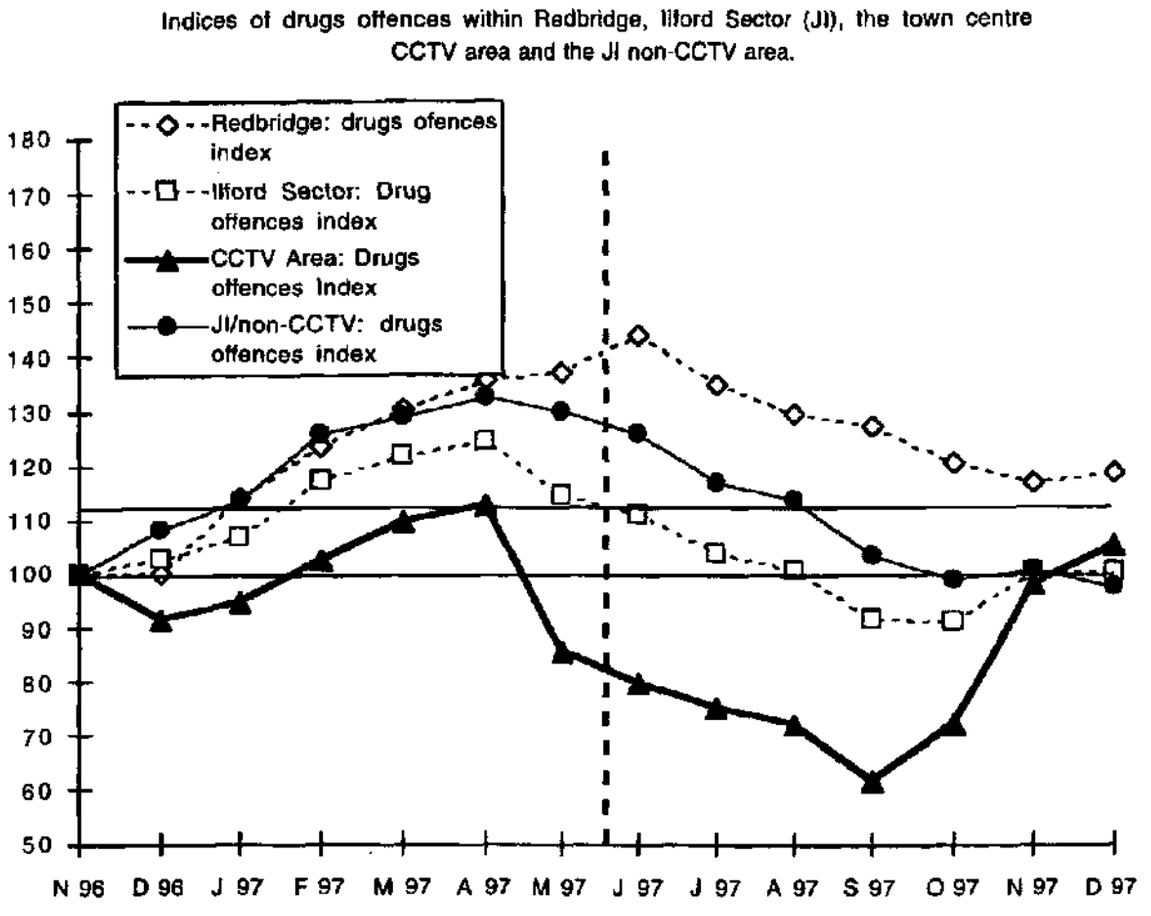
Figure 2.28 Shoplifting indices in the four evaluation areas



As the principal shopping location in Redbridge, it is little surprise to find Ilford town centre a prime target for shoplifters. The rising profile of shoplifting in Redbridge as a whole has been of concern for some years. Research for the Redbridge Business Crime Audit in 1993, indicated that persons were stopped in only 18% of shoplifting incidents and then only a third of these persons were referred to the police. (Redbridge Business Crime Audit, 1993) It follows that there is much "play" in the recorded figures and that therefore any crime prevention initiative designed to reduce the attractiveness of Ilford as a shoplifting target may not only impact upon known crime, but also the large majority of offences currently going unreported. A much larger potential'saving' for Ilford businesses.

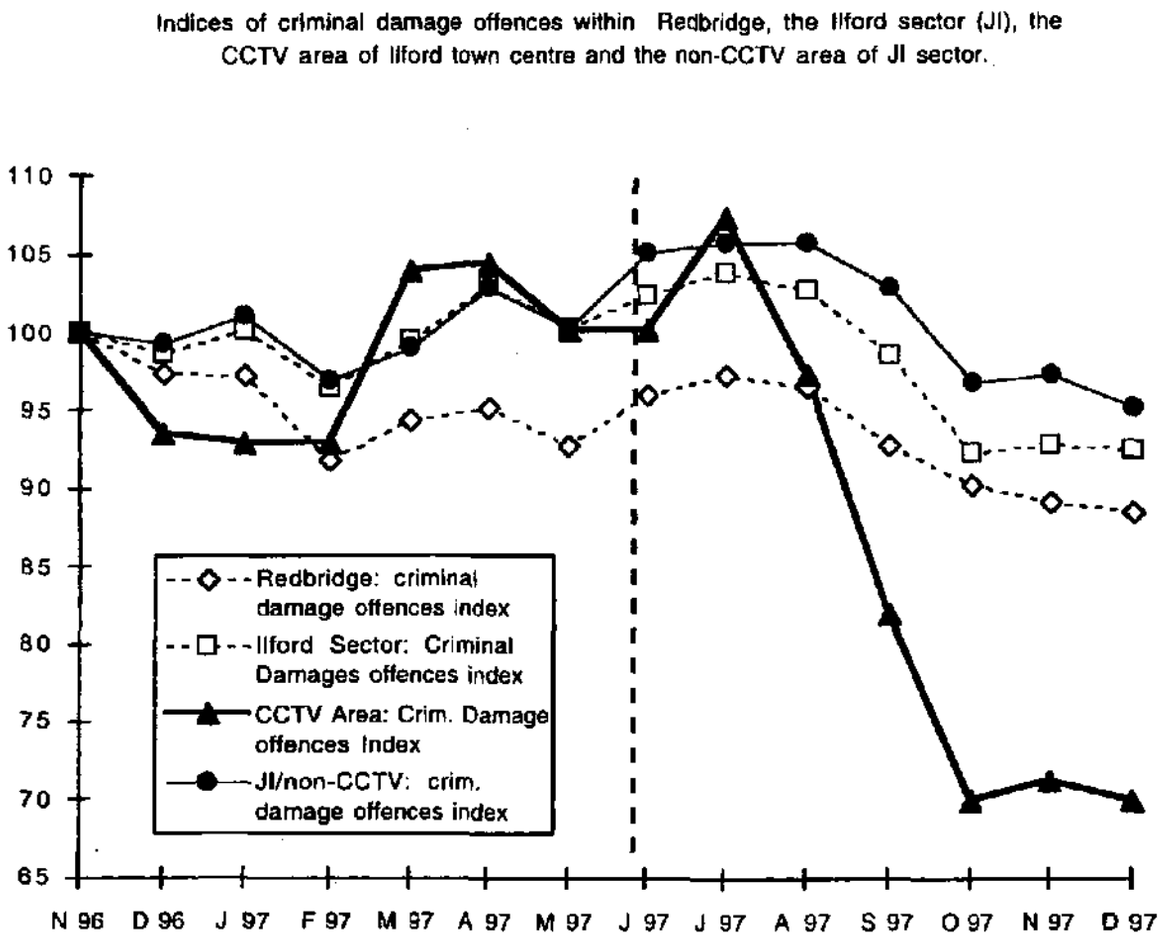
Following the introduction of CCTV, something in the order of a 50% reduction in rates of shoplifting has been achieved. The trends are similarly falling for Redbridge as a whole and Ilford Division, though less dramatically so. The shoplifting index for the non-CCTV area also falls fairly consistently (by some 30%) throughout the year.

Figure 2.29 Drugs offences in the four evaluation areas



From mid 1997 onwards 'possession' and 'possession with intent to supply' offences taper off by approximately 20% in all of the non-CCTV evaluation areas and the rising trend of the first part of the year is brought to an end. In the CCTV area, however, the falling trend is more significant and the overall reduction in drugs offences, nearly 50% down over a five month period much larger. Unfortunately, however virtually all of this reduction is wiped out in the final 3 months of the year and drugs offences return to the levels (around seven offences a month) at which they stood at the beginning of the year. It would be worth investigating this apparent resurgence of drugs offences in the town centre. It may not reflect the return of users or dealers (temporarily scared off by CCTV) to the town centre, but might more likely suggest increased police attention to these offences. It would be worth tracking such offence patterns for a further period.

Figure 2.30 Criminal damage offences in the four evaluation areas

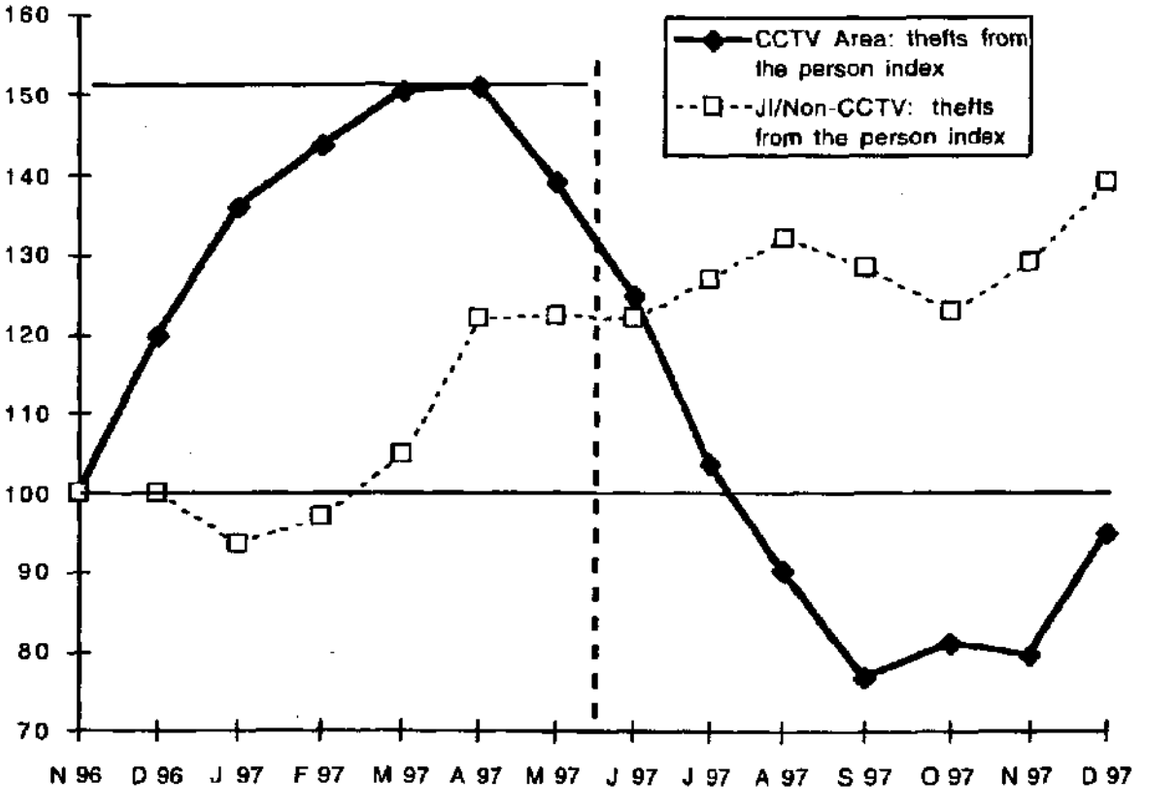


We noted earlier in the discussion relating to criminal damage incidents (figure 2.15) that criminal damage appeared to be obviously and especially susceptible to the influence of CCTV. Figure 2.30 makes this abundantly clear with a 38% reduction in criminal damage offences achieved over a three month period, though beginning only the month after the CCTV cameras went up. The falling trend ends abruptly in November and, as in the case of many of the offence trends depicted in the previous graphs, it might be worth investigating why the falling offence trends taper are not sustained to the end of the year. Ideally, the offence trends should be tracked through 1998 on a twelve month moving average to see whether it is still a question of seasonal influences coming to bear.

On a positive note the rapidly falling trend in the CCTV area is not matched by increases in adjacent areas, criminal damage offences appeared to be falling in all the evaluation areas during the second half of 1997.

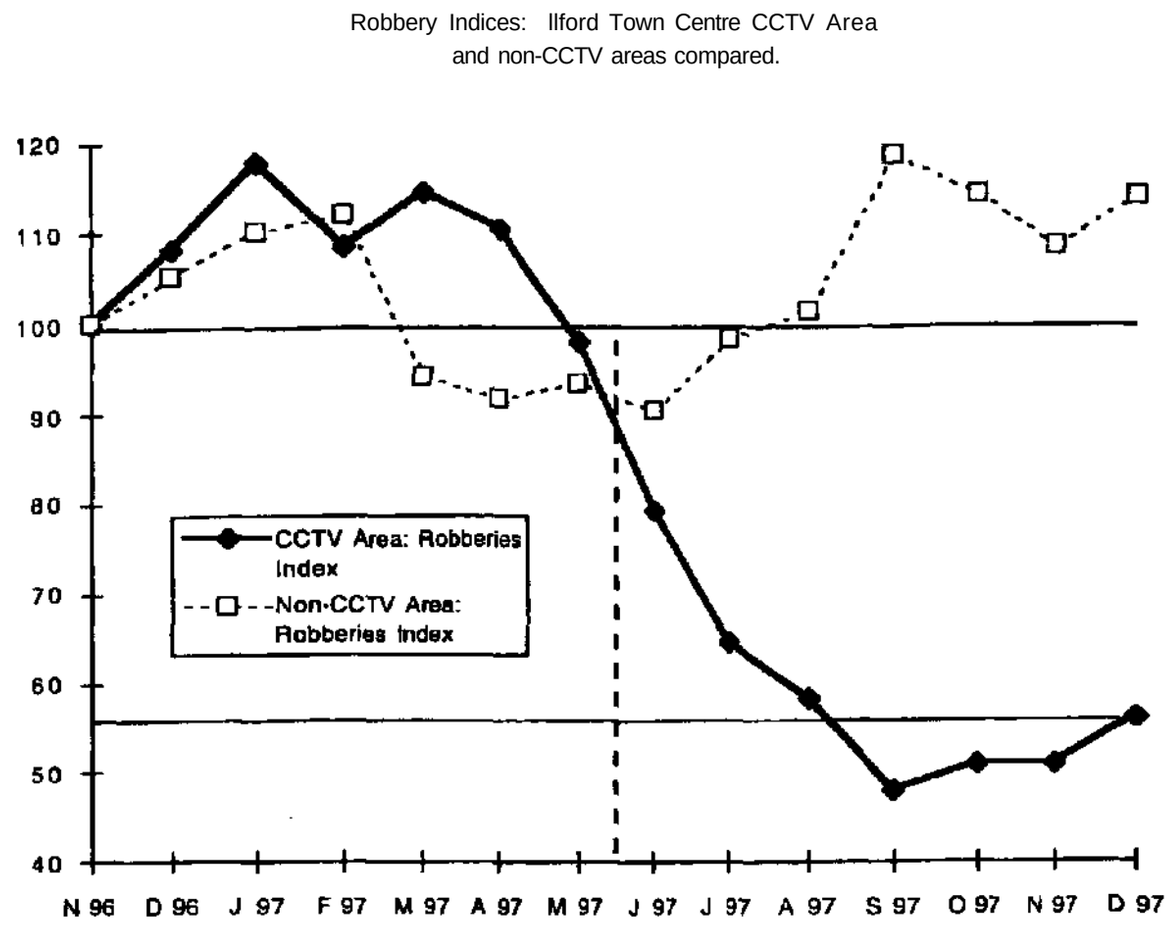
Figure 2.31 Thefts from the person offences in the CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared

Thefts from the person: CCTV surveillance area and non-CCTV areas of Hford town centre compared.



In the Ilford Division, thefts from the person offences were increasing both in the town centre and beyond during the first part of 1997. After the CCTV installation, offences in the CCTV area fall away by a significant 70%, while the trend in the adjacent areas not covered by the cameras continues to rise at virtually the same rate as before. On a less positive note, the reasons for the increase in theft offences in the first part of the year might require some consideration, as would the reason for the resurgence of the upward trend in the last three months of the year.

Figure 2.32 Robbery offences in the CCTV and Non-CCTV areas compared



The fall in robbery offences in the CCTV area is no less dramatic than that relating to thefts although, as figure 2.32 shows, the falling trend (almost 70% over six months) began some time before the CCTV cameras went in, suggesting that police actions began to make a difference before the additional surveillance capacity of the cameras began to have an impact.

Less positive is the evidence that in the non-CCTV areas adjacent to the town centre show an increasing trend from June onwards, suggesting the displacement of some robbery activity beyond the effective range of the cameras. This concern was shared by a number of our interviewees in the follow-up public survey who reported their fears about the "wrong kinds of people" hanging about in a number of locations beyond the view of the cameras. This is an issue that might be addressed by periodic police attention to any locations causing concern. Again we note the slight resurgence of an upward trend in the final months of the year.

Conclusions

The report has described an evaluation, on behalf of the Redbridge Safer Communities Partnership, of the Ilford town centre CCTV system. The evaluation has comprised two main elements: firstly, two opinion surveys (before and after CCTV installation) interviewing a total of 1,532 people. The surveys were approximately twelve months apart. The second part of the evaluation has involved the attempt to discover the possible impact of the CCTV system upon the crime and incident statistics recorded by the police in the Ilford area.

The Opinion surveys: Consistent popular support for CCTV in Ilford

The Ilford CCTV system is undoubtedly very popular with local people. In virtually all of the population groups considered, support for the CCTV system stood comfortably above 90%. Furthermore, for all groups, levels of support tended to rise between the first and second surveys. Some 92.6% of our respondents supported the CCTV proposal in the first survey and this figures rose to 95.2% twelve months later. Gender appeared to make relatively little difference to support for CCTV, but women appeared marginally keener on the cameras than men. Similarly, all of the age groups considered here showed support levels at over 90% in both the 'before' and 'after' surveys. Ethnic origin also appeared to have little impact upon levels of support for CCTV.

Neither people's links to the town centre, their employment status nor the frequency of their visits appeared to have much influence on the approval levels given to the CCTV cameras, with all groups again registering over 90% support for CCTV. Similarly, neither people's experiences as victims of crime nor as witnesses of crime appeared to make much difference to their feelings about the CCTV system. Amongst all the victim and witness categories examined, the group least supportive of the CCTV proposal were witnesses of violent offences and even then, 88% of these were still in favour. Twelve months later, with the cameras installed, 96% of witnesses of violence supported CCTV. Witnesses to shoplifting were also particularly enthusiastic.

Factors affecting knowledge of the CCTV scheme

In the first survey January/February 1997, 40% of those we interviewed already knew about the CCTV scheme. At the time of the second survey we were not surprised to see that this figure had risen to just over 70% of our respondents.

Gender and Age

In both surveys women outnumbered men, no doubt confirming the general composition of the town centre retail labour market and the gendered nature of shopping as an activity. We discovered that gender appeared to have only a small impact on knowledge about the CCTV system, slightly more men than women being aware of the cameras in either survey. Respondents aged from 40 to 60 were the better informed about the CCTV proposal (before the cameras were installed). However, once the CCTV cameras were installed it became a different story, with those aged under thirty being now the best informed. Prior to undertaking the surveys, we had supposed that fear of crime and /or employment in the town centre might have led to increased levels of awareness of the scheme amongst women but this was not borne out by the results.

Victims and witnesses

Respondents to both surveys were also asked whether they had ever been a victim of crime or whether they had ever witnessed offences in the town centre. Marginally more victims were aware of the cameras. In the first survey, victims of violence (53%) were most aware of the CCTV proposal. In the follow-up survey 72% of victims of burglary knew of the cameras.

Visit frequency and personal safety

Few people described themselves feeling unsafe during the day time in Ilford town centre, although there were relatively more saying this regarding the night-time (over 50% of female respondents). There was a noticeable gender profile to people's reported sense of safety both in the day time and at night. Before the cameras, 59% of men and 31% of women described themselves feeling 'very safe[1] in the daytime, after the cameras, the percentages feeling "very safe' rose to 62% for men and 43% for women (for women a 12% increase). At night-time before the cameras, 35% of men and 65% of women described themselves feeling 'unsafe' whereas after the cameras had been installed only 30% of men and 56% of women said they felt unsafe at night.

The more times a person visited the town centre the more they were likely to be aware of the CCTV proposal or of the cameras themselves, once installed. This was true of both those using the town centre in the daytime as well as of those using the town at night. After the cameras were installed, 74% of those feeling Very safe" during the day and 82.5% of those feeling very safe at night knew about them. Looked at another way, in the second survey, 60% of those who reported feeling Very unsafe' at night didn't know the cameras were there. This may raise an issue about further publicity for the scheme.

Trusting the police

There is some ambiguity as to how the issue of trust in the police is interpreted in terms of its significance for the Ilford CCTV system. The CCTV system is owned and controlled by the local authority and appears to score higher approval ratings than the police themselves - for all groups. This is obviously something which may require further consideration.

While the levels of trust shown towards the police by white respondents was 62% before CCTV and 58% after, ethnic minority groups were apparently far less trusting of the police. In the first survey, 41% of Asian respondents claimed to trust the police and only 18.6% of black/Afro-Caribbean respondents. More positively, in the second survey, the numbers of Asian respondents trusting the police appeared to have risen to 49% and the numbers of black/Afro-Caribbean respondents saying likewise had doubled to 39%.

Estimates of offence frequency

Alongside our respondents' feelings of relative safety or, perhaps, their fears about crime and the risks of victimisation while in the town centre, we also attempted to ask people about their sense of the likely frequency of certain topical offences in the town centre. While it is only people's perceptions being measured here, it is reasonable to suppose that if people think that offences are happening less often they may draw some reassurance from this. Most notably, respondents' overall estimates of the frequency of offences in the Ilford town centre were always lower in the follow-up survey, eight months after the installation of the CCTV cameras. This was true for all the age, sex, ethnic minority and 'former victim' sub-groups considered in the surveys. Only one group, those having witnessed offences appeared to think that crime was more common after the installation of CCTV than before.

Taken together with the evidence that more people feel more confident and less fearful of the town centre, then it appears that the CCTV system has helped contribute to a growing sense of personal safety in the town centre with people generally believing that less offences now take place there. Such beliefs are a vital element in how people feel about the town centre and working with and further encouraging such attitudes is important in cultivating the kind of 'feelgood' environment that successful and safe town centres need.

This issue was addressed directly in the second survey which found that 56% of respondents claimed to feel safer during the daytime (54% at night). Persons aged over 50 (69% feeling safer) and women (66% safer) appeared to gain the greatest reassurance from the cameras. Rather fewer, however, felt that the cameras had led them to increase the frequency of their visits to the town centre.

Support for CCTV and wider social attitudes

Our final questions looked at the relations between support for CCTV and wider social attitudes to crime and disorder and how these might be best addressed. Generally, support for CCTV appears not to be not the preserve of any particular section of opinion. Instead, people seem to regard it as another tool with which to help manage (or re-impose order upon) places and

behaviours deemed problematic. A properly managed CCTV system can be seen in a role complementary to and supportive of broader community safer planning initiatives. The respondents to our surveys appeared to see no contradiction, therefore, between investment in wider social crime prevention initiatives and in the additional safeguard of CCTV surveillance.

Crime and Incident Trends

The second part of this evaluation has assessed the impact of the Ilford CCTV system upon crime and incident trends in the Ilford town centre. Overall, in the five months following the commencement of the installation of CCTV cameras in Ilford town centre (May 1997 to October 1997), recorded crime fell by almost 20%. Although the following two months saw slight increases in recorded crime, by the end of 1997 offences in the town centre were down by a clear 17% compared to the period immediately prior to the installation of the cameras.

The crime trend analysis

A number of wider factors clearly impact upon offence patterns in any given area. These can include such issues as the social context (a wide range of socio-economic indicators, such as levels of unemployment), as well as more specific factors such as the level of integration of CCTV support into police command and control systems, the management of incident response and CCTV support to investigation and evidence gathering - to say nothing of wider community safety measures and other police operations. These, however, did not form part of this study.

The recorded crime data was supplied for Redbridge, the Ilford Division and the CCTV area. A further area, rather like a donut around the town centre, was created by subtracting figures for the CCTV area from those for the Ilford Division as a whole. This area can provide valuable information about changing crime patterns in areas adjacent to those covered by CCTV - perhaps allowing us to identify displacement or 'halo' effects from the town centre cameras. The raw crime figures were recalculated as twelve-month (incidents) or six-month (crimes) moving averages. The figures were then indexed in order to allow a clear picture of the percentage increase or decrease in the relevant trends to emerge.

Finally, an attempt was been made to assess how the results from Ilford's CCTV system measure up against existing evaluations of other CCTV schemes around the country upon which there is sufficient available data.

Crime Patterns Compared

Apparently, recorded crime rose by some 17% for the first 4 months of 1997, but fell back by 20% during May to September, the falling trend clearly coinciding with the process of CCTV camera installation. While the

impressive 20% fall in the CCTV area crime figures is to be welcomed, the rise during the first four months (perhaps a result of increasingly intensive or proactive policing) must also be explained. There is some evidence that the benefits of the cameras was being felt in parts of Ilford town centre not actually covered by cameras, but also some evidence of potential offence displacement.

Violence

During April to October 1997 violent offences fell by as much as 34% in the Ilford town centre CCTV area. Although, the first two months of this fall were partially reflected in other areas (suggesting the CCTV cameras may not be the only factor) the falling trend in the CCTV area is steeper and sustained for considerably longer. The trend begins to rise again during November and December although the available data does not allow us to account for this end of year increase. With the exception of drugs offences and burglaries of non-domestic premises, no other offence categories show such a marked pre-Xmas increase..

The CCTV area reveals by far the most significant reduction in the frequency of assaults - falling by some 15% during April to October - although the trend is far from straightforward.

The fall in robbery offences in the CCTV area is particularly dramatic, almost 70% over six months, but beginning some time before the CCTV cameras went in, suggesting that police actions began to make a difference before the additional surveillance capacity of the cameras began to have an impact. Less positive is the evidence that, in the non-CCTV areas adjacent to the town centre, there is an increasing trend from June 1997 onwards, suggesting the displacement of some robbery activity beyond the effective range of the cameras. This concern was shared by a number of our interviewees in the follow-up public survey.

Burglaries

Burglary offences, rising in the first part of 1997, show a significant reduction (almost 40%) in the town centre CCTV area since the cameras were installed. Domestic burglaries fell by some 30% prior to the installation of the cameras but, afterwards, non-domestic burglaries fell sharply whilst domestic burglaries rose once again. These might be grounds for suggesting some displacement in the offenders' choice of targets but, with the number of incidents occurring each month being so low (averaging only between two and three per month) a few isolated incidents could markedly affect the pattern.

In the context of a general and steadily falling trend during 1997, the trend for domestic burglaries in the CCTV area revealed some fairly dramatic reversals. Again, the monthly totals are low and somewhat unreliable for the construction of trends, but there may be a case for saying that domestic premises appear to have suffered an increase in burglaries during the three

months in which the CCTV system was installed. By the end of the year domestic burglaries have once again fallen by over 40% in six months, but the 25% increase during May to August might merit further investigation.

During May to November 1997 almost a 60% reduction in non-domestic burglaries was achieved in the town centre CCTV area. The commercial and retail premises are undoubtedly amongst the main beneficiaries of this investment in CCTV security.

Vehicle related crime

Vehicle related offences fell by over 50% during the second half of 1997, significantly exceeding the rate of decline in the other evaluation areas. The falling trends elsewhere cannot be explained by CCTV and only a very small proportion of vehicle related offending in Redbridge occurs in Ilford town centre. Whilst the fall in vehicle crime after June 1997 is to be welcomed and, in the CCTV area itself, the cameras could be said to be playing a part, the sharply rising trend between December 1996 and May 1997 also has to be explained. The available data do not suggest an answer.

Shoplifting

Following the introduction of CCTV, almost a 50% reduction in rates of shoplifting in the town centre has been achieved. The trends are similarly falling for Redbridge as a whole and the Ilford Division, though rather less dramatically.

Drugs offences

From mid-1997 onwards 'possession' and 'possession with intent to supply[1] offences fall by nearly 50% over a five month period after CCTV installation. Unfortunately, however, virtually all of this reduction is wiped out in the final 3 months of the year and drugs offences return to the levels (around seven offences a month) at which they stood at the beginning of the year. The issue may merit further investigation.

Criminal damage offences

Criminal damage offences appear to be especially susceptible to the influence of CCTV. A 38% reduction in criminal damage offences was achieved over a three month period after the CCTV cameras went up. However, the falling trend appeared to end abruptly in November and, as in the case of many of the offence trends depicted, it might be worth investigating why these falling offence trends are not sustained to the end of the year.

Thefts from the person offences

After the CCTV installation, theft from the person offences in the CCTV area fall away by some 70%, while the trend in the adjacent areas continues to rise. On a less positive note, the increase in theft offences in the first part of the year might require some consideration, as would the reason for the resurgence of the upward trend in the last three months of the year.

CCTV scheme objectives

The Ilford CCTV scheme was launched with a series of objectives relating to: the reduction in overall levels of crime in the CCTV area, the reduction in level and seriousness of late night disturbances, the reduction of car crime, the reduction of personal theft and robbery offences and to impact upon the public's fear of crime.

In the course of this evaluation evidence has been presented to show that the key offences targeted by the CCTV initiative all appear to be falling. Furthermore, the steep falls in most offence patterns coincide with the installation of the CCTV cameras. Equally, in a range of other offence categories, a sharp fall in the trend also appears to coincide with the installation of the CCTV cameras. Violent incidents and disturbances, however, do not appear to show the same falling trend but this could be explained by the fact that these issues are being targeted by more 'proactive' policing. The more positive finding is that, whilst incidents and disturbances may not be down, actual offence rates are, suggesting, perhaps, that police interventions may be preventing incidents from escalating.

Finally, as we have seen in the opinion surveys, people report being more confident about Ilford town centre, they now feel it to be less prone to crime and significant numbers claim to feel safer while they are there. Admittedly relatively few people seem to think they will visit Ilford more often but the fact that their perceptions of the town centre have begun to shift for the better is undoubtedly a move towards a more positive, healthy and safe town centre environment.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: **Simple CCTV area** crime statistics, **six-month moving averages**

The ten graphs in appendix one all show the simple CCTV area crime trends for the various crime categories used in this evaluation. The graphs cover the period June 1996 to December 1997. The first 5 months of the graph show the actual number of offences recorded in the town centre CCTV area, after the vertical black line (set at November 1996) the graph shows a 6 month moving average. The moving average figure helps stabilise the offence trend making it easier to recognise and interpret. The six-month moving average figure was chosen in order to try to establish a trend prior to the CCTV installation (June 1997, the vertical dotted line) and because figures going back to January 1996 were not available. Most of the graphs are fairly self-explanatory, but a note or two has been added where appropriate.

Figure A1.1 **All** offences in the town centre CCTV area

All offences within the town centre CCTV area
(after Nov. 1996 six-month moving averages).

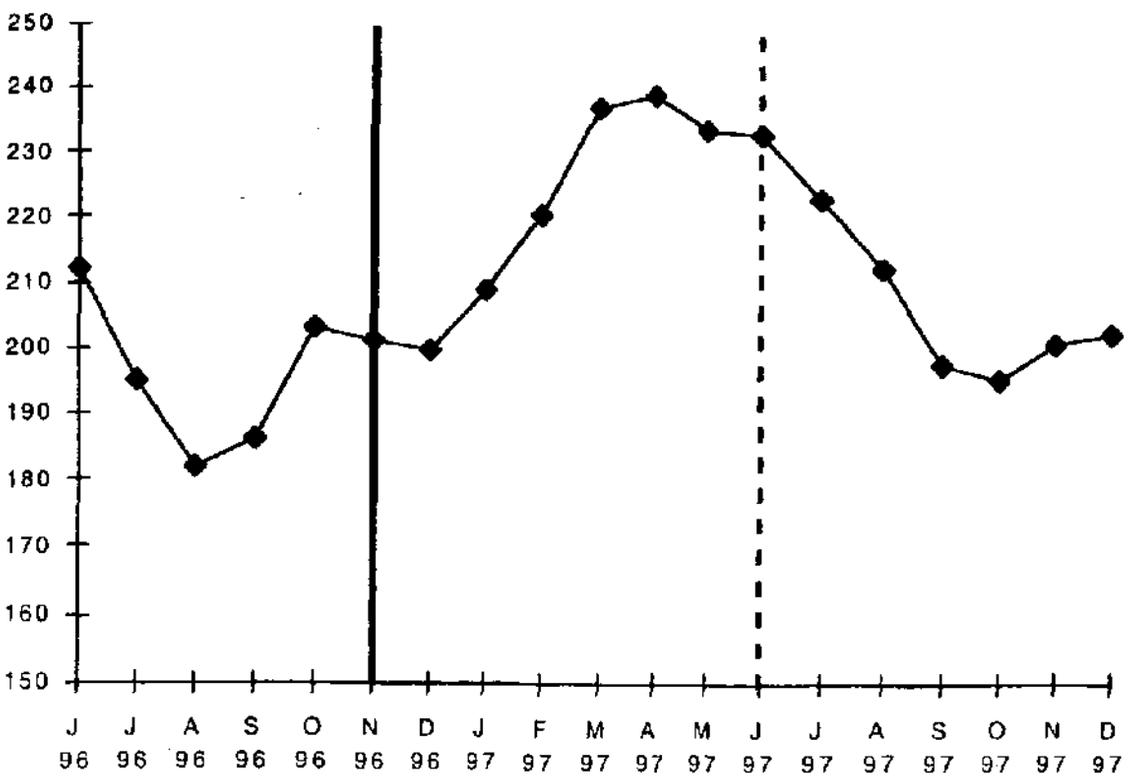
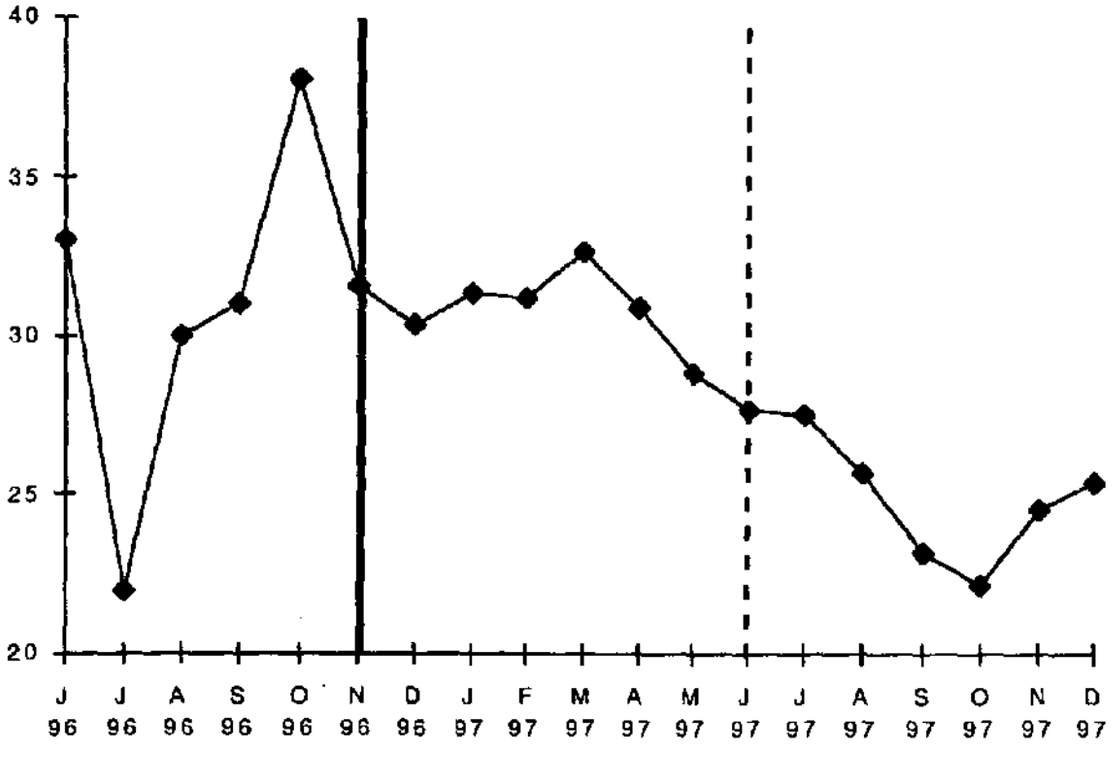


Figure A1.2 Violent offences in the town centre CCTV area

All violent offences within the town centre CCTV area
(after Nov. 1996, six-month moving averages).



Please note the vertical scale used in these graphs, it seldom starts at zero. The scale has to be appropriate to allow the trend to emerge.

The above graph helps show how the moving average (after November 1996) helps to stabilise the trend.

Figure A1.3 Assaults recorded in the town centre CCTV area

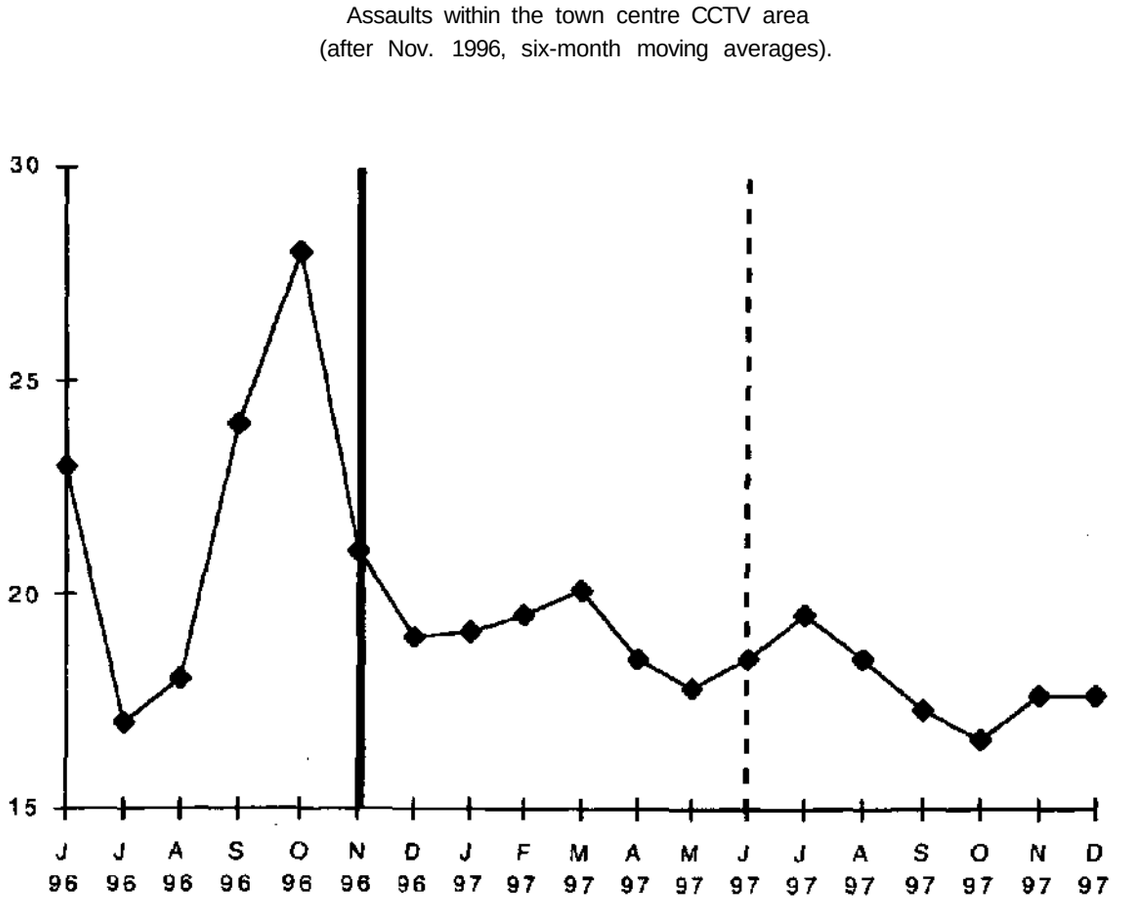


Figure A1.4 All burglaries recorded in the town centre CCTV area

Burglaries within the town centre CCTV area
(after Nov. 1996, six-month moving averages).

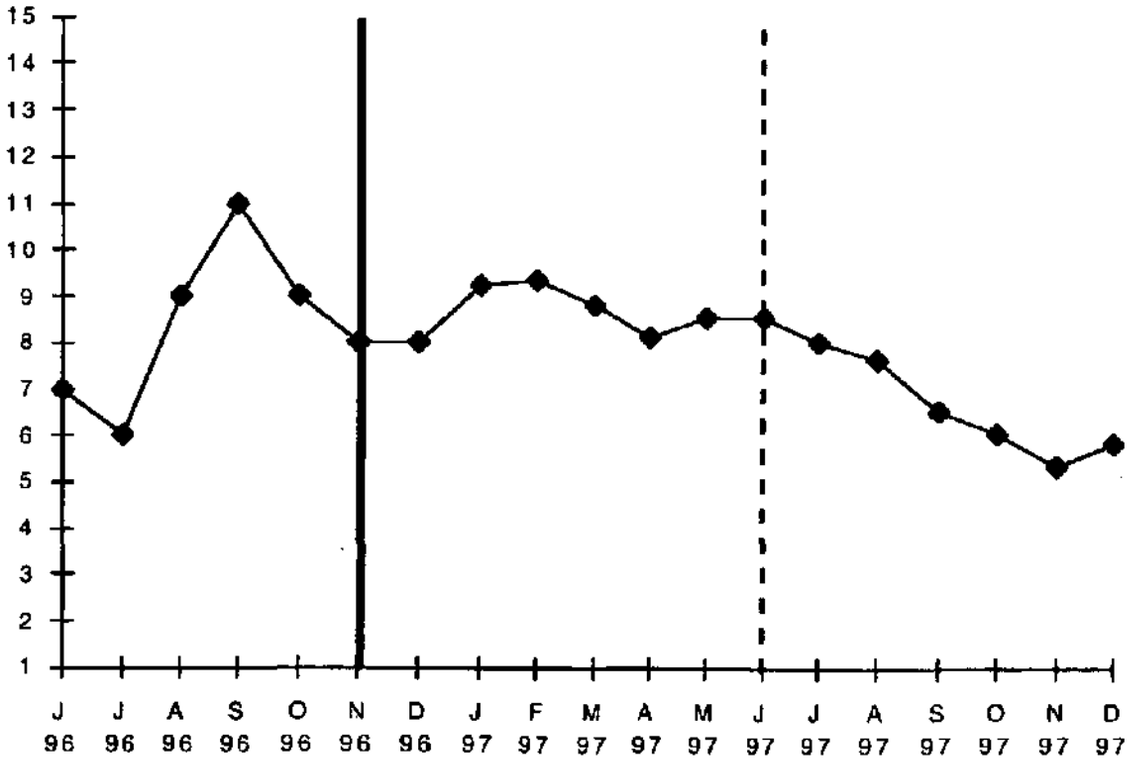


Figure A1.5 Vehicle (theft of/theft from) offences in the town centre CCTV area

Vehicle crimes {theft of/theft from) within the town centre CCTV area
(after Nov. 1996, six-month moving averages).

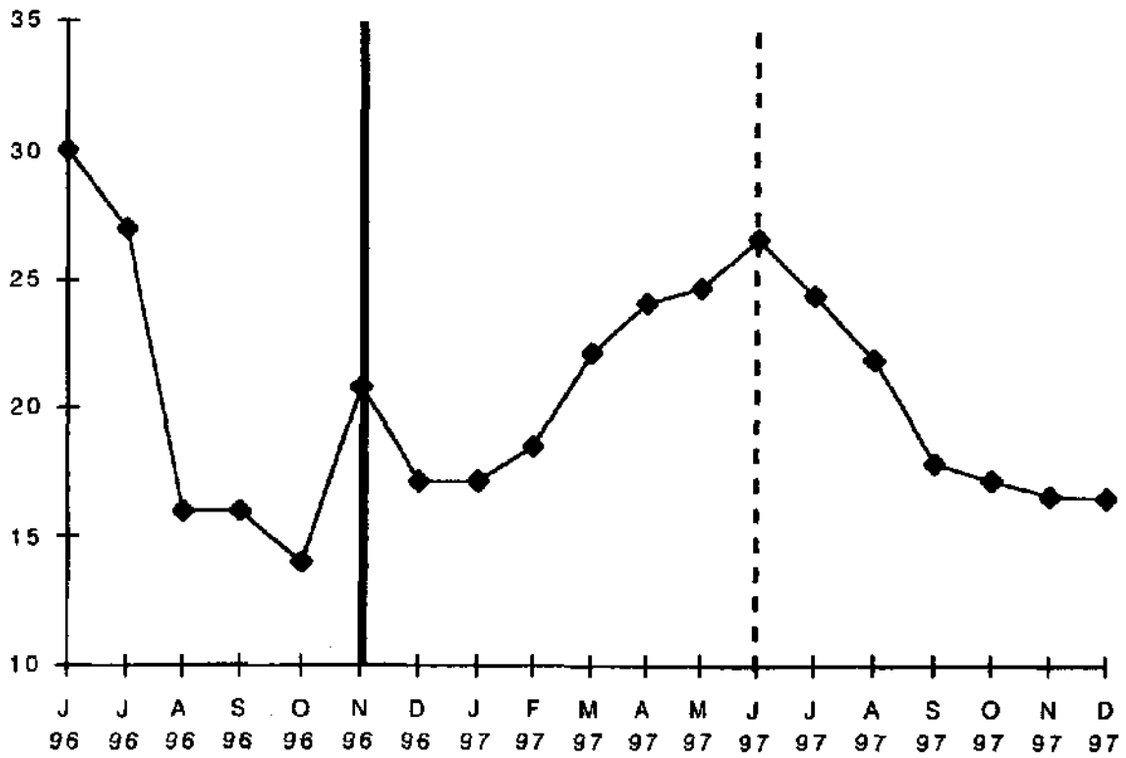


Figure A1.6 Shoplifting offences in the town centre CCTV area

Shoplifting offences within the town centre CCTV area
(after Nov. 1996, six-month moving averages).

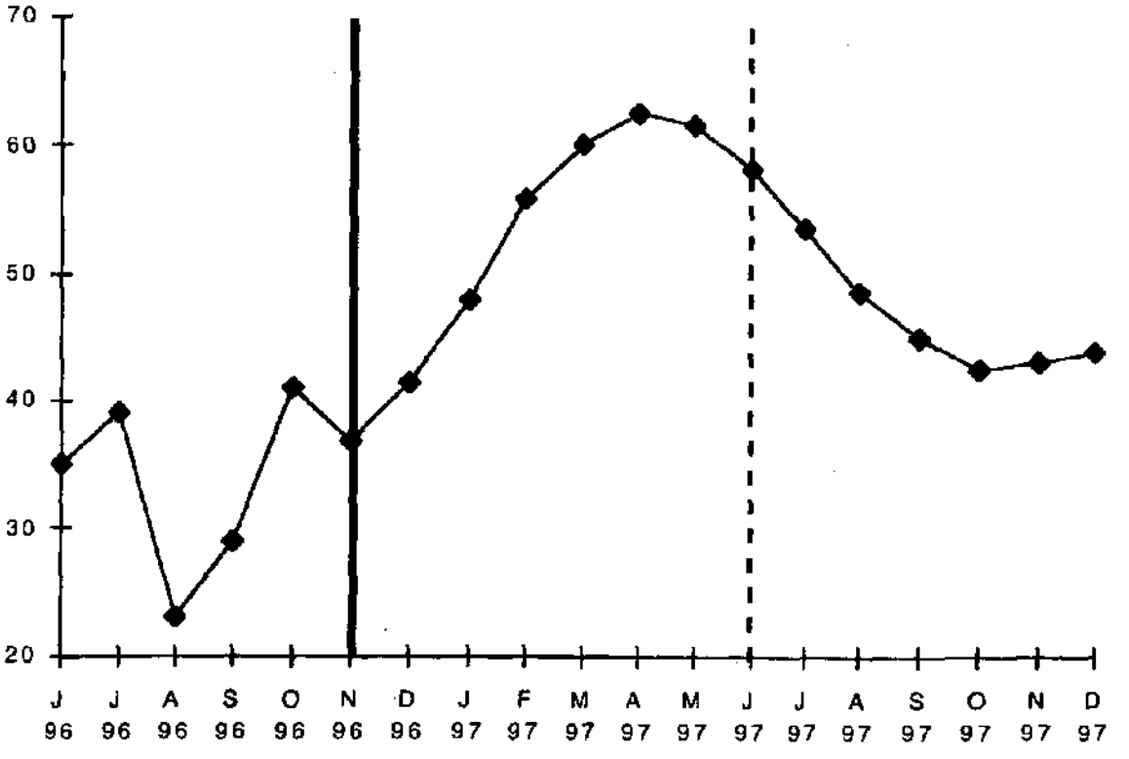


Figure A1.7 Drugs offences recorded in the town centre CCTV area

Drugs offences (possession/possession-supply) within the town centre CCTV area (after Nov. 1996, six-month moving averages).

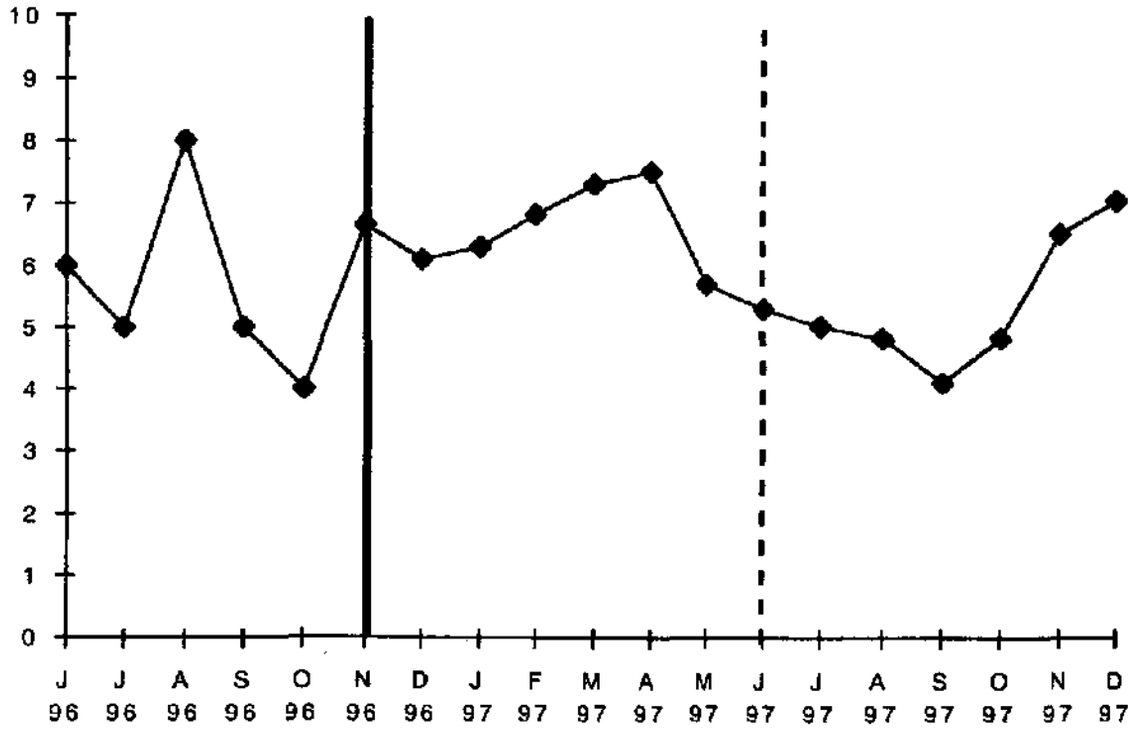


Figure A1.8 Thefts from the person offences in the town centre CCTV area

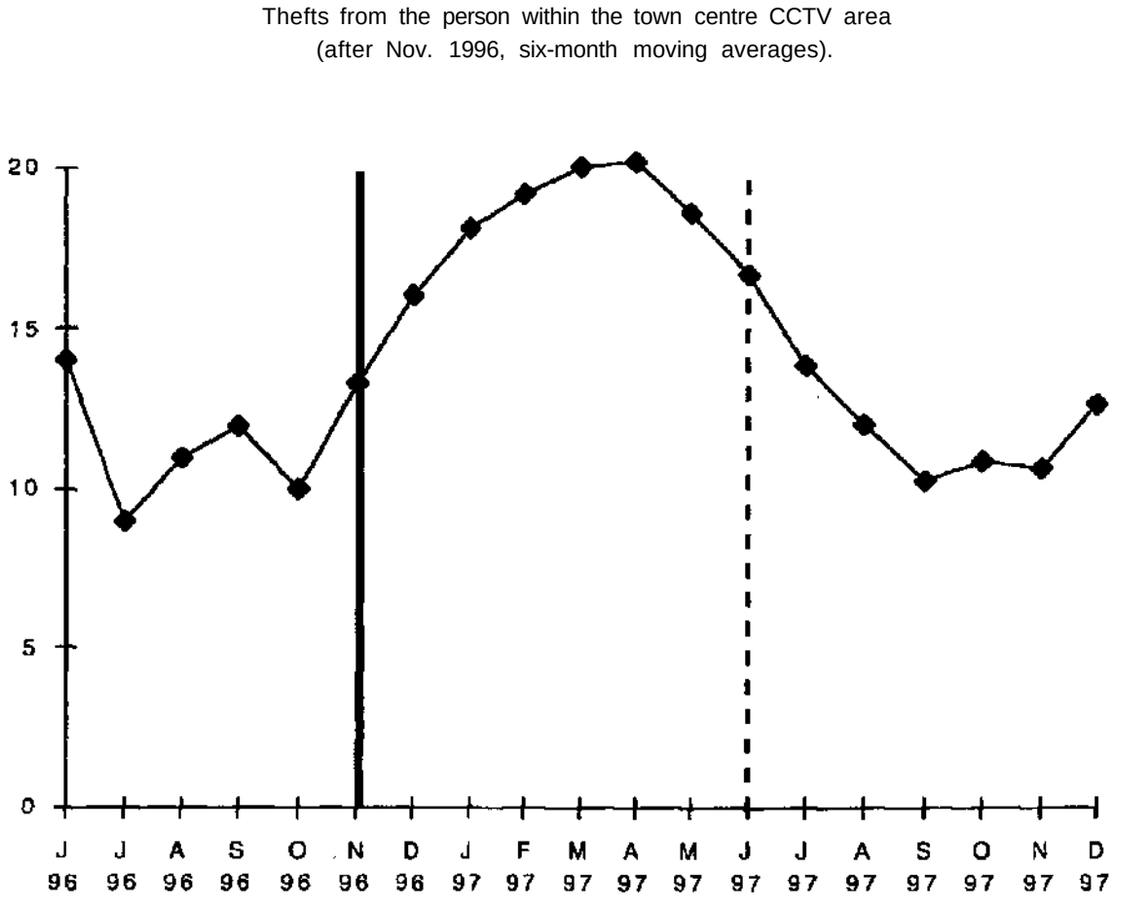


Figure A1.9 Criminal damage offences in the town centre CCTV area

Criminal damage offences within the town centre CCTV area
(after Nov. 1996, six-month moving averages).

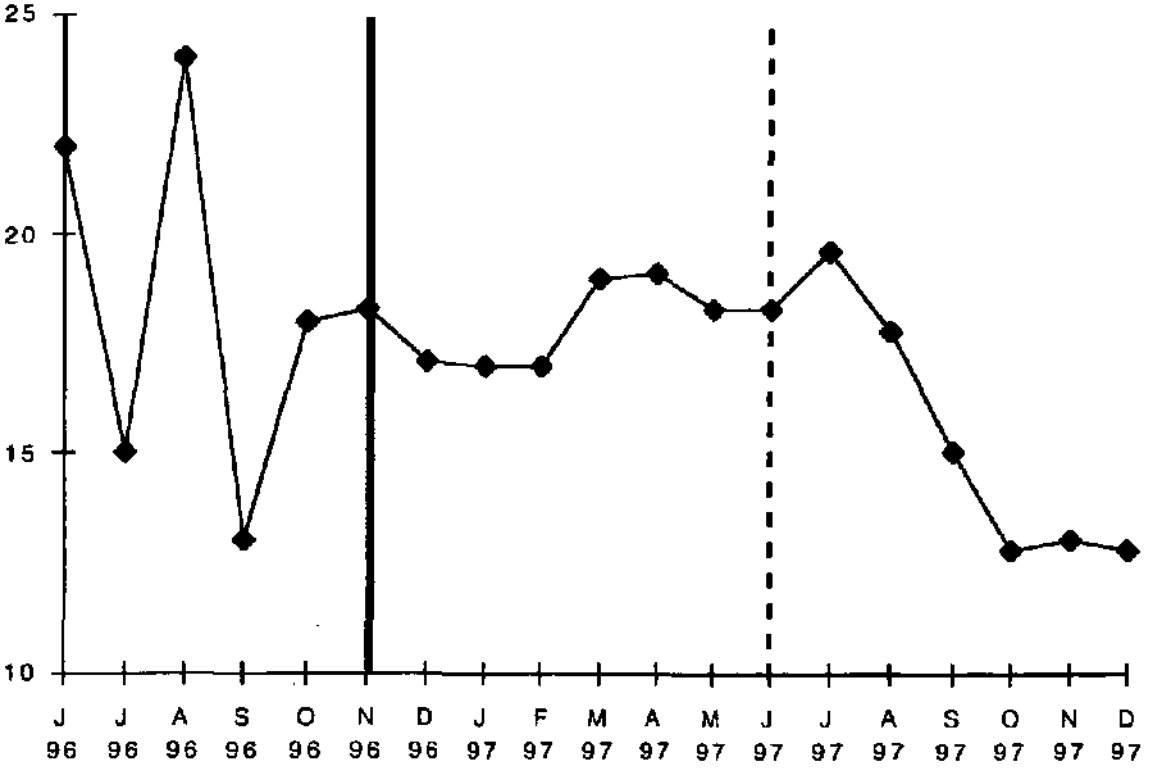
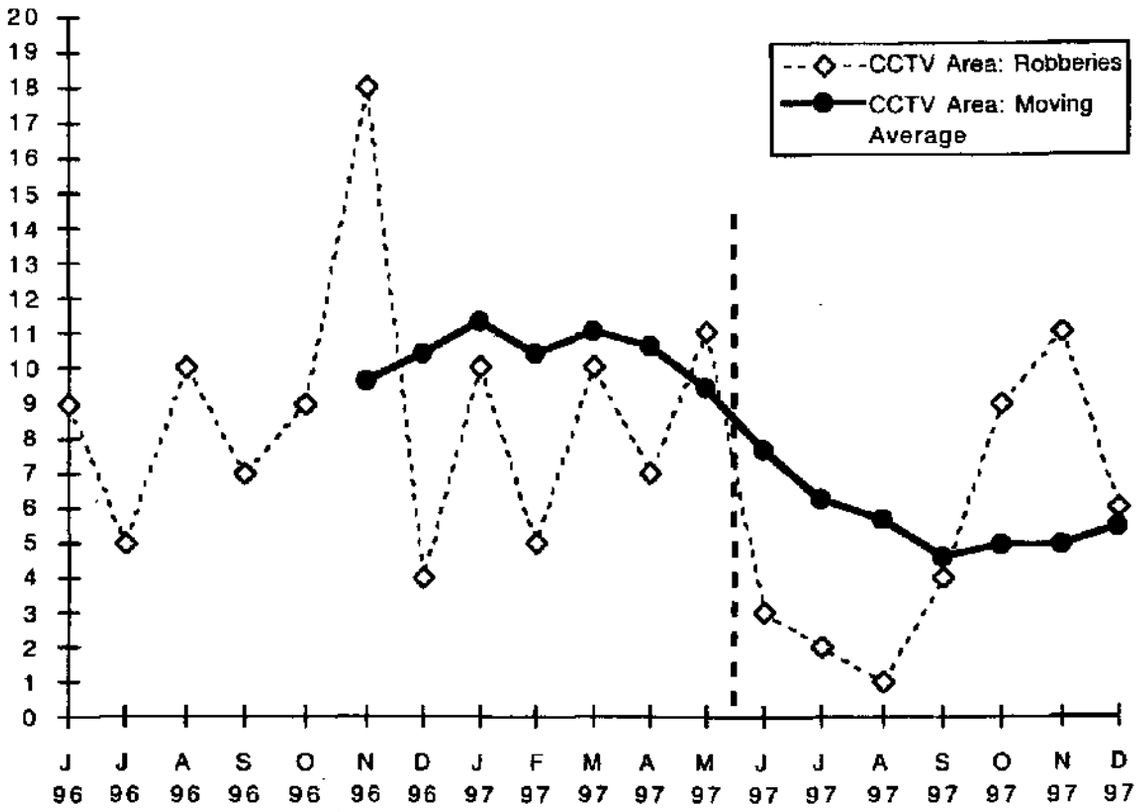


Figure Al.lO Robbery offences in the town centre CCTV area

Robberies: Ilford Town Centre CCTV Area
{actual figures and 6 month moving average).



APPENDIX 2

PROPORTIONS OF INCIDENTS RECORDED IN THE FOUR EVALUATION AREAS

Figure A2.1 Proportions of Violent incidents recorded in the four areas

Violent incidents recorded in Redbridge, Jl Division, Ilford Sector and the tlford town centre CCTV area

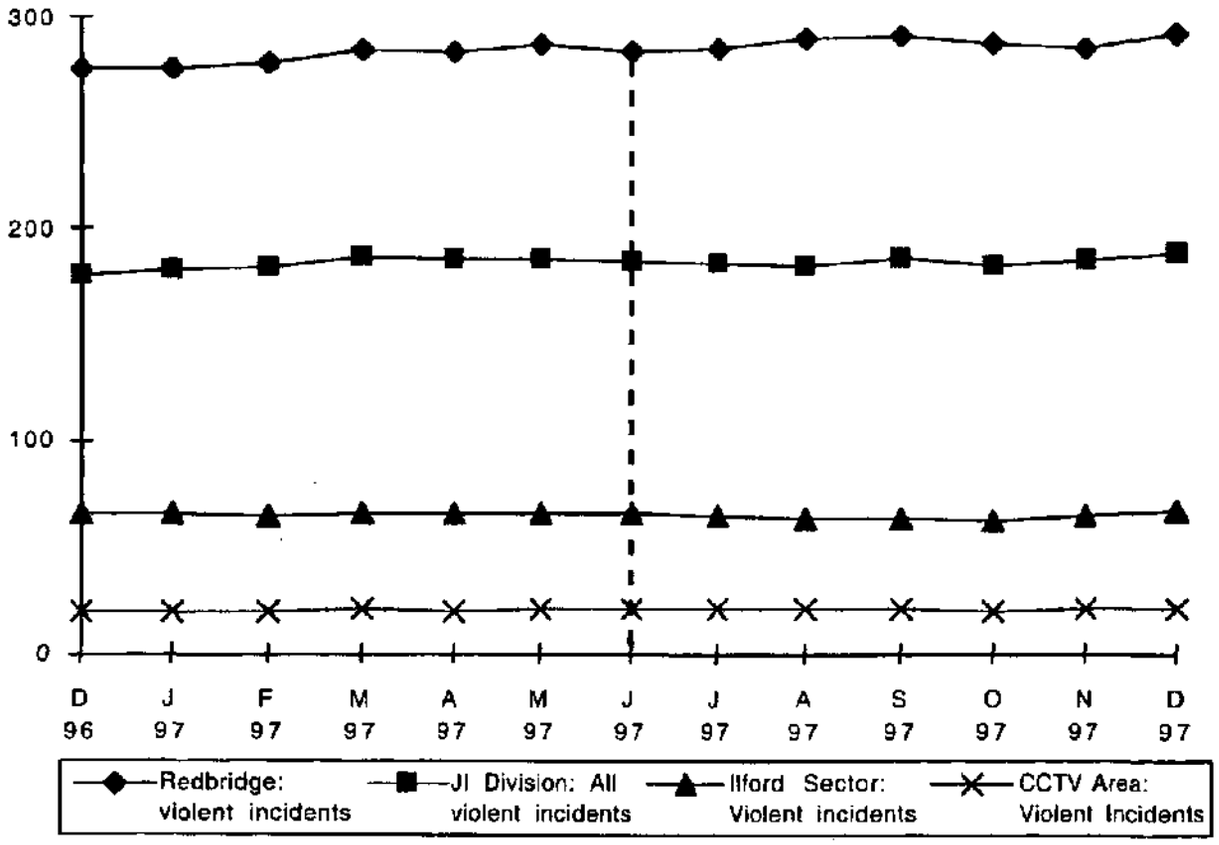


Figure A2.2 Proportions of Burglary incidents recorded in the four areas

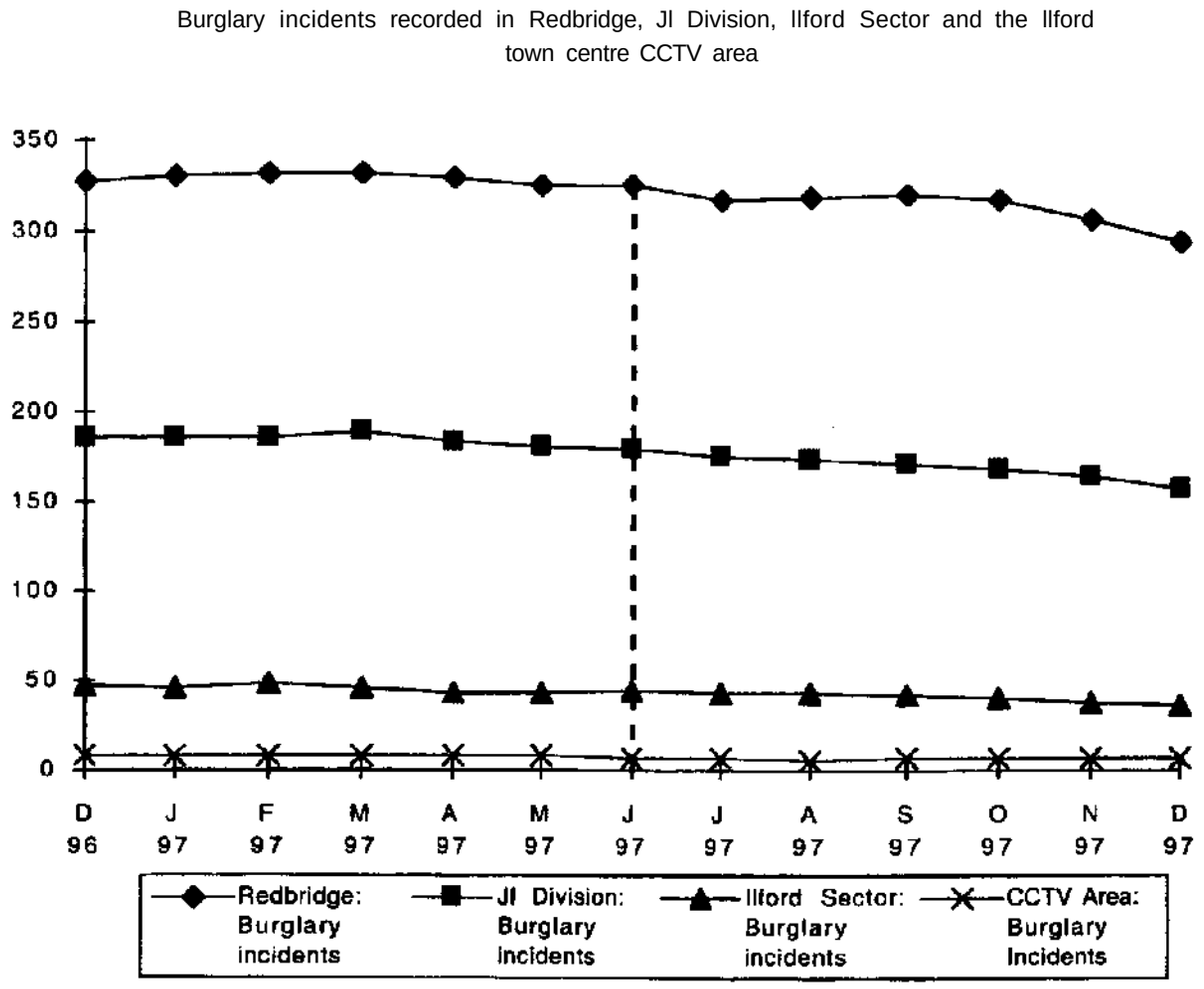


Figure A2.3 Proportions of Vehicle crime incidents recorded in the four areas

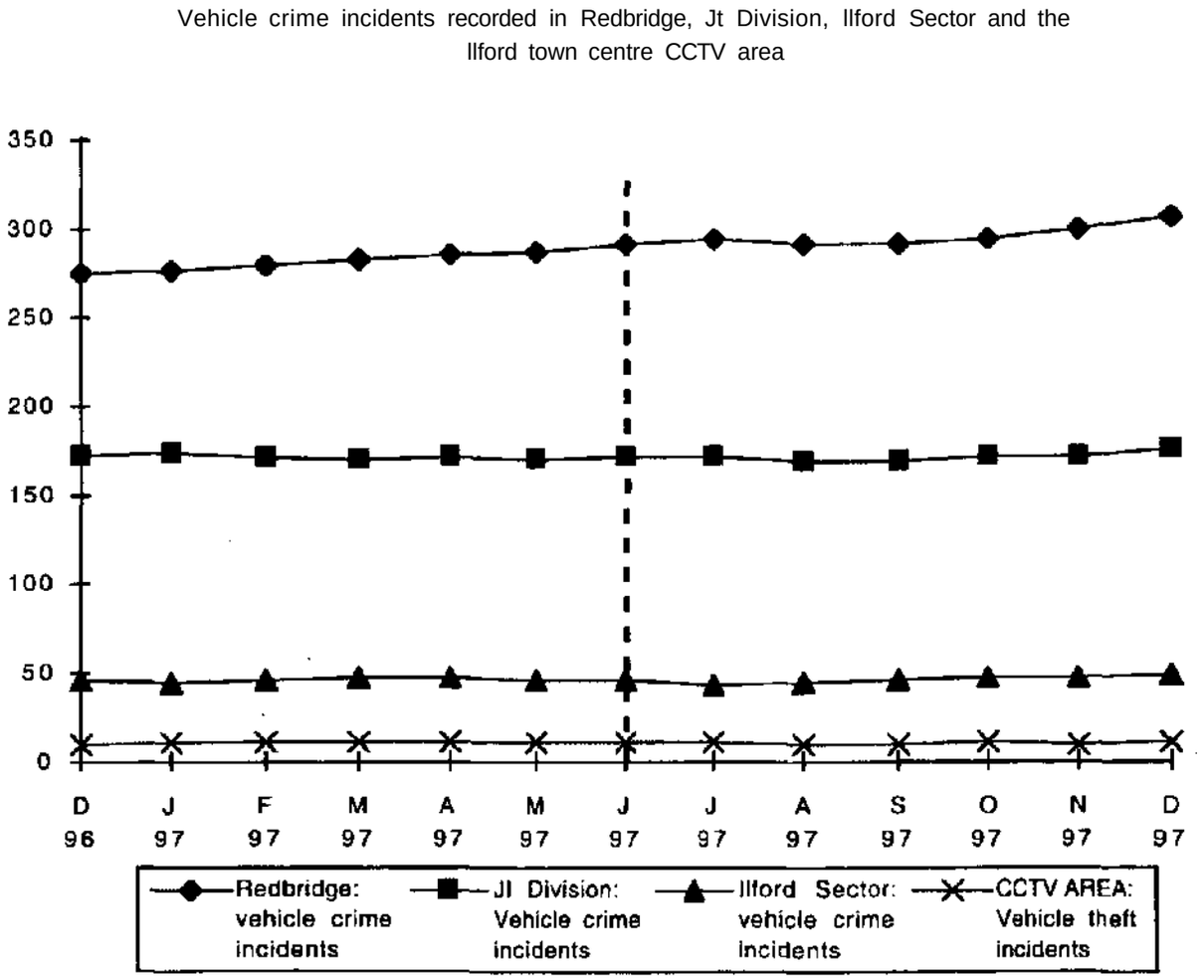


Figure A2.4 Proportions of Shop theft incidents recorded in the four areas

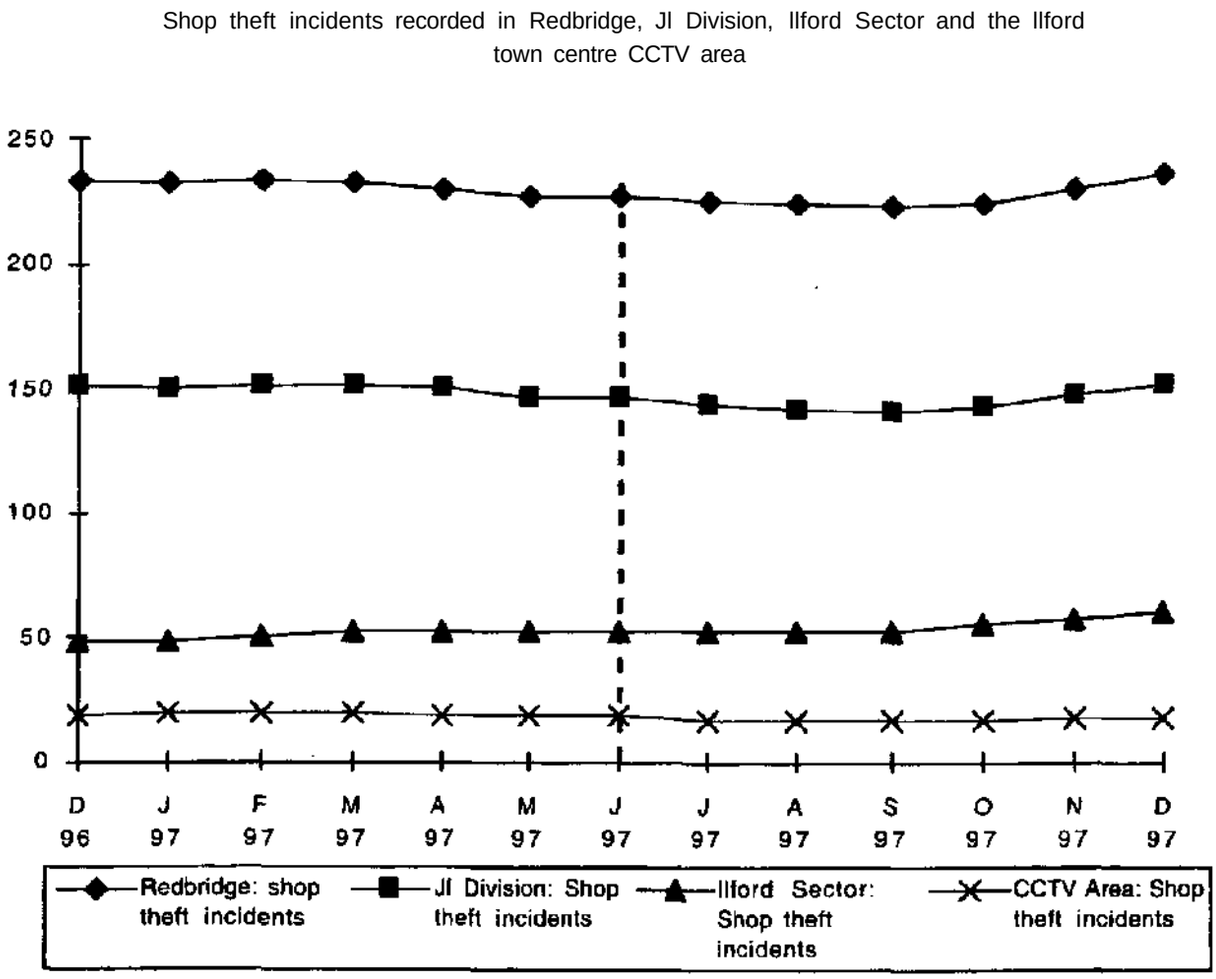
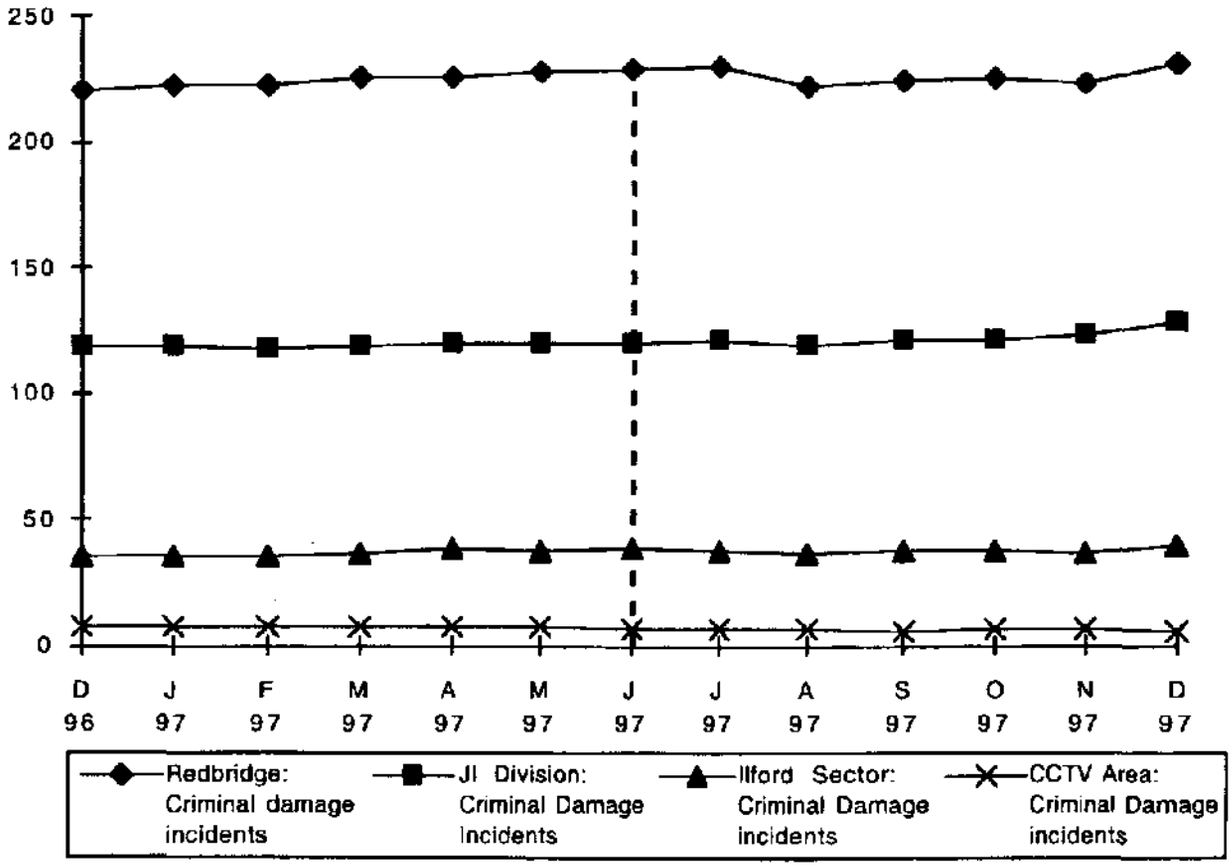


Figure A2.5 Proportions of Criminal damage incidents recorded in the four areas

Criminal damage incidents recorded in Redbridge, Jt Division, Ilford Sector and the Ilford town centre CCTV area



APPENDIX THREE

INCIDENT TRENDS COMPARED WITH CRIME TRENDS

Figure A3.1 Redbridge: All incidents trends and all crimes trends

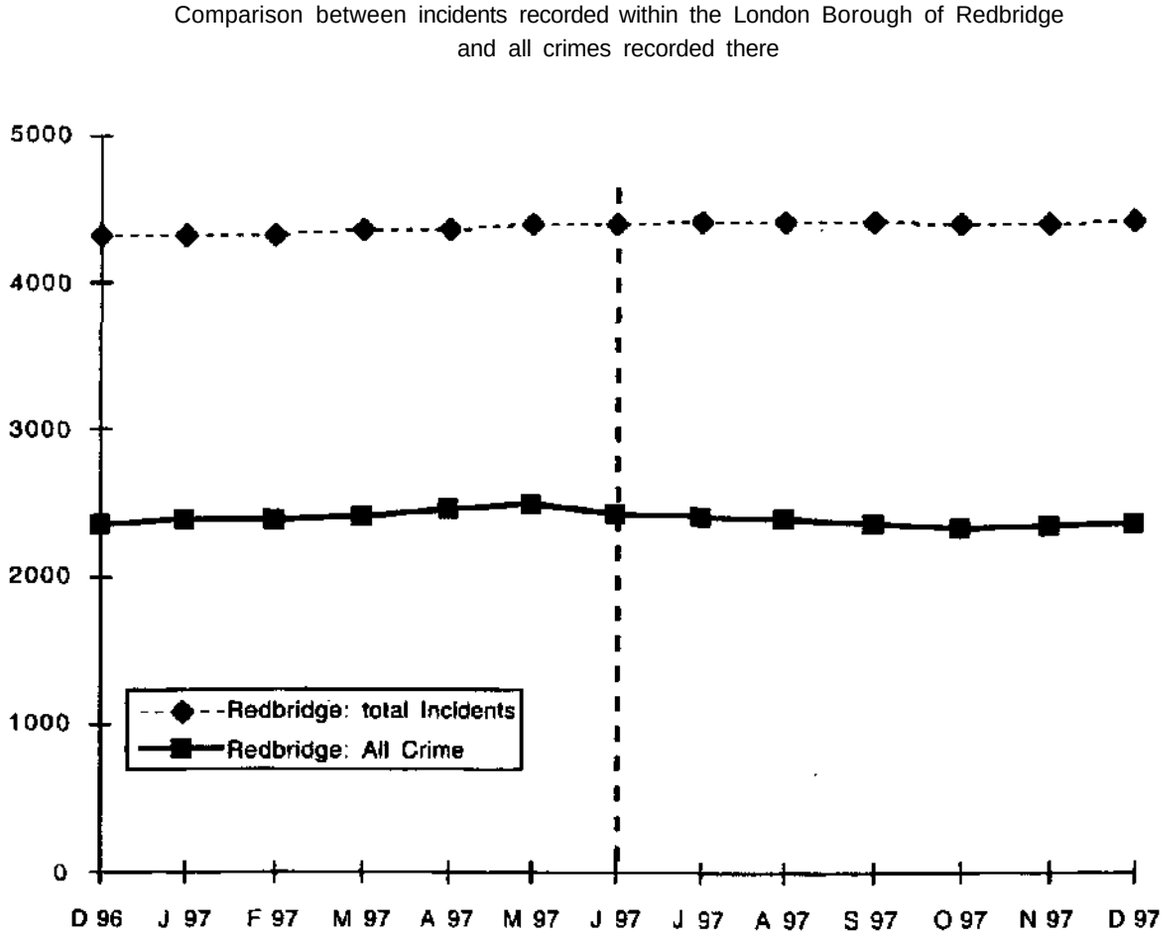


Figure A3.2 Redbridge: All incidents index and all crimes index

Comparison between indices of incidents recorded and crimes recorded within the London Borough of Redbridge.

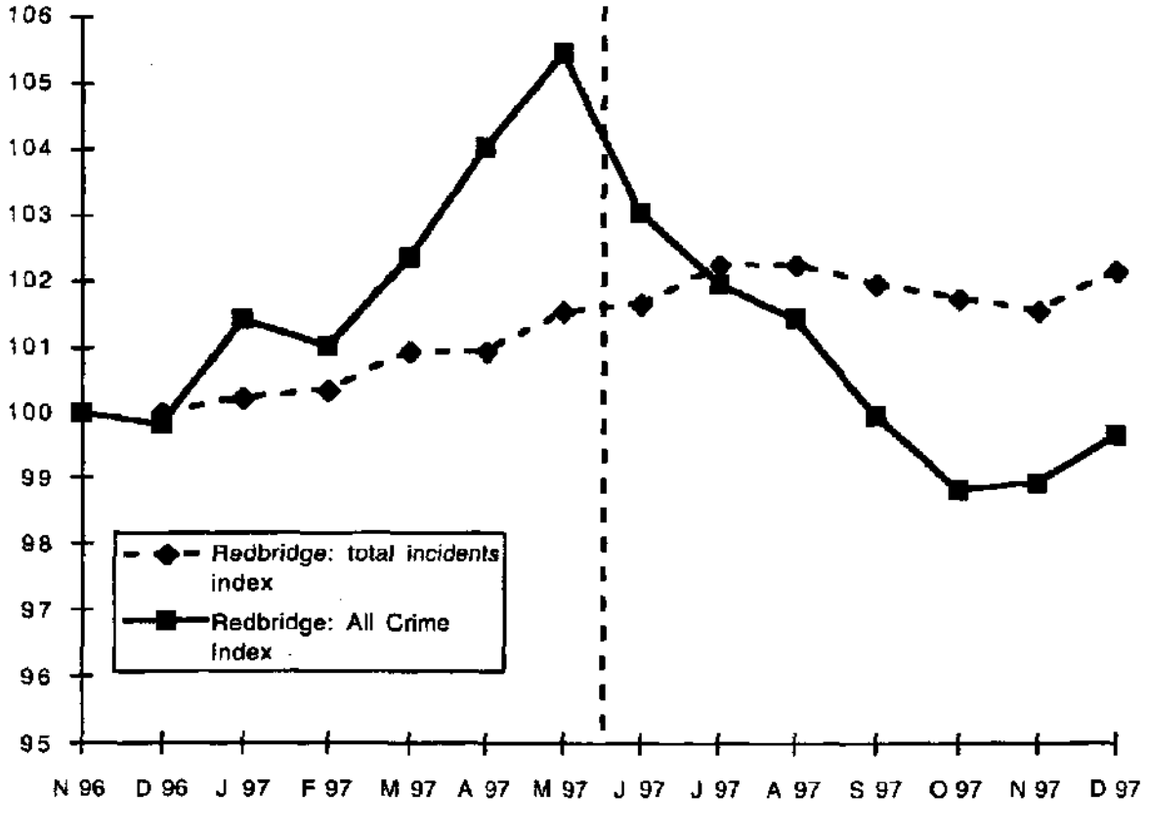


Figure A3.3 Ilford CCTV Area: All incidents trends and all crimes trends

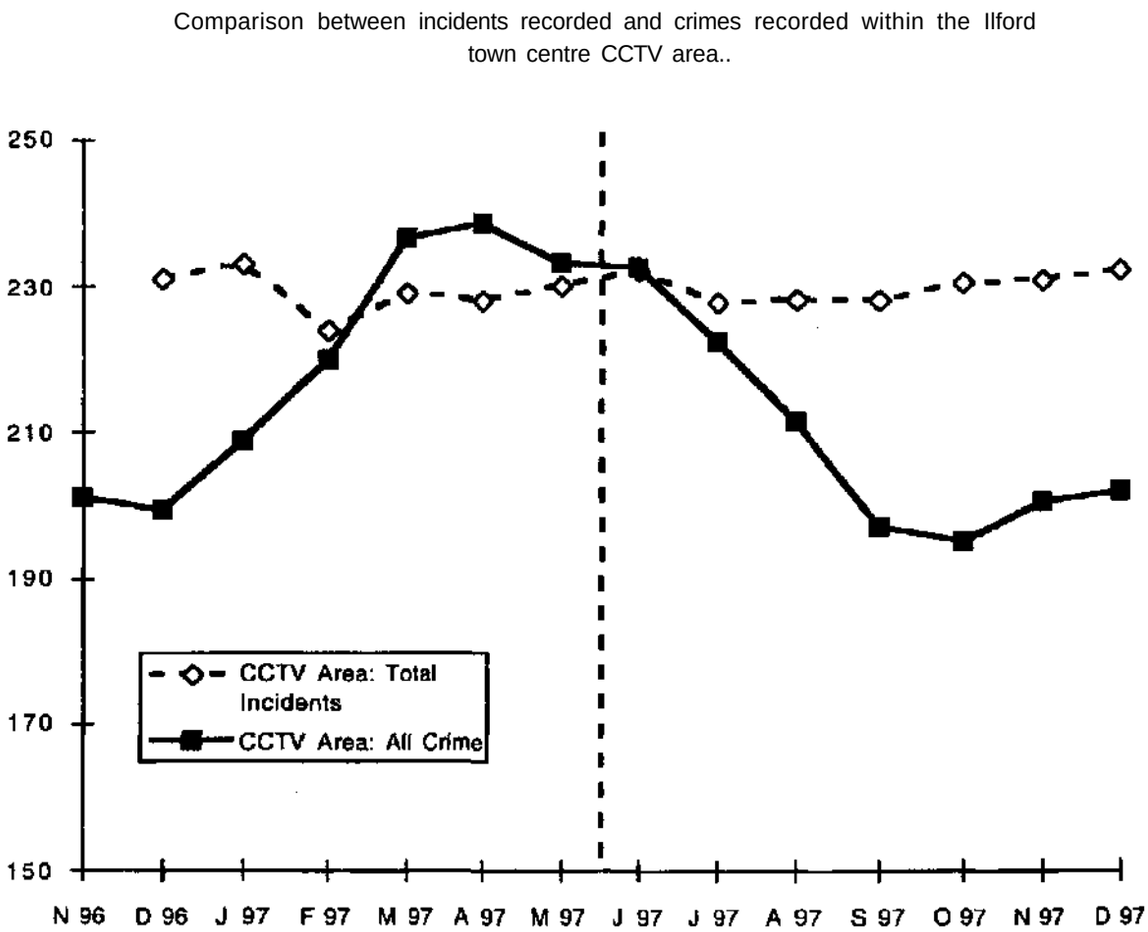
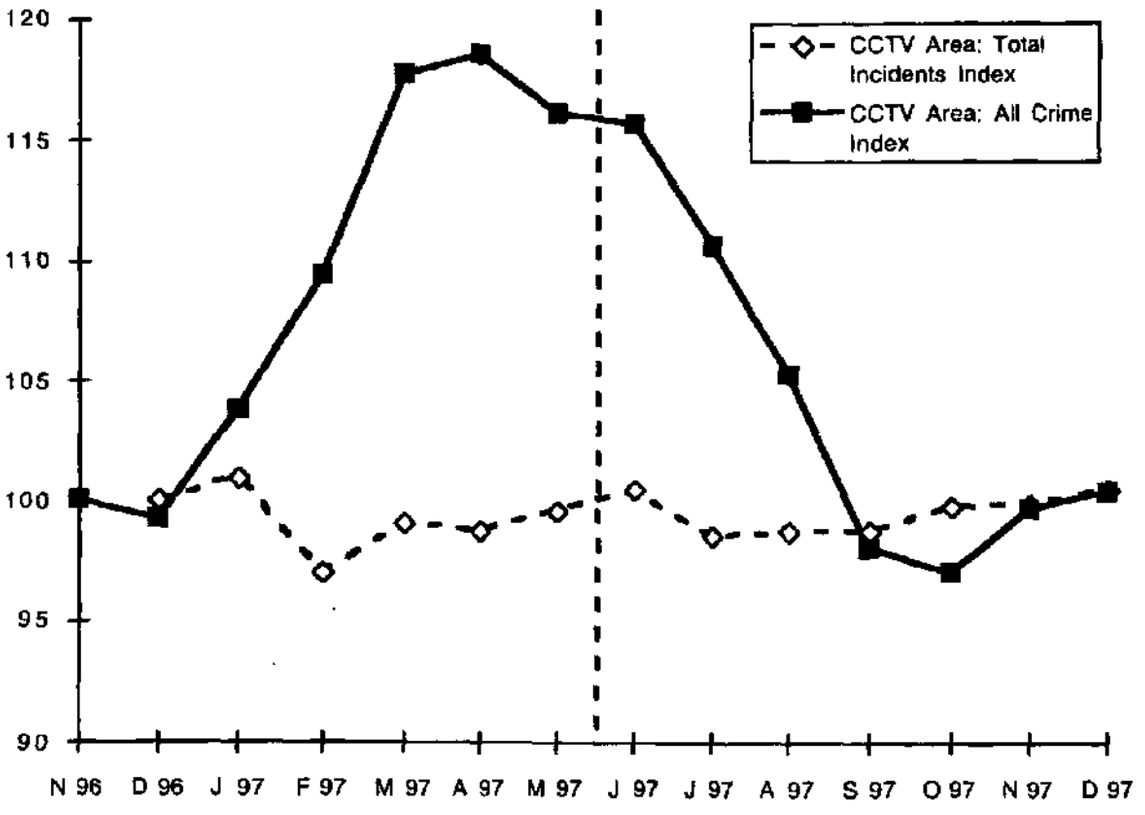


Figure A3.4 Ilford CCTV Area: All incidents index and all crimes index

Comparison between the indices of incidents recorded and crimes recorded within the Ilford town centre CCTV area..



APPENDIX 4

Survey Questionnaire

Two versions of the survey questionnaire were used, "before" and "after". A copy of the follow-up survey follows.

Many of the basic questions were essentially similar but the follow-up survey was able to ask direct - as opposed to more speculative - questions about whether people felt more confident or secure in the town centre following the installation of the CCTV cameras.

HEALTH & SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON. Tel: 643479

Ilford CCTV Survey: *After*

Jan/Mar. 1998 **[sample group 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]**

Personal Information: **All responses will be treated as confidential**
please circle appropriate answers

1. **Age** under 20, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70+

2. **Sex** Male Female

3. **Ethnic origin** White, Asian, Afro-carib, Chinese, other

4. What is your main reason for visiting or being in the town centre

   RESIDENT **EMPLOYMENT** **SHOPPING** **LEISURE** **TOURIST**

5. **Current employment Status:**

   Full-Time Employed, Part-Time, Temporary/Casual, Self-Employed,

   Unemployed, Retired, Student, Full-time parent.

6. **Have you ever been a victim of crime ?**

   NO **YES, ONCE** **MORE THAN ONCE**

   How recently ?

   The offence(s) ?

7. **How often do you visit the Ilford town centre ?**

DAY TIME	EVENING/NIGHT TIME
Daily	Daily
Often	Often
Occasionally	Occasionally
Rarely	Rarely
Never	Never

8. How often do you think that the following types of offences take place in Ilford Town centre.

Circle your answers according to the following scale. (**10** = Several times a day, **9** = more than once a day, **8** = about once a day, **7**= less than once a day, **6** = about two or three times a week, **5** = about once a week, **4** = less than once a week, **3** = about once a fortnight, **2** = about once a month, **1** = less than once a month, **0** = hardly ever.

VIOLENT OFFENCES	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
SEXUAL OFFENCES	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
SHOPLIFTING	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
THEFT (from Person)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
THEFT (of Cars)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
THEFT (from Cars)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ROBBERY/Mugging	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
VANDALISM	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
DRUNK & DISORDERLY	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
RACIAL HARRASSMENT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

9. Have you ever witnessed any criminal activity in Ilford town Centre?

YES **NO** **NOT SURE**

If yes, could you say which types of offences?

10. Do you feel safe in the town centre when you are alone ?

IN THE DAY TIME	**AT NIGHT TIME**
YES, VERY SAFE	YES, VERY SAFE
FAIRLY SAFE	FAIRLY SAFE
FAIRLY UNSAFE	FAIRLY UNSAFE
VERY UNSAFE	VERY UNSAFE

11. If relevant - why don't you feel 'very safe' (ie when alone).

A. Risk of attack/robbery/mugging
B. Fear of strangers
C Worries about Traffic
D Don't like the dark
E Other reason ... which

12. **Have you installed any crime prevention, or other security equipment in your home (eg. burglar alarm) ?**

    YES / NO

13. **Do you remember answering a similar questionnaire to this about a year ago?**

    YES NO NOT SURE

14. **Were you aware of the Closed Circuit Television surveillance cameras in the town centre as a crime prevention and security measure?**

    YES NO NOT SURE

15. **How would you describe your reaction to CCTV? Please respond to the following comments as follows:**
    strongly agree = 5, agree = 4, not sure = 3, disagree = 2, strongly disagree = 1

Its a good idea	
It might prevent crime	
It will make the town safer	
It will help the police	
It might be a threat to civil liberties	
It won't make much difference and is a waste of money	
It overlooks the real causes of crime	
CCTV would be better in residential areas rather than in town centres	
I'd prefer to see more Police officers on the street	
I don't trust the Police to use the system fairly	
I'm totally opposed to the idea	

16. Do you think you visit the town centre more often because of the CCTV system?

YES NO NOT SURE

17. Do you feel safer when you are in the town centre because of the CCTV system?

In the daytime	YES	NO	NOT SURE
At night (when dark)	YES	NO	NOT SURE

18. In general, how do you feel about the crime problem in Britain today?

Consider the following 9 comments in response to the above statement and decide whether you agree or disagree

5. Agree strongly, 4. Agree, 3. Not sure,
2. Disagree, 1. Disagree strongly

---

1. There should be more police on the streets [5 4 3 2 1]

2. The courts should punish criminals more harshly [5 4 3 2 1]

3. A national identity card was introduced [5 4 3 2 1]

4. The police should carry firearms [5 4 3 2 1]

5. Children and young people should be more disciplined and responsible [5 4 3 2 1]

6. Unemployment should be lower lower [5 4 3 2 1]

7. More emphasis should be put on creating opportunities for young people to lead them away from crime [5 4 3 2 1]

8. The government put more money into education and welfare services to tackle social disadvantage [5 4 3 2 1]

9. There should be more useful things for young people to do around here [5 4 3 2 1]

Thank you for taking part in this survey

All responses will be treated as confidential - please do not put your name on the questionnaire

If you have any questions about the research or would like to get in touch with the project supervisor, please contact

Dr. PETER SQUIRES

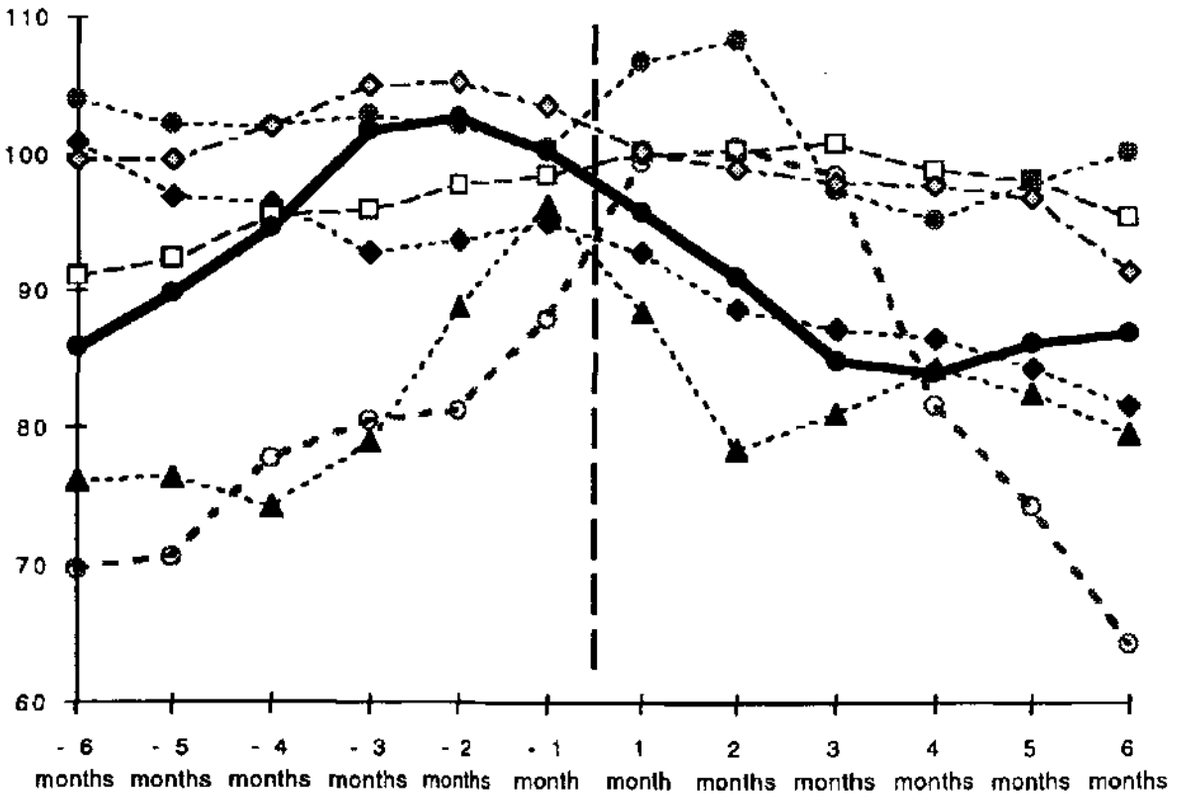
Health & Social Policy Research Centre
University of Brighton

Tel (0273) 643479

APPENDIX FIVE

Crime reduction impact of CCTV in Ilford compared with CCTV impact in six other towns.

ILFORD CCTV COMPARED:
Indexed Crime trends in 7 UK CCTV areas
(6 months before and 6 months after CCTV installation).



The graph shows the indexed crime trends in 7 British town or city centre areas in which CCTV has been installed. The graph uses a percentage index calculated on the basis of the crime figures from the month in which CCTV ws installed (the vertical dotted line on the graph). This trends are then presented for a period six months before and six months after CCTV installation. The darker line relates to Ilford, the other areas (left anonymous on the graph itself) are: Brighton, Crawley, Birmingham, and Newcastle, and East Grinstead and Burgess Hill, both in Sussex. They are, admittedly, a **rather disparate** grouping - different in size, scale and social composition, and with differing types of CCTV system. Furthermore, the use of such figures as

a comparison is fairly limited for, aside from the differences in the towns and the CCTV schemes themselves, the actual time periods in question are different for each CCTV scheme. For instance the Brighton CCTV system was installed in November 1994 and the '6 months before/6 months after' period relates to 1994-1995 whereas for Ilford it relates to 1997.

Nevertheless attempting such a comparison is a valid exercise, at the very least it provides some information on the relative performance on the Ilford CCTV system. As can be seen from the graph Ilford's system falls pretty centrally within the range of results from other areas.