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The Impact of Local Antisocial Behaviour Strategies at the Neighbourhood Level

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THE IMPACT OF LOCAL ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR STRATEGIES AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL

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2 This research evaluated the implementation and impact of local antisocial behaviour strategies at the neighbourhood level in 4 selected Scottish local authorities. The research assessed the extent to which local antisocial behaviour strategies were reducing both antisocial behaviour and public perceptions of antisocial behaviour at the neighbourhood level. It also examined improvements in the performance of agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour, and explored the publics' perceptions of agencies' performance. An economic evaluation of twelve local antisocial behaviour initiatives was also conducted.

3 The research was conducted between March 2006 and March 2007 in 8 neighbourhoods in the City of Edinburgh, Fife, North Lanarkshire and the Scottish Borders. The research included a literature and document review; secondary analysis of police and local authority data; semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders at local authority and neighbourhood levels; focus groups with adult residents and young people; a random household survey of 200 residents in each neighbourhood; and semi-structured interviews with 46 victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour.

Antisocial Behaviour Strategies and Neighbourhood Interventions

4 Each of the 4 local authorities had focused resources and initiatives at the neighbourhoods identified as having antisocial behaviour problems during the development of their antisocial behaviour strategies. Interventions operated at different scales, with the targeting of Local Authority-level specialist antisocial behaviour teams and services at specific neighbourhoods, and the establishment of neighbourhood-level delivery groups. This process involved multi-agency responses at local authority and neighbourhood levels, utilising Scottish Executive and other funding streams. At a local authority level, the delivery of the strategies was overseen by working groups which proactively involved most key agencies. At the local level, various models of neighbourhood and locality management structures were used. There was consensus about the need for a holistic PIER approach, based on the pillars of Prevention, (Early) Intervention, Enforcement and Rehabilitation of offenders, along with support for victims and witnesses. This was combined with an acknowledgement of the need for enhanced coordination at strategic levels. However, the significant organisational restructuring and the plethora of new initiatives aimed at tackling antisocial behaviour had resulted in some confusion and ambiguity about both the roles of individual agencies and the relationship between local authority level and neighbourhood level scales of intervention.

Reducing Incidents of Antisocial Behaviour

5 There was a general rise in the number of officially recorded incidents of antisocial behaviour across the 4 local authorities in the last 3 years, which was consistent with national trends. 7 of the case study neighbourhoods had also experienced a rise in recorded

antisocial behaviour incidents, although there was a reduction in the number of incidents in Carfin in North Lanarkshire and the rates of recorded antisocial behaviour, and the rise in incidents, were lower in the 2 neighbourhoods in the Scottish Borders. The variations in reported rates of antisocial behaviour between the neighbourhoods we studied were not fully explained by the variations in the recorded rates of antisocial behaviour between the local authority areas in which they were located. This increase in recorded incidents contrasted with the general perception of local agency officers that antisocial behaviour had stabilised or reduced. However, agency officers also reported an increasing propensity amongst residents to report incidents which may be a contributory factor to the rise in recorded levels of antisocial behaviour.

Improvements in Agency Performance

6 There was evidence of improved agency performance in the case study neighbourhoods. The main factors behind this improvement were enhanced partnership working leading to more effective operational planning and resource deployment; increasingly holistic PIER-based interventions with individuals, households and communities; and growing effectiveness in utilising the range of available antisocial behaviour measures. The most significant improvements arose where significant resources had been targeted at relatively small geographical areas, allied to strong multi-agency partnership working. However, it was acknowledged that, given the early stages of the strategies and additional funding, many of the improvements were process-based and were therefore not yet fully apparent to local communities. There remained challenges in fully engaging all potential partners, including local residents, in neighbourhood antisocial behaviour strategies. There was also considerable scope for improvement in responding to the needs of victims and witnesses. Despite considerable methodological difficulties, the economic evaluation of initiatives found that community wardens schemes in the 4 local authorities and the Early Intervention Families Project in Edinburgh were demonstrably cost-effective. Mediation services in the 4 local authorities, the Safer Neighbourhoods Team (Fife), the freephone antisocial behaviour helpline (Scottish Borders) and the Night Noise Team (North Lanarkshire) had delivered improvements in tackling antisocial behaviour, but it was not possible to robustly determine the cost effectiveness of these improvements.

Public Perceptions of Antisocial Behaviour and Agency Performance

7 Significant proportions of residents in the case study neighbourhoods continued to perceive antisocial behaviour to be common and to have personally experienced antisocial behaviour. There was evidence of neighbourhood variations in residents' perceptions that were not fully explained by the socio-economic characteristics of each neighbourhood population. Only a minority of residents perceived antisocial behaviour and the performance of agencies to have improved in the previous twelve months. There was a major problem across all neighbourhoods with the under-reporting of incidents, and there was a general dissatisfaction with agency responses to complaints about antisocial behaviour. However residents did identify specific local initiatives that had been effective in tackling antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhoods. The priorities of residents for future action mirrored those of agencies and not all of these priorities had substantial resource implications.

Conclusions

8 The nature of the progress being made in tackling antisocial behaviour reflected the early stage of the implementation of local antisocial behaviour strategies and the increased, but limited, scale of funding. There was improved local agency performance in partnership

working, operational targeting, holistic interventions and the use of different measures and tools. However, these improvements had not yet resulted in reductions in recorded or perceived levels of neighbourhood antisocial behaviour, while improvements in agency performance did not appear to be clear to most local residents. These headline findings may mask significant neighbourhood-level improvements, particularly in addressing the most serious forms of antisocial behaviour and beginning to increase the reporting rates of incidents. The interventions and practices being established may also result in reductions in antisocial behaviour in the longer term, but this is likely to be dependent on at least maintaining current resource levels.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

About this Report

1.1 This report presents the findings of a research study of how local antisocial behaviour strategies are being developed and delivered in Scotland, and what impacts these strategies are having within local neighbourhoods. The study was conducted between February 2006 and April 2007 by teams of researchers at Sheffield Hallam and Heriot Watt Universities, supported by an independent expert in the economic evaluation of selected initiatives.

1.2 Tackling antisocial behaviour is a key priority for the Scottish Executive. The Antisocial Behaviour Act etc. (Scotland) 2004 introduced a range of new legal measures and powers for tackling antisocial behaviour. The Act required local authorities and police Chief Constables to develop antisocial behaviour strategies for their areas, which reflected the Scottish Executive's view that interventions to tackle antisocial behaviour should primarily be delivered at local level, supported by a national funding and guidance framework. The ultimate aim of both national and local antisocial behaviour strategies is to have safer communities where fewer people suffer from problems caused by antisocial behaviour (*Scottish Executive Guidance on Accountability Framework and Outcome Agreements*, 2005: 2).

1.3 In developing their antisocial behaviour strategies, local authorities were required to identify the local areas where antisocial behaviour was a problem and to target resources at these areas. The impact of antisocial behaviour strategies at a local authority level is subject to monitoring though performance reports which are submitted annually to the Scottish Executive. The aim of this research was to evaluate the impacts of antisocial behaviour strategies at the local neighbourhood level, using a selection of 4 local authorities and 8 case study neighbourhoods.

1.4 Chapter 1 of this report provides the context for the research, including how neighbourhood-level interventions are located within the national policy, funding and delivery framework. It briefly describes the aims and objectives of the research and the research methods used in producing this report. Chapter 2 describes how antisocial behaviour strategies are being developed and delivered at local authority and neighbourhood level. Chapter 3 explores the localised nature and causes of antisocial behaviour, and provides evidence about the extent to which antisocial behaviour strategies have resulted in a reduction in the incidence of recorded antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods. Chapter 4 analyses the performance of agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour, focusing on interventions and partnership working. This chapter also provides summary findings from the economic evaluation of twelve local initiatives being used to tackle antisocial behaviour. Chapters 5 and 6 examine local residents' perceptions and experiences of antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhoods, and describes their views about the performance of local agencies in tackling the problem. Chapter 7 summarises the key findings of the research and the main lessons arising from it for policymakers and practitioners in Scotland. Chapter 8 is an epilogue which presents an update on the progress in implementing the antisocial behaviour reported by the 4 local authorities since the second half of 2006. The report's annexes provide additional details of the research methods and findings, as well as further sources of good practice and guidance.

Background

1.5 The Scottish Executive is pursuing a national strategy aimed at tackling all forms of antisocial behaviour by bringing about change in people's attitudes and behaviour. The national strategy is focused around 4 themes:

- Protecting and empowering communities
- Preventing antisocial behaviour by working with children and families
- Building safe, secure and attractive communities
- Effective enforcement

The Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 included a definition of antisocial behaviour and provided a range of new legal measures to tackle the problem, including powers to disperse groups and close premises, electronic monitoring, strengthened existing Antisocial Behaviour Order (ASBO) provisions and introduced ASBOs for under-16s. In addition a range of environmental powers came into effect in October 2004, including fixed penalty notices for littering and fly tipping, graffiti removal notices and the ban of sales of spray paint to under-16s.

1.6 Section 143 of the 2004 Act provides that a person engages in antisocial behaviour if they:

- Act in a manner that causes or is likely to cause alarm of distress, or
- Pursue a course of conduct that causes or is likely to cause alarm or distress to at least one person not of the same household as them

The Act further clarifies that:

- "conduct" includes speech
- "a course of conduct" must involve conduct on at least 2 occasions
- "likely to cause" has the effect that someone other than a victim of the antisocial behaviour (for example professional witnesses) can give evidence of its occurrence

It is widely recognised that, in practice, antisocial behaviour covers a wide range of levels and types of conduct from low level nuisance to serious criminal activity. What actually constitutes antisocial behaviour is also subject to different interpretations, as some individuals may experience distress or alarm at conduct that others regard as normal or legitimate.

1.7 The Scottish Executive believes that the implementation of the national strategy is most effectively delivered at the local authority level. Part 1 of the 2004 Act placed a statutory duty upon each local authority in Scotland and the relevant Police Chief Constable to prepare a strategy for tackling antisocial behaviour in the local authority area. These strategies were finalised in 2005.

1.8 The Scottish Executive committed £95m to support the delivery of the national antisocial behaviour strategy between 2004 - 2006, comprising £30m for community wardens, £35m for youth justice services and £20.4m for local authorities to facilitate the delivery of local antisocial behaviour strategies. A further £67.5m has been allocated for 2006-2008. Since 2005 this funding has been delivered through Antisocial Behaviour Outcome Agreements which give local authorities flexibility in determining local priorities

and services but require them to monitor progress through agreed performance indicators and to report on these annually to the Scottish Executive. The success of national and local antisocial behaviour strategies will be determined by the extent to which:

- Incidents of antisocial behaviour have reduced
- People's perceptions of antisocial behaviour as a problem have reduced
- The performance of agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour has improved
- People's perceptions of the performance of agencies have improved

Delivering Antisocial Behaviour Strategies at the Neighbourhood Level

1.9 The Scottish Executive has stated that:

> *Action to tackle antisocial behaviour must respond to local needs and priorities, and must take into account differences between communities in local authority areas. It is only local agencies, working together in a concerted and coordinated way with local people that can tackle antisocial behaviour effectively (Scottish Executive Guidance on Antisocial Behaviour Strategies, 2004: 3).*

In the preparation of their antisocial behaviour strategies, local authorities were required to identify the nature and extent of antisocial behaviour in local areas and to utilise this analysis to target resources at the hard pressed communities experiencing the most extensive problems. Most of the additional Scottish Executive funding has been targeted at deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland. Local authorities were also required to undertake consultation with those communities where antisocial behaviour was a problem during the development of their antisocial behaviour strategies.

1.10 The Scottish Executive acknowledges that it would not expect to see a significant reduction in recorded antisocial behaviour or peoples' perceptions of antisocial behaviour at national or local authority level in less than 3 years. It does believe that it is realistic to see improvements in the actual and perceived performance of agencies during this period. However, the Scottish Executive also argued that it should be possible to see a reduction in actual and perceived antisocial behaviour problems in particular neighbourhoods over a shorter time frame (*Scottish Executive Guidance on Accountability Framework and Outcome Agreements*, 2005: 4). The Executive argued this to be the case because local authorities and their partners, though their antisocial behaviour strategies, should have already identified local areas with problems and should be working closely with local communities to tackle antisocial behaviour. The Executive also stated that these local areas were likely to already have community wardens, and in some local authorities these areas would also benefit from targeted *Community Regeneration Fund* resources. The aim of this research and report was to establish the extent to which such improvements have actually occurred in neighbourhoods in selected Scottish local authorities.

Aims

1.11 The aim of the research was to provide an evaluation of the implementation and impact of local antisocial behaviour strategies at the neighbourhood level in 4 selected Scottish local authorities.

Objectives

1.12 The objectives of the research were to:

- Identify how local antisocial behaviour strategies are being developed and delivered at local authority and neighbourhood levels
- To evaluate the impact of local antisocial behaviour strategies at the neighbourhood level with regard to achieving:
    - A reduction in the incidence of antisocial behaviour
    - An improvement in the performance of a range of relevant agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour
    - A public perception that antisocial behaviour as a problem is being reduced
    - A public perception that agency performance at tackling antisocial behaviour is improving.
- To evaluate the economic effectiveness of antisocial behaviour strategies and interventions
- To identify good practice examples
- To disseminate key findings, lessons and good practice to the wider policy and practitioner community in Scotland

Methods

1.13 The research utilised a range of quantitative and qualitative data sources and analysis methods. The research sought to ensure that the evaluation drew upon a wide range of perceptions about, and experiences of, antisocial behaviour, including key agency stakeholders at local authority and neighbourhood levels, local residents and the victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour. A detailed account of the research methods is provided in Annex 1. The research comprised 7 stages, which are described in more detail below.

The Research Stages

1.14 Stage 1 involved a review of relevant literature. This included key policy documentation produced by the Scottish Executive and other national organisations in Scotland, and existing research reports and evaluations relating to antisocial behaviour in Scotland and the other nations of the UK.

1.15 Stage 2 comprised case studies at a local authority level of the 4 selected Scottish local authorities. These were: ***City of Edinburgh Council***, ***Fife Council***, ***North Lanarkshire Council*** and ***Scottish Borders Council***. Each of these case studies involved:

- A review of relevant policy documents, reports and research evaluations
- Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, including Antisocial Behaviour Partnership coordinators, local authority Community Safety managers, senior police officers, senior officers in local authority Housing Services departments, representatives of the Procurator Fiscal Service; and representatives of the Children's Hearing System.
- An analysis of crime figures and command and control data, as provided by the relevant Police force

1.16 Stage 3 involved the selection of case study neighbourhoods. Two neighbourhoods were selected in each case study local authority area. The neighbourhoods were selected to provide a spectrum of neighbourhood contexts, including different types of antisocial behaviour problems and a range of agency interventions being utilised to tackle antisocial behaviour. The neighbourhoods were identified through analysis of Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, interviews with local authority practitioners and scoping visits.

1.17 The case study neighbourhoods were: ***Broomhouse*** and ***Muirhouse*** (City of Edinburgh); ***Abbeyview, Dunfermline*** and ***Methil*** (Fife); ***Carfin and Jerviston*** and ***Whinhall, Airdrie*** (North Lanarkshire) and ***Burnfoot, Hawick*** and ***Langlee, Galashiels*** (Scottish Borders). A more detailed description of the neighbourhoods, including maps and of the selection process is provided in Annex 1.

1.18 Stage 4 of the research involved a doorstep household survey with 200 residents in each of the 8 case study neighbourhoods. Survey interviews were conducted in June 2006 by Management Information Scotland Ltd. Survey respondents were selected randomly from addresses within the case study neighbourhoods. A one hundred percent response rate was achieved. The findings from this survey are analysed in Chapters 5 and 6 of this report and a full account of the survey methods and additional survey findings are provided in Annex 3. A copy of the survey is provided in Annex 5.

1.19 Stage 5 comprised case studies of the 8 selected neighbourhoods. The case studies involved: analysis of relevant policy documents and reports; interviews with local stakeholders including housing and police officers, youth workers and neighbourhood wardens and focus groups with adults and young people.

1.20 Stage 6 involved an economic evaluation of 12 antisocial behaviour initiatives operating in the case study local authorities. ***Community warden*** and ***mediation services*** schemes were evaluated in all 4 local authorities. Evaluations were also conducted of the: ***Early Intervention Families Project*** (City of Edinburgh); ***Safer Neighbourhoods Team*** (Fife); ***Night Noise Service*** (North Lanarkshire); and ***Freephone Antisocial Behaviour Helpline*** (Scottish Borders). A summary of the key findings of the economic evaluation is presented in Chapter 4 of this report and a more detailed account of the economic evaluation is provided in Annex 4.

1.21 Stage 7 comprised semi-structured telephone interviews with victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour. Interviewees were identified from participants in the household survey who had experienced antisocial behaviour and who had indicated a willingness to take part in further stages of the research. A total of 41 individuals were interviewed through this process. However, these were not drawn equally from the case study neighbourhoods or local authorities. A further 5 interviews were generated by contacting participants in the 2005 Scottish Household Survey. The findings from these interviews are presented in Chapter 6 of this report.

CHAPTER TWO: ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR STRATEGIES AT LOCAL AUTHORITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL

2.1 This chapter summarises the development of antisocial behaviour strategies and delivery structures in the 4 case study local authorities and how neighbourhood-level interventions have been established within them.

Neighbourhood Interventions within Antisocial Behaviour Strategies

2.2 Each of the 4 selected local authorities had developed antisocial behaviour strategies and Outcome Agreements as required by the Scottish Executive. The Scottish Executive antisocial behaviour funding allocation for 2004-2008 to each of the authorities was: City of Edinburgh: £8,138,950; Fife: £4,228,550; North Lanarkshire: £8,138,950 and Scottish Borders: £1,178,750. The local authorities complemented this funding with resources from a range of other funding streams. These included Scottish Executive financial allocations through the Building Strong Safe and Attractive Communities, Quality of Life, Supporting People, Changing Children's Services, Youth Justice, Community Regeneration and the Community Safety Partnership Award funds. Although it was not possible to disaggregate and quantify exact funding amounts, local authorities also contributed directly to their antisocial behaviour strategies through 'in kind' provision (staff time and premises) and through funding specific initiatives including: CCTV; wardens; additional police officers; legal services; antisocial behaviour investigation teams; mediation; victim and witness support; environmental services; education services; and youth services. Funding was also provided by partners including the police, Fire and Rescue Services, NHS Trusts, registered social landlords and public transport companies.

2.3 Developing a strategic and multi-agency approach to addressing antisocial behaviour was clearly a main priority for each of the 4 local authorities and their partner agencies, most notably the police. Progress had been made in each of the local authorities towards ensuring that antisocial behaviour strategies were mainstreamed and co-ordinated with other local authority strategic partnerships and strategies, including Community Safety, Community Planning and Youth Justice. A more detailed evaluation of partnership working is given in Chapter 4.

2.4 Within each of the local authorities' antisocial behaviour strategies, neighbourhood-level interventions had been addressed in 3 main ways. Firstly, as required by the 2004 Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act, consultation had taken place in neighbourhoods experiencing antisocial behaviour problems. This had included the commissioning of residents' perceptions surveys to establish the extent of antisocial behaviour and key priorities for local people. Secondly, each local authority had undertaken an assessment of antisocial behaviour in its area to identify the nature of antisocial behaviour, emerging trends and the local areas where antisocial behaviour problems were most extensive. The local authorities used various indicators, measurements and methodologies in undertaking this exercise. In all 4 cases, the analysis was robust and led to the identification of specific localities where antisocial behaviour was a problem. For example, the research underpinning Scottish Borders Council's antisocial behaviour strategy established that the towns of Galashiels and Hawick accounted for between 25 and 49-percent of the antisocial behaviour incidents analysed. In Fife, both the Methil/Methilhill and Abbeyview wards were identified as having the highest levels of antisocial behaviour in their respective Council sub-areas. Thirdly, the local authorities had targeted resources and interventions at the neighbourhoods with the most extensive

antisocial behaviour problems, including our case study neighbourhoods. However, all of the strategies were also explicit in stating that antisocial behaviour would be addressed in all localities where it occurred. This issue of targeting is returned to in Chapter 4.

Local Authority and Neighbourhood Level Structures

2.5 In each of the local authorities, a multi-agency working group oversees the implementation and delivery of the antisocial behaviour strategies. In all 4 authorities, these antisocial behaviour working groups were located within the auspices of Community Safety Partnerships or Forums, which in turn sat within the Local Community Planning Partnerships. As Chapter 4 describes, the membership of the antisocial behaviour working groups included all the relevant key stakeholder agencies and enhanced partnership working at a strategic level was evident in all 4 local authorities. There had been major reorganisation of policy and delivery structures in some of the local authorities. In Edinburgh, citywide initiatives including the CCTV unit and the Antisocial Behaviour Investigation and Neighbourhood Response Teams had been relocated to the Antisocial Behaviour Division, whilst in North Lanarkshire the antisocial behaviour strategy was relocated to a new Community Regeneration Unit.

2.6 In the 4 local authorities a range of antisocial behaviour services and initiatives were provided on an authority-wide basis. These included: CCTV and environmental and noise nuisance response units; dedicated specialist Antisocial Investigation Teams; intensive family support projects (in Edinburgh and Fife) and mediation and victim support services. Community wardens and concierges operated in targeted defined neighbourhoods, but wardens in particular were increasingly being deployed on a more mobile basis in other areas of the local authorities.

2.7 In each of the local authorities, specific initiatives or functions were devolved to the neighbourhood level. In Edinburgh, antisocial behaviour within local neighbourhoods was addressed through Neighbourhood Support Teams and Police Safer Communities Units (operating in the areas where higher levels of antisocial behaviour have been identified) and Problem Solving Partnerships. Interventions were based on a case management approach within a decentralised neighbourhood management model. In Fife, the Safer Neighbourhoods Operations Team was deployed on a 'hotspot' basis to tackle localised problems and neighbourhood delivery was overseen by locality managers and area community safety working groups. In North Lanarkshire neighbourhood delivery was overseen by 6 local area teams operating in each of the local authority's defined community areas. In the Scottish Borders most of delivery of the antisocial behaviour strategy was located at the local authority level. This perhaps signifies the difficulties in devolving antisocial behaviour delivery teams in a rural authority with a dispersed population and smaller residential settlements which limits the capacity to achieve economies of scale through deploying larger numbers of officers in individual neighbourhoods.

2.8 It was evident that restructuring processes were in early or developmental stages and this had led to some confusion and tension about the roles of different agencies and the distribution of responsibilities and functions between central and localised antisocial behaviour teams. It should be expected that the clarity of processes and coordination mechanisms should improve as the strategies develop and reorganised structures become more established. More details about how the strategies have continued to evolve are presented in the epilogue in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER THREE: REDUCING THE INCIDENCE OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

3.1 One of the 4 key objectives of the Scottish Executive's antisocial behaviour strategy and funding to local authorities is to bring about a reduction in the actual incidences of antisocial behaviour. The first part of the chapter identifies the main types of antisocial behaviour described by practitioners and residents, and their perceived causes. The second part of the chapter utilises 3 data sources to provide some evidence about the trends in the levels of officially recorded antisocial behaviour in the case study local authorities and neighbourhoods. A fuller account of these data sources and the methodological difficulties of interpreting them are provided in Annex 1.

3.2 Measuring antisocial behaviour quantitatively is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, until recently there has been no specific categorisation of offences that may be defined as antisocial behaviour. For example vandalism and breach of the peace were included in general crime statistics, rather than being classified as 'antisocial' offences. Secondly, many incidences of antisocial behaviour go unreported and, even where they are reported to agencies, they may not be officially recorded as an offence in, for example, police statistics. Thirdly, many surveys, including the Scottish Crime Survey and the Scottish Household Survey include questions on direct personal experience of anti-social behaviour as well as perceptions of anti-social behaviour, but it not possible to verify these figures from other sources, such as agency records. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the perceptions of agency officers about changes in the form and extent of antisocial behaviour at the neighbourhood level.

The Location and Nature of Neighbourhood Antisocial Behaviour

3.3 The research found evidence of an extremely localised geography of antisocial behaviour. The quantitative data set out below reveals the extent of variation in antisocial behaviour between neighbourhoods. There is also considerable variation within sub-areas of neighbourhoods, including concentrations of problems in certain residential areas and particular public spaces, especially those with retail units.

3.4 There was also a seasonal pattern to antisocial behaviour. Problems relating to young people hanging about and the consumption of alcohol and drugs in public spaces escalated during the summer months as a result of extended light in the evenings. There were particular problems with fireworks and fire setting linked to Guy Fawkes celebrations in November, although there was a widely reported concern that the misuse of fireworks was becoming more prevalent at other times of the year. The Christmas and New Year period also resulted in an increase in antisocial behaviour linked to the misuse of alcohol and noise nuisance. Within these seasonal variations, there was a weekly pattern of escalating antisocial behaviour on weekend nights. Individual cases of antisocial behaviour varied from sudden flare ups and rapidly escalating incidents to protracted cases of sporadic lower level antisocial behaviour over a period of months, and in some instances, years.

3.5 There was a notable consistency amongst the research participants in all 8 case study neighbourhoods about both the main antisocial behaviour problems and the causes of these problems. The most prevalent antisocial behaviour was what may be defined as 'low level', although in its visibility and regularity it had a very significant impact on the lives of residents. The main forms of antisocial behaviour were:

- Drinking and drug taking in public spaces
- Disorder associated with groups of young people 'hanging about' in public spaces
- Vandalism and graffiti
- Noise nuisance from properties and groups congregating in public spaces

There were also 2 forms of very serious antisocial behaviour that were prevalent in some of the case study neighbourhoods: gang fighting and drug dealing. Whilst these were less frequent, they had a very negative impact on residents' perceptions of both their neighbourhood and the ability of local agencies to tackle antisocial behaviour effectively.

3.6 A common dynamic in the neighbourhoods was for groups of older children and young adults (aged 16 to 24) to be engaged in street drinking and sporadic gang fighting and for groups of younger children, mostly aged 13-15 but including some much younger members, to be involved in lower level antisocial behaviour. In our focus groups young people themselves admitted to engaging in antisocial behaviour including vandalism, graffiti, throwing stones or eggs at windows and cars, provoking the police into chases, 'giving cheek' to adults, running through gardens, stealing washing and consuming alcohol. However, many of the complaints about young people also related to noise arising from 'legitimate' activities such as playing football in the street.

3.7 Almost all of the case study neighbourhoods had experienced problems with gangs and associated disorder, often involving large-scale disturbances and physical assaults. These gangs could comprise over 20 individuals. Although the majority of individuals involved in gang activities were reported to be aged 16 to 24, there was also a significant involvement of younger children (aged 8 upwards) and older adults. These gang disturbances were commonly reported to be cyclical as different generational 'waves' emerged or as existing gang members 'moved on' into adulthood. Such serious public disturbances had a very negative impact on residents' perceptions of their neighbourhoods and their confidence in local agencies.

3.8 Complaints about noise were very prominent in the case study neighbourhoods. These often related to loud music, parties and domestic disturbances within residential properties and were strongly linked to the misuse of drugs and alcohol, the behaviour of children and individuals with mental health problems. Noise nuisance often led to disputes between neighbours.

3.9 All of the case study neighbourhoods experienced significant environmental antisocial behaviour including vandalism, graffiti, littering, dog fouling and illegal tipping and this environmental degradation was evident to the research team during their visits to the neighbourhoods, despite some noticeable improvements over the course of the research.

The Causes of Neighbourhood Antisocial Behaviour

3.10 Problematic community dynamics were identified as a significant cause of both antisocial behaviour and the perception of antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods. There was a problematic relationship between long-term and new residents which was common to the neighbourhoods. Newcomers to the area were often blamed by established residents for antisocial behaviour and the 'decline' of the neighbourhoods. Conversely, new residents reported not being welcomed into local communities and that this on occasion extended to the victimisation of adults and children.

This fault-line was most evident in one of the neighbourhoods where a new build development of owner-occupied housing had been located amidst Council properties, leading to considerable tensions about the use of access paths and vandalism. This divide between owner occupiers and tenants was also apparent in at least one other neighbourhood. These tensions are not conducive to facilitating a common sense of purpose amongst residents for negotiating conflict or co-operating with local agencies. Several long-term residents stated that, because they knew the area, or indeed had grown up in the area, they did not feel unsafe. However, this also made them less likely to report incidents to local agencies. In one case study neighbourhood there was a significant problem of intimidation towards students.

3.11 A fault-line between young people and adults – and by proxy the police – was evident and produced a pervasive, negative context within which agencies attempted to work with young people. This was most prominently manifested in disputed interpretations of young people congregating in public spaces. Young people in our focus groups were, for example, reluctant to acknowledge that 'hanging about at the shops' could be intimidating to (especially elderly) adults. To them, it was seen as a longstanding and legitimate tradition. Youth workers in the case study neighbourhoods confirmed the problematic relationship and lack of communication between adults and young people: *"Young people just want respect. People have an impression of what young people are like."* It is important to note that there were a range of views towards young people amongst victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour. Whilst some individuals described young people as 'animals' or 'hooligans' causing 'havoc', others implicated adults in the problem: *"We have little contact with young people, it is sad in this society. We need to understand each other better. We can't assume they are all bad. They are congregating because they want to be with their mates."*

3.12 Finally, it was evident that the majority of serious antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods was caused by a small number of problematic households. However, these households were often linked to extended family networks in the localities. This could result in disputes between extended families escalating to involve large numbers of individuals and also contributed to the reluctance of some residents to make complaints about the behaviour of particular households. These close family groupings may also exacerbate the problems of integration into the local community experienced by new residents.

3.13 A key finding of the research was that, in all the case study neighbourhoods, the majority of antisocial behaviour was caused by a small minority of individuals. These were identified as different generations of 5 or 6 problematic families in each neighbourhood who, in addition to antisocial behaviour, were also engaged in serious criminality including drug dealing, burglary and the intimidation of neighbours. Similarly, antisocial behaviour involving young people was caused by a relatively small group, who were well known to local agencies and by other young people themselves. It was reported however that these individuals were more likely to be involved in antisocial behaviour in the context of 'gang' dynamics when they have congregated in numbers in a public space, rather than when they were by themselves or in smaller groups. Peer group pressure was highlighted as an important factor behind the antisocial behaviour of some young people. There was a common perception amongst residents and agency officers that parenting was a key issue, which linked the lack of respect of young people to the lack of supervision and responsibility within their families.

3.14 Alcohol and drug misuse was a significant causal factor in antisocial behaviour within neighbourhoods. At the individual household level, alcohol and drug addiction amongst adults led directly to both antisocial behaviour, including noise nuisance and domestic disturbances, and to the inappropriate response of some residents to the perceived offensive behaviour of their neighbours. Addiction also has indirect consequences on the supervision of children and engagement with agencies and organisations working with perpetrators. At the neighbourhood level, the presence of large groups drinking and drug taking, combined with the environmental consequences of litter, broken bottles or discarded drugs paraphernalia and visible drug dealing all contributed to the perception of neighbourhood decline and lack of personal safety amongst residents and the consequent lack of confidence in local agencies. Many residents, including young people, reported that some retail outlets continued to supply alcohol to under-age drinkers and similar concerns were raised about the sale of fireworks to children.

3.15 The environment of local neighbourhoods had a significant influence on antisocial behaviour. There was a direct link between unsupervised or disputed public spaces and the presence of large groups of people and associated disorder. There was also a link between particular housing forms, low quality insulation and complaints about noise. There were also longer term indirect impacts, whereby the presence of graffiti, litter, unkempt gardens and abandoned properties created visible signifiers of neighbourhood disorder and decline. This resulted in a cyclical effect where residents retreated into the private spaces of their homes and lost confidence in local agencies, reducing the levels of formal and informal social control within local communities. This then triggered further acts of vandalism, graffiti, littering and illegal tipping.

3.16 Focus groups with young people revealed a common perception that there was little for them to do in their neighbourhoods. This generated boredom, which, especially when combined with alcohol consumption, was regarded as the main cause of young people's involvement in antisocial behaviour. A number of factors limited young peoples' participation in available initiatives. These included the limited access to popular activities such as youth clubs, which often had restricted opening times and were not available to all age groups. Secondly, some initiatives were viewed by some young people as being inaccessible because they were situated far away from their home, which meant transport was a problem, or because the territoriality within the neighbourhoods meant that young people felt unsafe travelling outside the immediate vicinity of their home. However a number of youth workers in the neighbourhoods argued that there were many facilities and activities available for young people, although these may not be engaging the young people involved in antisocial behaviour. In one focus group young people also reported a culture of conflict that occurred in and around school as well as within their neighbourhoods, linked to intimidation and generating incidences of violent retaliation for perceived insults or 'disrespect'.

3.17 Social housing allocation policies were widely perceived to contribute to the concentration of antisocial behaviour in specific streets or blocks of properties. This included antisocial behaviour problems linked to the tenancies of very young tenants, who were perceived to have limited control over their tenancies and their properties often became the locale for parties involving alcohol and drug consumption. There was also a widely reported perception that private rented tenancies could be problematic. In some of the case study neighbourhoods a cyclical process was evident, whereby the concentration of a small number of problematic households engaged in persistent and serious antisocial behaviour led to other residents seeking transfers, subsequent increasing residential turnover, void rates and empty properties. This had the dual effect of stigmatising the

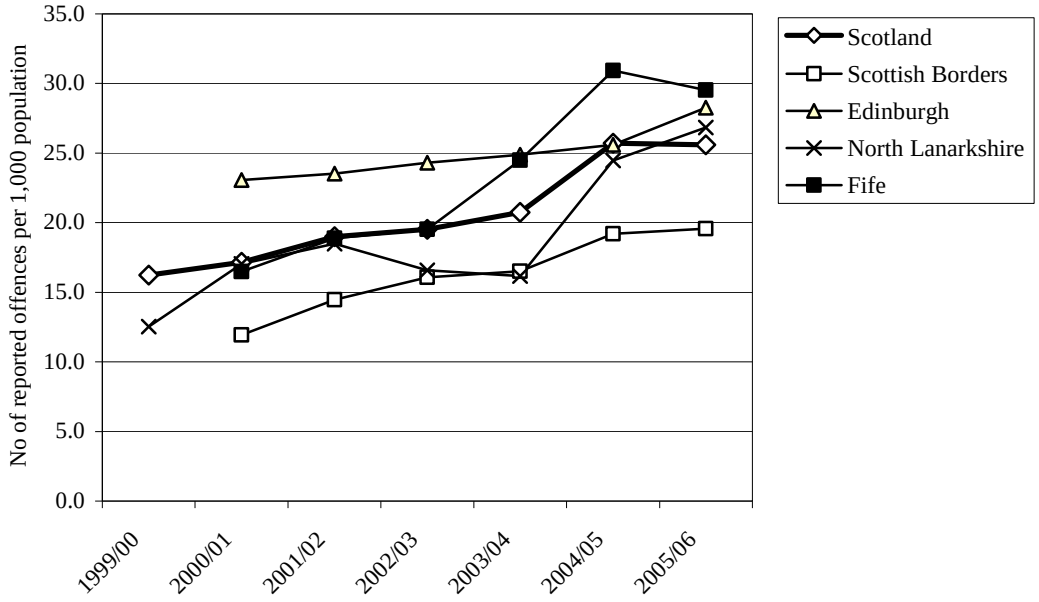
reputation of these streets, making the properties harder to let and subsequently resulting in these properties being used to house new vulnerable and problematic households, generating additional antisocial behaviour problems and re-enforcing the stigmatisation of the area.

3.18 Almost all of the practitioners that we spoke to highlighted that these immediate causes of antisocial behaviour were linked to wider economic, social and cultural processes impacting on the neighbourhoods. These included material poverty, third or fourth generational unemployment, negative attitudes towards and experience of education, and the poor condition of the built environment in some areas of the neighbourhoods. It is also important to note that some of these neighbourhoods have traditionally had a poor reputation for crime and antisocial behaviour within their wider locality and therefore the extent of antisocial behaviour that they were experiencing had a strong historical precedent rather than being a new phenomenon.

Recorded Crime Statistics

3.19 The Scottish framework for recording criminal offences includes the categories of 'vandalism' and 'fire-raising'. Both of these offences have been identified by this research as comprising an important component of antisocial behaviour in local neighbourhoods. Analysis of national level data *(Scottish Executive 2006 Statistical Bulletin- Criminal Justice series CrJ/2006/6)* shows that that in 2005/06 there were 123,000 recorded vandalism offences and 5,000 fire-raising offences. Collectively, these figures have risen 49-percent between 2000/01 and 2005/06. This increase is partly, but not entirely, explained by the introduction of the National Crime Reporting Standard (NCRS) in 2004/05. This increase co-exists with a trend of no overall growth in all criminal offences over the same period. Figure 3.1 shows the trends in vandalism and fire-raising offences in the case study local authorities and Scotland (standardised for population) and reveals that these local authorities mirror the national rise. However, there is some variation, with lower incidences in the Scottish Borders, a small rise in Edinburgh (which may almost entirely be due to the introduction of the NCRS) and a sharp increase in Fife (of 79 percent).

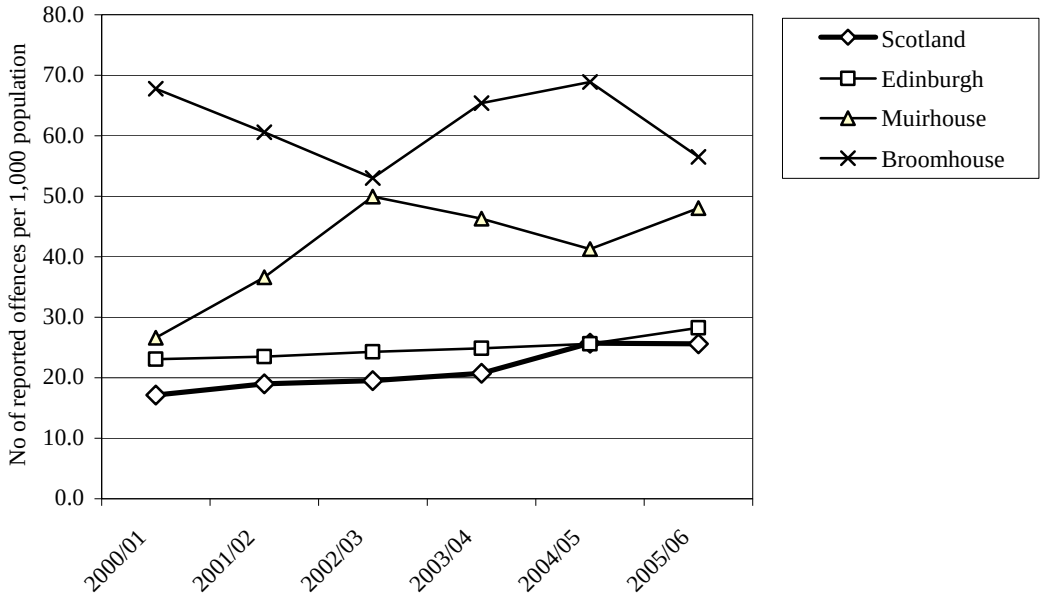
Figure 3.1 – Trend in recorded crimes of vandalism and fire raising: Case study LAs compared to Scotland-wide norm



Sources: Scottish Executive; Fife; Lothian and Borders; and Strathclyde Police Forces.
Note: Figures for Scottish Borders, Edinburgh and Fife are for calendar years.

3.20 The following figures show the trends for recorded vandalism and fire-raising offences in the case study neighbourhoods. It should be noted that the Fife and North Lanarkshire figures show aggregated data zone level data for our case study neighbourhoods from Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, whilst the data in the Edinburgh and Scottish Borders figures were collected for Police beats which are larger than the case study neighbourhoods. In Edinburgh (Figure 3.2) there was a stark contrast between the 2 case study neighbourhoods. Muirhouse experienced a steep rise from 2000/01 when recorded offences were close to the city average, to 2005/06 where offences were twice the city average (though there was a reduction between 2004/05 and 2005/06). In Broomhouse there was an overall, though not consistent, reduction between 2000/01 and 2005/06 from 3 times to 2 times the city average.

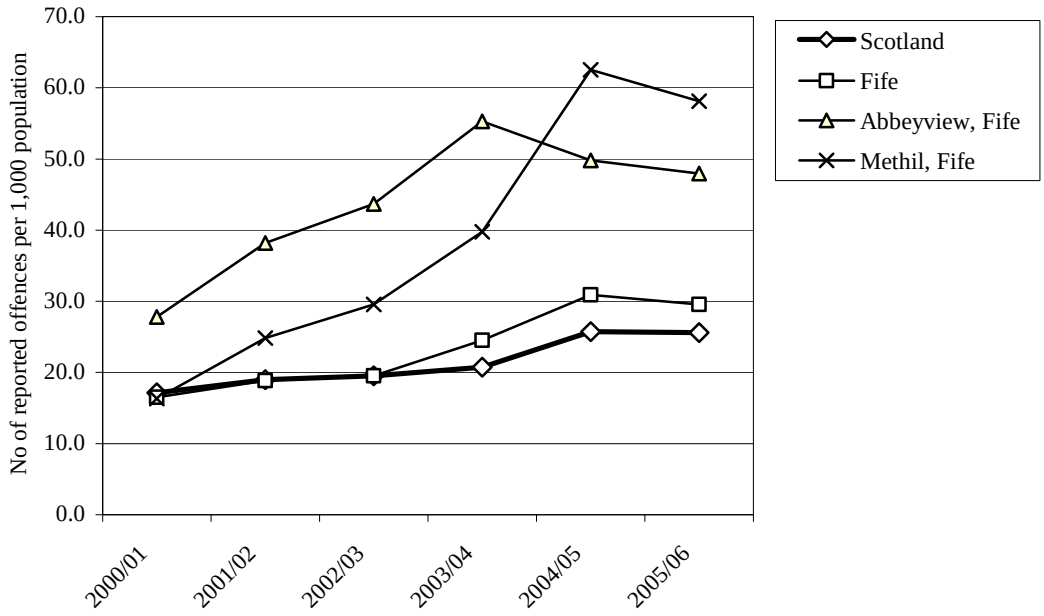
Figure 3.2 – Trend in recorded crimes of vandalism and fire raising: Edinburgh case study neighbourhoods



Sources: Scottish Executive and Lothian and Borders Police.
Note: Figures for Edinburgh are for calendar years.

3.21 In Fife (Figure 3.3) recorded offences rose substantially in both Abbeyview and particularly in Methil where rates of offences were similar to the local authority average in 2000/01 but were twice this average by 2005/06. As with Edinburgh, there was a reduction in both of these neighbourhoods between 2004/05 and 2005/06.

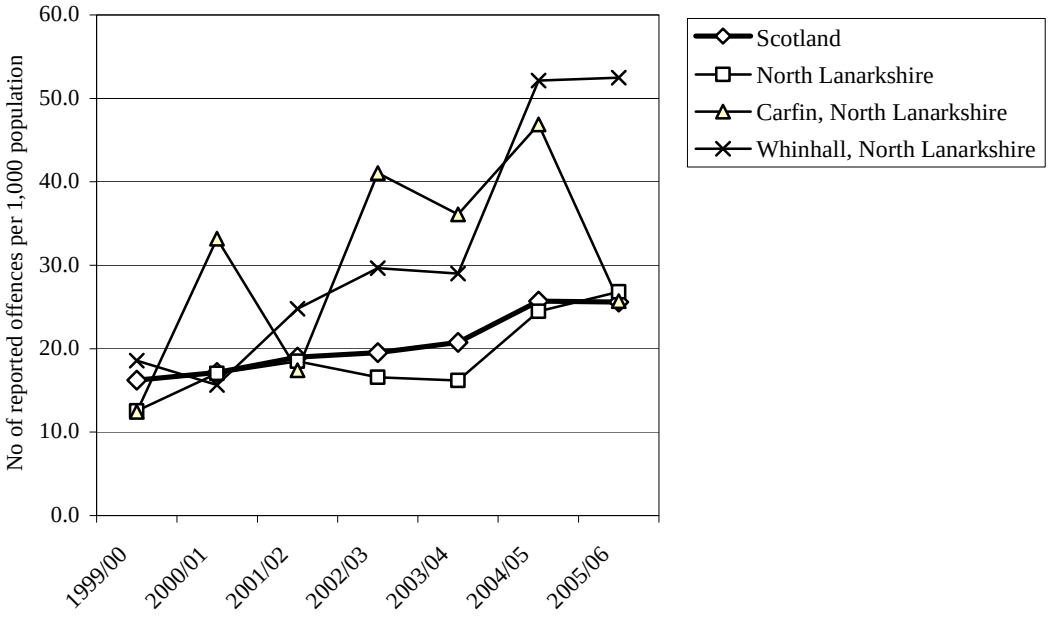
Figure 3.3 – Trend in recorded crimes of vandalism and fire raising: Fife case study neighbourhoods



Sources: Scottish Executive and Fife Police.
Note: Figures for Fife are for calendar years.

3.22 In North Lanarkshire (Figure 3.4) trends for Carfin were inconsistent. A steep reduction between 2004/05 and 2005/06 brought the rates of recorded offences back to the local authority average, which was the case in 2000/2001. Conversely, Whinhall had diverged from the local authority average since 2000/01 and now had an offences rate that is twice that of the local authority, largely as a result of a steep increase since 2003/04.

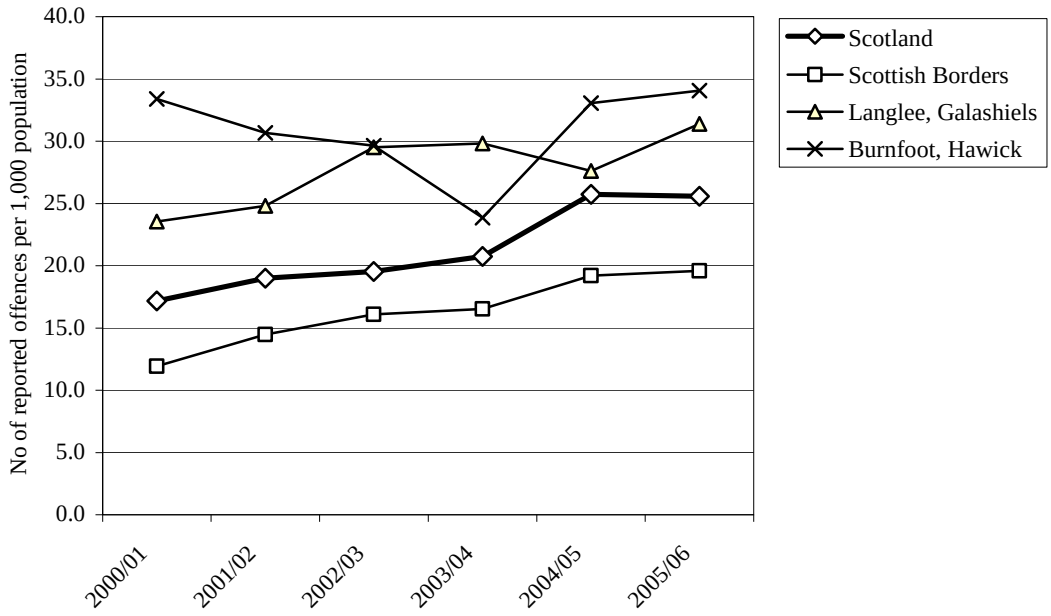
Figure 3.4 – Trend in recorded crimes of vandalism and fire raising: North Lanarkshire case study neighbourhoods



Sources: Scottish Executive and Strathclyde Police.

3.23 The rates of offences in the Scottish Borders neighbourhoods (Figure 3.5) were above the local authority average, but considerably lower than the other neighbourhoods in this study. In addition, the trends in recorded offences in the Scottish Borders were more stable over the selected time period.

Figure 3.5 – Trend in recorded crimes of vandalism and fire raising: Scottish Borders case study neighbourhoods



Sources: Scottish Executive and Lothian and Borders Police.
Note: Figures for Scottish Borders are for calendar years.

3.24 Although methodological issues limit the weight that may be placed on these findings, there are 4 conclusions that may be tentatively drawn from this analysis. Firstly, rates of recorded offences are lower in the Scottish Borders case study neighbourhoods, which are located in small towns in a rural local authority. Secondly, there has been an underlying increase in the rate of recorded vandalism and fire-raising offences in the case study local authorities with the exception of Edinburgh. Thirdly, there are variations between the trends at neighbourhood case-study level and trends at local authority level, and neighbourhood trends are not solely explained by the changes in trends in the wider local authority areas. In Abbeyview, Methil, Muirhouse and Whinhall recorded offences have risen more sharply than in the local authority, whilst higher neighbourhood rates in Broomhouse Burnfoot and Carfin in 2000/01 have now moved closer to their local authority trends as a result of reductions in the rates of offences in Broomhouse and Carfin and stability (overall since 2001) in Burnfoot, combined with increases in local authority rates over this period. Finally, in most case study neighbourhoods there has been a neutral or downward trend in recorded offences since 2004/05.

Police Command and Control Data

3.25 In order to provide some further quantitative trends data on incidences of antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods, Command and Control data was accessed from each of the 3 relevant Police Forces: Lothian and Borders (covering Edinburgh and the Scottish Borders), Fife, and Strathclyde (covering North Lanarkshire). Police command and control data is useful as it records the reports that the police receive from members of the public about incidents that may be classified as antisocial behaviour but may not lead to an offence being recorded or to a prosecution being pursued. Conversely, not all of these complaints may be verified as actual incidents of antisocial behaviour. It should be noted

that different police forces use different recording systems, there is no specific antisocial behaviour category *per se*, and in some cases the classifications of incidents have been changed between 2003 and 2006. In addition, the data for the Edinburgh and Scottish Borders neighbourhoods is based on police beats whilst data for the Fife and North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods is based on aggregated Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics data zones used to define our case study neighbourhoods. Therefore the data is most useful for identifying increases at the individual neighbourhood level, rather than for comparing rates across local authorities and police forces.

Table 3.1 – Antisocial behaviour incidents in Edinburgh and Scottish Borders neighbourhoods 2003-2006

	Edinburgh				Scottish Borders			
	Broomhouse		Muirhouse		Burnfoot		Langlee	
	Youth disorder	Public disorder	Youth disorder	Public disorder	Youth disorder	Public disorder	Youth disorder	Public disorder
2003	327	5	719	21	130	30	78	23
2004	477	5	766	28	165	32	84	22
2005	549	3	874	12	235	13	96	10
2006(1)	483	3	991	19	264	23	111	2

Source: Lothian and Borders Police (1) Figures from 1 January 2006- 30 November 2006.

Table 3.2 – Antisocial behaviour incidents in North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods 2003-2006

	Carfin	Whinhall
2003/2004 (1)	528	712
2004/2005	454	826
2005/2006	402	1124

Source: Strathclyde Police (1). These figures are based on the total number of incidents coded by the police as involving damage to property, complaints and disturbance.

Table 3.3 – Antisocial behaviour incidents in Fife neighbourhoods 2003-2006

	Abbeyview	Methil
2003/2004	746	835
2004/2005	856	743(1)
2005/2006(2)	770	990

Source: Fife Police (1). The reduction between 2003/04 and 2004/05 is almost entirely explained by a reduction in incidents in one data zone area of Methil, rather than a reduction in specific types of incident across the entire neighbourhood (2) The figures for 2003/04 and 2004/05 are based on the total number of incidents coded by the police as including abandoned vehicles, disturbances, domestic incident, loud music, nuisance and nuisance phone calls. On April 1 2005 a new set of codes specifically grouping antisocial behaviour incidents was introduced which reclassified the above incident types and the added new codes of vehicle nuisance, substance abuse, animal - related antisocial behaviour and miscellaneous.

3.26 The figures reveal considerable variation between the volumes of reported incidents between the neighbourhoods. In the Edinburgh and Scottish Borders neighbourhoods (Table 3.1) there is a common and consistent pattern of rising numbers of incidents involving youths (but reducing numbers of incidents related to public disorder). The figures for North Lanarkshire (Table 3.2) and Fife (Table 3.3) are less consistent, with a reduction in the number of reported incidents in Carfin and a steep rise in the number of reported incidents in Whinhall. In Fife, the figures for Abbeyview show an initial rise and

then decline in reported incidents. Conversely, there has been a reduction and then steep rise in incidents in Methil. Interpreting these figures is difficult, given the methodological problems with the data and also because increases may indicate an enhanced willingness to report incidents, rather than reflecting growing incidences of antisocial behaviour. However it is clear that between 2003 and 2006, 6 of the 8 case study neighbourhoods had experienced growing numbers of reports to the police from residents about antisocial behaviour.

Cases Referred to North Lanarkshire Council Antisocial Behaviour Task Force

3.27 More detailed information about the types of antisocial cases being referred to local agencies has been provided by North Lanarkshire Antisocial Behaviour Task Force. Table 3.4 shows that noise is the most common complaint, accounting for almost 50 percent of cases, whilst harassment and gangs are the other most frequent types of antisocial behaviour. The figures also reveal a trend of increasing numbers of referred cases between January 2004 and October 2005, with the exception of drugs, children and racial harassment. Further information provided by the Task Force shows that over half of these cases relate to North Lanarkshire Council properties (808 in 2004 and 875 in 2005) whilst a fifth involve owner occupiers (332 in 2004 and 330 in 2005). One in 10 cases related to housing association or private sector tenants: this pattern has remained constant between 2004 and 2005. These figures are for only one of our case study local authority areas for a limited period of time, but they do provide more fine-grained evidence that the numbers of complaints that local agencies are receiving about anti-social behaviour appears to be increasing. Again, this raises the key question of whether this reflects rising incidences of antisocial behaviour, or increasing rates of reporting.

Table 3.4 – Antisocial behaviour cases referred to North Lanarkshire Antisocial Behaviour Task Force, 2004-2005

	Jan-Dec 2004	Jan- Oct 2005
Noise	728	813
Pet	14	6
Gangs	109	133
Harassment	237	255
Vandalism	36	54
Children	82	46
Land Disputes	8	9
Violent incident	24	41
Drugs	28	16
Racial Harassment	27	6
Laminate Flooring	7	9
Other	197	182
Total	1497	1613

Source: North Lanarkshire Council Antisocial Behaviour Task Force.

The Perceptions of Agency Officers

3.28 Contrary to our analysis of quantitative data, the majority of agency officers interviewed in the 4 local authorities and the 8 case study neighbourhoods believed that antisocial behaviour had stabilised, and that some forms of antisocial behaviour had reduced in the last 2 years. Many officers also took a longer term historical perspective, and suggested that antisocial behaviour problems in their neighbourhoods were less extensive than had been the case a decade ago. However, these views were framed within an understanding that it was too early to identify the longer term impacts of recent

antisocial behaviour strategies. Officers recognised that there were considerable challenges still facing their neighbourhoods, and that some of the improvements were due to factors other than improved agency performance (these are discussed in the following chapter). In addition, Chapters 5 and 6 identify a perception gap between the improvements reported by agency officers and the views of local residents. It was also evident that the scale of improvements reported by officers varied, with Whinhall in North Lanarkshire and Broomhouse in Edinburgh reportedly achieving the most positive progress, whilst Muirhouse in Edinburgh and Methil in Fife continued to have serious problems, a perception confirmed to some extent by the resident survey.

3.29 One form of antisocial behaviour which was commonly perceived by agency officers to have improved was serious gang fighting within neighbourhoods. These activities had involved groups of up to 30 individuals, including adults, engaging in physical assaults including the use of weapons. These gang fights were reported by one agency officer to *"be intimidating even to the police and left the area looking like a building site."* The second area of improvement was reported to be environmental antisocial behaviour, due to the rapid responses to graffiti and vandalism and the environmental activities of community wardens. However, environmental degradation was still evident to the researchers in some of the case study neighbourhoods and poor housing quality remained an issue. It was also suggested by some agency officers that effective measures were beginning to reduce the prevalence of street drinking and drug taking, although this was disputed by residents. A final area of noticeable improvement was interventions with the small minority of problematic families responsible for the majority of antisocial behaviour. The efficacy of individual measures is discussed in the following chapter. Finally, a large number of officers from different agencies suggested that the fact that the complaints they received were increasingly about low level antisocial behaviour signified some success in dealing with the more serious forms of antisocial behaviour, and that antisocial behaviour in general was less serious, intensive and sustained in the neighbourhoods than was the case previously.

Chapter Summary

3.30 The findings presented in this chapter based on recorded crime statistics need to be treated with some caution given the methodological limitations of the data. However, 5 key messages emerge from our analysis. Firstly, there appears to be a general rise in the number of recorded incidences of antisocial behaviour across the case study local authorities and the case study neighbourhoods. Secondly, there is some variation in the trends of antisocial behaviour incidences between individual neighbourhoods, and this variation does not appear to be explained by the local authority within which the neighbourhoods are located. Six of the case study neighbourhoods have experienced a rise in recorded levels of antisocial behaviour: whether this rise is explained by actual increases in antisocial behaviour incidences or by rising reporting levels is examined in the following chapter. Thirdly, rates of recorded antisocial behaviour are lower in the Scottish Borders neighbourhoods. Fourthly, the majority of recorded incidents of antisocial behaviour appear to relate to noise, harassment and the behaviour of groups (including some adults but mostly young people), which supports the qualitative findings of this research. Finally, the increases in recorded offences contrasted with the general perception of agency officers that antisocial behaviour has stabilised in the last 2 years and indeed that there had been a reduction in some of the most serious forms of antisocial behaviour at the neighbourhood level.

CHAPTER FOUR: IMPROVING THE PERFORMANCE OF AGENCIES IN TACKLING ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

4.1 This chapter assesses the extent to which there has been an improvement in the performance of agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour. The chapter examines the effectiveness of the range of interventions that have been put in place to address antisocial behaviour, and discusses the importance of partnership working at local authority and neighbourhood levels to the effectiveness of agency performance. The final section of the chapter presents summary findings from the economic evaluation of twelve antisocial behaviour initiatives operating in the 4 local authorities. A full account of the economic evaluation is provided in Annex 4.

Interventions

4.2 It was apparent that a wide range of interventions, measures and initiatives were being deployed to address antisocial behaviour in each of the 4 case study local authorities, and within the 8 case study neighbourhoods. The research found evidence that agencies were becoming more adept at using the range of available tools to address antisocial behaviour.

4.3 In each of the 4 local authority areas consensus had been achieved about the need for a multi-pronged approach to tackling antisocial behaviour, based on the PIER pillars of prevention, early intervention, enforcement and rehabilitation. Priority was being given to each of these 4 pillars within the antisocial behaviour strategies, demonstrated by the introduction of a range of interventions and initiatives. There was also evidence of an increasing emphasis on providing support for victims and witnesses. The holistic nature of these interventions ensured that agencies and partners did not take a one dimensional approach which focused solely upon enforcement action and the use of legal measures. Neighbourhood level organisations were however often uncertain about how they could contribute to the various pillars of the PIER approach, given the particular historical priorities, practice and skills of individual agencies and organisations. This also reflected the long-standing divide between enforcement-focused and diversionary-focused organisations.

4.4 Although the additional funding from the Scottish Executive was widely welcomed, there were 3 key issues related to the resources provided for antisocial behaviour strategies. This research found evidence that funded initiatives were having a positive impact on antisocial behaviour in local neighbourhoods. However, the time-limited and short-term nature of this funding risked undermining the achievements to date. As an example, residents and front-line agency officers strongly supported the increased visibility of community wardens or additional community police officers. If these additional services were subsequently to be withdrawn, this would have a significantly adverse impact on the relationship between local agencies and residents. Similarly, the short-term nature of the funding of many community diversionary projects – such as those working with young people – made it very difficult for these projects to plan strategically. The funding timeframes did not always adequately build in the period required to recruit and train staff, and also resulted in staff continually worrying about their future employment situation if funding was not to be subsequently renewed. Secondly, whilst improved partnership working and specific initiatives had achieved some improvements and had begun to develop momentum, this success in itself generated additional resource requirements, for example through increasing numbers of calls from residents to agencies

about antisocial behaviour. Thirdly, strategic partnerships were increasingly aware of the need for flexibility in resource conditions and deployment. The most obvious example of this was community wardens. The deployment of wardens was linked to the allocation of resources to the worst affected neighbourhoods. However there were increasing attempts to deploy wardens on a more flexible basis across local authority wards, both to facilitate a targeted 'hotspot' approach and to ensure a wider coverage to meet political demands for equity in local service provision between areas. The increasing utilisation of mobile wardens, community policing and environmental response units represented further attempts to enable more responsive targeting and more universal service deployment.

4.5 Concerns were expressed by practitioners operating at both local authority and neighbourhood levels about the effectiveness of existing monitoring data for establishing trends in antisocial behaviour and assessing the impacts of intervention in the short, medium and longer terms. This research has highlighted the inherent difficulties of evaluating strategies at an early stage of implementation, for example interpreting rising levels of reported antisocial behaviour incidents (see Chapter 5). Thus, while there is a considerable evidence base on changes in agency working practices, it is more difficult to establish the impacts of these changes within neighbourhoods. The research has also highlighted the gap between improved agency performance and perceptions of antisocial behaviour and agency performance amongst local residents – which is partly a function of the relatively short time in which the new strategies have been in place. But as Chapters 5 and 6 will illustrate, even where there is evidence of an improvement in neighbourhood circumstances through the additional deployment of community wardens and police officers, this increased service delivery does not necessarily result in changes in residents' perceptions of anti-social behaviour or agency performance. It was noticeable that this was also the case in the Broomhouse neighbourhood in Edinburgh, which had the most extensive targeted additional antisocial behaviour interventions of the 8 study neighbourhoods. Finally, there is a more fundamental issue about how the 'success' of antisocial behaviour strategies is determined or measured. There was a common view amongst practitioners, and acknowledged by the Scottish Executive, that the mere deployment of ASBOs or other mechanisms in local neighbourhoods is not in itself a measure of effectiveness; not least because of the difficulties in implementing these measures that were identified by residents as identified in the following chapter. It is also the case that the evaluation of antisocial behaviour strategies needs to be placed in the context of wider and deeper-rooted social processes. This is illustrated most clearly in the considerable challenges facing local agencies in tackling the chronic levels of under-reporting in the case study neighbourhoods discussed in Chapter 6.

4.6 The deployment of environmental hit squads and the environmental interventions of community wardens and concierges have had an important and positive impact on antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods. The fact that litter, graffiti and rubbish are removed rapidly, and that racist and sectarian graffiti is usually removed with 24 hours, maintains the aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhoods; demonstrates the commitment and capacity of local agencies, and contributes to generating a sense of pride and ownership amongst residents. These activities have been supplemented by major clean up operations of public spaces and the enhanced maintenance of gardens. In addition to this reactive response, a range of proactive measures had been undertaken, including improved lighting and the installation of fences. Some properties had also benefited from Secure by Design improvements. The use of CCTV had provided reassurance to residents, enabled evidence to be gathered against perpetrators and resulted in quantifiable reductions in antisocial behaviour in the public spaces where it has been deployed. Given the

prevalence of noise complaints, improved insulation of properties has been identified as a key priority for housing renewal, although there are resource implications in rehabilitating existing properties and there is also an economic and cultural problem with the lack of carpets and increasing use of (often poor quality) laminate flooring in tenement and flat properties.

4.7 While community wardens in selected local authorities have been subject to a separate evaluation by the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive (2007) *National Evaluation of Scotland's Community Wardens*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive), an economic evaluation of the community warden schemes in our 4 study local authorities is presented below and in Annex 4. Our research found that community wardens appeared to have been relatively effective in the case study neighbourhoods and were visible to the majority of residents. The impact of wardens was threefold. Firstly, their presence helped to reduce antisocial behaviour by deterring potential perpetrators, reporting incidents and acting as professional witnesses. Secondly, they acted as a conduit for community intelligence, including informing other agencies about complaints from residents or visible signs of antisocial behaviour such as vandalism and graffiti, enabling swift and appropriate action to be taken. Thirdly, they had a community development and reassurance role that increased residents' sense of empowerment and engagement with local agencies and thereby may lead to a reduction in antisocial behaviour in the longer term. A key element of wardens' effectiveness was the clear distinction between their role and that of the police. This enabled both local police officers and wardens to focus on different elements of community safety, with wardens often concentrating on environmental concerns, engaging in community development activities with local organisations and interacting with groups, including young people, who were often more disengaged from the police. These distinctive roles also facilitated more co-ordinated and holistic neighbourhood interventions whereby both joint working and individual agency interventions were carefully planned. The effectiveness of wardens was also enhanced by their specific roles and responsibilities being clearly articulated to local residents. It should be noted however that after an initial impact, wardens appeared to become less visible to residents and it was uncertain to what extent they have managed to engage with individuals actually involved in antisocial behaviour, including young people. Community concierges played a similar role as community wardens, although concierges were not present in all the neighbourhoods and were allocated to particular blocks of properties. Concierges were very positively perceived by other local agency officers and residents alike, and their reassurance and environmental maintenance roles were regarded as particularly effective in combating antisocial behaviour.

4.8 Additional and more visible policing was identified, along with the increased deployment of CCTV, as the main priorities for local residents in the case study neighbourhoods. Frustration with police response times was an issue in all the neighbourhoods. Most of the case study neighbourhoods had experienced an actual increase in the levels of police officers and patrols, resulting from changing officer deployment patterns and police operational decisions aimed at increasing the visibility of patrols in local neighbourhoods (and in some cases through the funding of additional 'overtime' neighbourhood patrol officers by local authorities). Whilst this provided reassurance to residents in the short term, it was evident from the resident survey and interviews with agency officers that there was a risk that the demand for an increasing police presence would be insatiable, and that additional patrols very quickly became the normalised minimum expectation of residents. Clearly there are resource limitations to the deployment of more police officers. However, at local authority and neighbourhood levels,

there was increasing flexibility and mobility in targeting officers to where they were most required. It also appeared to be the case that the continuity of existing officers and the building of trust between known officers and local residents were almost as important as actual police numbers.

4.9 It was apparent that, along with providing greater support to victims and witnesses, diversionary activities and early intervention were an increasing priority for both local authority and neighbourhood level antisocial behaviour strategies. One approach involved the establishment of new initiatives, particularly those working with young people and securing funding for new youth or community development workers posts. Many of these workers were perceived positively by local agency officers, although their work was often at an early stage and there were concerns about longer term funding security. A second approach was to bring existing youth projects and activities more firmly within antisocial behaviour partnerships. There were limitations to this approach arising from the different role and perception of youth workers amongst young people. For example the fact that local youth organisations were seen to be separate from enforcement agencies was regarded by youth workers and young people themselves as building trust and ensuring the participation of young people. Even allowing for this however, it did appear that more linkages between youth activities and antisocial behaviour partnerships could be made. This report has identified the fragility of some community relations in the case study neighbourhoods (see Chapter 3, paragraphs 3.10- 3.19). One important initiative in Abbeyview in Fife was the community festival which several thousand people now attend and which was reported to have had very positive impacts on community spirit and the relationship between residents and local agencies. Although each of the local authorities or partner organisations provided a range of mediation and counselling services, awareness of these services were limited amongst both local agency officers and residents, perhaps reflecting the weak role that social service departments appeared to play in neighbourhood antisocial behaviour partnership networks (with the exception of the Scottish Borders).

4.10 There were at least 3 initiatives in place in the 8 case study neighbourhoods that were aimed at addressing underage drinking, and all 3 were reported to have been effective. In the Scottish Borders and in Abbeyview in Fife, partnerships were in place between local agencies, retailers and young people to reduce the supply of alcohol to underage drinkers. In Abbeyview the Bluelight initiative had local community volunteers staging a monthly disco for up to 450 young people: attendees had to be breathalysed as condition of entry.

4.11 A range of enforcement measures had been utilised in the case study neighbourhoods. These included ASBOs, bail conditions, and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts and housing management interventions including Scottish Short Secure Tenancies and eviction. Agency officers believed that these measures were appropriate and had in some cases been effective both in resolving the specific antisocial behaviour and in demonstrating to local residents the capacity and willingness of agencies to take action (most notably the eviction of drug dealers). However, there were concerns that the length of the legal processes undermined community confidence. The gathering of evidence was also extremely labour intensive and was often hampered by the reluctance of residents to give formal statements. There were also concerns that ASBOs were subject to frequent breaches. One interesting finding was the increasingly effective use of bail conditions by local agencies to limit the movement and conduct of alleged perpetrators. Although these enforcement measures were strongly supported by local residents, there was confusion about how they operated and doubts about their effectiveness (see the following chapters). The research found a willingness and growing expertise amongst agency officers to use

enforcement measures and increasing attempts to link enforcement action to the provision of support and diversionary interventions to individuals, including within housing management practice. This reflected a wider movement towards building a range of complementary measures around the use of enforcement. At the local authority level, more proactive links had been made between Councils, the police and the Procurator Fiscal, although there were still some tensions with the courts, despite enhanced interaction. These included disputed interpretations over the levels of evidence requiring to be presented in ASBO or eviction applications, the number of incidents that constituted persistent antisocial behaviour, and the role of professional witnesses in providing collaborating evidence. In some cases, the Courts were frustrated by the extent and quality of evidence presented to them. Some local authority practitioners were concerned that the wellbeing of local communities and the likelihood of continuing antisocial behaviour were not given enough weight in court decisions, when compared to the welfare or needs of perpetrators. A key issue, for both courts and local authority Housing Departments, was the alternative accommodation likely to be required by households, particularly those with children, in eviction cases. The enhanced linkages between local authority antisocial behaviour, housing allocation and homelessness strategies should help to address this problem.

4.12 The ability of local neighbourhood agencies and residents to call upon the services of centralised noise nuisance and antisocial behaviour investigation units was regarded as a vital element of effective local antisocial behaviour interventions. There were 3 further issues arising about the use of enforcement measures. There was a growing demand amongst local agencies to utilise centrally-provided services, for example Antisocial Behaviour Teams or intensive family support projects. Whilst these services offer effective and appropriate interventions, their capacity to meet rising local demand is limited. Secondly, there is an issue about the extent of knowledge and ownership that local agency staff have about the use of enforcement measures such as ASBOs which are usually progressed by centralised local authority teams. Finally, many local agency officers detected a shift within local communities away from a rising demand for more ASBOs towards a more critical reflection about whether existing ASBOs were being enforced and whether they were effective in changing the behaviour of the individuals subject to them.

4.13 The research identified that the key mechanisms driving successful interventions were significant additional resources combined by the commitment and capacity of local managers. For example, the neighbourhood which appeared to have achieved the most significant improvements was Broomhouse in Edinburgh. This neighbourhood had benefited from the widely perceived effectiveness of key officers and its location as a site for a number of pilot interventions, including a neighbourhood concierge scheme, a youth inclusion worker, the establishment of a Neighbourhood Support Team, a case management and early intervention project, and a police Safer Communities Unit. Each of these pilots had been apparently successful in its own terms, but it was the cumulative effect of this level of intervention, allied to their efficient co-ordination, which had achieved such significant improvements. It was therefore the clear targeting of substantial resources in a relatively small defined area that had facilitated such an impact. Without belittling the achievements of individual and collective agency performance, there is clearly a resource implication in attempting to replicate this scale of intervention in other neighbourhoods. Indeed, Broomhouse, in common with other localities, now faces the challenge of sustaining this level of activity and investment. Similarly, the Safer Neighbourhoods Operations Team intervention in Methil included increased police patrols, community capacity building, work with the local school and the identification of individuals who were then subject to a mixture of enforcement and diversionary

interventions. This resulted in significant short term-improvements in levels of antisocial behaviour, but these had proved more difficult to sustain once the period of intensive intervention ended.

Partnership Working

4.14 Considerable efforts had been made to ensure the participation of a wide range of stakeholder agencies in local authority antisocial behaviour strategies, and this had resulted in more proactive and co-ordinated roles for the police, the Procurator Fiscal and the Children's Hearing system in developing and delivering antisocial behaviour strategies than was previously the case. The fact that the strategies had achieved significant 'buy-in' from key agencies had increased the scope for multi-agency co-ordination, knowledge of agencies' respective resources, policies and working practices and information-sharing. This facilitated a more effective multi-agency response to antisocial behaviour. However, there were considerable implementation challenges in ensuring synergies between the various individual agencies and multi-agency strategies and partnerships. It had also proved challenging to develop institutional structures and processes for co-ordinating responses to antisocial behaviour between agencies with differing working practices, cultures and priorities. There were also difficulties in achieving consistency between the policies and practices of central local authority antisocial behaviour teams and the different approaches being taken by local teams of practitioners in individual neighbourhoods.

4.15 The establishment of more specialised, centralised and multi-agency antisocial behaviour teams and units at the local authority level had increased the potential for co-operation and ensured the development of, and access to, knowledge and expertise. The additional Scottish Executive funding had also been important in facilitating partnership working and strategic engagement and in enabling local neighbourhood initiatives to be put in place.

4.16 Despite the improvements in partnership working, the research found a need to develop the further proactive involvement of some key stakeholders, most notably education and social work departments, social and private landlords, businesses and also local communities. For some potential partner agencies, the issue was one of their previous non-engagement in local antisocial behaviour strategies. For example, private landlords or local shopkeepers did not always identify a role for themselves within local interventions, and were sometimes reluctant to accept responsibility within local initiatives. The bottle marking schemes to reduce underage drinking, where bottles of alcohol are individually stamped in order to identify where they have been sold from, provide an illustration of both the importance of involving local retailers in reducing some forms of antisocial behaviour and of the considerable effort and time required to persuade them to participate in such schemes. Similarly, local schools had not traditionally been explicitly involved in local antisocial behaviour initiatives, although we found evidence that through mechanisms such as Acceptable Behaviour Contracts, anti-truancy and littering campaigns and police officer and community warden school liaison activities, local educational establishments were becoming more embedded in neighbourhood antisocial behaviour strategies. Although social landlords were usually proactively engaged in neighbourhood level partnership working to tackle antisocial behaviour, tensions arose with local authorities over the geographical boundaries of social landlords' areas of operation, the allocation of housing to households with a history of antisocial behaviour, and the consequences for local authority homelessness obligations of evicting households for antisocial behaviour. There was still evidence of a long standing fault line between housing practitioners who prioritised the needs of neighbours and wider local communities, and social work officers

who have welfare obligations to individuals and households engaged in antisocial behaviour. More holistic PIER approaches to individual cases were helping to overcome this divide, but there remained problems about the lack of social work engagement in the earlier stages of cases and the limited use that was being made of perpetrator support services. As discussed in Chapter 6, despite extensive efforts by local agencies, the engagement of residents in neighbourhood-level antisocial behaviour strategies remains fragile, in terms of collective involvement in strategic planning and operational decision-making, and through the reporting of incidents of antisocial behaviour.

4.17 The development and implementation of antisocial behaviour strategies at both local authority and neighbourhood level had been adversely affected by relatively high levels of staff turnover. This ranged from senior strategic managers to front line housing staff and community police officers. This turnover resulted in new relationships having to be forged, additional training having to be provided, and the loss of local knowledge and expertise. This high turnover was very important because both residents and front line agency staff in the case study neighbourhoods argued that consistency of staffing was a key element in building trust. The high staff turnover, combined with a plethora of new initiatives and structural re-organisation and the linked issue of the short-term funding of some interventions, generated a context of transition and ambiguity about where responsibilities and resources were located which affected strategic and front line agency officers and residents alike. Although this problem affected some local authorities and neighbourhoods more than others, the research found a strong desire for the consolidation of organisational structures, legislation and funding sources and consistency in policies and practices to enable antisocial behaviour strategies to bed in and develop.

4.18 The research found evidence that the quality of information about antisocial behaviour being pooled between agencies was improving. Previous barriers, including a lack of trust, fears of breaching Data Protection legislation, the limited autonomy given to neighbourhood officers to share details of cases, and the absence of mechanisms for information exchange, had been resolved. The subsequent utilisation of this information was increasing the ability of agencies at local authority and neighbourhood levels to identify localised trends in antisocial behaviour, to co-ordinate rapid and flexible operational responses, and to begin to track the impact of local interventions down to the level of individual households. For example, innovative use was being made of pooled police command and control data, CCTV footage and housing management records to co-ordinate activities on a weekly basis in some neighbourhoods. This case management approach to individuals and households was increasingly resulting in more tailored holistic interventions where enforcement actions were complemented by referral to support services which was facilitated by a greater knowledge of what each agency could contribute. There were still however some difficulties arising from the compatibility of electronic databases, and from differing definitions and categorisations of antisocial behaviour. Technical problems with the interface between different software packages and IT systems or the differential labelling and coding of cases could prevent the electronic exchange, cross-referencing or tracking of particular incidents or individuals. Secondly, different agencies classified different forms of offences or incidents as antisocial behaviour, or bundled types of antisocial behaviour into collective categories together differentially, which made information exchange and comparability more problematic. Finally, there was no consistent practice about when an incident of, or complaint about, antisocial behaviour was officially recorded and the extent of information gathered about the alleged perpetrator and complainant (for example ethnicity).

4.19 There was clear evidence of a willingness to engage in partnership working at a neighbourhood level. As one agency officer in Fife explained: *"You can't deal with the problems in isolation, it's about trying to find out who can do what, getting people round the table more, adopting a case management approach as a way to deal with issues… you've got to look at the bigger picture and deal with things a bit differently."* There was evidence of strong partnership working between local police and housing officers, and this extended in some neighbourhoods to joint visits to perpetrators and neighbours. In most of the neighbourhoods regular formal meetings between housing and police officers were complemented by frequent informal communication. There remained some frustration amongst local police officers that other agencies did not seek to proactively access all the police data that could be made available, in particular relating to individual incidents or households or very local geographies and trends of antisocial behaviour. The police believed that other local agencies would want this data, but were either unaware that the police had this information or that the police would be willing and able to share it with them. The ability of local partnerships to link housing enforcement mechanisms to other interventions was regarded as an effective tool in all the study areas. After initial difficulties, it appeared that community wardens were robustly integrated into partnership working with local police and housing officers. Community wardens and concierges appeared to have a particularly important linking function between residents, local agencies and centralised antisocial behaviour response teams. One clear area of improved partnership working was the greater co-ordination of environmental services within antisocial behaviour interventions at both local authority and neighbourhood levels. Police officers and community wardens were also increasingly liaising with local schools and youth projects, although some community youth projects in the case study neighbourhoods appeared to remain more peripheral to the main local partnership working arrangements. This reflected a wider finding that the majority of partnership working at the neighbourhood level to date had focused on serious antisocial behaviour and enforcement interventions, rather than on diversionary or early intervention measures. There was however a clear recognition in all of the case study neighbourhoods that diversion was a key priority and early intervention and support was also becoming an increasing focus of housing management practice. It was further acknowledged that improved agency partnership working would not necessarily be apparent to local residents, a view borne out by our household survey findings. Although attempts were being made to streamline and consolidate contact points for residents, for example through one central telephone number, residents were often confused about recent changes and who they should contact.

4.20 A key element of partnership working is the engagement of agencies with local communities. It was widely acknowledged that this was one aspect of antisocial behaviour strategies that needed further development. On an individual level, providing support to victims and witnesses and increasing reporting rates was a priority in all the neighbourhoods, and some agency officers perceived some improvement in the willingness of residents to engage with local agencies and to report incidents. Key measures for achieving this included the police establishing drop-in surgeries, utilising councillors as third party conduits of complaints, and the police arranging to visit complainants in their workplace or other venue rather than their own homes. However, many local residents groups continued to have a precarious existence, and whilst action would often coalesce around particular escalations in antisocial behaviour, it proved more difficult to sustain some residents groups in the longer- term. In part this was a reflection of some of the community dynamics described in Chapter 6 which mitigated developing a 'neighbourhood wide' consensus. Similarly, despite the considerable efforts of local agencies to inform residents about new initiatives and legal powers (through leaflets,

newsletters, public meetings and road shows) there continued to be a great deal of confusion within local communities about the new powers that local agencies had, the actions that agencies would be willing and able to take, what interventions were operating in their neighbourhood, what constituted an 'appropriate' complaint, and to which agency different types of antisocial behaviour should be reported. There were examples of successful efforts to engage with residents and involve them in the development of local strategies, most notably in Broomhouse in Edinburgh, and through some youth events. In Whinhall, housing officers had undertaken a neighbourhood drive around with members of a new residents group to identify antisocial behaviour hotspots in the neighbourhood and a number of the neighbourhoods had been surveyed during the development of antisocial behaviour strategies.

The Local Authority- Neighbourhood Interface

4.21 A key issue for this research was the extent to which multi-agency antisocial behaviour strategies being developed at the local authority level were being rolled out to influence agency delivery at the local neighbourhood level. A number of important findings emerged. The first was that the changes that local authority antisocial behaviour strategies had made to agency partnerships, processes and working practices at the *neighbourhood* level were relatively limited. There was awareness amongst neighbourhood level officers that there was enhanced joint working at strategic levels, that more resources and specific initiatives were being deployed in neighbourhoods, and that new targets and performance indicators may refocus activities at the local level. Many neighbourhood officers did not however appear to be aware of the finer details of the antisocial behaviour strategy, and several commented that these strategies had not fundamentally changed working practices. This is not an entirely negative finding. Rather it reflects the fact that in many neighbourhoods, moves towards enhanced partnership working predate current strategies, for example through the framework of the Better Neighbourhood Services Fund. In addition, front line officers were largely supportive of the general principles of the new strategies, and in particular the emphasis on a holistic PIER approach. It was also evident that front line officers felt increasingly supported in sharing information and working more closely with other local agencies.

4.22 However, a number of challenges were evident. The most prominent of these was the level of confusion about roles and responsibilities resulting from new funding regimes and institutional re-organisation both within and across service providers. Many officers referred to the difficult context of a rapidly and constantly changing organisational framework, and were uncertain where their own teams or organisations fitted in to these new delivery arrangements. The second important issue was the balance to be struck between ensuring consistency across local authority areas, and between agencies and enabling the autonomy and flexibility for neighbourhood officers to define local problems and to develop area-based interventions. The concentration of expertise and knowledge within strategic partnerships and dedicated central antisocial behaviour units was broadly welcomed and these were seen as a vital resource for local agencies to draw upon to deal with the most complex and serious cases of antisocial behaviour. However, many officers were concerned that there was a risk that front line staff could become disempowered and lose ownership of local problems. In one stark example, front line housing officers in a case study neighbourhood were unaware of the numbers of Short Scottish Secure Tenancies, ASBOs and ABCs in their area as these were processed centrally. There was also considerable concern about how funding to individual neighbourhoods was joined up and distributed at a local authority level. Local agency officers were anxious that the wider social and economic forces impacting upon antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhoods

continued to be addressed at local authority, and indeed national, levels. Allied to this, it was evident from the research that where neighbourhoods had achieved significant improvements, this was partly down to the allocation of additional resources, including the ability of key local stakeholders to access increased financial support from local authority targeting, partly through acting as the localities for pilot initiatives, and partly through being able to draw upon 'in kind' skills and services from local agencies and voluntary organisations. Successful interventions at the neighbourhood level were largely brought about by the dynamics arising from groups of individuals who were committed to developing effective partnership working arrangements. In some, but not all cases, this was reported by local agency officers to have resulted in a displacement of problems to other neighbourhoods. A central challenge therefore remains ensuring that the gains of some neighbourhoods do not come at the expense of others. Conversely, there was some frustration in the worst affected neighbourhoods, including our case studies, about some resources being deflected to other areas for 'political' reasons.

Other Factors Influencing Changes in Antisocial Behaviour

4.23 Local agency officers highlighted that whilst some of the improvements within the case study neighbourhoods were directly related to improved agency performance and the use of a range of interventions, there were other causal factors that needed to be acknowledged. As one community police officer described: *"I would like to say that the improvements here are due to us sweeping the streets clean, but this is not the case."* One of these other factors is population change. In some neighbourhoods, the groups of individuals who had been involved in gang fighting had 'moved away or grown up' in the words of one agency officer and they had not been replaced by a 'new generation' who may become engaged in serious public disturbances. It was also reported that in some neighbourhoods, a number of vulnerable or problematic families had moved out of the area, either voluntarily or through eviction and had been replaced by new residents who were not engaging in antisocial behaviour. This highlights that the work within neighbourhoods is influenced by wider housing processes and therefore some of the improvements are susceptible to further population changes. These include generational effects amongst existing residents (for example young people 'progressing' to more serious antisocial behaviour as they become older teenagers) or shifts in allocation processes that result in households with multiple and complex needs moving into the neighbourhood. It was also recognised that the inter-generational effects of poverty and unemployment, and cultural attitudes towards alcohol or co-operating with official authority agencies were not issues that could be resolved in isolation at the neighbourhood level.

Economic Evaluation

4.24 The economic evaluation of 12 initiatives across the 4 local authorities sought to determine whether the resources deployed to deliver a sample of anti-social behaviour initiatives represented good value for money. This sample included the community wardens schemes and mediation services operating in each of the 4 local authorities. In addition, the ***Early Intervention Families*** project in Edinburgh, the ***Safer Neighbourhoods Team*** in Fife, the ***Night Noise Team*** in North Lanarkshire and the ***Freephone Antisocial Behaviour Helpline*** in the Scottish Borders were also evaluated. Some of these initiatives operated across their local authority areas whilst others were introduced into specific localities, although these local areas were not necessarily our 8 case study neighbourhoods. A fuller account of the economic evaluation methodology and findings is presented in Annex 4.

4.25 Conventional approaches to economic evaluation, which try to combine the costs and benefits into a single measure, are not suitable for initiatives with multiple outcomes and benefits. Instead, we utilised a form of ***cost consequences*** analysis which identifies all of the relevant costs (which reflect the resources used) and the consequences associated with a particular intervention. For each initiative we sought to:

- Analyse activity and outcomes data to identify quantitative and qualitative outcomes
- Identify resource use and associated costs
- Identify short-term cost savings (primarily to the Exchequer, but also to individuals) and other benefits, plus any additional costs incurred due to the initiative
- Identify potential long-term cost savings

The full costs of providing each service initiative (which included time spent on activities such as training, management, administration and supervision) were included in the unit costs, not just the salary-related cost of the time spent directly working with clients or on specific service-related activities.

4.26 Each of the ***community warden*** services had similar overall objectives – reducing crime and the fear of crime, reducing antisocial behaviour, and making neighbourhoods more pleasant places to live. However each scheme worked in ways that reflected locally-identified needs and other local service provision. Each of the 4 community warden services reported its outcomes in different ways, and each local authority identified different sets of statistical indicators to measure progress and compare with baseline values. Because of this it was not possible to identify comparable unit costs for similar activities. It was also difficult to determine whether rising reports of crime and antisocial behaviour should be interpreted as a positive or negative outcome of the warden schemes. We found that the community wardens were engaged in a significant amount of community development work which is very hard to quantify, and to value in financial terms. One approach to determining the cost-effectiveness of wardens is to consider their financial impact on other services. For example wardens may generate additional work for other services – e.g. by reporting environmental problems that would otherwise have been ignored. However, wardens may also lead to a quicker response from other services to some problems, thus preventing an escalation, e.g. reporting damage to unoccupied property or new graffiti. Some work (like litter picking) may also be diverted to the wardens from other services. If criminal activity has reduced, estimated values for the social and economic costs of various crimes can be used to demonstrate the impact on publicly-funded services (such as the criminal justice system and the NHS) and on the personal costs borne by those affected (e.g. due to physical and emotional impacts). Research undertaken in England suggests there is an overall saving of about £2,000 in social and economic costs per crime prevented (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (2004) *Research Report 8 Neighbourhood Wardens Scheme Evaluation.* London: Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister). Overall, our evidence suggests that community wardens probably reduce public costs by more than their own implementation and operational costs. They also had a positive impact on more intangible issues, such as ensuring more environmentally attractive neighbourhoods, providing public reassurance and encouraging greater community involvement in antisocial behaviour interventions and other neighbourhood development activities.

4.27 Two of the 4 **mediation services** initiatives were provided in-house by the local authorities and the other 2 were provided, through Service Level Agreements, by SACRO- a voluntary organisation specialising in conflict resolution. All 4 mediation projects delivered their services using a combination of trained volunteers and a core team of paid staff. A financial value therefore needs to be placed on this volunteer time to reflect their contribution to delivering the service. Although there was no overall consistency in recording activity, the work of each mediation service can generally be sub-divided into 2 broad elements – 'assessments' (which include providing advice, guidance and assistance) and 'cases' (where the parties meet or use shuttle mediation to try to identify a mutually acceptable resolution to their dispute). The information provided by SACRO showed that the average cost of an assessment (including the value of volunteer time) was about £40 for the provision of basic information, £80-£90 if advice and support were provided by telephone, and around £600 for a home visit. The cost of an assessment provided by one of the local authority in-house services was estimated as £35-£145. The other local authority in-house service did not distinguish between assessments and cases; its average cost per referral was £635-£815. For the 3 services where the average cost per case could be calculated, this was £1,200-£1,500. It is not possible to link inputs to outcomes for these mediation services. Some people contacting the service are able to reach an acceptable resolution using the advice they have been given, whereas in some situations it may not be possible for the parties to agree, even after extensive meetings and discussion. This is partly because some service users are more willing than others to agree a compromise. A 'successful outcome' is therefore highly subjective. The specific benefits of resolving community disputes are also hard to quantify, though these are likely to include reduced stress levels (which may affect health status and service use) and more socially cohesive communities and neighbourhoods. Mediation services can also build community capacity in conflict resolution (e.g. through work in schools), which should also help to reduce future levels of neighbour disputes and antisocial behaviour.

4.28 A ***Freephone Antisocial Behaviour Helpline*** has been introduced by Scottish Borders Council in order that local residents can contact the Council's Anti-Social Behaviour Unit (ASBU) free of charge. The ASBU either helps directly with their query, or directs callers to the appropriate service. The average cost per call was about £4, although this would increase to almost £12 if the remaining budget is spent on further advertising: the telephone number has already been extensively publicised. The impact of the freephone helpline on the number of calls made to the Council relating to antisocial behaviour is not known, although the service should potentially improve the equity of access to antisocial behaviour services for those living in rural areas of the local authority area and for residents in settlements without community wardens.

4.29 ***The Early Intervention Families Project*** works with vulnerable families in Edinburgh where the behaviour of one or more children aged 12 or under is giving cause for concern. Families are allocated to a Case Manager, who works holistically with them – and with all of the other agencies in contact with the family – to co-ordinate these services and to identify and fill any gaps in service provision/response. One of the aims of the project is to improve the client family's ability to function as a family, which should reduce the subsequent development of antisocial behaviour. The average cost per closed case, assuming an average contact period with the project of 9-12 months, will be about £10,000- £14,000 per family (when full overhead costs are included after mainstreaming). Although it was not possible to determine the particular costs to service providers that would have been incurred by these families in the absence of the intervention, these are estimated to be in the region of £330,000 a year for a family with 4 children if some of the

children require foster and/or residential care and costs associated with criminal justice services are included (Nixon, J., Hunter, C., Parr, S., Whittle, S., Myers, S. and Sanderson, D. (2006) *Anti-social Behaviour Intensive Family Support Projects: An evaluation of six pioneering projects.* London: Department for Communities and Local Government). Early interventions with families experiencing problems can also reduce the risks of longer-term social exclusion and poor educational attainment, which have considerable cost consequences for society and for the family members themselves. This project is therefore very cost-effective.

4.30 ***The Safer Neighbourhoods Team*** operated by Fife Council comprises a Co-ordination Team drawn from a range of local organisations and an Operations Team of police officers. The 2 teams utilise local intelligence to target specific hotspots for crime and antisocial behaviour, and then work within these areas to identify the main local concerns, to identify appropriate interventions, and to co-ordinate the interventions delivered by a range of local agencies. The Safer Neighbourhoods Team is designed to be an integral part of local multi-agency working, and it was not therefore possible to isolate its specific costs and benefits. However, the available evidence suggests that the overall approach of the Team delivered considerable benefits, in terms of reducing incidences of public disturbance and repeat offences, especially those involving young people. It therefore will have reduced some of the public and private costs of antisocial behaviour, although we cannot determine the exact extent of these savings or link them to the particular costs to provide this service.

4.31 The ***Night Noise Team*** operated by North Lanarkshire Council service uses a team of Environmental Health Officers (EHOs) to respond to residents' complaints about night-time domestic noise. The team works very closely with the police. The average cost per call was slightly over £600. Although the benefits to local residents of reducing night noise are considerable (e.g. improved sleep and better daytime functioning; fewer disputes with neighbours), these are hard to quantify. Despite considerable expenditure on promoting the service, calls have been much lower than anticipated. It was not clear if night noise is less of a problem in North Lanarkshire than initially thought, or if the team has a strong deterrent effect. The unit cost of the service could be reduced by using trained Noise Officers rather than EHOs and/or by extending the team's responsibilities to include night noise from commercial premises.

4.32 Our economic evaluation has raised a number of methodological challenges which need to be considered when undertaking future research on the cost benefits of antisocial behaviour initiatives. Firstly, chosen outcome measures need to be clear and unambiguously linked to the initiative under consideration. Appropriate comparators are also required, along with information on recent trends. For example, if car crime has been falling in an area for some time (e.g. due to other local initiatives), a subsequent reduction may be a continuation of this trend rather than a specific impact of the new intervention under consideration. Comparisons are facilitated if clear units of outcome can be defined and measured, as unit costs can then be determined. It is also the case that where similar projects with similar objectives use different measures for activity and outcomes (for example the mediation services in this evaluation), meaningful comparisons cannot be made and lessons cannot be learned from experiences elsewhere.

4.33 Secondly, the costs of service provision need to be measured consistently. The costs associated with some of the initiatives considered in this evaluation were included as part of a wider budget heading (e.g. the costs of in-house mediation services were included in the budget for the antisocial behaviour team), making it hard to identify the specific cost

of delivering the service. The value of any payments in kind (e.g. seconded staff) or volunteer input needs to be included to ensure that all of the resources used are considered. It is also important to include organisational overheads – these are generally included for services provided through a Service Level Agreement, but may be overlooked when a service is provided in-house. This can make externally-provided services seem uncompetitive in terms of price. Given that expenditure patterns tend to vary over a year, costs should ideally be available for at least one full financial year to ensure that all of the relevant costs are captured, rather than relying on quarterly expenditure snapshots. Additionally, staff time spent on training, supervision and the management of service delivery should be included in evaluations. It is also important for funders and delivery agencies to capture both the quantitative and the qualitative benefits of interventions. For many projects, the most effective means of identifying quantitative benefits is through estimating the reduction in expenditure by publicly-funded services (and, possibly, by individuals) due to the impact of the initiative. The early intervention families project in Edinburgh illustrates how considerable short-term expenditure would have been much higher in the absence of the intervention. These savings are likely to apply to the agencies directly funding the intervention and also to a range of other agencies and organisations who benefit from reductions in antisocial behaviour. Where longer-term benefits are forecast, these should also be identified and included as qualitative benefits, even if specific financial consequences are difficult to estimate. Many less tangible positive outcomes cannot easily be quantified, but it is important that these are recognised and stated so that they may be considered in local decision making about the deployment of specific interventions. Finally, the relatively short time scale of this evaluation has been problematic. Some projects may take up to 18 months to become established and to start to realise their true potential. There is a risk therefore that premature, short-term evaluation may result in projects likely to be cost effective in the medium to long term being discontinued.

4.34 Unfortunately, it was generally not possible to attribute specific costs and benefits (expressed solely in monetary terms) to the 12 antisocial behaviour initiatives evaluated in this study. This is partly due to the methodological issues outlined above, but also because many of the initiatives require close co-operation and multi-agency working to be effective, for example the community wardens schemes and Fife's Safer Neighbourhoods Team. If meaningful comparisons are to be made of the delivery of a specific service across different areas (e.g. mediation services), it is vital that costs, activity and outcomes are measured consistently. For many initiatives, the most appropriate way to quantify some of the associated benefits is to estimate the expenditure which might otherwise have been incurred in the absence of the initiative. This should consider expenditure by publicly-funded services and can also include the costs borne by individuals (for example, the emotional costs of being a victim of crime). It is also important to recognise the importance of identifying and describing the intangible and qualitative benefits associated with the initiatives. This evaluation has also shown that these individual antisocial behaviour initiatives were shaped by local priorities and were characterised by local partnership working. However, local decision-making can only be cost-effective if it is based on sound and consistent information about the costs and range of benefits associated with specific interventions. This does not mean that identical decisions need to be made in all localities, but rather that robust and comprehensive data about costs and resources should be available to inform these local decision-making processes.

Chapter Summary

4.35 The research found evidence of improved agency performance in the case study neighbourhoods. The 2 main factors behind this improved performance were the effective deployment of a range of interventions and initiatives, and enhanced partnership working. These were underpinned by the improved coordination of multi-agency operational responses, based on the exchange of higher quality local data, and the facilitation of more holistic PIER- based interventions at individual, household and neighbourhood levels. Key drivers of these improvements were the commitment and capacity of local neighbourhood officers, allied to the targeting of significant resources and intensive interventions in relatively small defined localities.

4.36 The 3 most important forms of effective intervention were: the increasing visibility of an authority presence in local neighbourhoods, including community wardens, police officers and concierges and their impact on public disorder involving the antisocial behaviour of groups; coordinated and swift action to address environmental antisocial behaviour, including graffiti, vandalism, littering and fly-tipping; and a combination of legal enforcement measures and support and diversionary interventions targeted at the most problematic and vulnerable households. It was also recognised by agency officers that improvements within local neighbourhoods were sometimes due to other factors, including changes in the local population.

4.37 Despite these improvements, local agency officers identified some continuing weaknesses in agency performance. These included confusion and tensions between local authority and neighbourhood level interventions, the less prominent role being played by some local agencies and organisations, the limited funding and resources available, difficulties in demonstrating improvements to local residents, and engaging fully with all sections of local communities – including improving reporting rates.

4.38 Despite considerable data and methodological limitations, the economic evaluation of twelve selected antisocial behaviour initiatives found community wardens schemes in each of the 4 local authorities and the Early Intervention Families Project in Edinburgh to be cost-effective. Other initiatives, including mediation services in each of the 4 local authorities, had delivered benefits to local neighbourhoods, although it was not possible to quantify these benefits in economic terms. The evaluation found that wardens and mediations services were delivered differently in each local authority, reflecting local priorities and operational decisions. More robust and disaggregated economic data will be required to maximise the utility of future cost benefit evaluations of specific antisocial behaviour interventions.

CHAPTER FIVE: PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

5.1 The first part of this chapter describes public perceptions of the extent and nature of antisocial behaviour in local neighbourhoods. The data presented in this chapter is primarily drawn from a random sample household interview survey of 1613 residents conducted by Management Information Scotland Ltd in June 2006, and these findings are compared with national level Scottish data. The survey comprised interviews with approximately 200 residents in each of the 8 case study neighbourhoods, identified through a random selection of household addresses. This interviewee selection method means that the survey sample should not be expected to be representative of the case study neighbourhoods or the Scottish population as a whole. In particular, although surveyors did attempt to conduct some interviews in the evenings and attempted to ensure that interviews were drawn from addresses throughout the neighbourhood localities, there was an over-representation of females and older age groups. The survey includes a small sample of 25 individuals from an ethnic grouping other than White Scottish/Irish/British. A full account of the survey method, sample and additional findings from the survey is presented in Annex 3. A copy of the survey is provided in Annex 5. The second part of chapter provides some comparative context for the findings from our case study neighbourhoods by comparing our results with national figures and data from the local authority areas in which the neighbourhoods were located. This data also enables a comparison of the case study neighbourhoods with other deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland. In addition to data about perceived levels of antisocial behaviour and direct experience of types of antisocial behaviour, the chapter also presents comparative analysis of residents' feelings of personal safety and satisfaction with agency performance in addressing antisocial behaviour.

Anti-social Behaviour in the Neighbourhoods

5.2 The survey asked residents how common 8 types of antisocial behaviour[1] were in their local neighbourhood. Table 5.1 shows the proportions of residents reporting that each type of antisocial behaviour was ‘very common’ or ‘quite common’. A majority of respondents (52 percent) perceived rowdy behaviour to be common, whilst over 4 in 10 respondents perceived vandalism, rubbish and harassment to be common (44, 43 and 43 percent respectively). Over a third of respondents (36 percent) also perceived drug misuse or drug dealing to be common, while noisy neighbours (22 percent) and setting fires/burnt out cars (10 percent) were perceived to be less common problems. Table 5.1 also reveals significant variation in the perceived frequency of antisocial behaviour problems between the neighbourhoods. Antisocial behaviour, with the notable exception of harassment, was reported to be more common in the Edinburgh and Fife neighbourhoods. The Muirhouse and Methil neighbourhoods had the highest reported frequency of antisocial behaviour, whilst Carfin in North Lanarkshire had the lowest. The extent of variation between these neighbourhoods is illustrated by the fact that 57 per cent of respondents in Muirhouse perceived drug-related problems as common, a rate 14 times higher than in Carfin (4 per cent).

[1] Noisy neighbours, vandalism, rubbish, neighbour disputes, harassing, drugs, rowdy behaviour and setting fires/burnt out cars.

Table 5.1 – Percentage of respondents who perceive types of antisocial behaviour to be common

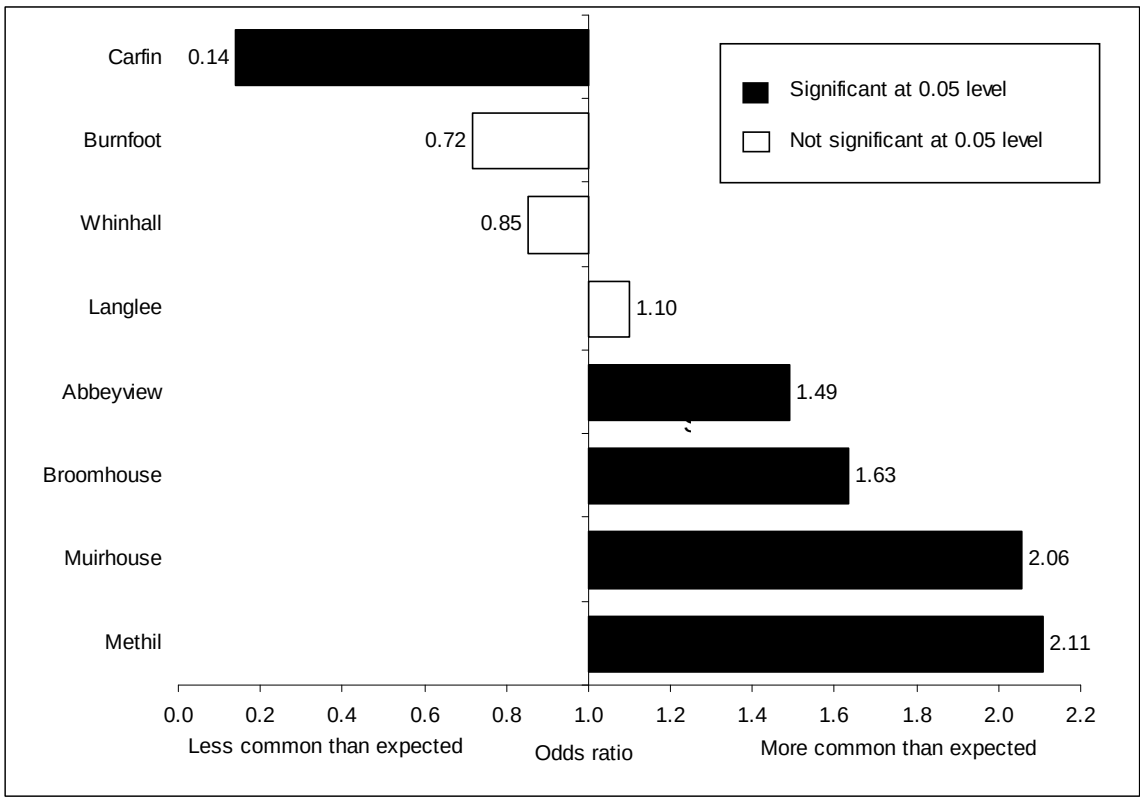
	North Lanarkshire		Scottish Borders		Edinburgh		Fife		Average
	Carfin	Whinhall	Burnfoot	Langlee	Broom-house	Muir-house	Abbey-view	Methil	
Noisy neighbours	2	4	10	31	25	40	29	35	22
Vandalism	25	36	44	39	48	60	41	58	44
Rubbish	24	26	35	43	54	64	45	54	43
Neighbour disputes	1	7	8	17	14	14	19	17	12
Harassing	35	50	57	45	40	33	32	53	43
Drugs	4	39	34	34	32	57	36	55	36
Rowdy behaviour	30	51	55	62	57	62	40	59	52
Setting fires / burnt out cars	1	8	4	2	17	20	16	10	10

Base: All (1613). Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

5.3 The variation between neighbourhoods is also evident in Figure 5.1, which presents the adjusted odds ratios for the relationship between neighbourhood and antisocial behaviour problems. Adjusted odds ratios control for other explanatory variables, such as the influence of the age and gender of residents, or the influence of housing tenure on the likelihood of perceiving or experiencing antisocial behaviour. Controlling for these other factors enables any 'neighbourhood effects' to be identified, where variations in our findings between different neighbourhoods will not be caused simply by the differences in the population characteristics between different neighbourhoods. The adjusted odd ratio analysis revealed a significant 'neighbourhood effect' particularly in the 2 Edinburgh and Fife neighbourhoods, which indicated a localised pattern of high levels of perceived levels of antisocial behaviour in these localities.

5.4 In Figure 5.1, the bars in black indicate where there is significant variation between the actual perceived levels of antisocial behaviour and the levels of perceived antisocial behaviour that may have been expected given the population characteristics of a neighbourhood. In Carfin, there is a significant value to the left of the y axis, indicating that the reported levels of antisocial behaviour were significantly less than may be expected given the population profile of the survey respondents in this neighbourhood. In contrast, the levels of antisocial behaviour reported in Broomhouse, Muirhouse and Methil were significantly higher than may be anticipated.

Figure 5.1 – Respondents who perceive antisocial behaviour to be common (adjusted odds ratios)



Base: All (1613) Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006. Black indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

5.5 Survey respondents were also asked about whether they had personally witnessed antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhood in the previous 12 months. Table 5.2 shows that 4 in 10 respondents had experienced rowdy behaviour, whilst a quarter of respondents had witnessed vandalism, harassment and rubbish. The proportions of respondents who had witnessed particular forms of antisocial behaviour were lower than the proportion of residents who felt that these problems are common in their neighbourhood. For example, only a third of respondents perceiving drug misuse or dealing to be common had personally witnessed this problem. However, the high proportion of residents reporting directly witnessing antisocial behaviour suggests that it was a real and significant problem in the case study neighbourhoods. Residents in the 4 Edinburgh and Fife neighbourhoods and Whinhall in North Lanarkshire were more likely to have personally experienced forms of antisocial behaviour. Harassment and rowdy behaviour were a particular problem in almost all of the neighbourhoods.

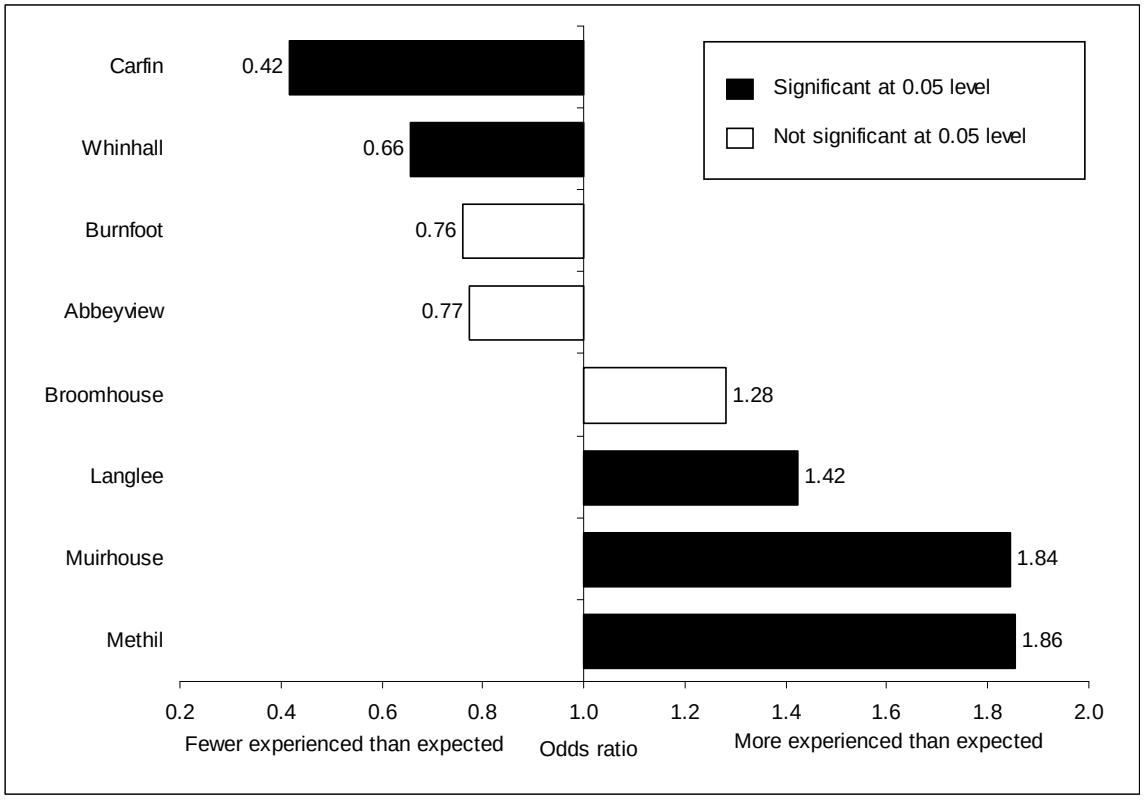
Table 5.2 – Percentage of respondents who have witnessed different types of antisocial behaviour in the last 12 months

	North Lanarkshire		Scottish Borders		Edinburgh		Fife		Average
	Carfin	Whinhall	Burnfoot	Langlee	Broom-house	Muir-house	Abbey-view	Methil	
Noisy neighbours	1	8	8	30	21	36	21	22	18
Vandalism	16	23	21	15	35	48	34	43	29
Rubbish	16	14	20	19	29	40	26	25	24
Neighbour disputes	2	4	3	7	10	13	10	12	8
Harassing	17	32	33	17	29	22	23	33	26
Drugs	0	7	4	8	14	29	21	18	13
Rowdy behaviour	19	39	22	40	54	55	35	49	39
Setting fires / burnt out cars	0	0	4	1	10	11	7	6	5

Base: All (1613) Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

5.6 However, as Figure 5.2 reveals, using adjusted odds ratios reveals that neighbourhood effects are different when applied to direct personal experience of antisocial behaviour. Again the bars in black represent statistically significant variations between the actual levels of personal experience and what may be expected given the population profile of each neighbourhood. Whilst respondents in Muirhouse and Methil report higher levels of personal experience of antisocial behaviour than would be expected, given the characteristics of the local population, this localised effect is less pronounced in Broomhouse. In Whinhall there is actually a 'positive' statistically significant neighbourhood effect, with the incidence of personally experienced antisocial behaviour lower than might be anticipated given Whinhall's population profile. In contrast to this, the extent of personal experience of antisocial behaviour in Langlee in Galashiels is higher than may be anticipated.

Figure 5.2 – Respondents witnessing antisocial behaviour in the previous 12 months (adjusted odds ratios)



Base: All (1613). Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006. Black indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

Changes in Antisocial Behaviour and Agency Performance

5.7 Survey respondents were asked whether they believed that antisocial behaviour problems had improved in the previous twelve months (May 2005-May 2006). Table 5.3 shows that, across the whole sample, rowdy behaviour (25 percent), vandalism (20 percent) and groups harassing people (19 percent) were the problems that the highest percentages of residents believed had improved. Importantly, these 3 were, along with littering, perceived to be the 4 most common types of anti-social behaviour. However less than 1 in 10 residents perceived the other types of antisocial behaviour to have decreased. The most striking findings were from Broomhouse in Edinburgh, where significant proportions of residents perceived improvements across all forms of antisocial behaviour. In contrast to this finding, residents in Muirhouse and Methil were the least likely to perceive improvements.

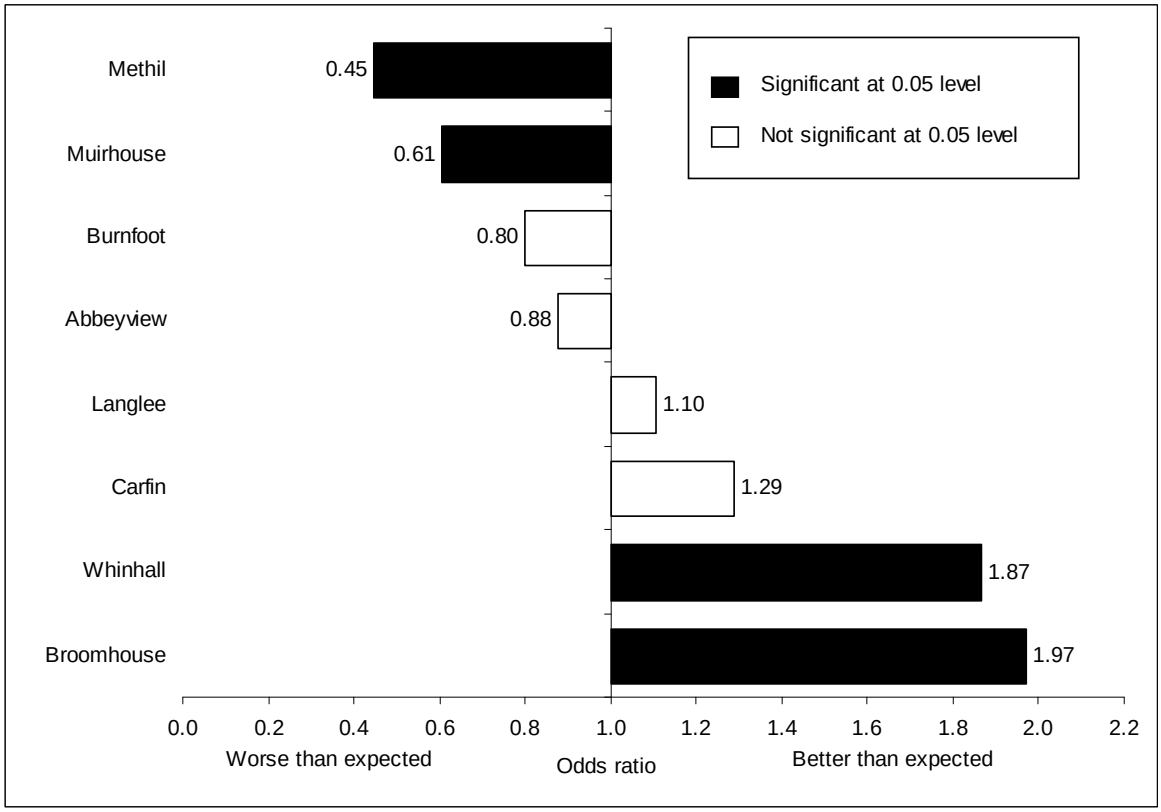
Table 5.3 – Percentage of respondents who perceive problems have got better in the last 12 months

	North Lanarkshire		Scottish Borders		City of Edinburgh		Fife		Average
	Carfin	Whinhall	Burnfoot	Langlee	Broom-house	Muir-house	Abbey-view	Methil	
Noisy neighbours	1	1	2	14	21	8	15	7	9
Vandalism	23	31	25	15	23	10	22	12	20
Rubbish	9	9	4	6	20	5	13	5	9
Neighbour disputes	2	3	0	6	17	3	9	4	5
Harassing	24	30	23	16	22	6	17	11	19
Drugs	3	6	3	3	33	4	8	4	8
Rowdy behaviour	22	36	17	29	34	20	22	16	25
Setting fires / burnt out cars	2	7	1	3	21	6	8	4	6

Base: All lived in area for 12 months or more: Carfin (195), Whinhall (197), Burnfoot (197), Langlee (198), Broomhouse (192), Muirhouse (191), Abbeyview (198), Methil (195). Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

5.8 This pattern is demonstrated in the adjusted odd ratios presented in Figure 5.3. These show that, controlling for the characteristics of the survey respondents in each neighbourhood, residents in Broomhouse and Whinhall had experienced significant improvements in antisocial behaviour in the previous 12 months, which, our research suggests, is linked to the antisocial behaviour interventions being undertaken in these neighbourhoods. In contrast, residents in Methil and Muirhouse were significantly less likely to report improvements in the levels of antisocial behaviour in the pervious 12 months.

Figure 5.3 – Respondents who feel that antisocial behaviour problems have improved in the last 12 months (adjusted odds ratios)



Base: All lived in area for 12 months or more: Carfin (195), Whinhall (197), Burnfoot (197), Langlee (198), Broomhouse (192), Muirhouse (191), Abbeyview (198), Methil (195).
Source: Management Information Scotland Household Survey June 2006. Black indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

5.9 A third of surveyed residents were dissatisfied with what local agencies were doing to tackle antisocial behaviour in their area (Table 5.4). Residents in the 2 Edinburgh neighbourhoods were most likely to be dissatisfied, with almost half of residents in Muirhouse being dissatisfied. In contrast, residents in the 2 North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods and Langlee in Galashiels were less likely to be dissatisfied with local agency performance. A quarter of residents perceived that local agencies were performing better in tackling antisocial behaviour over the previous 12 months. This response appears directly linked to rates of dissatisfaction, with residents in the North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods and Langlee, Galashiels most likely to perceive an improvement in agency performance and those in the 2 Edinburgh neighbourhoods least likely to perceive an improvement. It is clear that the apparently positive impact of agencies and interventions in Broomhouse does not yet appear to translate into improved resident satisfaction with agencies' efforts to tackle antisocial behaviour, although (as discussed below) qualitative data did show that some residents were aware of an improvement.

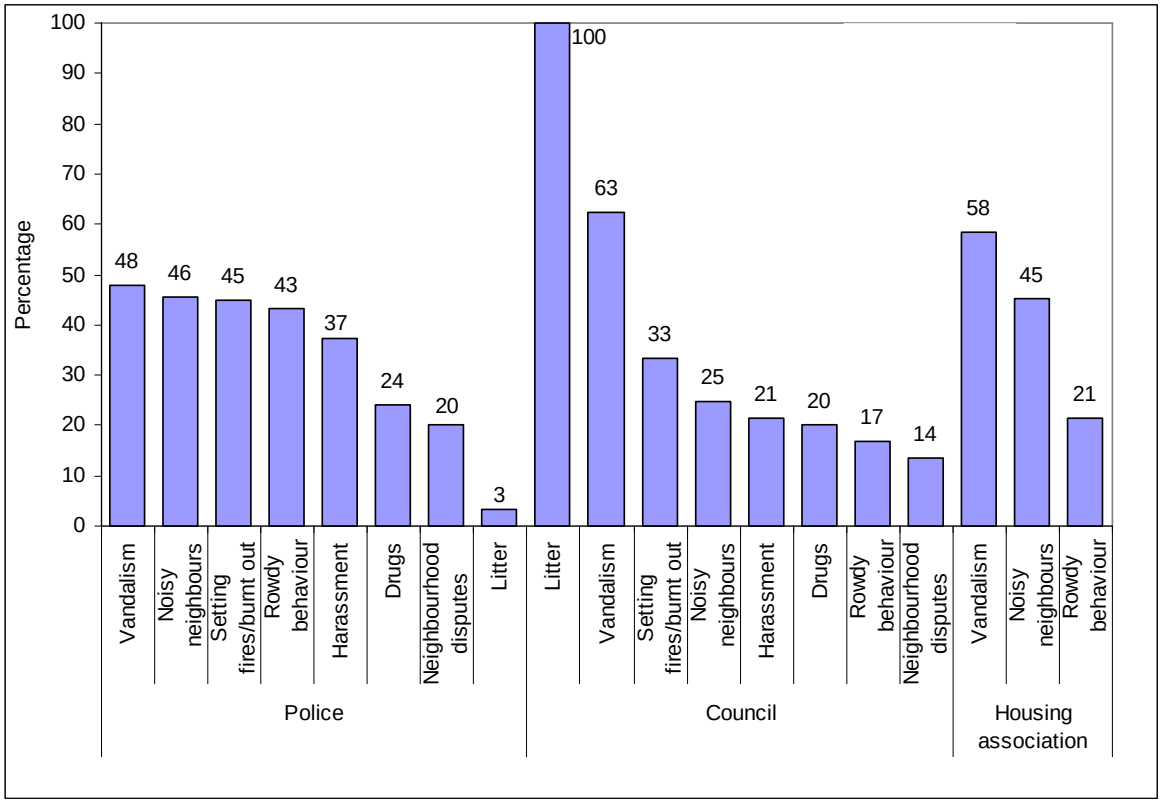
Table 5.4 – Satisfaction with local agencies

		Proportion of residents dissatisfied with what local agencies are doing to tackle ASB	Proportion of residents who perceive that local agencies are performing better in tackling ASB
North Lanarkshire	Carfin	24	32
	Whinhall	20	34
Scottish Borders	Burnfoot	34	19
	Langlee	25	31
City of Edinburgh	Broomhouse	41	16
	Muirhouse	48	6
Fife	Abbeyview	33	25
	Methil	35	28
Average		32	24

Base: All (1613). Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

5.10 The survey asked respondents who had reported an incident of antisocial behaviour to a local agency whether they were satisfied with the response that they received. Figure 5.4 shows that, with the exception of Council responses to litter and vandalism and housing association responses to vandalism, less than half of complainants were satisfied with the response that they received. The levels of satisfaction vary between agencies and across different types of antisocial behaviour complaints. Agency responses to drugs and neighbourhood disputes were least likely to satisfy complainants. The sample size was too small to enable a statistically robust comparison between the neighbourhoods.

Figure 5.4 – Percentage of residents satisfied with agency response by type of antisocial behaviour



Base: Those reporting antisocial behaviour (Vandalism to police: 148; Rowdy behaviour to police: 139; Noisy neighbours to police: 103; Harassment to police; 102; Litter to police: 58; Neighbour disputes to police: 35; Drugs to police: 29; Setting fires to police: 20; Noisy neighbours to council: 81; Rowdy behaviour to council: 66; Harassment to council: 56; Neighbour disputes to council: 44; Vandalism to council: 40; Drugs to council: 25; Litter to council: 17; Setting fires to council: 15; Noisy neighbours to Housing Association: 31; Rowdy behaviour to Housing Association: 14; Vandalism to Housing Association: 12).
Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006. Note: Only charted for cases in which 10 reports of a type of antisocial behaviour have been made to a particular agency

Comparing Findings at the Neighbourhood, Local Authority and Scotland Level

5.11 In order to provide a comparative benchmark of the findings from our neighbourhood survey, we compared our survey data with data from the 2005 Scottish Household Survey (SHS) which used the same antisocial behaviour questions as our survey, supplemented with data from the 2003/04 Scottish Household Survey and the 2003 Scottish Crime Survey, where the questions used differ slightly from those in the survey conducted on our behalf. This analysis provides a wider context for the examination of antisocial behaviour in the 8 case study neighbourhoods., by comparing our survey findings to national averages and the averages for the 4 case study local authorities, with additional comparative data from the most deprived neighbourhoods at national and local authority level. The analysis includes comparisons of residents' perceptions of levels and personal experience of antisocial behaviour, feelings of safety and satisfaction with agency performance in tackling antisocial behaviour.

5.12 Table 5.5 shows comparative figures for the proportion of respondents who reported types of antisocial behaviour to be ‘fairly common’ or ‘very common’ in their local neighbourhood. The proportion of residents in the SHS living in the Edinburgh, Fife and North Lanarkshire local authority areas who perceived each type of antisocial behaviour to be common was close to the Scottish average, whilst the proportion of

residents in the South of Scotland (an area including the Scottish Borders) perceiving these problems as being common in their local neighbourhood was slightly less than the national average.

Table 5.5 – Percentage of SHS respondents who perceive antisocial behaviour to be either 'very' or 'fairly' common

	Noisy neighbours	Vandalism/ graffiti	Rubbish or litter	Neighbour disputes	Groups harassing	Drug misuse	Rowdy behaviour
Scotland: All	7	16	27	5	11	12	16
Scotland: Most deprived 10%	17	39	47	12	26	30	36
Edinburgh: All	8	17	29	4	11	7	17
Edinburgh: Most deprived 10%	15	38	51	14	34	32	39
Fife: All	10	17	28	5	13	13	20
North Lanarkshire: All	10	17	24	6	12	12	17
North Lanarkshire: Most deprived 10%	19	39	38	13	26	29	38
South of Scotland: All	5	7	20	5	7	9	8

Sources: Scottish Household Survey, 2005.

Note: In the Scottish Household Survey 2005, the Scottish Borders is combined with Dumfries and Galloway to create a Southern Scotland categorisation. The figures presented here relate to that combined locality rather than the Scottish Borders local authority area. The most deprived 10% rows represent figures for neighbourhoods in the bottom decile of the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2004. Fife and the South of Scotland are excluded from this bottom decile analysis due to low bases.

5.13 The SHS figures also revealed that residents in the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland were twice as likely to report antisocial behaviour to be common in their neighbourhoods than the Scottish average, and that this finding was consistent for all types of antisocial behaviour. Table 5.6 reflects this by highlighting how the resident survey respondents in the majority of our case study neighbourhoods were significantly more likely to perceive each type of antisocial behaviour to be common compared to their SHS local authority average. For example, 62 percent of residents in Muirhouse perceived rowdy behaviour to be common compared to 17 percent of respondents across the City of Edinburgh local authority, and similar proportions were found in Methil and Fife respectively. The one exception to this pattern was the Carfin neighbourhood which had a lower or similar proportion of residents reporting 4 of the types of antisocial behaviour to be common when compared to North Lanarkshire as a whole.

Table 5.6 – Comparison of percentage of respondents at LA and neighbourhood level who perceive antisocial behaviour to be either 'very' or 'fairly' common

	Noisy neighbours	Vandalism/ graffiti	Rubbish or litter	Neighbour disputes	Groups harassing	Drug misuse	Rowdy behaviour
Edinburgh (1)	8	17	29	4	11	7	17
Broomhouse (2)	25	48	54	14	40	32	57
Muirhouse (2)	40	60	64	14	33	57	62
Fife (1)	10	17	28	5	13	13	20
Abbeyview (2)	29	41	45	19	32	36	40
Methil (2)	35	58	54	17	53	55	59
N. Lanarkshire (1)	10	17	24	6	12	12	17
Carfin (2)	2	25	24	1	35	4	30
Whinhall (2)	4	36	26	7	50	39	51
Sth of Scotland (1)	5	7	20	5	7	9	8
Burnfoot (2)	10	44	35	8	57	34	55
Langlee (2)	31	39	43	17	45	34	62

Sources: (1) Scottish Household Survey, 2005. (2) Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

Note: In the Scottish Household Survey 2005, the Scottish Borders is combined with Dumfries and Galloway to create a Southern Scotland categorisation. The figures presented here relate to that combined locality rather than the Scottish Borders local authority area.

5.14 A comparative analysis of SHS data from the most deprived neighbourhoods showed similar proportions of residents in the Edinburgh and North Lanarkshire local authority areas perceived each type of antisocial behaviour to be common, and that these proportions were close to the Scottish average for deprived neighbourhoods. Data for Fife and the South of Scotland was not released for this period by the SHS due to the small size of the relevant SHS sample. Comparing our case study neighbourhoods with other deprived neighbourhoods in their local authority areas showed that higher proportions of residents in Broomhouse and especially Muirhouse perceived antisocial behaviour to be common, with the exception of neighbour disputes. Muirhouse appeared to have a particular problem with drugs-related antisocial behaviour. In North Lanarkshire, residents in Carfin were less likely to perceive antisocial behaviour to be common, reflecting lower levels of deprivation in this neighbourhood, although there did appear to be a particular problem with harassment from groups. Residents in Whinhall were less likely than residents in other deprived neighbourhoods in North Lanarkshire to perceive noisy neighbours, vandalism, rubbish and neighbour disputes to be common, but were more likely to perceive drug misuse and rowdy behaviour to be common and almost twice as likely to perceive harassment from groups to be common.

5.15 A similar pattern emerged when analysing SHS respondents' direct personal experience of antisocial behaviour in the previous 12 months (Table 5.7 and Table 5.8). The proportions of residents in the case study local authorities reporting personal experience of antisocial behaviour were similar to the Scottish average, with the exception of the 2 Scottish Borders neighbourhoods where personal experience of antisocial behaviour was lower than the Scottish average. There were some exceptions to this pattern depending on the specific type of antisocial behaviour, with residents in Edinburgh and Fife considerably more likely than the Scottish average to have experienced noisy neighbours and rowdy behaviour. Table 5.8 also highlights very starkly the gap between the case study neighbourhoods, including the Scottish Borders neighbourhoods, and their

wider local authority areas, with residents in the case study neighbourhoods being more likely – and in some cases, several times more likely – to have personally experienced each type of antisocial behaviour. The one exception to this pattern was Carfin in North Lanarkshire.

5.16 At the national level, SHS respondents living in the most deprived neighbourhoods were twice as likely as the national average to have personally experienced each type of antisocial behaviour. The proportions of residents in the most deprived neighbourhoods in the Edinburgh and North Lanarkshire local authority areas who had personally experienced antisocial behaviour were similar to the Scottish figures for the most deprived neighbourhoods, with the exceptions of higher rates of noisy neighbours in Edinburgh and lower rates of vandalism and graffiti in North Lanarkshire (data for Fife and the South of Scotland was not available due to small sample sizes). A comparison of the case study neighbourhoods in Edinburgh and North Lanarkshire with other deprived neighbourhoods in their respective local authority areas revealed a complex picture. The proportion of residents in Broomhouse and Muirhouse who had experienced either vandalism/graffiti, harassment from groups, or rowdy behaviour was far higher than the average for deprived neighbourhoods in Edinburgh. The rates of personal experience of antisocial behaviour in Muirhouse were higher than the city average for deprived neighbourhoods for all types of antisocial behaviour, and highlighted a particular problem with drugs-related antisocial behaviour. In contrast, the rates of personal experience of antisocial behaviour in Broomhouse were similar to or lower than the Edinburgh average, apart from the 3 types of antisocial behaviour identified above. In North Lanarkshire, residents in Carfin were less likely to have personally experienced all types of antisocial behaviour than the deprived neighbourhood average for North Lanarkshire, with the exception of vandalism and graffiti. The comparative findings from Whinhall were more varied. Whilst personal experience of vandalism/graffiti, harassment from groups and rowdy behaviour was more common than the average for deprived neighbourhoods in North Lanarkshire, the proportions of Whinhall residents personally experiencing noisy neighbours, rubbish, neighbour disputes and drug misuse were considerably lower than the average.

Table 5.7 – Percentage of SHS respondents who have personally experienced antisocial behaviour in the last 12 months

	Noisy neighbours	Vandalism/ graffiti	Rubbish or litter	Neighbour disputes	Groups harassing	Drug misuse	Rowdy behaviour
Scotland: All	7	11	19	5	5	5	15
Scotland: Most deprived 10%	13	21	29	8	11	12	26
Edinburgh: All	12	13	26	5	5	4	18
Edinburgh: Most deprived 10%	21	22	32	10	9	16	29
Fife: All	11	12	21	6	6	6	20
North Lanarkshire: All	9	12	20	5	6	6	18
North Lanarkshire: Most deprived 10%	11	14	32	11	13	12	28
South of Scotland: All	5	5	11	5	2	4	6

Sources: Scottish Household Survey, 2005.

Note: In the Scottish Household Survey 2005, the Scottish Borders is combined with Dumfries and Galloway to create a Southern Scotland categorisation. The figures presented here relate to that combined locality rather than the Scottish Borders local authority area. The most deprived 10% rows represent figures for neighbourhoods in the bottom decile of the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2004. Fife and the South of Scotland are excluded from this bottom decile analysis due to low bases.

Table 5.8 – Comparison of percentage of respondents at LA and neighbourhood level who have personally experienced antisocial behaviour in the last 12 months

	Noisy neighbours	Vandalism/ graffiti	Rubbish or litter	Neighbour disputes	Groups harassing	Drug misuse	Rowdy behaviour
Edinburgh (1)	12	13	26	5	5	4	18
Broomhouse (2)	21	35	29	10	29	14	54
Muirhouse (2)	36	48	40	13	22	29	55
Fife (1)	11	12	21	6	6	6	20
Abbeyview (2)	21	34	26	10	23	21	35
Methil (2)	22	43	25	12	33	18	49
N. Lanarkshire (1)	9	12	20	5	6	6	18
Carfin (2)	1	16	16	2	17	0	19
Whinhall (2)	8	23	14	4	32	7	39
Sth of Scotland (1)	5	5	11	5	2	4	6
Burnfoot (2)	8	21	20	4	32	7	39
Langlee (2)	30	15	19	3	33	4	22

Sources: (1) Scottish Household Survey, 2005. (2) Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

Note: In the Scottish Household Survey 2005, the Scottish Borders is combined with Dumfries and Galloway to create a Southern Scotland categorisation. The figures presented here relate to that combined locality rather than the Scottish Borders local authority area.

5.17 Table 5.9 provides a comparative analysis of the proportions of residents who report feeling unsafe in their local neighbourhoods. Perceptions of safety when alone in the home after dark amongst residents in our case study neighbourhoods were similar to national averages. This is a particularly positive finding, given that our household survey comprised higher proportions of elderly and female respondents than the national comparator surveys. There was some variation between neighbourhoods, with 1 in 10 residents in Muirhouse reporting feeling unsafe compared to no residents in Carfin. Residents in our case study neighbourhoods were however significantly more likely than the Scottish population as a whole to feel unsafe whilst walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark, based on a comparison of data from both the 2005 Scottish Household Survey and the 2003 Scottish Crime Survey. The extent of this problem is evidenced by the fact that in 7 of the 8 case study neighbourhoods at least half of residents reported feeling unsafe when walking alone after dark in their neighbourhood and in 2 of the case study neighbourhoods (Muirhouse and Methil) approximately two thirds of residents felt unsafe.

Table 5.9 – Residents' perceptions of safety in their home and neighbourhood

	Residents feeling unsafe when alone in their home after dark (%)	Residents feeling unsafe when walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark (%)
Scotland (SHS 2005)	3	22
Scotland (SCS 2003)	7	32
Scotland (SHS 2005 most deprived quintile)	6	-
Scotland (SHS 2003/04 most deprived decile)	7	-
Broomhouse (MIS survey 2006)	9	50
Muirhouse (MIS survey 2006)	10	64
Abbeyview (MIS survey 2006)	6	55
Methil (MIS survey 2006)	7	68
Carfin (MIS survey 2006)	0	28
Whinhall (MIS survey 2006)	4	49
Burnfoot (MIS survey 2006)	3	51
Langlee (MIS survey 2006)	5	61
MIS survey sample average (all neighbourhoods)	6	53

Sources: Scottish Household Survey, 2005; Scottish Household Survey 2003/2004; Scottish Crime Survey, 2003; Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

5.18 Our case study local authorities were benchmarked with Scottish averages derived from national survey evidence. In Edinburgh, Fife and North Lanarkshire, the proportion of residents perceiving antisocial behaviour to be common in the neighbourhood, or to have personally experienced antisocial behaviour in the previous 12 months, is similar to the Scottish population as a whole. Residents in the Scottish Borders are less likely to perceive antisocial behaviour to be common. However residents in the case study neighbourhoods, with the exception of Carfin, were more likely to perceive antisocial behaviour problems as common when compared to their local authority averages. Similarly, residents in the case study neighbourhoods, again with the exception of Carfin, were more likely, and in some cases several times more likely, to have personally experienced antisocial behaviour compared to their local authority averages. There was however considerable variation in the incidence of personal experience of antisocial behaviour between the 8 case study neighbourhoods. In general, the proportion of residents in the case study neighbourhoods in Edinburgh and North Lanarkshire who perceived

antisocial behaviour to be common and who had personally experienced it in the previous twelve months was also higher than the average for deprived neighbourhoods in their local authority areas, although there was some variation depending on the type of antisocial behaviour. Although the proportion of residents in the case study neighbourhoods feeling unsafe in their home after dark was similar to those found in national surveys, these residents were more likely to feel unsafe when walking alone after dark in their local neighbourhood, with at least half of respondents feeling unsafe in these circumstances.

5.19 Data from the 2005 Scottish Household Survey revealed that the levels of dissatisfaction with local agencies' responses to tackling antisocial behaviour amongst residents in Fife and North Lanarkshire were similar to the Scottish average, whilst the levels of dissatisfaction in Edinburgh and the South of Scotland were lower than national average (Table 5.10). Figures for Edinburgh and North Lanarkshire reveal greater levels of dissatisfaction in deprived neighbourhoods, which is also the case nationally (data for Fife and the South of Scotland is not available due to small sample sizes). In Edinburgh, Fife and the Scottish Borders, the proportion of residents in the case study neighbourhoods who were dissatisfied with agency responses was greater than their local authority averages. In Edinburgh, these levels of dissatisfaction were also significantly greater than the city average for deprived neighbourhoods. In contrast, the 2 North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods had levels of dissatisfaction similar to (Carfin) or below (Whinhall) their local authority average.

Table 5.10 – Comparison of dissatisfaction with local agencies' responses

	Residents dissatisfied with local agencies' responses to tackling ASB (%)
Scotland	
All (1)	21
Most dep. 10% (2)	30
Edinburgh	
All (1)	13
Most dep. 10% (1)	30
Broomhouse (2)	41
Muirhouse (2)	48
Fife	
All (1)	20
Abbeyview (2)	33
Methil (2)	35
North Lanarkshire	
All (1)	23
Most dep. 10% (1)	28
Carfin (2)	24
Whinhall (2)	20
South of Scotland	
All (1)	17
Burnfoot (2)	34
Langlee (2)	25
MIS Survey sample average (2)	32

Sources: (1) Scottish Household Survey, 2005. (2) Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

Notes: In the Scottish Household Survey 2005, the Scottish Borders is combined with Dumfries and Galloway to create a Southern Scotland categorisation. The figures presented here relate to that combined locality rather than the Scottish Borders local authority area. The most deprived 10% rows represent figures for neighbourhoods in the bottom decile of the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2004. Fife and the South of Scotland are excluded from this bottom decile analysis due to low bases.

Chapter Summary

5.20 A significant proportion of residents in the case study neighbourhoods perceived most forms of antisocial behaviour to be common or very common. Whilst the proportions of residents who had personally experienced antisocial behaviour were lower than the proportions of residents who thought antisocial behaviour was common or very common, the findings suggest that a large number of residents had been directly affected by antisocial behaviour either as victims or witnesses. There was considerable variation between residents' perceptions and experiences of antisocial behaviour across the case study neighbourhoods, with lower proportions of residents in the Scottish Borders being affected and higher proportions in the Edinburgh and Fife neighbourhoods. Statistical analysis identifies a clear neighbourhood effect, which our research suggests is linked to social dynamics and community relations in these localities and cannot entirely be attributed to the socio-demographic profile of each neighbourhood.

5.21 Although comparison with national survey data is problematic, it does appear as if most of the case study neighbourhoods were experiencing levels of antisocial behaviour that were considerably higher than national and local authority averages, including comparator averages for the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland. Only a minority of residents perceived that the levels of antisocial behaviour and the performance of local agencies in their neighbourhoods had improved in the previous twelve months. With the exception of North Lanarkshire, respondents in our case study neighbourhoods appeared to

be more dissatisfied with the performance of local agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour than other residents in their local authority areas.

CHAPTER SIX: PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF AGENCY PERFORMANCE

Introduction

6.1 This chapter provides an analysis of residents' perceptions of the performance of local agencies in addressing antisocial behaviour and utilises qualitative data to explore the interaction between residents and local agencies. The chapter begins by describing the impact that antisocial behaviour was reported as having on residents and neighbourhoods. It continues by exploring residents' views of local agency performance, including the views of victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour. The chapter also discusses the under-reporting of antisocial behaviour incidents by residents to agencies and concludes by describing residents' perceptions of effectiveness, good practice and areas for improvement in agency responses to antisocial behaviour at the neighbourhood level.

The Impacts of Antisocial Behaviour

6.2 It was evident from our household survey that antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhoods had a considerable impact on residents. It is important to recognise that residents' reactions to antisocial behaviour were both nuanced and complex. For some residents, it was apparent that antisocial behaviour had a traumatic impact on their own wellbeing, their family relationships, and their attitudes to their neighbourhood. However, even amongst residents who have directly experienced antisocial behaviour as victims or witnesses, the distress caused by antisocial behaviour may be balanced by other positive aspects of their home, local neighbourhood and community. Three quarters of the 46 victims and witnesses that we interviewed reported that antisocial behaviour had a negative impact on their own lives, and this was also reflected in the resident's survey and the focus groups. In extreme cases, individuals had left their properties or had applied to be re-housed: in these cases there was particular anger that it was the victims, rather than the perpetrators, who were being forced to relocate: *"Why should I have to move when I have done so much to this house?"*, *"Two or 3 people have moved out because of that one family"*. Some owner-occupier victims were able to re-locate, but for social housing tenants, this could be more difficult: *"I have been able to buy myself out of this situation. Other people are stuck in it. If I hadn't been able to move I think I would have felt trapped in this vicious circle of despair."*

6.3 A third of the victims and witnesses we interviewed reported detrimental impacts to their health, including stress and mental health problems requiring medication, and in some cases victims had suffered serious depression. The experience of antisocial behaviour had also generated tensions within families: *"It nearly split me and my husband up. It nearly destroyed our family."* The majority of victims and witnesses also reported that their experiences had resulted in them feeling unsafe, even in their own homes, and having particular concerns for the safety of their children. This often translated into a reluctance to walk in certain areas of the neighbourhood, particularly local shopping centres, the avoidance of groups of people, and a reliance on cars or public transport to get about. Several residents spoke of keeping dogs as a form of protection. Finally, in the majority of cases, antisocial behaviour and the response of local agencies to the problem had reduced individuals' confidence in their neighbourhood and its future, and their faith in Councils, the police and other organisations.

6.4 There was however also evidence of resilience to antisocial behaviour within local communities. Even amongst the victims and witnesses we interviewed, almost as many reported their neighbourhood to be a good place to live as had an entirely negative view,

whilst a third thought their neighbourhood had both good and bad aspects. Importantly, almost all the victims and witnesses distinguished between the majority of their 'good' neighbours and the small minority of individuals who were actually engaged in antisocial behaviour. Whilst many residents supported more effective enforcement action and punitive measures, several individuals – including some victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour – also identified wider social causes that impacted in antisocial behaviour. These included the fragility of community relations and limited neighbourliness in contemporary society, the consequences of inappropriate parenting on the behaviour of some young people, and the personal problems underpinning the conduct of some individuals: *"She* [a perpetrator with mental health problems] *needs help more than anything else. Social work and health have not helped her… she does not know how to live in the community."* These views were reflected in the areas for improvement which were identified by residents in the case study neighbourhoods, and which are discussed below.

Residents' Views of Local Agency Performance

6.5 Perceptions of local agency performance varied considerably amongst local residents. Some residents were very positive, including individuals who had been victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour: *"The Council have been here often. I can't praise them enough"*; *"The police are fantastic"*. For another group of residents, the police and Councils were not viewed as always being effective, but this was attributed to factors outside these agencies' control. For example, there was a belief amongst many residents that even when the police, Council or other agencies were improving at a local level, they were *"unable to do anything"* about prolific offenders and that these offenders *"know that they can get away with it"* so there was *"no point blaming the police"*. This perception of the impotence of local agencies still acted to corrode faith in the efficacy of reporting incidences of antisocial behaviour. However, the majority view appeared to be that the police, Council and other agencies were limited in their responses by the wider criminal justice system in Scotland. Similarly the considerable frustration amongst local residents about delayed police response times or the protracted processes for Councils or social landlords obtaining ASBOs or evictions was often tempered by recognition of limited resources or legal requirements respectively.

6.6 Some residents, although a minority, were more vehement in their criticisms of local agencies: *"I have no respect for the Council or the police...they just don't care"*, *"I wouldn't waste my energy with them...they do nothing."* A minority of residents stated that the police *"were scared of certain individuals"* and therefore targeted less prolific offenders, whilst other residents believed that local agencies "*took the side of the perpetrators and give them all the support and attention."* It is important to unpick these criticisms and allegations in more detail. In doing so, it is apparent that whilst some of the alleged motivations behind the action or inaction of local agencies may be unjustified, the different perceptions and interpretations that residents have of local agency responses need to be better understood. More positively, providing more information to residents about what interventions are being put in place, about the challenges facing local agencies in taking action, and ensuring a more sympathetic interaction with victims and witnesses, are all measures that can be put in place without the need for substantial additional resources. This suggests that some improvements in residents' perceptions of agencies' performance may be achieved within existing funding arrangements.

6.7 Many residents were aware of an increased police presence in their neighbourhoods, which was important in providing reassurance and in symbolising local agencies' commitment to the neighbourhoods and their willingness to tackle antisocial

behaviour. Perceptions of community police officers were particularly positive, especially when they operated in the same neighbourhood for a significant period of time, which enabled them to become on first name terms with many residents. However, residents' interpretation of an additional police officer presence varied, with some residents believing that this merely signified that particular individuals had been released from custody. Despite the recognition and general approval of increased police visibility in the local neighbourhood, there continued to be frustration about response times, and in particular the lack of a police or community warden presence in the evenings and weekends, when antisocial behaviour was perceived to occur most frequently. Several residents suggested that one mechanism for tackling this frustration was the provision of more information to local residents about the extent of policing that they could expect, and when additional police officers or community wardens would be in their neighbourhood. This would enable residents to be more informed in their assessment of the service that they were receiving.

6.8 Our research found a considerable understanding amongst local residents of the challenges facing local agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour, and the limited resources available for them to do so. However, what was more corrosive for agency-community relations was the perception that local agencies, or the Council or police at local authority levels 'did not care' about particular neighbourhoods. There are 2 important lessons to be drawn from this. Firstly, the initial reaction and support that residents receive from agencies when they make a complaint is in some senses almost as important to them as the efficacy of subsequent action taken to resolve the problem. A significant proportion of residents, including those who had reported incidents, believed that the police, Council or housing association were dismissive of their complaint or did not take it seriously, and this perception was strengthened when agencies did not provide further information to the complainant about what action was taken as a result of their complaint. Clearly this is not primarily a resources issue, but rather one underlines the importance of the interaction between residents and front line agency officers. Secondly, many residents in the case study neighbourhoods were acutely aware that their neighbourhood were often subject to considerable stigmatisation as 'problem areas.' Their concern was that this view could become shared by some agency officers, with the result that *"they tar everyone with the same brush."* Our evidence shows that the majority of antisocial behaviour is caused by a small number of individuals, and this was widely recognised by agency officers. However there is a need to ensure that this message is relayed to local communities, and that agencies counter any trend towards tolerating or accepting higher rates of antisocial behaviour as 'a fact' or 'way of life' in deprived neighbourhoods.

6.9 It is important that neighbourhood antisocial behaviour strategies are not undermined by other policies. For example, the perceived allocation policies of Councils and housing associations appeared to have a considerable negative impact on the confidence residents had in local agencies' ability to tackle antisocial behaviour. There was a perception that allocation policies contributed to the concentration of antisocial behaviour within particular sub-areas of neighbourhoods and, more fundamentally, contributed to the decline of neighbourhoods. This was perceived by some residents to be symbolic of the neglect of these neighbourhoods by agencies, which undermined other initiatives and could reduce the resolve of some residents to co-operate with agencies in tackling antisocial behaviour. This concern was most acutely articulated in relation to alleged drug dealers. Several residents felt that Councils or housing associations were not putting appropriate systems in place to manage new tenants with a history of antisocial behaviour: *"The Council are moving people in here next to us decent people. That is where the noise, swearing and fighting started."*

6.10 Residents in a number of neighbourhoods reported that perceived agency inaction in tackling 'lower level' antisocial behaviour – and environmental offences in particular – reduced their confidence in local agencies capacity to tackle more serious problems. For example, where residents reported that their complaints about litter, graffiti, dogs, bins, unkempt gardens or broken close entry systems had not been addressed, they were less likely to report other forms of antisocial behaviour. It was evident that whilst serious offences had the most traumatic impact on individuals, these incidences affect relatively small number of households. In contrast, low-level but persistent antisocial behaviour impacted on the neighbourhood perceptions of larger proportions of the population, and the visible nature of its detrimental impact on the neighbourhood environment was often the most important determinant of residents' perceptions of antisocial behaviour and the performance of local agencies.

6.11 There was considerable variation between different residents' levels of awareness of initiatives and measures to tackle antisocial behaviour. Where residents were aware of initiatives – such as wardens, concierges and environmental hit squads – their assessment was usually very positive. They believed that these initiatives were effective and they were both reassured and empowered by their awareness of these initiatives. There were however residents in all of our case study neighbourhoods who were entirely unaware of the antisocial behaviour initiatives operating in their area. Similarly, there was a common sense of uncertainty amongst residents about which agencies they should report antisocial behaviour to, which telephone numbers they should use, what constituted an 'appropriate' complaint, and the procedures and actions that would follow. This confusion appeared to have been exacerbated to some extent by the reorganisation of services and the changing of contact telephone numbers. This lack of awareness extended to measures such as ASBOs, with residents being unsure which individuals were subject to them, what their conditions were, what role residents should play in monitoring these conditions, and to whom alleged breaches should be reported. Some residents reported that where they were aware of individuals being subject to ASBOs, these individuals were continuing to engage in antisocial behaviour. There is clearly a balance to be struck in how local agencies publicise their activities. Many residents welcomed information and were reassured by 'success stories' about evictions or ASBOs being used against perpetrators. However there is also a need to ensure that progress is not over-stated, in order to prevent a disjunction between what some residents termed 'propaganda' and the perception of residents about the continuing problems within their neighbourhoods. In several neighbourhoods, a small number of residents stated that they saw pictures of wardens or police officers in the local newspaper, but did not see them on the street.

6.12 One of the key challenges facing agencies was that of sustaining initiatives. A number of residents reported being frustrated that additional policing or youth projects were short-lived, and that when these initiatives ended antisocial behaviour problems returned to their previous levels. This in part reflects the issues of limited resources and staff retention that were discussed in the previous chapter. There was also a clear dynamic whereby residents became accustomed to increased levels of policing or wardens, which very quickly become the expected norm of service provision. This was evident in the widespread perception amongst residents that wardens were very visible when they were first introduced, but were no longer such a noticeable presence in local neighbourhoods. Despite this perception, the numbers of patrols had in fact usually remained constant. It is difficult to suggest how this can be easily countered, while any actual reduction in services would be likely to have a very detrimental impact on residents' views of the commitment being shown to their neighbourhood by local agencies. There are also 'hidden' additional

management costs in the provision of new facilities. For example, whilst residents in 2 neighbourhoods welcomed the provision of new play areas or green spaces, it was recognised that these could become the site of antisocial behaviour and environmental degradation. It was important to residents that action was taken to address antisocial behaviour in these locations and to ensure a sense of community ownership. There was concern in one case study neighbourhood that a children's play area had been removed because of antisocial behaviour, which was regarded as an 'easy option' that represented a victory for the perpetrators.

6.13 The young people we spoke to were generally critical of the performance of local agencies. The police were viewed as being 'out of touch' although neighbourhood wardens were perceived more favourably. Young people were resentful that the police were simultaneously unable to provide protection to young people, yet were felt to harass young people in public spaces. The complicated and at times contradictory attitudes of young people towards the police were summed up by one young person: *"The police do hassle you... but I was also glad inside that the police were there."* There was an almost universal feeling amongst young people that they would not report incidents to the police as this would be 'grassing'. Young people had an awareness of Antisocial Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) and some young people had family members who were subject to these measures, although this awareness tended to be general rather than specific. There was a commonly-held perception that ASBOs and ABCs were not a deterrent to anti-social behaviour and that they were routinely broken or 'torn up' by individuals. In some cases this perception was based on the direct family experiences of the young people we spoke to.

6.14 One of the key dilemmas facing neighbourhood antisocial behaviour strategies was the balance to be struck between the responsibilities of local agencies and those of residents themselves. One resident said: *"My concern is that more and more responsibility for the area is being taken away from us. Then some people feel they don't need to have any responsibility to look after the areas as someone else will come along and do it!"* In this understanding, the increasing presence of concierges, wardens and community police replaces, rather than supplements, the role of local residents. This appeared to be particularly the case with the response to the behaviour of young people, as one local youth worker described:

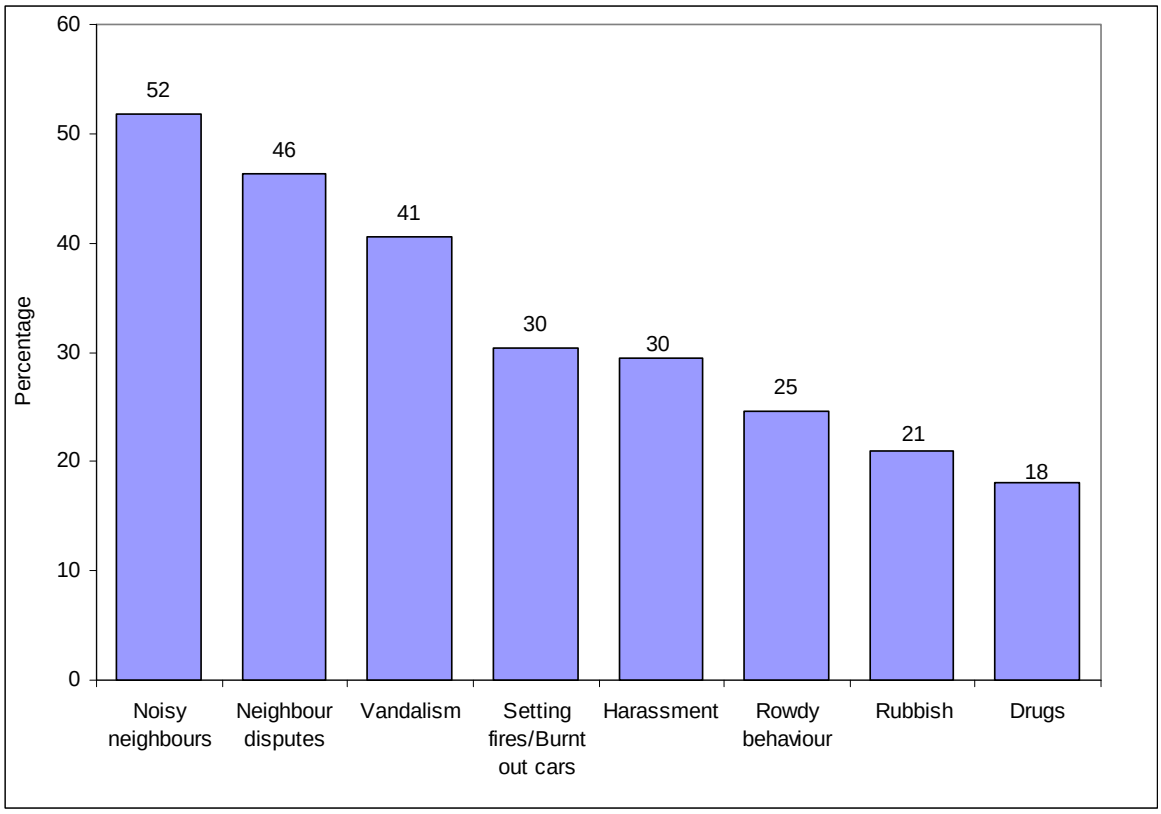
> *"What happens is that adults retreat behind their closed doors and then complain about the kids outside kicking a football about. The police then arrive with flashing blue lights and then other adults see this and think there are frequent serious incidents, so they better not risk informally challenging kids. Therefore the kids' use of public space goes unchallenged. For their part, the young people get disaffected by the unwillingness of adults to communicate with them and perceive the police as unfairly harassing them… There is a need for adults to fill this public space again and to have the confidence to interact with young people in an appropriate manner."*

Under-reporting

6.15 The under-reporting of incidents of antisocial behaviour was a major issue in all the case study neighbourhoods. Figure 6.1 shows the percentage of residents witnessing an act of antisocial behaviour who reported it to an agency. The findings show that, whilst a majority of residents reported an incident involving noisy neighbours, a minority reported all other forms of antisocial behaviour, and less than 2 in 10 residents reported incidences involving drugs. While 78 percent of residents indicated in our survey that they would be willing to report an incident of vandalism or graffiti to local agencies, the reality appears to

be that considerably lower proportions of residents actually do so. These findings are similar to national level data from the 2003/2004 Scottish Household Survey which revealed that only 21 percent of witnesses or victims reported an incident to the police, and only 31 percent reported an incident to the Council.

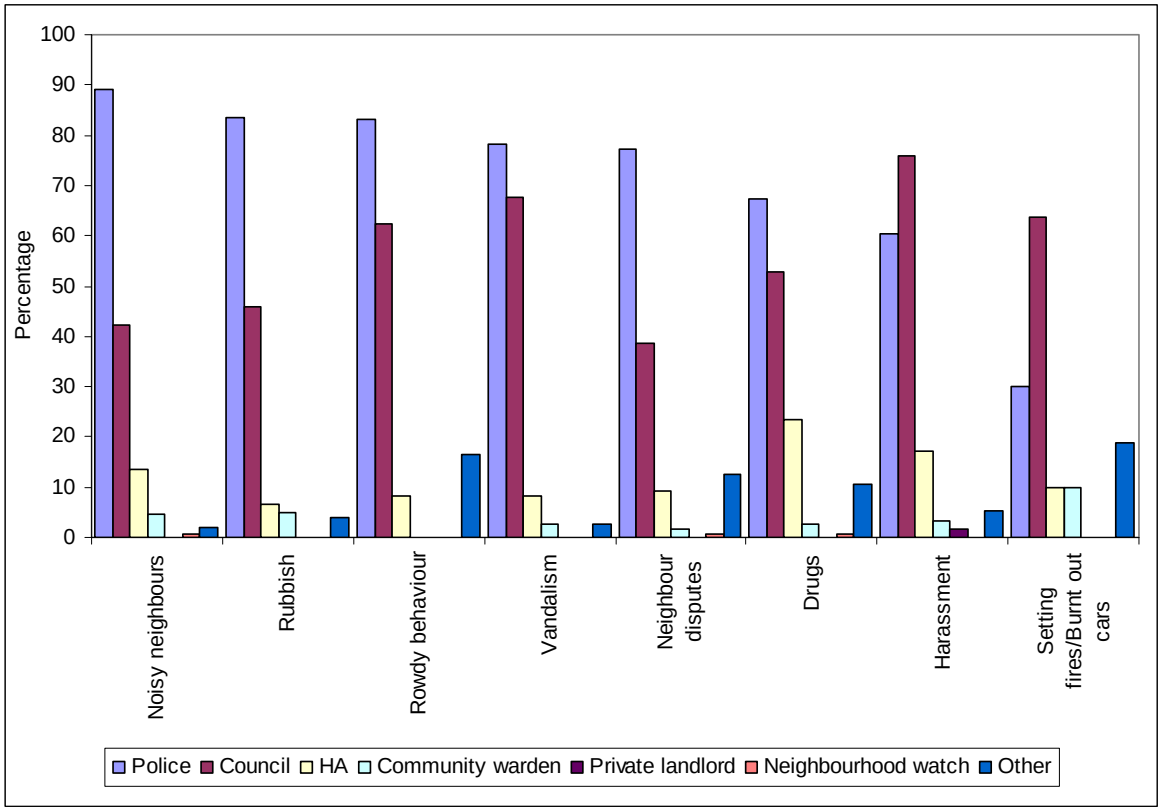
Figure 6.1 – Percentage of survey respondents reporting incidents of antisocial behaviour



Base: Those experienced anti-social behaviour (Noisy neighbours: 295; Vandalism: 473; Rubbish: 382; Neighbour disputes: 125; Harassment: 413; Drugs: 204; Rowdy behaviour: 156; Setting fires/Burnt out cars: 79)
Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

6.16 Figure 6.2 provides a breakdown of which agencies those who do report an antisocial behaviour incident contact. For most types of antisocial behaviour, the police are the main reporting agency, although cases involving harassment and setting fires/burnt out cars are most commonly reported to the Council. Very few incidents appear to be reported to community wardens, private landlords or neighbourhood watch schemes. Across the entire sample of residents in our neighbourhood survey, just under half of the respondents (47%) indicated that they would be willing to act as a witness in a case of serious antisocial behaviour. There was however considerable variation in the levels of willingness to be a witness between the neighbourhoods. Almost 7 out of 10 respondents in the two case study neighbourhoods in North Lanarkshire were willing to act as witnesses, whilst only 3 in 10 respondents in Muirhouse were willing to act as witnesses. Although it is not possible to investigate in depth the factors behind the higher rates of willingness to act as witnesses in the 2 North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods, the high profile and well established presence of North Lanarkshire Council's Antisocial Behaviour Task Force may be an important factor.

Figure 6.2 – Percentage of survey respondents reporting to different agencies by type of antisocial behaviour



Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey, June 2006.

Base: Those experienced anti-social behaviour and reported it (Noisy neighbours: 153; Vandalism: 192; Rubbish: 80; Neighbour disputes: 58; Harassment: 122; Drugs: 37; Rowdy behaviour: 156; Setting fires/Burnt out cars: 24)
Source: Household Survey June 2006

6.17 There were 4 key factors underpinning this under-reporting problem. The first was a perception that *"nothing can be done"* or that local agencies *"are not interested"* and that *"when you report something you get the brush off and excuses"* or that *"the police have better things to be getting on with"*. This was exacerbated by the experiences of some residents of delayed police response times to their calls, or a perceived failure to subsequently act against alleged perpetrators. Secondly, there was concern amongst residents that reporting an incident would *"upset my neighbours"* or *"just make things even worse"*. Thirdly, there was clearly a widespread fear of retaliation arising from either directly confronting alleged perpetrators or reporting incidents: for example residents expressed concerns that *"my house will get done if I say anything"* or *"you don't want to get on the wrong side of them, for your safety."* Whilst many residents were willing to make anonymous complaints, a much smaller proportion were willing to act as formal witnesses in evidence-gathering actions by local agencies. This was particularly the case in incidents involving drug dealing, and indeed many residents in the survey, interviews and focus groups during this research were reluctant to discuss drug dealing issues. Parents were specifically concerned about the potential repercussions for their children if they reported incidents. Although such retaliation may be rare, there was evidence of some residents being subjected to direct intimidation, including verbal assaults and sustained incidences of damage to the property, and knowledge of these incidences happening to neighbours: *"I know a lady a few doors down, she reported them and she just got grief, they vandalised her garden"* Finally, there was a deep-rooted culture of "keeping yourself

to yourself" which in some cases was linked to a distrust and non-co-operation with the police and a reluctance to 'grass' to the police about other residents, which resulted in residents attempting to resolve problems themselves. There is a paradox here where many long term residents reported that whilst they experienced antisocial behaviour, this was 'normal' or 'the way it has always been round here', but they felt relatively safe personally due to their local knowledge and were therefore unlikely to report incidences. This resulted in a higher tolerance level towards antisocial behaviour. For example one resident described how his bicycle had been stolen and set on fire but that this: *"was no big deal: it's just one of these things"* whilst another resident stated: *"There isn't much you can do, you just need to learn to live with it… even though I do get scared."* There were also 'myths' that make residents less likely to report incidences. For example, a number of residents in different neighbourhoods believed that perpetrators could tune their radios into police frequencies and therefore identify complainants. It was also evident that the responses of other neighbours could be an important factor shaping residents willingness to report incidents. Where residents perceived that others would also make complaints, this could lead to a reaffirming dynamic of action: *"Other people in the street are reporting them too, not just me. That makes it easier. I talk to my neighbours about it"*; *"We all know one of us [neighbours] will report it."* Conversely, there was considerable frustration amongst some witnesses about the unwillingness of their neighbours to become involved: *"I wanted to make a complaint… but no-one else would give evidence"*, *"Most people are too afraid to report anything: they just keep their mouths shut."*

The Views of Victims and Witnesses

6.18 Thirty-six of the 46 victims and witnesses that we interviewed had reported a specific incident of antisocial behaviour. The majority (27) of these individuals reported the incident immediately, although some individuals had waited for a period of time in the hope that the antisocial behaviour would cease or *"until I could not put up with it any longer"*. The majority of complaints were made to the police, council or specialist antisocial behaviour teams. Victims and witnesses' satisfaction with the immediate agency response they received was divided evenly between those who were satisfied, those who were dissatisfied and those who were both satisfied and dissatisfied with different aspects of how their complaint was managed. There was no clear pattern in levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction between different agencies.

6.19 There were 3 key elements which interviewees felt underpinned a satisfactory initial response. The first of these was the speedy response to a complaint. The second element was the sympathetic treatment of their complaint, and the provision of reassurance and offers of support by agency officers. The third element was keeping complainants informed of developments with their complaint. Conversely, the 2 main reasons for dissatisfaction were delays in agency responses, and a lack of information about what action could and would be taken following the complaint.

6.20 Only 13 of the 36 victims and witnesses who had made a complaint indicated that they had been offered any advice or support. This included advice on reporting future incidents; contact numbers, advice on avoiding the alleged perpetrator, advice on home security, and information about mediation and victim support services. For some individuals this advice and support was very important and reassuring. Two of the individuals subsequently utilised the mediation or victim support services and both found them very useful. However, it is important to note that 7 individuals claimed that they did not need support from agencies and did not wish to be regarded as 'a victim.'

6.21 A range of actions were taken by agencies in response to the complaints from our sample of victims and witnesses (Table 6.1). 16 of the 36 victims and witnesses who reported an incident were requested to maintain diaries or incident sheets. Only 3 individuals had reservations about doing this; 2 were concerned about potential retribution from the perpetrator and one witness did not see the point in the diaries. Of the 36 cases of complaints, 21 were reported to have resulted in an improvement in the immediate situation, although this improvement was not always sustained and the antisocial behaviour could re-occur on subsequent occasions. There was no discernable link between the different forms of actions taken by agencies and the perceived outcome of the case.

Table 6.1 – Action taken and outcome of case

Action	Improved	Improved for short period	Stayed the same	Worsened	Unknown	Total
Police or LA visit only	3		3			6
Police/ ASB team investigation only	4	2	1	1		8
Legal action (ASBO, fine)	2	2	1			5
Environmental improvements	1		2			3
Environmental and ASBO	1					1
Confiscate mopeds	1					1
Curfew				1		1
Action unknown	5		4		2	11
Total	17	4	11	2	2	36

Base = 36 reported cases.

6.22 The victims and witnesses identified 4 main ways in which the service they received could be improved. Firstly, responses should be quicker: *"Police should come out quicker and take action. They can't prove anything if they don't."* Secondly, due weight and importance should be given to the complaint by agencies. Support should be provided, including referrals to victim support and mediation services, and intensive support is required by some witnesses where cases result in court action. Thirdly, it is important that complainants are kept informed about future actions and developments relating to their complaints. Only half of our sample reported being kept informed of further developments and actions and this was a source of considerable frustration: *"I found out from the neighbour I reported that he had an ASBO", "I think some got ASBOs and some have gone to prison. It's just what I read in the papers."* In contrast, those who had been kept informed felt reassured: *"It is important to be kept updated. I felt better that I wasn't the only one affected, it eased the fear that they might come back."* Finally, there is a need to ensure that subsequent enforcement action is effective: *"They need to take action to enforce the ASBO. There needed to be more collaboration between authorities to respond to the behaviour."*

Effective Interventions and Good Practice

6.23 Although this chapter has identified a series of residents concerns and on-going challenges facing the local agencies operating in their neighbourhoods, it is important to state that a number of specific initiatives were perceived by residents to have been very effective. There are 4 key themes to emerge from this. Firstly, it was evident that one neighbourhood in particular, Broomhouse in Edinburgh, had experienced positive improvement in the perceptions of its residents of levels of antisocial behaviour and of agency performance. More specifically, the Broomhouse residents that we spoke to

reported a considerable reduction in drug taking and dealing, even if this was possibly due to the problem being displaced into an adjacent neighbourhood. The main explanations for this general improvement in Broomhouse have been set out in the previous chapter. Secondly, initiatives that had increased the visible presence of 'official' authority within neighbourhoods were strongly supported by local residents. These included the expansion of CCTV, which was reported by residents to have reduced the numbers of people congregating in previously problematic public spaces, although there were issues with displacement and 'blind spots'. Concierges were also very positively regarded by residents in providing reassurance, particularly when they undertook environmental maintenance and clean up activities: *"They do a great job of trying to keep the area tidy."* Similarly, additional community police officers and community wardens were generally perceived by residents to have made a positive impact in the case study neighbourhoods. The third theme was the importance residents gave to early and rapid responses to environmental antisocial behaviour by concierges, community wardens and specialist environmental hit squads. Finally, at least 3 schemes aimed at reducing antisocial behaviour involving young people were positively assessed by local residents. These included the bottle-marking initiative in the Scottish Borders, which aimed to identify the sources of alcohol sales to young people, and which was perceived by both adults and young people to have reduced underage drinking in public spaces; the 'junior' concierge programme in Broomhouse which involves young people in environmental clean up activities linked to rewards including away days; and a similar 'junior' community wardens project in Abbeyview in Fife.

6.24 Although some of these initiatives are in their early stages and are yet to be fully evaluated, the fact that their impacts have been viewed so positively by local residents suggests that they may provide examples of good practice for other local authorities. In summary the specific initiatives identified and positively regarded by residents in our study were:

- The bottle-marking project in the Scottish Borders neighbourhoods and Abbeyview
- The environmental 'Hit Squad' in Broomhouse and a similar service in Methil
- Concierges in Broomhouse
- The junior concierge project in Broomhouse
- The proposed junior warden scheme in Abbeyview
- The community policing initiative in Methil
- Community wardens in Langlee and Abbeyview

Areas of Improvement

6.25 During the course of our research with local residents, a number of recommendations and suggested areas of improvement were identified. These included:

- Focusing on the 'root' causes of antisocial behaviour at both individual household and neighbourhood levels, for example addressing alcohol or drug addiction; treating mental health problems; providing parenting support; managing allocation policies sensitively and tackling poverty and poor physical environments.
- Greater provision of educational and diversionary projects, specifically for younger people and parents with younger children, and allied with more interventions with the parents of young people engaged in antisocial behaviour.

- Awareness-raising amongst local communities about the issues involved in antisocial behaviour, coupled with greater support for the establishment and maintenance of residents neighbourhood groups.
- Extending the presence of community police officers, community wardens and concierges in order to facilitate more evening patrols and to reduce agency response times. This should be combined with the targeting of extra resources to known 'hotspots'.
- Undertaking environmental improvements which prioritise security and which contribute to a sense of pride and respect in local neighbourhoods.
- Improving initial responses to complaints about antisocial behaviour, including the collation of evidence and the provision of information about victim and witness support services.
- More education about the different types of measures available to local authorities, the police and registered social landlords along with explicit information about the required actions of local residents in reporting incidents or engaging with neighbourhood interventions and realistic timescales required for enforcement action to be taken.
- Providing greater publicity about the scope for residents to report incidents anonymously and the support and protection that may be provided to victims and residents.
- Taking action against any local retailers providing alcohol or fireworks to underage children or young people.
- Providing clear service standards for responding to reports of antisocial behaviour, which should apply consistently across the various agencies involved in tackling antisocial behaviour. Maximising the provision of information to complainants about the progress of their case should be one of the main service standards.

6.26 This list of suggestions largely mirrors the actions already being put in place by local authorities and their partner agencies to tackle antisocial behaviour. It is clear though that there is evidence of a lack of awareness of some of these improvement activities amongst local residents. Whilst some of these suggestions have considerable resource implications, particularly those relating to increased police and warden numbers or environmental improvements, it is striking that residents regularly identified a series of measures that are not limited to a greater authority presence or extended enforcement activity. In addition, some of these suggestions address problems in the culture and interaction between agencies and residents that may be realistically addressed without substantial increases in budgets.

Chapter Summary

6.27 This chapter has identified that antisocial behaviour has a significant negative impact on the quality of life of residents in the case study neighbourhoods. Residents often did not perceive any imporvments in the performance of agencies in addressing antisocial behaviour, although the most significant improvements that were identified did involve tackling the most prevalent forms of antisocial behaviour in the neighbourhoods we examined. Evidence from our case studies and household survey identified a major problem of under-reporting of antisocial behaviour within these neighbourhoods, and only

a minority of the residents who did report an incident of antisocial behaviour were satisfied with the response that they received. Despite these levels of dissatisfaction, residents did identify some improvements in agency performance, including identifying specific initiatives which were believed to have been particularly effective.

6.28 The research revealed the varied and complex responses of residents to antisocial behaviour and their nuanced perceptions of agency performance. It was evident that more appropriate initial responses to complaints, the provision of better information, and enhancing the effectiveness of interventions were priorities for local residents. Although residents wished to see increasing numbers of police officers and wardens, they also made recommendations for improvements which have less substantial resources implications, and their priorities for future action largely mirror the approaches being put in place at local authority and neighbourhood levels.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 On first reading, the findings of this research appear to be ambiguous and contradictory. On the one hand, key agency stakeholders at local authority and neighbourhood levels consistently reported an improvement in agency performance and visible improvements to antisocial behaviour within local neighbourhoods since the 2004 Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act and the antisocial behaviour strategies, Outcome Agreements and Scottish Executive funding that arose from it. On the other hand, recorded incidents of antisocial behaviour had increased in the case study neighbourhoods, and there were very limited improvements in local residents' perceptions of antisocial behaviour and agency performance.

7.2 Part of this ambiguity reflects the limitations of the available data, performance indicators and the methodologies applied to this research. However, it is possible to disentangle some of the findings and to discern key patterns and themes emerging from this study. It is also the case that there was a remarkable degree of consistency and uniformity in the main issues and challenges facing all 8 of the case study neighbourhoods, although the scale of antisocial behaviour problems within them varied considerably.

7.3 A key theme to emerge was the difficulty in evaluating the impacts of local antisocial behaviour at the neighbourhood level given that the strategies were in their early stages of implementation. The organisational restructuring, new initiatives and funding had simply not been in place long enough to effect significant change at either neighbourhood or local authority levels. The question that arises from this is whether the confusion and uncertainty amongst agency officers and residents about new delivery mechanisms and their effectiveness was simply a consequence of this transitional phase, or whether it signifies inherent weaknesses in these approaches to tackling antisocial behaviour. Our assessment, whilst necessarily tentative at this stage, is that the strategies, delivery structures, deployment of resources and use of interventions were largely appropriate, as was the holistic PIER approach that underpins them. This had resulted in demonstrable improvements in agency working, even if much of this improvement was process-focused and therefore not readily visible to local residents. This also suggests that improvements in the levels and perceptions of antisocial behaviour and agency performance may be anticipated in the medium to long term. It also indicates that increasing incidents of antisocial behaviour being reported to local agencies may be interpreted positively at this stage in the strategies.

7.4 There were a number of factors driving these improvements. The additional funding made available by the Scottish Executive for local antisocial behaviour strategies had enabled a range of initiatives and interventions to be provided at local authority and neighbourhood levels. Many of these had, or were beginning to have, a positive impact at the neighbourhood level, particularly in tackling the most serious antisocial behaviour and the behaviour of the most problematic households. The role of specialised central antisocial behaviour units, investigation teams and projects working intensively with perpetrators had been particularly important contributors to these improvements. In terms of short-term neighbourhood impacts, interventions that had increased the visible presence of 'authority' figures (community police officers, community wardens and community concierges) and actions tackling environmental antisocial behaviour were effective in addressing incidents of antisocial behaviour. They also provided signifiers of the

commitment and ability of local agencies to tackle the problems facing neighbourhoods. However, these were also the interventions that were most resource-intensive. The neighbourhood that appeared to have achieved the most significant improvements in the last 2 years had benefited from very substantial targeted resources; allied to robust and effective multi-agency partnership working. Given the resources available across local authorities, it is unlikely that such intensive targeting could be replicated in all of the neighbourhoods experiencing antisocial behaviour problems.

7.5 However, not all of the improvements to agency performance were attributable to additional funding, nor were resources the only barrier to improving the delivery of antisocial behaviour strategies at the neighbourhood level. The most significant factor behind the improvements in agency performance was the undoubted commitment to multi-agency partnership working. In all 4 local authority areas, it was evident that a growing range of partner organisations were engaging in the strategies at local authority and neighbourhood levels, and that this engagement was increasingly proactive and substantive. Importantly, these improved partnership processes were resulting in real improvements in tackling antisocial behaviour. A strong consensus has been reached amongst agencies about the appropriateness of the PIER approach, and this was combined with a growing awareness of the resources and skills that different agencies could contribute to antisocial behaviour strategies. This resulted in more effective, holistic interventions that addressed the 4 PIER pillars (prevention, early intervention, enforcement and rehabilitation), and in some cases began to tackle the underlying causes of antisocial behaviour rather than merely managing the symptoms. Many of the previous cultural or perceived practical and legal barriers to the sharing of information and joint responses have been overcome, and this has led to higher quality intelligence being available to a wider range of agencies, resulting in more effective operational decision-making. It has also improved the targeting, flexibility and mobility of available resources at local authority and neighbourhood levels. Partnerships were also being encouraged at the neighbourhood level, which had led to multi-agency interventions to address the specific needs and priorities of neighbourhoods.

7.6 There were some weaknesses in the delivery of local antisocial behaviour strategies at the neighbourhood level, not all of which were funding-based. Although 'core' neighbourhood partnerships involving local authority housing officers, community police officers, community wardens, concierges (in some areas), registered social landlords and environmental officers were increasingly robust, a number of agencies and organisations remained on the periphery. These included both social work and education officers, youth workers, local businesses and counselling and addiction support services. This was partly a function of previous partnership working, which was primarily focused on enforcement action. As these strategies increase the prioritisation of prevention, early intervention and rehabilitation it will be essential to fully engage these organisations, whose main strengths and focus lie in these areas. Enabling residents – including young people – to distinguish between the different roles that these organisations and individuals play within the PIER approach is important in building engagement and confidence with local residents, including the perpetrators of antisocial behaviour.

7.7 There was a limited engagement amongst local residents with antisocial behaviour strategies, which was one of the factors behind the 'perception gap' between residents and agency officers about improving conditions and agency performance in neighbourhoods. There is a need to address the considerable confusion amongst local residents about the changing responsibilities and powers of local agencies; when, where and how interventions are being deployed; and what role residents are expected to play. One of the areas where

agency performance appears to be poor is the initial response and support provided to victims and witnesses. This is not simply about providing more specialised services, although these are increasingly available. Rather it is about ensuring that all agencies treat complaints seriously, update residents about progress, and provide full and realistic information about the feasibility, timescales and consequences of actions and interventions. There are 2 fundamental issues which underpin the need for this approach. Firstly, the low rates of reporting, which is a national rather than local problem, create a cycle where it is difficult for agencies to take action and this lack of action breeds further frustration and disengagement amongst residents. Secondly, there is a need to develop the sense of empowerment and ownership towards tackling antisocial behaviour within neighbourhoods. This means ensuring that the knowledge and skills in the use of interventions is retained amongst front line officers and not confined to central local authority specialist teams. It also necessitates a focus upon improving relations and confidence amongst residents within neighbourhoods. This is especially the case for young people and adult residents. Generating tolerance of diverse lifestyles and building confidence in dispute resolution are essential if the increased visible presence of community police and wardens is going to enhance, rather than simply replace, informal social control. Continuity and the building of trust are central to the relationship between formal and informal mechanisms of social control, and the relatively high turnover of agency staff has not assisted this process. A similar effect was evident in the high residential turnover in some of the worst affected sub-areas of neighbourhoods.

7.8 The good practice lessons of this research involve key principles, working practices and specific initiatives. The key principles are: enabling holistic PIER-based interventions based on the engagement of as wide a range of agencies as possible; empowering residents through the provision of more comprehensive, detailed and realistic information about the antisocial behaviour interventions in their neighbourhoods and how residents can actively contribute to these interventions; and facilitating the autonomy of front line agency officers to develop partnerships and new ways of working. The key working practices are: the development, pooling and utilisation of more fine-grained information; clarifying processes, roles and responsibilities between agencies and different geographical scales of operation; facilitating flexibility and responsiveness in the deployment of resources; and ensuring that knowledge and ownership of interventions is retained at the neighbourhood as well as local authority level. A number of innovative projects and initiatives had been established in the case study neighbourhoods, including: youth diversionary activities; schemes to tackle under-age drinking; environmental improvement and maintenance programmes; and ‘junior’ wardens and concierge projects. These were all positively perceived by agency officers and residents, although they had not been the focus of longer-term evaluations.

7.9 It is important to acknowledge that not all of the improvements and challenges within neighbourhoods are attributable to the new local antisocial behaviour strategies. In the 4 local authorities action to tackle antisocial behaviour predates 2004, resources are generated from a range of funding streams other than the Scottish Executive’s Anti-social Behaviour etc. Act allocations, while detailed knowledge of the local authority’s antisocial behaviour strategy is often limited amongst front line practitioners at the neighbourhood level. It is also the case that the dynamics of antisocial behaviour problems in neighbourhoods are affected by wider social, economic and historical factors, including population change, inter-generational poverty, substance addiction, poor mental health and long-standing cultural norms – for example attitudes to reporting incidents to local agencies. This necessitates a realistic assessment of what may be achieved by local

antisocial behaviour strategies. It also highlights the perceived scale of the problem of antisocial behaviour, and the types and scales of interventions required to address it. The economic evaluation has found that the community warden schemes in all 4 case study local authorities and the intensive family intervention project in Edinburgh were demonstrably cost-effective. Whilst the other evaluated initiatives in the case study local authorities, including mediation services, had delivered benefits to local neighbourhoods, methodological and data limitations prevented a robust quantification of their cost effectiveness. This suggests the need for more comprehensive and disaggregated data to be collated about specific antisocial behaviour initiatives to determine their cost effectiveness in future evaluations. Funding is also a key issue. In the short-term, the fragility of funding horizons impacts on the effectiveness of local organisations and projects. In the longer term it is clear that levels of funding will need to be maintained if the developing momentum towards tackling antisocial behaviour is to be sustained.

CHAPTER EIGHT: EPILOGUE

8.1 The majority of the research fieldwork upon which this report was based was completed in the second half of 2006. Because of the rapidly evolving nature of the antisocial behaviour strategies and in order to enable this report to provide as contemporary a picture as possible, this annex provides an update on developments in the four case study local authorities since January 2007. The update is based upon telephone interviews with senior local authority officers who have a responsibility for antisocial behaviour strategies which were conducted in August and September 2007. The updates are presented for each of the respective local authorities and provide information about further developments, new initiatives and emerging issues and priorities.

City of Edinburgh

8.2 During the second half of 2006 the City of Edinburgh Council implemented a fundamental change in the structural organisation and delivery of its antisocial behaviour services. These reforms have sought to devolve the delivery of the antisocial behaviour strategy to the neighbourhood level. Six neighbourhood teams have been established, whose boundaries are generally similar to those of the city's parliamentary constituencies. This reorganisation has resulted in teams comprising an increased number of re-trained officers from a range of service department backgrounds, and now include environmental wardens and community safety concierges. These teams have replaced the previous organisational structure of a centralised specialist investigation team supported by housing response teams in a hotspot approach. The new expanded neighbourhood teams have specific responsibility for their geographical areas.

8.3 As the City of Edinburgh's antisocial behaviour strategy has developed, teamwork has been enhanced and operational co-ordination has improved. Council-funded additional police officers are now co-located and tasked jointly with community safety teams to undertake specific deployments and activities in the 6 neighbourhoods. A monthly co-ordination and operational planning review is held by neighbourhood managers and the relevant Chief Inspector of police, based on analysis of local data on victims, perpetrators and the sites of antisocial behaviour. This has resulted in a more unified and coordinated multi-agency response to antisocial behaviour at both strategic and daily practice levels.

8.4 There is evidence of progress in tackling antisocial behaviour in Edinburgh. The Outcome Agreement target of reducing incidents of antisocial behaviour involving young people in Youth Action Team areas by 1.5 percent has been exceeded, with an actual reduction of 4 percent. In addition, the average period for resolving antisocial behaviour complaints was 46 days compared to a target of 63 days and represents a 27 percent reduction in the average length of time required to resolve a complaint. 98 percent of noise complaints are responded to within one hour. The Council reported that their expanded 24-hour noise nuisance service has been subject to a positive, Scottish Executive-commissioned evaluation by DTZ Consulting, which is particularly important given that tackling complaints about noise-related antisocial behaviour is a key pillar of the City of Edinburgh's antisocial behaviour strategy.

8.5 The City of Edinburgh Council and its partners are currently considering how the positive impact of the antisocial behaviour strategy can be demonstrated to residents in order to provide reassurance that the strategy has resulted in reductions in antisocial behaviour and improved service response. The Council-commissioned fear of crime survey

(unpublished) continues to show a gap between residents' perceptions of the level of antisocial behaviour in their own neighbourhood compared to recorded incidents and also that many residents continue to compare their own neighbourhoods unfavourably with a more positive perception of levels of antisocial behaviour in the city as a whole.

8.6 The Council and its partners are continuing to explore how specific initiatives such as the *Early Intervention Families Project* may be mainstreamed and how funding may be maintained to ensure that the current levels of service provision are sustained in the future. Continuous improvement in the tasking and coordination of Council and Police resources is a high priority in meeting the aims of the antisocial behaviour strategy.

Fife

8.7 A Best Value Review of Community Safety was undertaken in Fife in 2006 resulted in a new management structure for the Community Safety Partnership in order to facilitate the use of the National Intelligence policing model. There are now four strategic task groups overseen by a Community Safety Strategy Group and Management Group. This has helped to provide a robust structure for linking service managers to strategic decision-making and for ensuring that appropriate mechanisms for problem-solving are in place.

8.8 Analysis based on the Home Office Vulnerable Localities Index method was utilised and adapted to produce an Antisocial Behaviour Profile for Fife at the end of 2006. This profile provided a 30 month average of where antisocial behaviour was concentrated, using both specific antisocial behaviour indicators and more generic deprivation measures. This profiling, combined with previous experience of interventions in specific localities, led to a review of operations and deployment. On the basis of this exercise, a decision was taken in April 2007 to target the Templehall area of Kirkcaldy for a minimum period of six months to a year. This work is driven through a monthly multi-agency tasking meeting and includes responding to ongoing antisocial behaviour using specific antisocial behaviour measures and the targeted deployment of police officers and community wardens. Problem profiles have also been developed to inform longer term action on issues such as alcohol and related disorder.

8.9 A Community Safety Operations Manager was appointed in 2006 to oversee Fife's community wardens service. This has resulted in the wardens being more robustly linked to the strategic tasking process, and has facilitated the move towards a Fife-wide wardens service. The manager also oversees the day to day operations of Fife's Safer Neighbourhoods Team including the team's deployment to Templehall. This approach aims to create strong linkages between front line staff and the antisocial behaviour strategy by working with existing local staff, networks and community forums to identify and address locally-defined problems. This has also resulted in closer working between agencies at the local level, with increased membership of local tasking groups involving all the key local agencies and organisations and the enhanced involvement of divisional police officers. Information sharing protocols have been further developed and all key agencies are now signed up to these. There has also been a general increase in the number of local agency staff working to address antisocial behaviour.

8.10 There are on-going reviews of antisocial behaviour interventions and funding, including identifying the resources and contributions being made by the full range of stakeholder organisations and agencies. An independent review of the community wardens

service commissioned by Fife Council has developed potential models for sustaining and rolling out the service across other localities in Fife.

8.11 Youth related antisocial behaviour has become a priority issue. As the antisocial behaviour strategy has developed in Fife a review of youth justice processes has led to the development of a joint protocol for the tiered response to juvenile offending in Fife. A number of local Youth Justice partners are now working together. This restructuring has resulted in a multi-agency group of representatives from the council, police, the Children's Reporter, Safer Neighbourhoods Team and SACRO meeting twice a week to discuss cases involving young people and to ensure that early intervention is linked to appropriate referrals and disposals and that agencies provide any necessary support.

North Lanarkshire

8.12 North Lanarkshire Council is continuing a process of departmental restructuring in order to enhance the co-ordination of antisocial behaviour services. This includes bringing environmental services, the night noise service and wardens together in one tier of management. The longer term aim is to achieve an amalgamation of all Council enforcement services into one management unit. This will facilitate a more subtle tasking and coordination of services and responses to antisocial behaviour, and will ensure the effective collation of reporting information.

8.13 The Council is currently discussing introducing an analytical team to facilitate the introduction of the National Intelligence Model of policing. This would build on the existing joint tasking and coordinating committee, enable easy access to information, and would strengthen tactical assessments and the identification of areas where antisocial behaviour is a concern. The analytical team would also aim to integrate Council responses to antisocial behaviour with those of partner agencies including the police, the Fire Service and voluntary organisations.

8.14 Partnership working has continued to improve in North Lanarkshire, for example through the joint tasking and coordination committee which can identify areas experiencing antisocial behaviour and synchronise the deployment of police officers, wardens, CCTV and other services. Information is being exchanged between agencies more efficiently and openly, and some of the previous barriers to partnership working – such as the identification of gaps in service provision amongst individual agencies – are being removed. It is anticipated that the Council's new citizens panels will form a robust mechanism to draw local residents into the processes of both identifying and influencing responses to antisocial behaviour in local neighbourhoods.

8.15 North Lanarkshire Council is conducting a sustainability review of all its antisocial behaviour services. This is partly driven by the recognition that many of its high profile services (such as wardens and the Antisocial Behaviour Task Force) are entirely or predominately reliant on time-limited external (Scottish Executive) funding. Whilst the sustainability review will consider rationalisation, it will be difficult to mainstream these services entirely. The Council's aim is to ensure the retention of the skills and experience of staff that have been built up, and to continue to meet the raised expectations of residents.

8.16 North Lanarkshire Council and its partners are continuing to review the evidence base that is utilised in evaluating the impact of antisocial behaviour interventions. There is some concern that existing performance indicators and resident perception surveys, whilst

having a role to play, are not fully capturing actual changes in the extent and types of antisocial behaviour and agency responses that are occurring within neighbourhoods in the local authority area. Narrative accounts of what the Council and others are actually doing to tackle antisocial behaviour are therefore important.

Scottish Borders

8.17 The Scottish Borders Anti Social Behaviour Strategy Group has continued to evolve into a very strong forum with a widened membership, including two private landlord representatives, and is often attended by over 20 individuals. Smaller working groups have been established to take forward specific elements of the strategy, including a policy and procedures working group and a group to oversee the production and dissemination of a multi-agency policy and procedures manual. The working group has reviewed its strategy aims and outcomes and is also reviewing its response to anticipated changes in funding structures, although key posts and services, such as mediation are already core funded by Scottish Borders Council. The strategy group is also reviewing its future organisation of services, including the management of the Antisocial Behaviour Unit and wardens.

8.18 The Council has funded a bespoke antisocial behaviour training package, comprising 25 days of training and a concluding seminar in November 2007, which is being developed by the Housing Quality Network. The training package will involve all relevant Council services departments, the police, registered social landlords and community and voluntary organisations. Two key features of the package are its multi-agency approach, which includes specific sections for different agencies, different tiers of management, and its development as a tool that can be used for the induction of future staff, rather than being limited to existing staff members.

8.19 The Anti Social Behaviour Unit has undertaken an evaluation of antisocial behaviour interventions in the Scottish Borders, including analysis of ASBOs and ABCs. The first report based on this evaluation is currently in production.

8.20 The Scottish Borders Council is supporting a series of 'Cool Down Crew' project interventions with identified high schools in the local authority area. These projects involve the Fire and Rescue Service engaging with young people on issues of fire safety and antisocial behaviour. The Council is also working with the police on delivering training on youth inclusion issues based upon the VOMO (Voice of My Own) DVD which enables young people to have their voice heard through the use of digital media.

8.21 The Anti Social Behaviour Strategy Group is working closely with Children's Services and Strategic Youth Justice Group to review processes for youth ASBOs. This is based on early intervention with young people who have been identified as being at risk of becoming involved in more serious forms of antisocial behaviour. The new working practices are aimed at reconciling the various legislation relating to young people and antisocial behaviour and recognising the need for different processes to be developed for adult and youth ASBOs.

8.22 The Council has established a new Antisocial Behaviour Field Development Worker post which is primarily responsible for undertaking investigative work and developing education programmes in relation to Anti Social Behaviour. The Council is also funding additional legal support to speed up the ASBO process.

Chapter Summary

8.23 This epilogue is based on interviews with representatives of the four case study local authorities, and the views presented here have not been subject to further investigation or validation by the research team. However a number of common themes do emerge from the progress updates presented here. Antisocial behaviour strategies and interventions have been subject to review and revision by local authorities and their partners. Restructuring and reorganisation have occurred, allied to new strategic and operational processes. These have been aimed at addressing some of the role clarification, synergy and communication issues identified during the research. These changes have also been accompanied by an increasingly sophisticated analysis of antisocial behaviour problems and the implementation of targeted and holistic solutions in certain neighbourhoods. Progress appears to have been made in expanding the range of agencies and individual staff members involved in addressing antisocial behaviour and improving the training provided to them, as well as developing more robust mechanisms for local residents to become actively engaged in antisocial behaviour strategies. A number of new initiatives have also been introduced, particularly targeted at prevention work with young people.

8.24 The main issue still facing local authorities and their partners is that of mainstreaming services and in ensuring that funding is found to ensure that the increased levels of intervention and the establishment of new initiatives continue in the longer term as the strategies evolve further. The four local authorities are continuing to develop mechanisms for reviewing the effectiveness of their antisocial behaviour strategies and one area for further development is ensuring that innovative methods and research at the individual local authority level is disseminated more widely across Scotland.

ANNEX 1: TECHNICAL SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

Introduction

This annex provides more details about the research activities and methodologies used in this study. The research was conducted in a series of stages. Each of these stages is now discussed in turn.

Literature Review

A detailed literature review was conducted at the outset of the research. The literature review comprised analysis of:

- Scottish Executive policy and guidance documents,
- Scottish Parliament briefings on antisocial behaviour,
- previous reports and evaluations on antisocial behaviour polices and interventions in Scotland, and
- selected policy documents, evaluations and reports from other parts of the UK.

The literature review was used to familiarise the research team with the legislative and policy context of antisocial behaviour in Scotland; to ground the research in existing evidence; to identify key issues relating to tackling antisocial behaviour and to identify good practice principles and successful local initiatives. Relevant websites and web-based material was included in the review. Key guidance and good practice documents and web links to these documents are provided in Annex 2. In addition, research instruments available from previous evaluations, such as interview schedules, survey questions and data analysis were reviewed for their potential use in our study. The purpose of this exercise was to use robust research instruments that had been proven to be successful in previous evaluations and to ensure that our findings were comparable with those of other studies. The literature review was conducted between February and April 2006, with new and updated material being reviewed as it became available throughout the study. The good practice Annex was produced in May 2007 to ensure that it was as up to date as possible.

Local Authority-Level case studies in four selected Scottish Local Authorities

The four local authorities selected for case studies were identified by the Scottish Executive and the research team in consultation with key policy stakeholders in Scotland. The local authorities were selected in order to ensure coverage of a range of antisocial behaviour issues and interventions in a range of socio-economic and geographical contexts (for example including a rural dimension). The final selection also sought to avoid replicating other on-going research evaluations. The four selected case study local authorities were: City of Edinburgh Council, Fife Council, North Lanarkshire Council and

Scottish Borders Council. The local authority-level case studies were conduced between March and June 2006. Each of the case studies utilised the same methodology.

A review of relevant policy documents, reports and research evaluations

A review of documents was undertaken in each case study local authority. The documents included draft and final versions of the antisocial behaviour strategies for each local authority and their antisocial behaviour outcome and framework agreements. In addition, documents and web-based materials for each local authority were analysed, including community safety strategies, neighbourhood renewal strategies, housing strategies and youth strategies. Previous research evaluations were reviewed along with policy documents and statements, minutes and reports from key stakeholder organisations in each local authority. Antisocial behaviour publicity materials and local media reports relating to antisocial behaviour were also examined. The research team attended a number of multi-agency conferences and seminars in each local authority area during the course of the research.

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders

At least five interviews were conducted in each local authority area with Antisocial Behaviour Partnership Co-ordinators; Local Authority Community Safety Managers; Senior Police Officers; Senior Officers in Local Authority Housing Services Departments; and representatives of the Procurator Fiscal Service and the Children's Hearing System. The interviews were based on a series of questions developed in consultation with the Research Advisory Group and interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 60 minutes. The interviews explored the development of antisocial behaviour strategies and interventions, partnership working; the nature of antisocial behaviour and the main issues, successes and challenges with antisocial behaviour strategies in each local authority area. The interviews also contributed to the selection of the case study neighbourhoods.

Selection of the case study neighbourhoods

Two case study neighbourhoods were selected in each of the four local authority areas. The selection process was driven by a number of factors, as set out below.

- Selecting neighbourhoods that were identified by local authorities as having existing antisocial behaviour problems and which were already subject to a range of interventions. This enabled us to build on existing work that local authorities were required to undertake in identifying localities for intervention and enabled us to draw on expert local knowledge, including the views of local Council and police officers.

- Ensuring that our definitions of neighbourhoods were meaningful to local residents and practitioners. Site visits were carried out by members of the research team to

each of the potential case study neighbourhoods. This enabled the researchers to explore the neighbourhoods' size, physical form, physical boundaries and their sense of community identity and distinctiveness amongst local people. This resulted in a variation in the population size of the neighbourhoods, but ensured that neighbourhoods were of an appropriate spatial and social scale as well as improving the robustness of the household survey sample. In discussion with local practitioners we also defined neighbourhoods that took account of administrative areas and areas of intervention and specific initiative operations.

- Seeking to build our neighbourhoods using small area data. Our neighbourhoods were constructed in part through utilising data zones available through the Scottish Neighbourhoods Statistics (SNS) website. This enabled demographic and socio-economic information to be analysed at a spatial scale which was significantly more fine-grained than wards or other administrative boundaries.

- Matching the selection of each individual neighbourhood to the overall neighbourhood sample across the study to ensure diversity but also comparability between antisocial behaviour issues and interventions

The process of finalising and demarcating the case study neighbourhoods involved:

- examination of key strategies and policy documents to identify a range of potential case study neighbourhoods,
- discussion with local practitioners, the Scottish Executive research manager and the Research Advisory Group to refine our selection,
- gathering reports and evaluations from the case study neighbourhoods,
- conducting further discussions and interviews with local practitioners,
- developing basic statistical data on each of the neighbourhoods based on data zones analysis utilising the SNS website, and
- site visits to the case study neighbourhoods to improve our local knowledge and understanding and to refine and finalise the neighbourhood boundaries.

It should be acknowledged that the research operated within a range of geographies in the case studies. For example, the data zone areas did not uniformly match exactly our neighbourhood boundaries, and similarly police beats or initiative intervention areas may not have mapped exactly on to other geographies. However, the access to localised knowledge and data enabled us to give greater priority to residents' definitions of neighbourhood and the actual sites where antisocial behaviour occurs than may have been the case if we had been required to work at a larger geographical scale based solely on administrative boundaries.

More detailed descriptions, SNS data and maps for each neighbourhood are provided at the end of this Annex. As Table A1.1 indicates, although there was variation in population sizes, the extent of the range of household numbers in each neighbourhood was limited. This enhanced comparability between the study areas. It should be noted that the actual populations within the finalised neighbourhood boundaries will have been smaller (as the

figures include areas of data zones outside the neighbourhoods) and that therefore the household survey sample comprised between 15 to 20-percent of total households in each neighbourhood. It should also be noted that the geographical size of most of the neighbourhoods was similar.

Table A1.1: Population and Household Numbers

	Population	Households
Edinburgh		
Broomhouse	2987	1246
Muirhouse	5304	2508
Fife		
Abbeyview	3274	1401
Methil	2942	1194
North Lanarkshire		
Carfin	2411(1)	974
Whinhall	3068	1306
Scottish Borders		
Burnfoot	3907	1621
Langlee	2616	1210

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

(1) This does not include significant new build development.

Population Characteristics, Tenure and Deprivation

Our SNS analysis showed that females comprised the majority of the population in all of the case study neighbourhoods (ranging from 51% to 53%). All of the neighbourhoods had at least a fifth, and in the case of Broomhouse in Edinburgh, a quarter, of their population in the 10-24 year age group. The Scottish Borders neighbourhoods had lower proportions of this age category. There was considerable variation between data zones in the proportion of pensioners in each neighbourhood, but the general picture was one of large groups of very young and elderly populations which were likely to have impacted significantly on community dynamics and perceptions of antisocial behaviour.

In terms of tenure, there was considerable variation between the data zones in each neighbourhood, but all of the neighbourhoods comprised a majority of social rented housing. In some neighbourhoods there were very high levels of social housing although the majority of neighbourhoods included significant proportions of owner occupied properties and some private rented accommodation. The proportion of owner occupied properties was likely to have increased since the 2001 Census through new build and Right to Buy. In at least two of the case study neighbourhoods, new build developments were reported to have had a considerable impact on the nature and perceptions of antisocial behaviour and the levels of complaints about antisocial behaviour to local agencies

The neighbourhoods were relatively deprived, although there was some variation in the levels of employment and income deprivation between data zones within each of the case study neighbourhoods. Data from the 2006 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation and 2006 Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation revealed that the majority of neighbourhood data zones were in the most deprived two deciles on both indexes.

Tables A1.2 and A1.3 show how our selection of case study neighbourhoods provided a range of geographical and socio-economic contexts and also were based on a spectrum of antisocial behaviour problems and agency responses, as identified at the time of neighbourhood selection.

Table A1.2: Key features of the case study neighbourhoods

	Estate in major city	Estate in large town in urban area	Estate in large town in rural area	High proportion of social renting	More mixed tenure
Broomhouse	•			•	
Muirhouse	•			•	
Abbeyview		•			•
Methil			•		•
Carfin		•			•
Whinhall		•		•	
Burnfoot			•		
Langlee			•		•

Table A1.3: Key features of the case study neighbourhoods: antisocial behaviour

	Serious ASB and criminality (e.g. drugs)	ASB relating to young people	Particular issues relating to new build or tenure mix	Significant ASB interventions in place	Less specific ASB interventions in place
Broomhouse		•		•	
Muirhouse	•			•	
Abbeyview				•	
Methil	•				•
Carfin			•		•
Whinhall	•	•			•
Burnfoot		•	•		•
Langlee		•		•	

Neighbourhood Case Studies

Research was conducted in each of the eight case study neighbourhoods between June 2006 and March 2007. The eight case studies included the same four components: a household survey, interviews, focus groups, and an analysis of relevant data.

Household Survey

A household doorstep survey was conducted of 200 households in each neighbourhood by Management Information Scotland Ltd. The main findings of the survey are described in Chapters 5 and 6 of this report and a full description of the survey methodology, additional findings and a copy of the survey questionnaire are presented in Annex 3 of this report. In addition, the survey research team noted down qualitative comments from residents and made observations about the physical environment in each neighbourhood. The survey findings were also compared with national survey data, including the Scottish Crime Survey and the Scottish Household Survey.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders in each case study neighbourhood. The interviews were conducted with housing and police officers, community wardens, youth workers and local retailers.

Focus Groups

Focus groups with young people were held in each case study neighbourhood. These were facilitated in partnership with local youth projects operating in each neighbourhood. In some neighbourhoods an additional focus group was held with adult residents, facilitated in partnership with local agency staff and tenants and residents associations.

Analysis of Crime Figures and Police Command and Control Data

Recorded criminal offences for each local authority area and case study neighbourhood were analysed and compared to national-level data. The analysis included figures for recorded incidents of vandalism and fire-raising, drawn from data provided by the *Scottish Executive Statistical Bulletin Criminal Justice Bulletin*. Command and Control data for each case study neighbourhood was also accessed from Fife, Lothian and Borders and Strathclyde Police Forces. These figures record complaints received by the police about antisocial behaviour, such as youth and public disorder. The classification of offences, the geographical areas used in the analysis and the time periods analysed varied slightly between police forces. In addition, an analysis was undertaken of antisocial behaviour incidents recorded by North Lanarkshire Antisocial Behaviour Task Force. The findings of these three types of analysis are presented in Chapter 3 of the main report.

Economic Evaluation of Antisocial Behaviour Initiatives

An economic evaluation was conducted of 12 antisocial behaviour initiatives operating within the four case study local authorities. *Community warden* and *mediation* schemes in

all each of the local authorities were evaluated. In addition, the *Early Intervention Families Project* (City of Edinburgh Council); the *Safer Neighbourhoods Team* (Fife Council); the *Night Noise Service* (North Lanarkshire Council) and the *Freephone Antisocial Behaviour Helpline* (Scottish Borders Council) were also evaluated. A full description of the methodology and findings of the economic evaluation is provided in Annex 4 of this report.

Interviews with Victims and Witnesses of Antisocial Behaviour

Forty six semi-structured interviews were conducted by telephone with individuals who had witnessed or been victims of antisocial behaviour. The interviews asked individuals about the types of antisocial behaviour they had experienced, the impact that antisocial behaviour had on their lives, their reasons for reporting (or not reporting) incidents to local agencies, and their perceptions of the efficacy of local agency responses where they had reported incidents. The sample was drawn from participants in the household survey indicating that they had been victims or witnesses of antisocial behaviour and that they were willing to take part in a further stage of the research. Eighty individuals were identified on this basis. From this sample, attempts were made to construct a representative sample using the following criteria, drawn from information provided in the household survey:

- neighbourhood of residence,
- gender,
- age,
- housing tenure,
- type(s) of antisocial behaviour experienced,
- whether the antisocial behaviour had or had not been reported to a local agency, and
- general levels of satisfaction with agency responses amongst those who had reported an incident.

In the event, it proved difficult to encourage many potential participants to be interviewed, and 41 individuals were interviewed. As Table A 1. 4 shows, half of the interviews were conducted with individuals who were resident in the two Fife neighbourhoods.

Table A1.4: Victims and Witnesses of Antisocial Behaviour by Neighbourhood

Edinburgh		Fife		North Lanarkshire		Scottish Borders	
Broomhouse	Muirhouse	Abbeyview	Methil	Carfin	Whinhall	Burnfoot	Langlee
4	3	8	13	1	8	1	3

25 interviewees were female and 16 were male. This over-representation reflects, but is greater than, the over-representation of females in the initial household survey (see Annex

3). The entire sample consisted of individuals describing themselves as 'White Scottish.' The sample was over-representative of older age groups, with no respondents in the 16-24 age grouping and only three in the 25-34 age grouping. The majority of individuals had lived in their neighbourhood for over five years and half (22) had lived in their neighbourhood for over ten years. A slight majority of the interviewees were living in social-rented housing, with just over four in ten being owner-occupiers.

In order to address the lack of interviewees from Edinburgh and the Scottish Borders, attempts were made to identify additional participants from the Scottish Household Survey panels. These attempts generated an additional two interviews from individuals residing in Edinburgh and three from the Scottish Borders (but not from the case study neighbourhoods). The findings from the interviews with victims and witnesses of antisocial behaviour are presented in Chapter 6 of the main report.

Descriptions of the Case Study Neighbourhoods

This section of the annex provides further information about the case study neighbourhoods. For each neighbourhood, a brief description of the neighbourhood is followed by tables describing the key population, housing and deprivation statistics for the eight case study neighbourhoods. The data is drawn from the Scottish Neighbourhoods Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk. The data is presented at data zone level, and aggregated in some cases. Finally, a map is provided of each neighbourhood.

Broomhouse, Edinburgh

Broomhouse is an estate comprising mainly social rented properties located on the western edge of the city of Edinburgh. Two of the four datazones within the neighbourhood were ranked within the most deprived 10-percent of neighbourhoods of deprived areas in Scotland. Just under 3,000 (2,987) people lived in the area in 2001 with a tenure mix of around 55-percent Local Authority, 40 percent owner-occupiers and 5 percent private-rented tenants . In Broomhouse the predominant housing type is low-rise, family housing organised around shared stairwells and closes, whilst the North Sighthill area of the neighbourhood was dominated by a number of high-rise tower blocks. The neighbourhood had very clearly defined geographical boundaries and was enclosed on three sides by two major arterial roads and a railway line. The neighbourhood was served by a range of local facilities including a small shopping centre, a primary and secondary school, a community centre mainly catering for adult residents, a youth project, a food co-operative and a community empowerment project. There was a small operational office in Broomhouse forming a shared base for the community concierge service, the local police beat officers and other agencies working in the area but the main neighbourhood office was located a couple of miles away in Wester Hailes. Medical and library facilities were sited in North Sighthill. During the case study selection process, Broomhouse was identified by practitioners in Edinburgh as being a stigmatised area of multiple deprivation with traditionally high levels of crime and antisocial behaviour, linked in particular to substance misuse, territorial fighting between rival gangs and a poor physical environment. However, the area was also selected as a case study because it was perceived to have benefited from a range of interventions that had reduced levels of antisocial behaviour in the neighbourhood.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01001923	774	403	52.1	208	26.9	11.50
S01001931	754	358	47.5	180	23.9	15.12
S01001943	621	299	48.1	147	23.7	17.55
S01001946	838	388	46.3	225	26.8	8.00
Total	2987	1448	48.5	760	25.4	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01001923	370	30.81	65.95	3.24
S01001931	295	38.64	56.27	3.24
S01001943	264	60.61	34.09	5.30
S01001946	317	27.13	68.45	4.42
Total	1246			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01001923	27.3%	31.0%	659
S01001931	25.9%	40.7%	343
S01001943	14.9%	22.9%	1433
S01001946	23.7%	41.5%	389

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

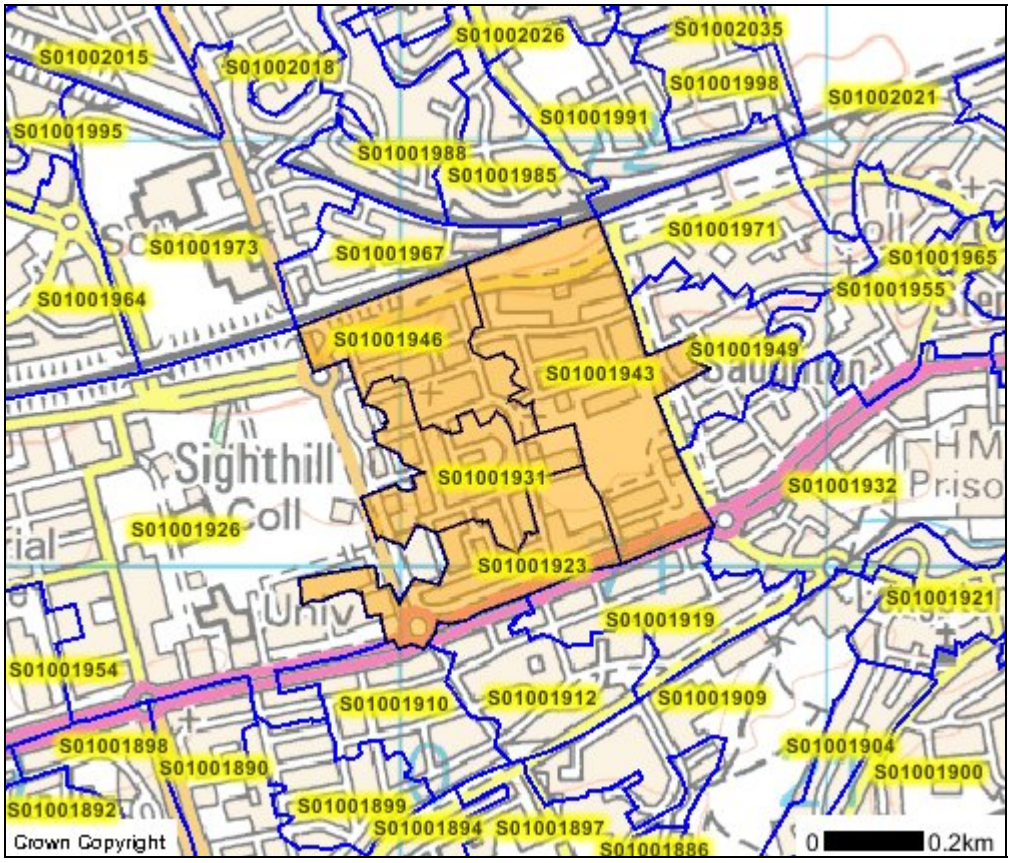
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01001923	1	1
S01001931	1	1
S01001943	3	1
S01001946	1	1

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Broomhouse Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zone Boundaries



Source: Scottish National Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Muirhouse, Edinburgh

Muirhouse is a large housing estate on the north-west edge of Edinburgh. The estate was built in the 1950s. The predominant built form of properties are flats within multi-storey blocks. The tenure mix in the estate has become more diverse with a number of housing associations now providing accommodation along with Edinburgh City Council and a small but growing owner-occupied sector. The estate is bordered by major roads on three sides and a private housing development on its western edge. The estate is an area of multiple deprivation which has experienced high levels of unemployment and related social problems and in particular a significant drugs, and related crime problem in the 1980s which reinforced its continuing poor local reputation. The estate has been subject to major regeneration activity, including demolition and refurbishment of properties, but it continues to be comparatively deprived in relation to both Edinburgh and Scotland. The neighbourhood is served by a shopping centre, including a library and a number of community-based projects. Muirhouse was perceived to be experiencing high levels of antisocial behaviour, including disputes between neighbours, conflicts between adults and young peoples and to continue to suffer from drugs and alcohol-related disorder and some serious and organised criminality.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		% Pensioners
		No	%	No	%	
S01002265	1038	496	47.8	210	20.2	12.24
S01002275	955	427	44.7	211	22.1	13.82
S01002281	768	355	46.2	210	27.3	12.29
S01002282	967	478	49.4	229	23.7	11.69
S01002291	838	452	53.9	201	24.0	18.50
S01002296	738	333	45.1	174	23.6	9.63
Total	5304	2541	47.9	1235	23.3	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01002265	423	31.44	65.01	3.55
S01002275	460	41.52	52.83	5.65
S01002281	322	14.29	83.23	2.48
S01002282	496	8.67	88.71	2.62
S01002291	452	12.70	86.06	1.77
S01002296	355	16.06	81.97	1.97
Total	2508			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01002265	25.8%	35.2%	534
S01002275	26.8%	38.0%	477
S01002281	29.2%	44.5%	252
S01002282	41.6%	51.5%	58
S01002291	43.9%	41.4%	99
S01002296	32.7%	44.0%	162

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

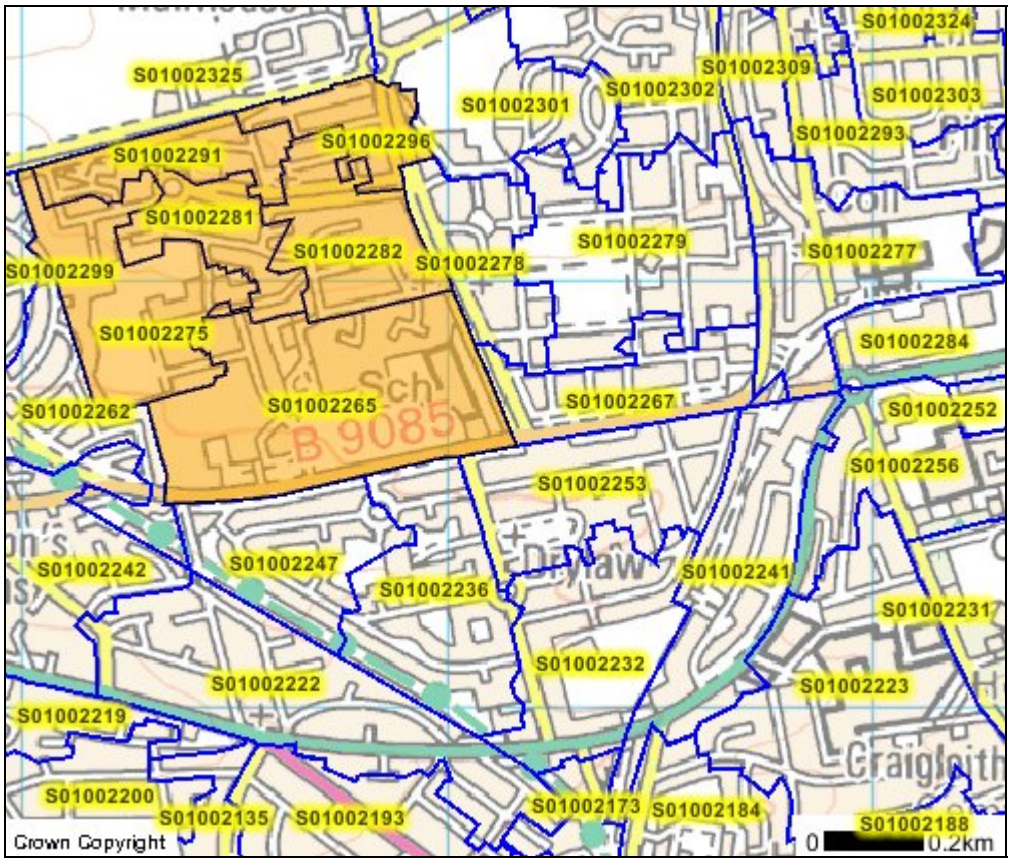
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01002265	2	2
S01002275	2	2
S01002281	1	2
S01002282	1	1
S01002291	1	1
S01002296	1	1

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Muirhouse Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zone Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Abbeyview, Dunfermline, Fife

Abbeyview is a large housing development on the south-eastern periphery of Dunfermline. The neighbourhood was experiencing higher levels of deprivation than both Fife and national averages. The neighbourhood comprises adjacent, but markedly different housing developments, with around half of the homes being in the owner-occupied tenure. The majority of social-rented housing in Abbeyview is provided by Fife Council, with the predominant housing form being 1950s terraced houses and three-storey flats. There had been some demolition activity as part of wider regeneration programmes in the area, although the general physical condition of the neighbourhood remained a concern for practitioners and residents at the time of the research. Abbeyview contains a number of small retail units and local Council and Regeneration Offices as well as two community centres and a community school. Although the neighbourhood had a traditionally poor local reputation there had been recent improvements. Antisocial behaviour was reported to include underage drinking and the misuse of alcohol by adults and the area also had a reputation for gang-related disorder. Although incidents of drug-related antisocial behaviour and crime did occur, the neighbourhood was regarded as having a less extensive and serious drugs problem than some other neighbourhoods in Fife.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01002649	847	396	46.8	177	20.9	19.36
S01002651	667	312	46.8	127	19.0	21.74
S01002655	817	393	48.1	175	21.4	16.89
S01002660	943	454	48.1	211	22.4	14.74
Total	3274	1555	47.5	690	21.1	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01002649	354	47.74	50.28	1.98
S01002651	276	55.07	44.57	0.36
S01002655	377	31.30	66.84	1.86
S01002660	394	48.73	49.75	1.52
Total	1401			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01002649	18.1%	26.8%	1448
S01002651	16.6%	24.5%	2221
S01002655	27.5%	32.3%	617
S01002660	20.7%	24.5%	1334

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

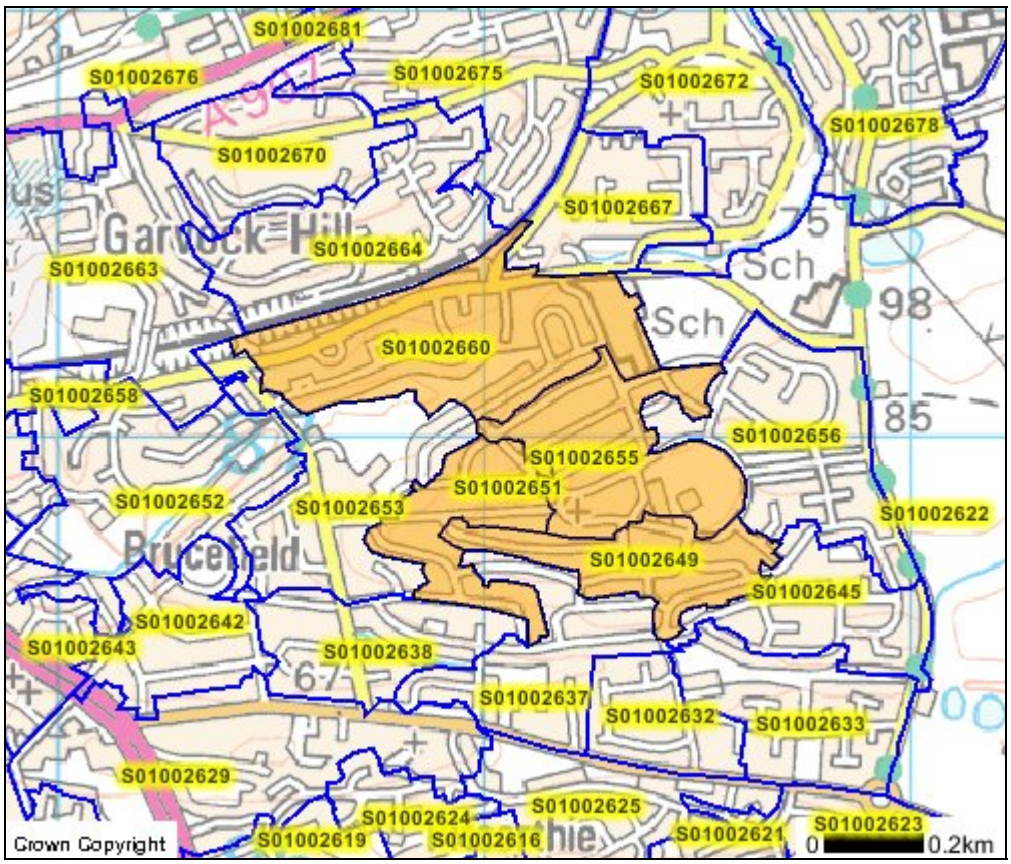
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01002469	2	2
S01002651	3	4
S01002655	1	1
S01002660	3	1

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Abbeyview Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zone Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Methil, Fife

The Fife town of Methil forms the core of a number of local communities which grew as a result of heavy industry including coal mining and docks. The decline of traditional industries resulted in the population of Methil experiencing high levels of unemployment and associated social, health and other deprivation problems. Methil is amongst the five percent most deprived wards in Scotland and one of the datazones in Methil is the most deprived in Fife. Just over half of households are in the social rented sector, whilst four in ten households are owner-occupiers. The town is relatively well served by local retail facilities and there are two primary schools and a community high school in the area. Although the types and extent of antisocial behaviour varied between areas of Methil, the town was perceived to be experiencing both minor antisocial behaviour and more serious drugs-related crime and antisocial behaviour and antisocial behaviour linked to alcohol misuse.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01002843	891	418	46.9	187	21.0	23.79
S01002853	527	256	48.6	128	24.3	14.04
S01002854	839	419	49.9	170	20.3	22.41
S01002855	685	318	46.4	151	22.0	15.04
Total	2942	1411	48.0	636	21.6	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01002843	338	35.80	61.83	2.37
S01002853	241	41.91	50.62	7.47
S01002854	347	54.76	42.94	2.31
S01002855	268	39.18	59.33	1.49
Total	1194			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01002843	26.7%	35.4%	609
S01002853	25.2%	38.0%	671
S01002854	25.0%	21.3%	1215
S01002855	35.4%	46.7%	320

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

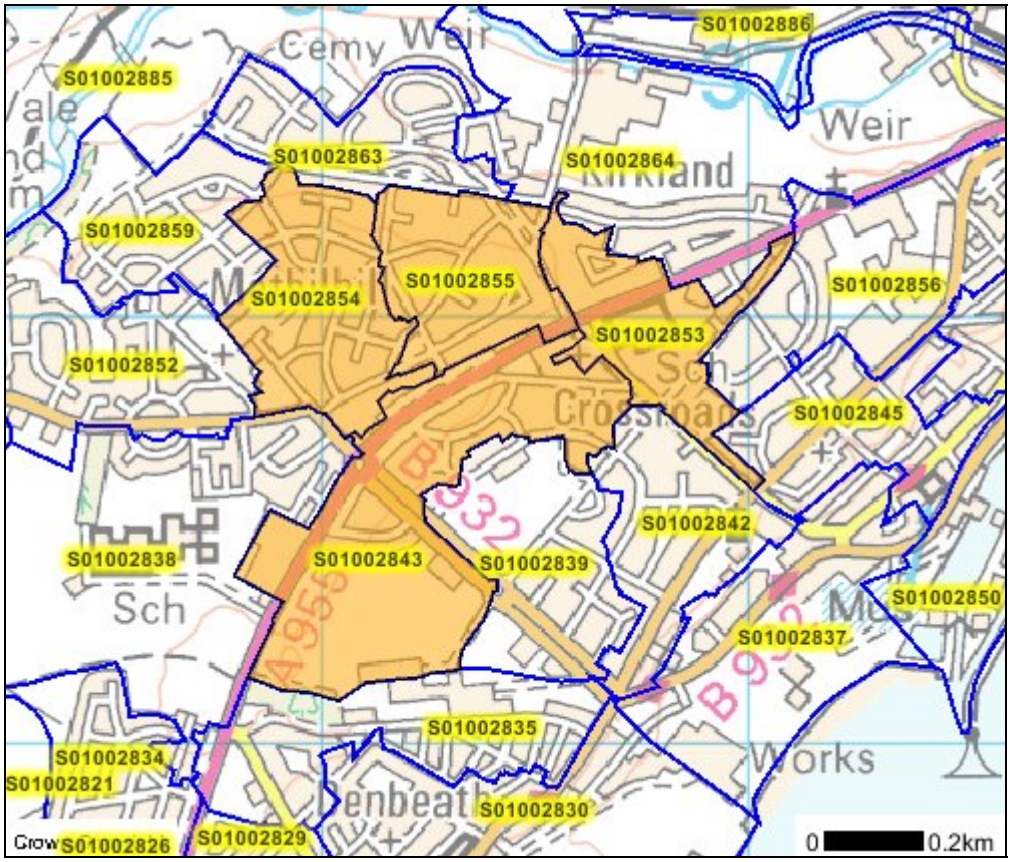
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01002843	1	1
S01002853	1	1
S01002854	3	2
S01002855	1	2

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Methil Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zone Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Carfin, North Lanarkshire

Carfin and the adjacent Jerviston areas are located to the north east of Motherwell. The area is relatively self-contained, with its border defined by major roads. The neighbourhood comprised two distinct sub-areas: a development of local authority cottage-style flatted properties and a large new build private development. There are a couple of small general grocery stores within the area although residents are required to go outside the neighbourhood for most other facilities and services Although the neighbourhood is less deprived than most of the other case study localities and has not traditionally experienced high levels of antisocial behaviour, it was selected as a case study because the new build development had led to increasing inter-tenure social tensions, linked in particular to the use of public space by young people and local agencies were receiving a growing number of antisocial behaviour-related complaints from local residents.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01004614	826	398	48.2	142	17.2	20.34
S01004617	767	372	48.5	231	30.1	8.87
S01004622	818	395	48.3	137	16.7	20.54
Total	2411	1165	48.3	510	21.2	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01004614	368	68.48	27.45	4.08
S01004617	255	18.82	72.94	8.24
S01004622	351	59.26	39.89	0.85
Total	974			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01004614	17.6%	16.2%	2648
S01004617	22.8%	39.0%	689
S01004622	14.0%	14.3%	2701

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

It should be noted that there was considerable new build private development within this neighbourhood that was not captured in the above statistics. This new build had increased the population and the rate of owner-occupation in the neighbourhood at the time of the research.

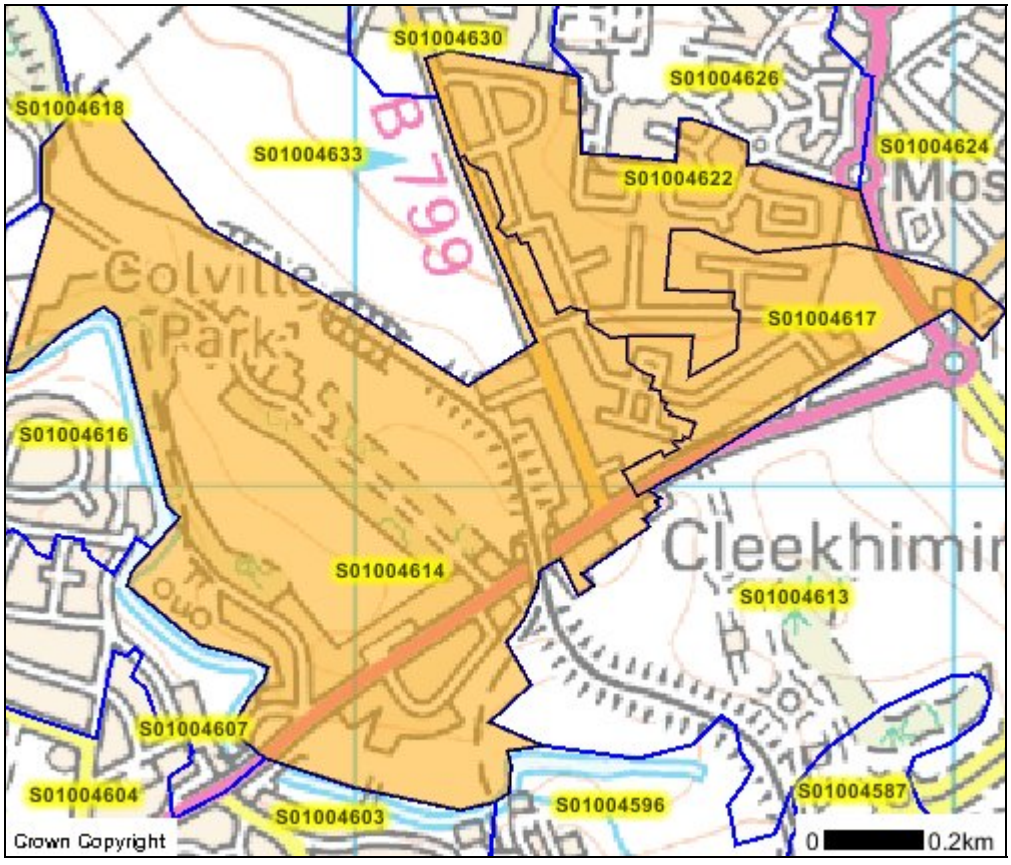
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01004614	4	3
S01004617	1	1
S01004622	5	5

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Carfin Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zone Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Whinhall, Airdrie, North Lanarkshire

Whinhall is located in the north of Airdrie, one of several urban settlements that comprise the North Lanarkshire local authority area. The case study neighbourhood was clearly bounded by main roads on its southern, eastern and western boundaries and a disused railway line on its northern boundary. The predominant housing form was flats within cottage-style local authority properties. There was a small amount of housing association and private rented stock. Most of the owner-occupied properties in the neighbourhood were ex-Council properties acquired through Right to Buy. In the south western quarter of Whinhall a number of roads converged into a central hub. The northern part of the neighbourhood was separated from the rest of Whinhall by a low lying area of public space, known as the Glen. This was a green area, although during research site visits, it was observed that a considerable amount of litter and dumped items had accumulated in this area. There were a number of small general grocery stores in the study neighbourhood, which was within close distance of Airdrie town centre. In 2001, the population of the neighbourhood was 3068, comprising 1306 households. 22 percent of the population were aged under-25 years. Whinhall was a relatively deprived neighbourhood, with three in ten of the working age population on unemployment-related benefits or programmes and a third of households receiving income benefits or credits. During the case study selection process, Whinhall was identified by Council and police officers operating at a local authority strategic level as having significant antisocial behaviour problems, including environmental crimes and degradation in public spaces. The north eastern area of the Whinhall neighbourhood in particular was reported to experience high levels of antisocial behaviour, serious crime and drug dealing, and police officers reported that this estate was experiencing amongst the highest levels of antisocial behaviour in the Airdrie area.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01004795	971	470	48.4	240	24.7	15.65
S01004798	885	417	47.1	197	22.3	20.79
S01004805	676	302	44.7	163	24.1	13.61
S01004807	536	251	46.8	87	16.2	17.16
Total	3068	1440	46.9	687	22.4	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01004795	336	52.38	46.13	1.49
S01004798	420	30.48	66.67	2.86
S01004805	283	21.91	76.33	1.77
S01004807	267	32.96	63.67	3.37
Total	1306			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01004795	22.8%	27.0%	868
S01004798	28.7%	31.6%	565
S01004805	33.3%	45.1%	271
S01004807	34.2%	33.6%	331

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

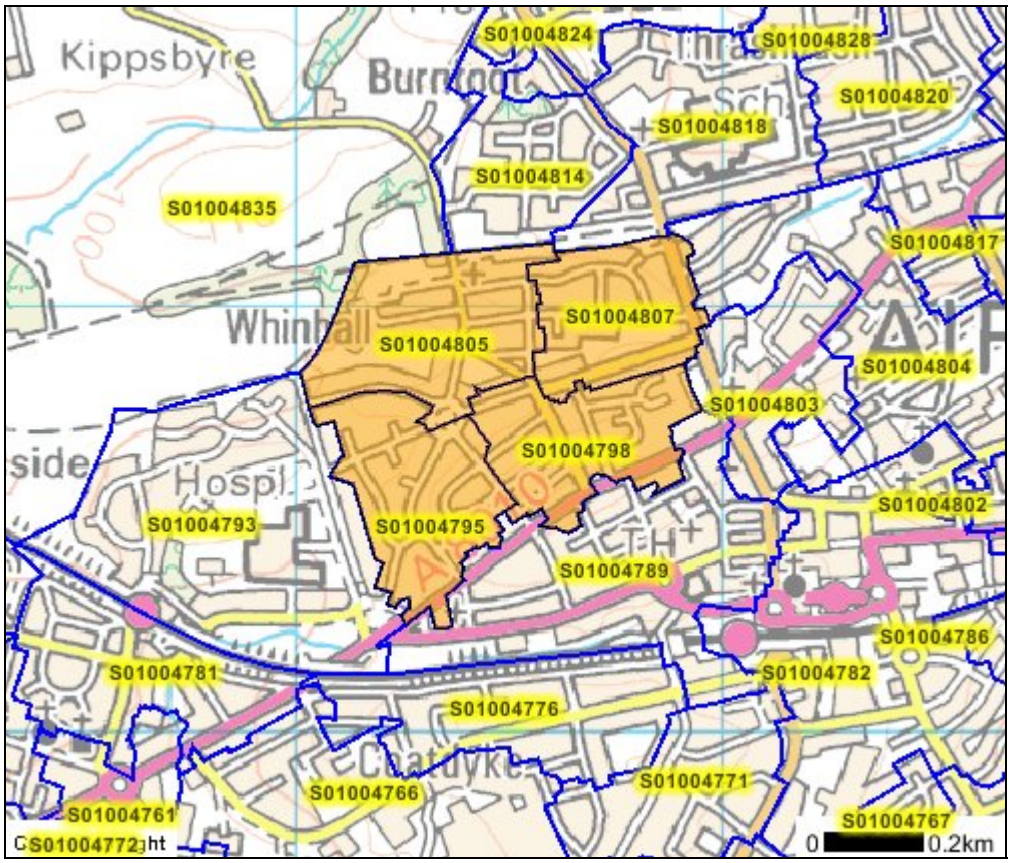
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01004795	2	5
S01004798	1	1
S01004805	1	1
S01004807	1	1

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Whinhall Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zone Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Burnfoot, Hawick, Scottish Borders

Burnfoot is a housing estate located on the edge of the Scottish Borders town of Hawick. Although Burnfoot is perceived locally to be somewhat isolated from the rest of Hawick, the centre of the estate is located within a mile of the town centre. The neighbourhood has suffered, like the rest of Hawick, from the decline of the local textile industry which was the traditional source of local employment. Burnfoot was developed after the Second World War by the local authority. The estate is moderate to low density comprising predominately family-sized homes. Approximately six in ten properties were social rented and four in ten were in the owner-occupied tenure by 2001. The majority of social-rented properties are now managed by the Scottish Borders Housing Association (following local authority housing stock transfer with a small amount of stock also managed by another housing association. The neighbourhood includes a small shopping centre with small retail outlets and a supermarket and the neighbourhood appeared to be well maintained physically. The local primary school is also used to host community events and activities. The neighbourhood has a poor local reputation although antisocial behaviour was reported to be confined to particular localities and to primarily involve neighbour disputes and disorder attributed to the congregation of young people in public spaces.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01005375	992	486	49.0	128	12.9	27.02
S01005378	778	370	47.6	188	24.2	13.37
S01005380	693	321	46.3	118	17.0	15.15
S01005381	682	334	49.0	138	20.2	13.05
S01005382	762	342	44.9	190	24.9	9.19
Total	3907	1853	47.4	762	19.5	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01005375	449	70.82	26.28	2.90
S01005378	317	28.71	65.30	5.99
S01005380	297	30.30	66.67	3.03
S01005381	273	27.11	71.43	1.47
S01005382	285	12.63	85.26	2.11
Total	1621			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01005375	11.5%	11.5%	4057
S01005378	15.8%	15.8%	1447
S01005380	18.9%	18.9%	1503
S01005381	23.6%	23.6%	1236
S01005382	26.7%	26.7%	415

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

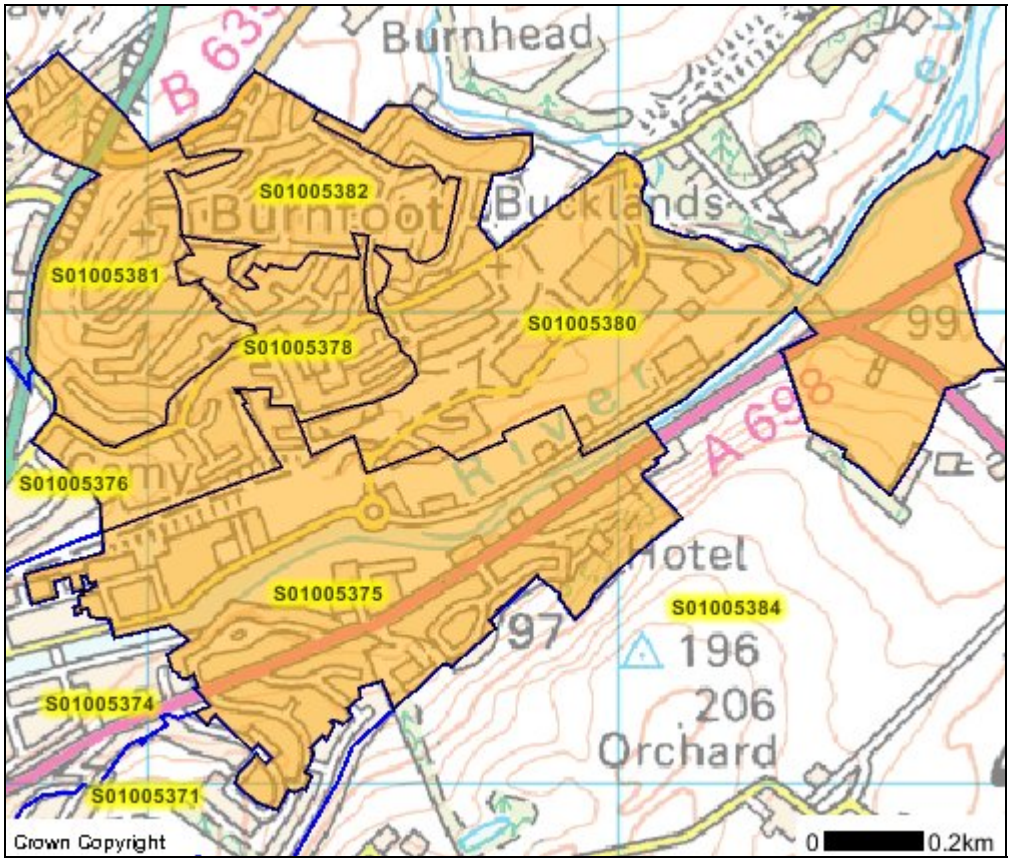
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01005375	7	7
S01005378	2	3
S01005380	2	3
S01005381	2	6
S01005382	1	2

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Burnfoot Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zones Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Langlee, Galashiels, Scottish Borders

Langlee is a suburb of Galashiels, comprising a housing development built on a steep slope overlooking the River Tweed. The neighbourhood comprises two distinct areas: Upper and Lower Langlee. The estate was developed in the 1950s and 1960s to accommodate workers in the textile and subsequently electronic industries. The decline in the these industries have contributed to the levels of unemployment in Langlee, which along with Burnfoot in Hawick, has the highest levels of deprivation in the Scottish Borders. The predominant housing form was flats and maisonettes. Scottish Borders Housing Association was the main housing provider in the neighbourhood (following the local authority stock transfer), although some homes in Upper Langlee were provided by another housing association, whilst five-percent of the stock was provided by private landlords. Owner-occupation ranged from 45-percent in Upper Langlee to 20-percent in Lower Langlee. The estate was physically well maintained, with little evidence of environmental degradation. The neighbourhood contains the only children's residential unit in the Scottish Borders The estate contained a number of retail premises including a post office, hairdressers, chip shop, Chinese fast food outlet, a small supermarket and a public house. There was an established student population in the neighbourhood as well as a small number of Polish, Portuguese, Chinese and Thai households. Although practitioners identified considerable improvements in Langlee, the estate had a poor local reputation. Antisocial behaviour in the neighbourhood was reported to include that involving the use of public space by young people and incidents of noise and rowdy behaviour, sometimes linked to the misuse of alcohol.

Population (2001)

Data zone	Population	Males		Aged 10-24		%
		No	%	No	%	Pensioners
S01005425	903	431	47.8	205	22.7	19.05
S01005426	760	358	47.1	150	19.7	15.53
S01005428	953	475	49.8	175	18.4	15.32
Total	2616	1264	48.3	530	20.3	

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Housing Tenure (2001)

Data zone	Households	% Owner occupied	% Social rented	% Private rented
S01005425	456	20.61	72.8	2.98
S01005426	336	34.82	62.2	6.58
S01005428	418	44.98	50.96	4.07
Total	1210			

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Based on figures for data zones using data from the 2001 Census.

Employment and Income Deprivation (2002)

Data zone	Employment deprivation (1)	Income deprivation (2)	Deprivation Index Rank (2004) (3)
S01005425	26.0%	28.3%	818
S01005426	20.2%	27.5%	1192
S01005428	13.5%	17.3%	1986

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

(1) Percentage of working age population on unemployment claimant count in receipt of IB or SDA or compulsory New Deal participants. (2) Percentage of adults and children in households receiving key income benefits or credits. (3) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004.

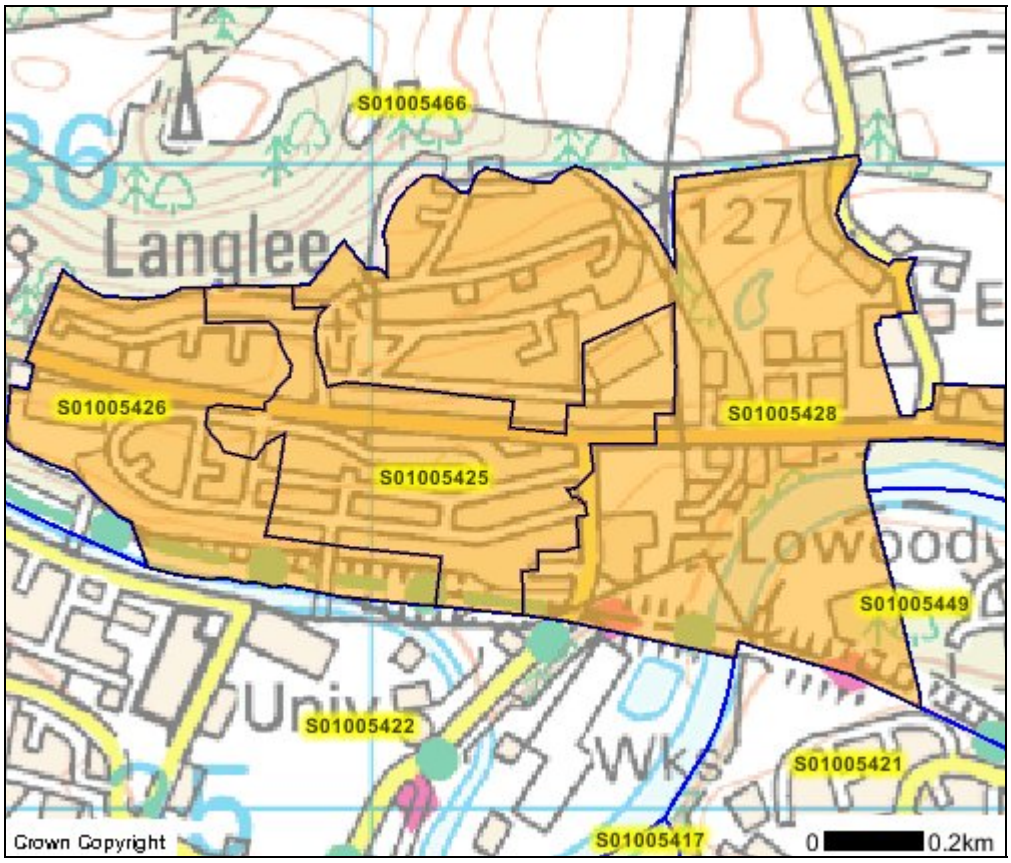
Multiple Deprivation and Crime Deprivation Index Deciles 2006

Data zone	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006	Scottish Index of Crime Deprivation 2006
S01005425	1	1
S01005426	2	2
S01005428	3	4

Source: SNS Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

Note: 1 indicates the most deprived decile and 10 the least deprived decile.

Map of Langlee Neighbourhood Showing SNS Data zones Boundaries



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website: www.sns.gov.uk

ANNEX 2: SOURCES OF GOOD PRACTICE GUIDANCE

Introduction

There is a rapidly growing amount of material available about tackling anti-social behaviour, including good practice guidance and research evaluations. This appendix identifies key good practice guidance with direct weblinks to the relevant documents, all of which are available to download free of charge. The majority of the publications listed here relate to Scotland, although specific reports and guidance from England have been included where we believe that they are especially useful.

General Guidance and Updates

The key web resource is:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com

This website includes links to key Scottish Executive guidance, good practice case studies and updates of the latest developments and research findings.

There is also a dedicated free support and advice line for practitioners, including housing officers. More information about this service is available on the antisocialbehaviourscotland.com website. The number is:

0800 850 500

The Scottish Executive also publishes the *Standing Up to Antisocial Behaviour Newsletter* which provides the latest updates and good practice advice. The most recent edition of the newsletter is available for download at:

www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/02/08103554/9

The Scottish Executive also produced *Standing Up to Antisocial Behaviour*: a report on progress on the first anniversary of the Anti-social Behaviour (Scotland) Act 2004. This report is available for download at:

Statutory Guidance

The Scottish Executive has issued statutory guidance on anti-social behaviour strategies and disclosure and information sharing. These are available for free download at:

Statutory Guidance on Anti-social Behaviour Strategies:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Antisocial%20Behaviour%20Strategies.pdf

Statutory Guidance on Disclosure and Information Sharing:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Antisocial%20Behaviour%20Strategies.pdf

Guidance on Specific Measures

The Scottish Executive has published a range of guidance on specific measures for tackling anti-social behaviour. These include:

Sticks and Carrots: Guidance on Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (Non-Statutory). Available at:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Acceptable%20Behaviour%20Contracts%20Guidance.pdf

Statutory Guidance on Noise Nuisance:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Noise%20Nuisance.pdf

Statutory Guidance on Anti-social Behaviour Orders

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Antisocial%20Behaviour%20Orders.pdf

Guidance on Anti-social Behaviour Orders on Conviction (Non-Statutory)

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Antisocial%20Behaviour%20Orders.pdf

Parenting Orders (Non-statutory)

Available at:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Antisocial%20Behaviour%20Strategies.pdf

Statutory Guidance on the Dispersal of Groups

Available at:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/Guidance%20on%20Antisocial%20Behaviour%20Strategies.pdf

Mediation

There is a very useful Scottish Executive research study into the use of mediation to tackle neighbour disputes:

Brown, A., Barclay, A., Simmons, R. and Eley, S. (2003) **The Role of Mediation in Tackling Neighbour Disputes and Anti-social Behaviour**. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

A link to a summary of this report and a further link to the full report is available at:

http://www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com/asb/files/The%20Role%20of%20Mediation%20in%20Tackling%20Neighbour%20Disputes.pdf

Further Reading

A useful, if now slightly dated, overview of current practice in tackling anti-social behaviour was published by the **Scottish Executive** in 2003:

Scottish Executive (2003) ***Not Reinventing the Wheel...A Directory of Current Practice in Tackling Antisocial Behaviour by Scottish Local Authorities.*** Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. This is available at:

http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/46930/0025578.pdf

The **Scottish Executive** has also published a review of measures deployed to tackle anti-social behaviour through the Better Neighbourhood Services Fund:

Shield, L., Clark, I. and Richards, F. (2005) **Approaches to Community Safety and Anti-social Behaviour in the Better Neighbourhood Services Fund Programme**. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. This is available at:

http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/57346/0016722.pdf

There are a number of recent studies that have recently been published which provide very helpful overview evaluations of the effectiveness of strategic approaches and measures to tackling anti-social behaviour (although they report on the situation in England and Wales).

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation has published two studies:

Millie, A., Jacobson, J., McDonald, E. and Hough, M. (2005) ***Anti-social behaviour strategies: Finding a balance***. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

This is available for free download at:

http://www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/eBooks/1861347774.pdf

Innes, M. and Jones, V. (2006) **Neighbourhood security and urban change: Risk, Resilience and Recovery**. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

This is available for free download at:

http://www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/eBooks/1938-neighbourhood-security-change.pdf

The **Audit Commission** published an evaluation of anti-social behaviour strategies, which includes case study examples:

Audit Commission (2006) **Neighbourhood crime and anti-social behaviour: Making places safer through improved local working**. London: Audit Commission

This is available for free download at:

http://www.audit-commission.gov.uk/Products/NATIONAL-REPORT/A51CB5E1-B7F8-46a1-AF8D-12EDFA3DED8F/neighbourhoodCrime.pdf

The **National Audit Office** has also produced a recent evaluation of anti-social behaviour measures, which includes very useful summaries of key measures and legislation:

National Audit Office (2006) **Tackling Anti-social Behaviour**. London: Audit Commission.

This is available for free download at:

http://www.nao.org.uk/publications/nao_reports/06-07/060799.pdf

A sister report produced by RAND Europe provides a useful assessment of the effectiveness and costs of interventions to reduce anti-social behaviour

Rubin, J, Rabinovich, L., Hallsworth, M. and Nason, E. (2006) **Interventions to Reduce Anti-social Behaviour and Crime: Review of Effectiveness and Cost**. RAND Europe

This is available for free download at:

http://www.nao.org.uk/publications/nao_reports/06-07/060799_rand_europe.pdf

ANNEX 3: ADDITIONAL FINDINGS FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Introduction

This annex provides further information about the neighbourhood household survey and presents additional findings and analysis which complement the key findings from the survey presented in Chapters 5 and 6 of the main report. A copy of the household survey is presented in annex 5 of this report.

Survey Methods

The survey was conducted in June 2006 by researchers from Management Information Scotland Ltd. Residents were interviewed on their doorstep, with each interview lasting approximately 25 minutes. The majority of the survey comprised standard questions drawn from existing surveys, including: the Scottish Household Survey, the Scottish Crime Survey, the British Crime Survey and local neighbourhood perception and fear of crime surveys conducted by selected Scottish local authorities; with a few additional questions specifically developed for this research. Although the survey comprised closed response options, the survey team also noted down any comments that residents made and also made their own assessment of neighbourhood conditions as they were conducting the survey. These residents' and survey team members' comments have informed the qualitative findings presented in our main report. The survey was conducted in June in order to provide a balance between the lower rates of antisocial behaviour typically experienced in the winter months with shorter hours of daylight and the higher rates of antisocial behaviour usually associated with the summer months of longer daylight and the long schools holidays.

The survey sample was generated by utilising the neighbourhoods constructed using Scottish Neighbourhoods Statistics data zones (see Annex 1). The boundaries of these neighbourhoods were then further refined using on the ground and map analysis to remove anomalies (for example, where a data zone contained one area of settlement which was a considerable distance from the rest of the neighbourhood). The survey team were provided with a map of the area and a list of streets and survey team members then randomly selected addresses. Attempts were made to ensure that the survey sample was drawn from all streets in the neighbourhood. Visits to the neighbourhoods were conducted in the daytime and the evenings to ensure that residents in employment were included. However, no attempt was made to ensure representativeness on other dimensions such as age and gender. The target of 200 completed interviews was achieved in all eight neighbourhoods.

The total survey sample consisted of 1613 interviews, with just over 12 per cent (200 interviews) in each of the eight case study neighbourhoods. Questions were asked under the headings:

- Personal and household details
- The neighbourhood and neighbours
- Neighbourhood problems (i.e. antisocial behaviour)
- Personal experiences of neighbourhood problems and agency responses
- Feelings of safety

Some of the survey findings are presented as basic percentages. In addition, further analysis was undertaken, utilising logistic regression techniques to identify the extent to which different factors helped explain why and how one variable was associated with another. This technique is useful as it allows a number of underlying variables, such as age, to be taken into account when calculating the extent to which other factors, for example educational attainment, may be associated with antisocial behaviour in an area. Results can be presented as a series of Odds Ratios. Odds Ratios reflect the probability of a person being in one group rather than another after all other factors in the model have been taken into account. For example an Odds Ratio of 2 means a person with a known attribute, for example, living in social housing, is, on average twice as likely to have witnessed an act of antisocial behaviour, compared with those who do not, after all other factors have been taken into account. Adjusted logistic regression models in this report have been adjusted for: sex, age, ethnicity, tenure, household composition and an in-employment indicator.

Characteristics of the Survey Respondents

Figure A3.1 shows the personal and household characteristics of respondents by neighbourhood. The key characteristics of the survey sample are summarised below.

- In total 59% of respondents were female, 41% were male.
- For all neighbourhoods 54% of respondents were aged 45 or over. Only six percent were under-25; ranging from one percent in Carfin to 11 per cent in Muirhouse.
- 28 per cent of respondents were in either couples or couples with children households; 27 per cent were in single households and 15 per cent were single with children.
- 39 per cent were in employment, of which 28 per cent were in full-time employment. Seven percent were unemployed and ten percent were not working due to disability or ill health.
- In total 98 per cent of respondents were white Scottish/Irish/British. Only one per cent of respondents were non-white. This prevented analysis of any differential experience of antisocial behaviour by respondents from a black and minority ethnic background.
- 36 per cent of all respondents lived in either detached houses/bungalows or semi-detached housing; 45 per cent lived in flats/maisonettes
- In total 38 per cent of respondents were owner-occupiers; ranging from 20 per cent in Muirhouse to 67 per cent in Carfin. The majority of survey respondents were in social housing in all neighbourhoods except Carfin

- Overall the neighbourhoods had fairly stable populations with 66 per cent of all respondents living in the neighbourhood for over five years and 48 per cent living in the neighbourhood for more than 10 years.

Due to the sampling techniques used in this study, the survey sample is not accurately representative of either the wider population of the case study neighbourhoods or the Scottish population as a whole. Caution should therefore be taken in interpreting the results presented here and in the main part of the report.

Table A3.1: Characteristics of the survey respondents

Local Authority	North Lanarkshire		Scottish Borders		Edinburgh		Fife		Total
Neighbourhood	**Carfin**	**Whin-hall**	**Burn-foot**	**Langlee**	**Broom-house**	**Muir-house**	**Abbey-view**	**Methil**	
Gender									
Male	40	43	40	40	44	39	42	42	41
Female	60	58	61	61	56	61	58	58	59
Age									
16 - 24 years	1	4	5	5	6	11	10	5	6
25 - 34 years	15	15	14	20	22	16	12	15	16
35 - 44 years	31	21	28	21	24	24	19	26	24
45 - 64 years	39	38	34	36	23	29	33	31	33
More than 64 Years	13	24	21	20	24	19	25	23	21
Household Profile									
Single	16	31	30	26	22	37	32	24	27
Single with children	11	20	19	16	10	11	15	17	15
Couple	34	27	20	26	35	25	27	29	28
Couple with children	39	21	30	28	28	23	24	29	28
More than 2 adults sharing	1	1	3	5	4	2	1	1	2
Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Employment Status									
Employed full time	30	33	26	25	29	26	26	28	28
Employed part time	20	11	14	11	7	9	9	9	11
Looking after home/family/carer	21	18	18	19	17	16	18	16	18
Retired	19	27	23	24	27	23	28	27	25
Further/higher education	2	2	1	5	2	1	0	1	2
Training programme	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Unemployed seeking work	4	3	6	7	4	10	9	9	7
Not working (Disabled/ill health)	3	8	14	11	12	14	9	9	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Figure A3.1: Characteristics of the Survey respondents (continued)

Local Authority	North Lanarkshire		Scottish Borders		Edinburgh		Fife		
Neighbourhood	**Carfin**	**Whin-hall**	**Burn-foot**	**Langlee**	**Broom-house**	**Muir-house**	**Abbey-view**	**Methil**	**Total**
Ethnic Group									
White - Scottish/Irish/British	96	100	98	97	96	97	99	99	98
White other background	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	1
Chinese	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Indian	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bangladeshi	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black African	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Other Black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Property Type									
Detached house/bungalow	34	3	1	1	0	0	0	9	6
Semi-detached house	34	30	64	22	15	4	30	42	30
Terraced house	13	11	14	34	22	15	36	8	19
Flat/maisonette	18	57	22	44	63	81	34	41	45
Tenure Type									
Owner occupier	67	45	24	30	38	20	38	46	38
Renting from Council	29	50	3	0	53	67	58	38	37
Renting from Housing Association	0	0	68	65	2	9	2	15	20
Renting from Private landlord	4	6	6	6	6	4	1	1	4
Length of time in nghbourhood									
Less than 1 year	3	2	2	1	4	5	3	5	3
Between 1 - 5 years	45	25	25	28	35	34	29	28	31
Between 6 - 10 years	16	16	22	20	15	23	16	19	18
More than 10 years	36	59	53	51	45	38	51	49	48

Base: All (1613).

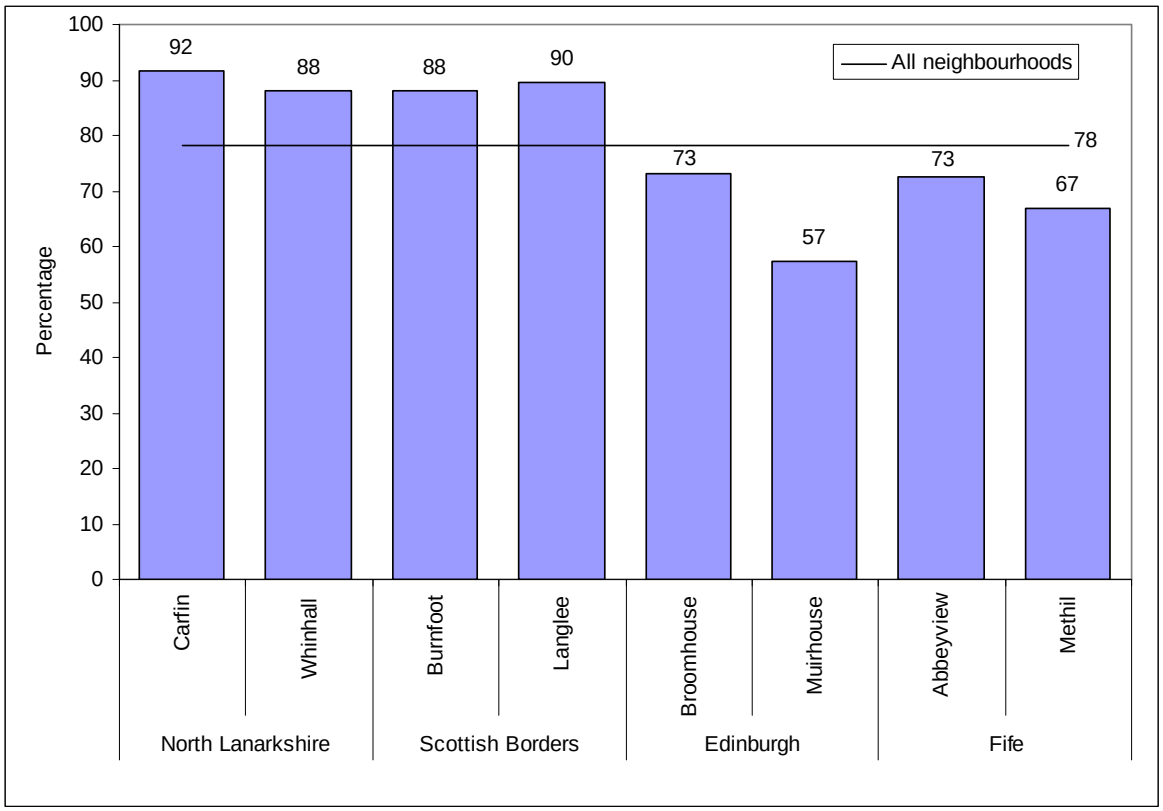
Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Perceptions of Local Neighbourhoods, Social Relations and Personal Safety

This section presents the survey findings about respondents' perceptions of their neighbourhood and their neighbours, including whether respondents perceived their neighbourhood to be: a good place to live, to have good aspects, to have good social relations, and to be a safe place.

In total 78 percent of survey respondents rated their neighbourhood as a good place to live (Figure A3.1). However there was considerable variation between the neighbourhoods. In both of the North Lanarkshire and Scottish Borders neighbourhoods almost nine in ten respondents believed that their neighbourhoods were good places to live. In contrast, less than three quarters of residents in the Edinburgh and Fife neighbourhoods felt this to be the case. Just over one half of surveyed residents in Muirhouse (57 per cent) and two thirds (67 percent) of surveyed residents in Methil reported that their neighbourhood was a good place to live.

Figure A3.1: Percentage of respondents who think their neighbourhood is a good place to live

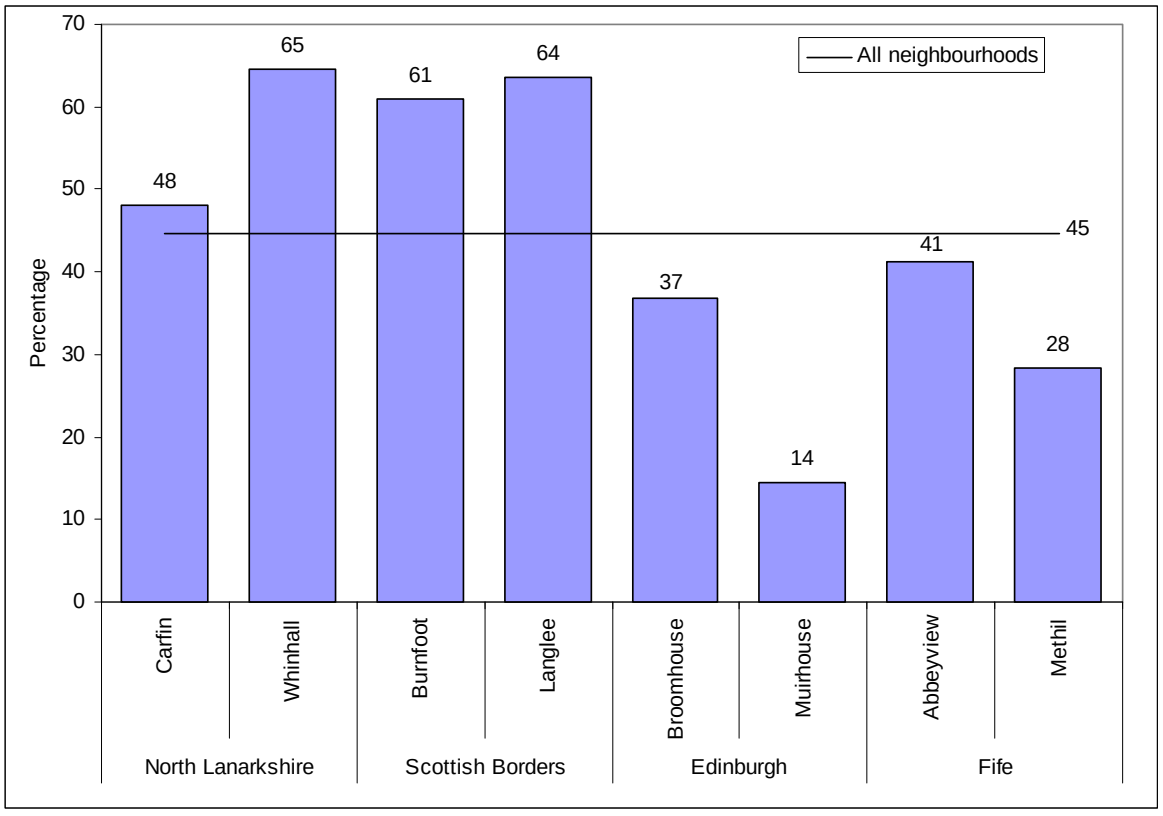


Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Two sets of questions in the survey were used to explore residents' perceptions about 'aspects of neighbourhood' and 'social relations'. An *aspects of neighbourhood score* was developed, which encompassed residents' views on: the manner in which streets and public spaces were maintained, relations with neighbours, sense of community, shops and facilities, and facilities for children and young people. Respondents with an aggregate 'positive' score, perceived that overall these aspects of their neighbourhood were good. Figure A3. 2 shows that, in total 45 per cent of respondents reported an overall 'good' aspects of neighbourhood score. As may be expected from the results shown in Figure A3.1 above, residents in the North Lanarkshire and Scottish Borders neighbourhoods were more likely to have a 'positive' aspects of neighbourhood score than residents in the Edinburgh and Fife neighbourhoods. Again, Muirhouse (14 per cent) and Methil (28 per cent), had the lowest proportions of residents reporting overall positive aspects to their neighbourhood.

Figure A3.2: Percentage of respondents with a 'good' aspects of neighbourhood score



Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

A *social relations* score was constructed using analysis of the following three questions from the survey which asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

- If I were alone and needed help I could rely on friends/relatives in this neighbourhood to help me.
- If my home was empty, I could count on friends/relatives in this neighbourhood to keep an eye on my home.
- I feel I could turn to my friends/relatives in this neighbourhood for advice or support.

Respondents with a 'good' social relations score overall agreed with these statements. In total 77 per cent of survey respondents had a 'good' social relations score (Figure A3.3). The findings suggest relatively strong social relations within the case study neighbourhoods. In both North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods over 90 per cent of respondents had a 'good' *social relations* score whereas in Edinburgh, social relations appeared to be less robust, with 68 per cent of residents in Broomhouse and only a half of residents in Muirhouse reporting an overall 'good' social relations score.

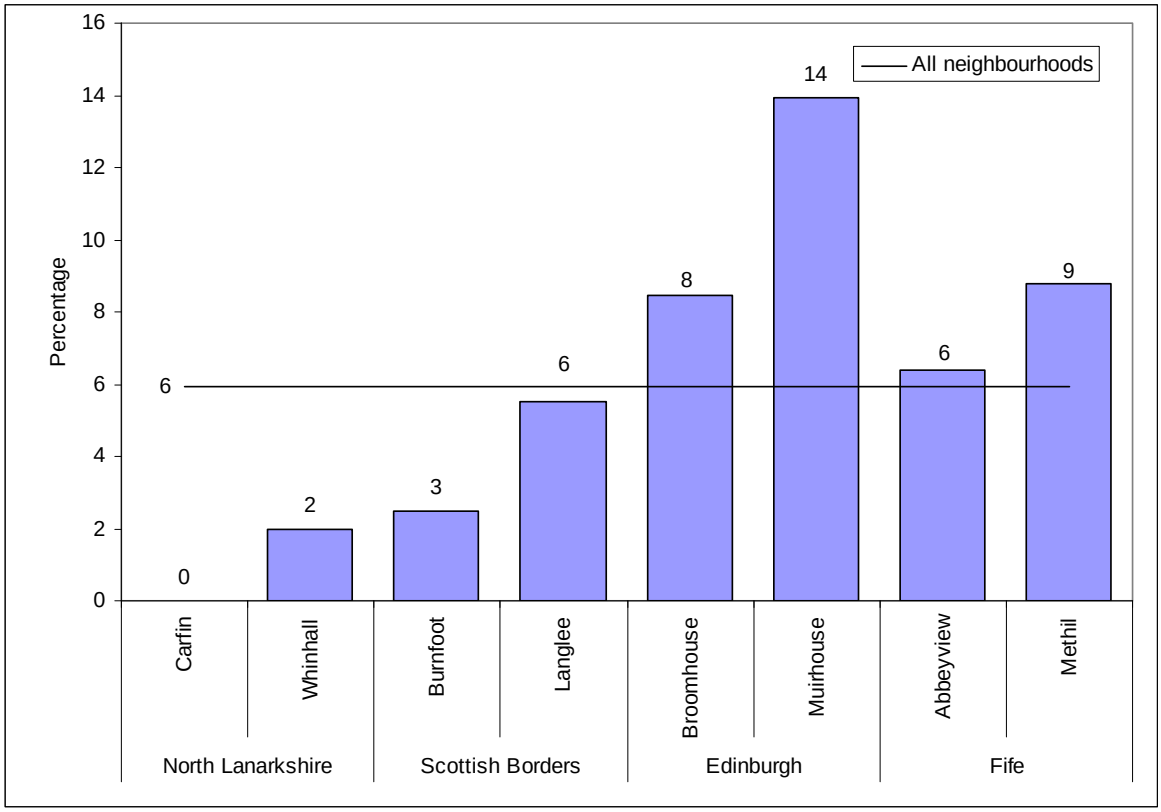
Figure A3.3: Percentage of respondents with a 'good' social relations score

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Residents' perceptions of safety are discussed in Chapter 5 of the main report. In addition to the findings presented there, survey responses were used to construct a *feelings of safety* score for each respondent. This score aggregated individual residents' perceptions of safety in different scenarios (in the home or walking in the neighbourhood during daylight or at night). Respondents with an 'unsafe' feelings of safety score overall would feel unsafe in the four scenarios. Across the entire survey sample, only six per cent of respondents had an overall 'unsafe' feelings of safety score (Figure A3.4). However, there was some variation between neighbourhoods, with 14 per cent of residents in Muirhouse generally feeling unsafe compared to no residents in Carfin.

Figure A3.4: Percentage of respondents with an 'unsafe' feelings of safety score



Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Willingness to Report Incidents of Antisocial Behaviour and to Act as a Witness

Chapter 6 of the main report identifies the significant problem of the under-reporting of antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods, which mirrors similar findings at the national level from the Scottish Household Surveys and British Crime Surveys. Our survey asked residents about how likely they would be report an incident of vandalism or graffiti to local agencies. Table A3.3 shows that a majority of residents would be likely to

report such an incident. However, this varied from over nine in ten residents in Carfin to two thirds of residents in Muirhouse and Methil. The police are the local agency most reports would be directed to, followed by the Council. The impact of community wardens is most discernible in Langlee in Galashiels (Scottish Borders) and Abbeyview in Dunfermline (Fife) where a quarter and a fifth of residents respectively would report the incident to this service. These findings reveal a considerable discrepancy between residents' apparent potential willingness to report incidents and the actual levels of reporting that occur within neighbourhoods.

Table A3.3: Likelihood of residents reporting an incident of vandalism or graffiti to agencies (percentages)

	Likely to report an incident	Agency likely to report an incident to					
		Police	Council	Housing Association	Private landlord	Com. warden	Neighbhd watch
Edinburgh							
Broomhouse	76	95	67	3	5	10	1
Muirhouse	68	90	89	17	1	1	1
Fife							
Abbeyview	79	98	66	9	1	19	1
Methil	67	98	53	15	2	1	3
North Lanarkshire							
Carfin	92	100	92	10	12	2	11
Whinhall	85	98	96	1	4	6	2
Scottish Borders							
Burnfoot	81	99	89	23	6	0	2
Langlee	77	100	49	65	6	25	4
Survey average	**78**	**97**	**76**	**17**	**5**	**8**	**3**

Base: Likely to report: All (1613). Given likely to report; Broomhouse (153), Muirhouse (136), Abbeyview (162), Methil (137), Carfin (186, Whinhall (170), Burnfoot (162), Langlee (154).

Source: Management Information Scotland Household Survey June 2006.

The survey also asked respondents about their willingness to act as a witness in a case involving serious antisocial behaviour (Table A3.4). Just under half of the survey sample (47 per cent) stated that they would be willing to act as a witness in a case of serious antisocial behaviour. This varied from over two thirds of respondents in Carfin and Whinhall to less than a third of respondents in Muirhouse. The difference between the levels of willingness to report an incident and to act as a witness were reflected in some of the challenges facing local agencies in investigating and taking action against antisocial behaviour which are discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of the main report.

Table A3. 4: Respondents' willing to act as a witness (percentages)

Edinburgh	
Broomhouse	39
Muirhouse	31
Fife	
Abbeyview	43
Methil	39
North Lanarkshire	
Carfin	69
Whinhall	66
Scottish Borders	
Burnfoot	50
Langlee	44
Survey sample average	47

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Residents' Satisfaction with the Responses of Local Agencies to Antisocial Behaviour

Chapters 5 and 6 of the main report discuss residents' satisfaction with the responses of local agencies to antisocial behaviour in the case study neighbourhoods. This analysis is based on two questions in the household survey:

- to what extent are you satisfied with what local agencies are doing to tackle antisocial behaviour in this area, and
- how has the performance of local agencies changed in tackling antisocial behaviour in the last 12 months?

Almost a third (32 per cent) of all respondents claimed that they were dissatisfied with what local agencies were doing to tackle anti-social behaviour (Table A3.5). This percentage was highest in the Edinburgh neighbourhoods and lowest in the North Lanarkshire neighbourhoods. Only one in five respondents were dissatisfied in Whinhall compared to nearly half of respondents in Muirhouse. A quarter (24 per cent) of all

respondents thought that the performance of local agencies in tackling anti-social behaviour had improved in the previous 12 months. Respondents in Whinhall (34 per cent), Carfin (32 per cent) and Langlee (31 per cent) were most likely to report an improvement. In contrast only six percent of respondents in Muirhouse perceived agency performance to have improved in the previous 12 months.

Table A3.5: Residents' satisfaction with the performance of local agencies

	% dissatisfied with local agencies tackling ASB	% perceiving local agencies to be performing better in tackling ASB in the last 12 months
Edinburgh		
Broomhouse	41	16
Muirhouse	48	6
Fife		
Abbeyview	33	25
Methil	35	28
North Lanarkshire		
Carfin	24	32
Whinhall	20	34
Scottish Borders		
Burnfoot	34	19
Langlee	25	31
Survey sample average	**32**	**24**

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

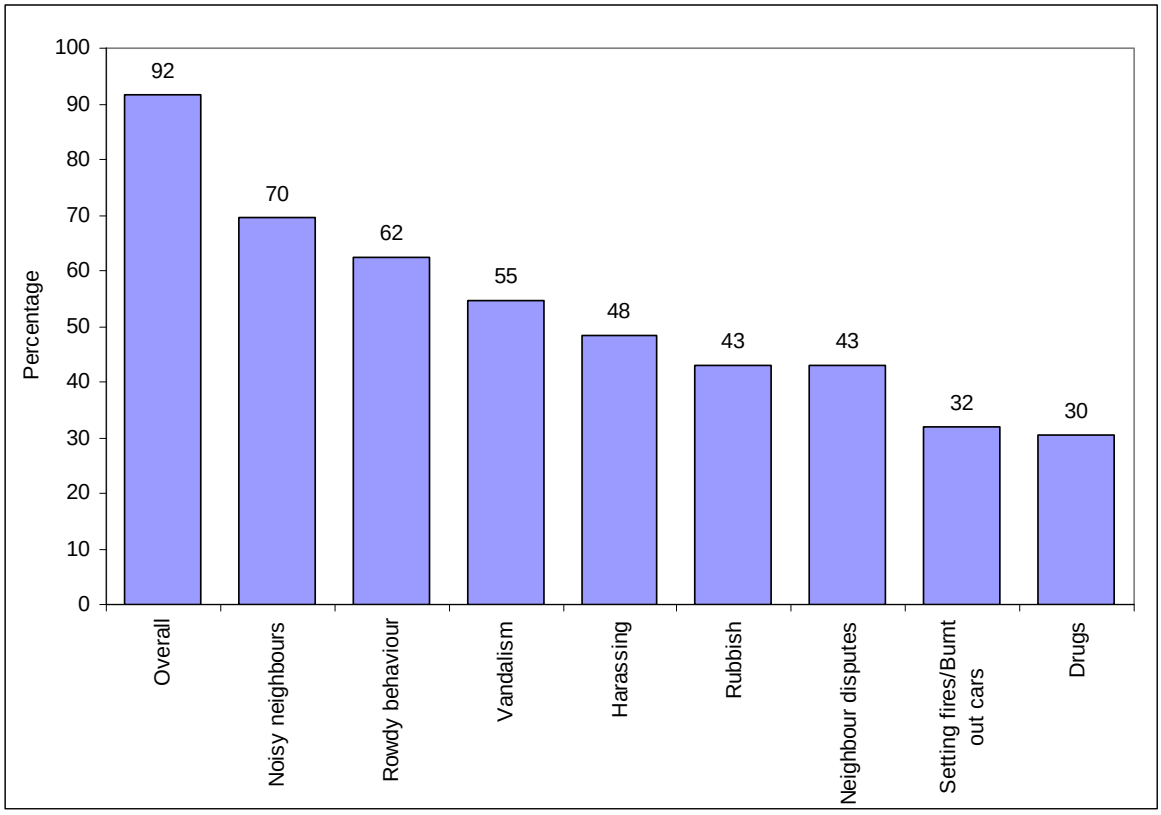
Relationships between Indicators

Analysis was conducted of the key relationships between variables in the household survey, including: perceptions and experiences of antisocial behaviour, aspects of the neighbourhood and perceptions/experiences of antisocial behaviour, fear of crime and perceptions/experiences of antisocial behaviour, reporting by types of antisocial behaviour experienced, and reporting and agency performance.

Was there a relationship between witnessing antisocial behaviour and perceiving antisocial behaviour to be common?

It is known that there will be a range of influences on perceptions of antisocial behaviour, only some of which relate to individuals' actual direct experiences of the problem. Figure A3.5 shows the percentage of those survey respondents reporting that antisocial behaviour is 'very' or 'quite' common in their neighbourhood who had actually witnessed an act of antisocial behaviour. 92 per cent of the respondents who perceived that antisocial behaviour was common had witnessed at least one of the eight forms of antisocial behaviour listed in the survey. However this percentage differs for the eight types of anti-social behaviour listed. 70 per cent of those residents who felt that noisy neighbours were common in their neighbourhood had experienced such a situation, whilst only 30 per cent of those that perceived drugs-related problems to be common had actually personally experienced them.

Figure A3.5: Percentages of respondents who believe a type of antisocial behaviour is common who have experienced that type of antisocial behaviour



Base: All respondents who perceived an act of antisocial behaviour to be 'very' or 'quite' common; Overall (255), Noisy neighbour (235), Rowdy behaviour (572), Vandalism (478), Harassing (493), Rubbish (497), Neighbour disputes (138), Setting fires/Burnt out cars (110) Drugs (383).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Note: The 'Overall' column refers to the percentage of respondents who perceive antisocial behaviour to be 'very' or 'quite' common and have personally experienced at least one type of antisocial behaviour.

The adjusted odds ratios in Table A3.6 show that respondents who had witnessed an act of antisocial behaviour were significantly more likely to perceive that overall acts of antisocial behaviour were common in their neighbourhood. For example, those respondents who had witnessed noisy neighbours were around 50-times more likely to perceive that this was a problem in their neighbourhood compared to those respondents that had not witnessed noisy neighbours. Respondents who had witnessed at least one of the forms of antisocial behaviour listed were more likely, with an odds ratio of 7, to feel overall that anti-social behaviour was common in their neighbourhood than those who had not witnessed one of the acts of antisocial behaviour.

Table A3.6: Adjusted odds ratios: Perceptions and experiences of antisocial behaviour

Types of ASB perceived as 'very' or 'quite' common	Witnessed ASB?	
	Yes	No
Overall ASB	7.18	1.00
Noisy neighbours	48.44	1.00
Vandalism	10.69	1.00
Rubbish	7.11	1.00
Neighbour disputes	22.92	1.00
Harassing	9.76	1.00
Drugs	14.41	1.00
Rowdy behaviour	9.93	1.00
Setting fires/burnt out cars	17.42	1.00

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

Correlations between neighbourhood percentages of those respondents who had witnessed an act of antisocial behaviour and those respondents who perceived it to be common are presented in Table A3.7. At a neighbourhood level there was a significant positive relationship between the percentage of respondents in a neighbourhood that perceived overall antisocial behaviour to be common and the percentage of respondents that had experienced at least one of the types of anti-social behaviour types listed. Breaking this down by the eight types of antisocial behaviour:

- significant at 0.01 level were: noisy neighbours, vandalism, rubbish, and setting fires/burnt out cars,
- significant at 0.05 level were: neighbour disputes, harassing, and drugs, and
- a positive but not significant correlation: rowdy behaviour.

Squaring the correlation coefficient gives the r squared statistic or proportion of explained variation. This statistic gives the variation in one variable that is explained by variation in the other. 92 per cent of the variation in the neighbourhood percentage who perceived noisy neighbours to be common was explained by the variation in the neighbourhood percentage of respondents who had witnessed noisy neighbours. However, only 58 per cent of the variation in the neighbourhood percentage who perceived drugs to be common was explained by variation in the percentage of respondents who had witnessed drugs problems.

Table A3.7: Correlation between residents perceiving types of antisocial behaviour as common and personally experiencing types of antisocial behaviour

Overall ASB	**0.96***
Noisy neighbours	**0.95***
Vandalism	**0.87***
Rubbish	**0.91***
Neighbour disputes	**0.80**
Harassing	**0.71**
Drugs	**0.76**
Rowdy behaviour	0.68
Setting fires/burnt out cars	**0.90***

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold Indicates significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).

Bold and * indicates significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

Note: 'Overall ASB' represents respondents who perceive antisocial behaviour to be common and have experienced personally experienced at least one type of antisocial behaviour.

What was the relationship between aspects of the neighbourhood and perceived and experienced antisocial behaviour?

Table A3.8 presents the relationships between:

- The impact of 'aspects of neighbourhood', encompassing: the way streets and public spaces are maintained; relations between neighbours; a sense of community; local shops and facilities; facilities for children (aged up to 11); and facilities for young people (aged 12 to 18) on experiences/perceptions of antisocial behaviour;
- The association between 'good social relations' and experienced/perceived antisocial behaviour; and
- The association between perceiving the neighbourhood as a good place to live and experienced/perceived antisocial behaviour.

Table A3.8: Adjusted odd ratios: Neighbourhood well-being and experience/perceptions of antisocial behaviour

	Experienced ASB	Perceive ASB to be common
Neighbourhood good		
Other (1)	1.00	1.00
Yes	**0.21**	**0.17**
Aspects of neighbourhood good		
Other (1)	1.00	1.00
Yes	**0.71**	**0.71**
Social relations good		
Other (1)	1.00	1.00
Yes	**0.66**	**0.69**

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

(1) 'Other' includes negative neighbourhood scores and 'don't know' responses.

We would expect that perceiving antisocial behaviour to be common or directly experiencing antisocial behaviour would have a detrimental effect on feelings that a neighbourhood is a good place to live. Table A3.8 confirms that respondents who perceived that their neighbourhood was a good place to live were significantly less likely to have witnessed an act of antisocial behaviour (odds ratio of 0.21) and to perceive antisocial behaviour to be common (odds ratio of 0.17). There is an interesting relationship between residents' feeling that aspects of their neighbourhood were good and their experience and perception of antisocial behaviour. Whilst both relationships were significant, residents who perceived that aspects of their neighbourhood were good overall were 68 per cent less likely to perceive antisocial behaviour as a problem, but only 29 per cent less likely to have experienced antisocial behaviour: Perceptions of good aspects of neighbourhood were therefore associated to some extent with reduced experience of antisocial behaviour but more so with reduced perceptions of antisocial behaviour as a neighbourhood problem. Table A3.8 also presents the relationship between a respondent's *social relations score* and witnessing and/or experiencing antisocial behaviour. Respondents who had a 'good' *social relations* score were about a third less likely have experienced antisocial behaviour and/or to perceive it to be common in their neighbourhood.

What was the relationship between fear of crime and perceptions/experience of antisocial behaviour?

Analysis of the household survey reveals an association between a respondent feeling 'overall' unsafe in their neighbourhood and their experience and/or perception of antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhood (Table A3.9).

Table A3.9: Adjusted odds ratios: Feelings of safety and experience/perceptions of anti-social behaviour

	Experienced ASB	Perceive ASB to be common
Feel unsafe		
Other (1)	1.00	1.00
Yes	**6.69**	**7.50**

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

(1) includes negative feelings of safety scores and 'don't know' responses.

Table A3.9 shows a strong and significant relationship between feelings of safety and experience/perceptions of antisocial behaviour. Residents who felt unsafe were over six and a half times more likely to have experienced antisocial behaviour and seven and a half times more likely to perceive antisocial behaviour to be common in their neighbourhood.

Table A3.10 explores this relationship further by looking at the four components of our constructed *feelings of safety* score. Feeling unsafe, either at home or walking alone in the neighbourhood, during the *day* was not statistically related to either experience or perceptions of antisocial behaviour. On the other hand, feelings of safety *after dark* were strongly related to experiences and perceptions of antisocial behaviour. For example, residents who indicated feeling unsafe in their own home after dark were almost six times more likely to perceive antisocial behaviour to be common in their neighbourhood and over eight and a half times more likely to have experienced antisocial behaviour.

Table A3.10: Adjusted odds ratios: Feelings of safety and experience/perceptions of anti-social behaviour in different situations

	Experienced ASB	Perceive ASB to be common
Unsafe at home during the day		
Other	1.00	1.00
Yes	0.32	0.63
Unsafe at home after dark		
Other	1.00	1.00
Yes	**8.67**	**5.97**
Unsafe in the neighbourhood during the day		
Other	1.00	1.00
Yes	1.25	1.51
Unsafe in the neighbourhood after dark		
Other	1.00	1.00
Yes	**3.00**	**3.08**

Base: All (1613).

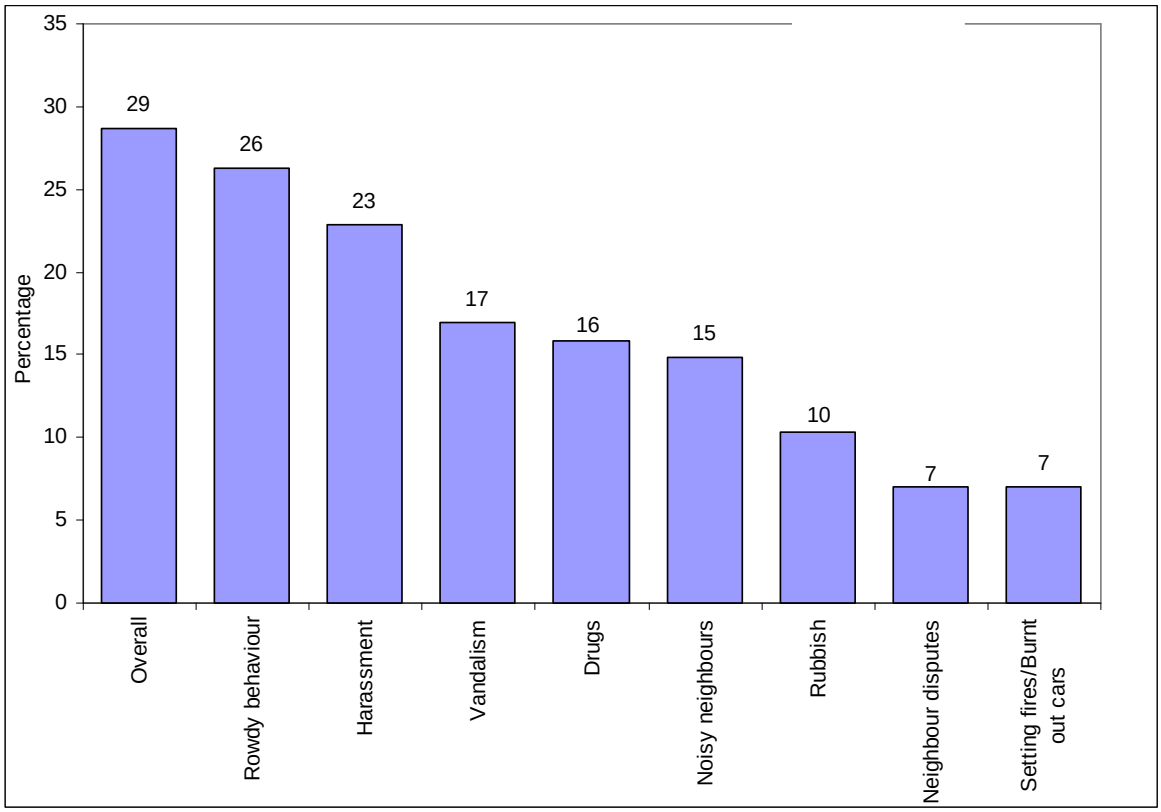
Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

(1) 'Other' includes responses indicating positive feelings of safety and 'don't know' responses.

The impact of respondents' perceptions of antisocial behaviour upon their feelings of safety within the neighbourhood is shown in Figure A3.6. 29 per cent of survey respondents stated that the eight types of antisocial behaviour listed had at least some impact on their feelings of safety when they were in their neighbourhood. Rowdy behaviour (26 per cent) and harassment (23 per cent) had the highest percentages of respondents stating that these types of antisocial behaviour impacted on their feelings of safety. Only seven percent of respondents felt that neighbourhood disputes or setting fires/burnt out cars impacted on their feelings of safety.

Figure A3.6: Percentage of residents believing that anti-social behaviour has an impact on their feelings of safety, by type of antisocial behaviour



Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Note: The 'Overall' column represents the proportion of residents who stated that the overall impact of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhoods had 'some' or 'a lot' of impact on their feelings of safety in their neighbourhood.

Were those respondents who would report antisocial behaviour also those who perceived that local agencies had improved in performance or that performance was satisfactory?

The adjusted odds ratio Table A3.11 allows us to explore two relationships:

- to what extent were respondents satisfied or dissatisfied with what local agencies (such as the council, police and social landlords) were doing to tackle antisocial behaviour in this area?, and

- how had the performance of local agencies (such as the Council, police and landlords) changed in tackling antisocial behaviour in the last 12 months?

Those survey respondents who indicated that they were dissatisfied with local agencies were significantly less likely to be willing to act as a witness (odds ratio of 0.78) or to report an incident of antisocial behaviour to the police (odds ratio of 0.68) and/or council

(odds ratio of 0.74). However, they were over two times more likely to report an incident to their neighbourhood watch or residents groups (although the numbers here are very small). Respondents who thought that the performance of local agencies had improved were also significantly more likely to act as a witness. They were also significantly more likely to report an incident of antisocial behaviour to community wardens (odds ration of 4.16) and/or a neighbourhood watch scheme (odds ratio of 2.85).

Table A3.11: Adjusted odds ratios: Willingness to report an incident/be a witness and satisfaction with local agencies

	Willing to be witness	Agency willing to report to					
		Police	Council	Housing assoc.	Private landlord	Com. warden	Nhgbd. watch
Dissatisfied with local agencies							
Other (1)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	**0.78**	**0.68**	**0.74**	1.18	0.56	1.16	**2.30**
Agency performance improved							
Other (2)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	**1.34**	1.37	0.95	0.73	1.43	**4.16**	**2.85**

Base: All (1613).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

(1) 'Other' includes satisfied, neutral or don't know responses.

(2) 'Other' includes negative, neutral or 'don't know' responses.

Were those respondents who perceived that antisocial behaviour had improved also those who perceived that local agency performance has improved?

Table A3.12 indicates that respondents who reported that antisocial behaviour problems in their neighbourhood had got better in the last 12 months were almost three and a half times more likely to feel that the performance of local agencies had also got better in the last 12 months.

Table A3.12: Adjusted odds ratios: Improvement in antisocial behaviour and agency performance in the last 12 months

	Local agency performance improved in last 12 months
ASB improved in last 12 months	
Other (1)	1.00
Yes	**3.41**

Base: All lived in the area for at least 12 months (1476).

Source: Management Information Scotland Neighbourhood Survey June 2006.

Bold indicates significant at the 0.05 level.

(1) 'Other' includes negative and 'don't know' responses.

Residents' Satisfaction with Agency Responses to Different Types of Antisocial Behaviour

Residents' perceptions of agency performance are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 of the main report. An additional analysis of the whole household survey sample found the following key findings.

- Councils had notably high levels of satisfaction in their response to reports of vandalism (63 per cent satisfied) and litter (100 per cent satisfied). However, less than a fifth of respondents were satisfied with the Councils' response to reports of rowdy behaviour (17 per cent) and neighbour disputes (14 per cent).

- Over four in ten respondents were satisfied with the police response to reports of: vandalism (48 per cent); noisy neighbours (46 per cent); setting fires/burnt out cars (45 percent); and rowdy behaviour (43 percent). However only three per cent of respondents were satisfied with the police response to litter complaints.

- The majority of respondents (58 percent) were satisfied with a Housing Association response to vandalism.

ANNEX 4: ECONOMIC EVALUATION OF SELECTED ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR INITIATIVES

Introduction

This annex describes the methodology and findings of the economic evaluation of 12 selected antisocial behaviour initiatives. The findings from the economic evaluation are summarised in paragraphs 7.24 - 7.30 of the main report. The analysis focused on quantifying the costs and benefits of 12 initiatives in the four selected Scottish local authorities. These included the community wardens schemes and mediation services operating in each of the four local authorities. In addition, the Early Intervention Families project in Edinburgh, the Safer Neighbourhoods Team in Fife, the Night Noise Team in North Lanarkshire and the Freephone Antisocial Behaviour Helpline in the Scottish Borders were also evaluated Where possible, the benefits are identified in terms of the possible cost consequences for various stakeholders. These included increases and decreases in current levels of expenditure and estimates of potential future expenditure that is prevented because of the intervention. Other less tangible benefits are identified where relevant. This analysis focuses primarily on the impacts on public costs (i.e. payments for services funded from the public purse using money raised from taxation), though broad cost consequences for individuals and local neighbourhoods and communities are also identified were possible. This approach enables local decision makers to reach informed decisions about the costs and benefits of individual initiatives within their local context, whilst taking account of local policies and priorities.

Methodology

The economic evaluation analysed data covering the period from the beginning of each initiative (typically from late 2004/early 2005) until January 2007 (depending on local data collection and availability). Financial data on expenditure was not available for the full 2006/07 year, though some information was provided on expenditure to date within the year and on full year budgets.

A contact person was identified for each of the 12 initiatives included in the economic evaluation. The contact provided locally-generated information and reports on procedures, activity, outcomes and costs, where these were available. In addition, most of the contacts were interviewed to provide further information about the initiative. This approach was particularly useful where contact was maintained with the same individual throughout the evaluation period. However, in some cases initiatives experienced managerial changes and/or directly involved several agencies, which made maintaining contacts more difficult. The amount and types of data collected varied considerably between each initiative, even for those with broadly similar aims and objectives. This made it difficult to undertake meaningful comparisons between the local authorities of the costs of delivery of similar initiatives and of their value for money.

Community Wardens

Description of Services

A wide range of warden schemes operate in Scotland. The key functions of warden schemes fall into one or more of the following four broad categories:

- community development,
- crime prevention,
- environmental improvements, and
- housing management.

The four community warden schemes analysed in this evaluation had similar overall objectives: reducing crime and the fear of crime, reducing antisocial behaviour, and improving the amenity of local neighbourhoods and the quality of life of residents. However, each scheme worked in different ways that reflected locally-identified needs and other local service provision.

The City of Edinburgh Council was one of the first local authorities in Scotland to set up a team of community wardens (also known as Community Safety Wardens or Community Safety Concierges) within its Housing Department. The first team of six staff was set up in the Broomhouse estate (one of our case study neighbourhoods) in 2000. Since then, the Council has used Scottish Executive funding and its own resources to fund five teams, deploying a total of 45 wardens across specific areas of the city. These wardens wear distinctive maroon uniforms and work in small groups, patrolling their designated area seven days a week, both during the daytime and in 'out of hours' evenings. The wardens work closely with local residents to identify and act upon priority issues and to encourage community development. As well as being a highly visible Council presence and the first point of contact for residents, the wardens' day-to-day functions include on-the-spot environmental improvements (e.g. keeping neighbourhoods clean and graffiti removal) and reporting required repairs and abandoned vehicles. The wardens work with the police and other agencies to help reduce crime, the fear of crime and all types of antisocial behaviour. The City of Edinburgh Council also employs Environmental Wardens (through its Environmental and Consumer Services Department) and Park Rangers (through its Culture & Leisure Services Department).

Community wardens have been introduced in five areas of Fife (including Abbeyview in Dunfermline, another of our case study neighbourhoods). Wardens were deployed in four areas in the late summer and autumn of 2004 and began operating in a fifth neighbourhood in April 2005. These localities were selected due to their high levels of antisocial behaviour and crime and poor local reputations. By the summer 2006 there were 22 full-time and two part-time community wardens in post in Fife.

Community wardens have operated in three areas of North Lanarkshire (Airdrie, Bellshill and Coatbridge) since November 2004. In addition, a mobile warden service was established in November 2005 and the community warden service was extended to include Motherwell and Wishaw in June 2006, by which time a total of 41 uniformed community wardens were employed. Their job description states that their role is:

- to proactively improve the quality of the local environment within the designated area and assist where appropriate in promoting community safety, and
- to carry out regular foot patrols of all residential areas, neighbourhood shopping centres and public places, acting as the eyes and ears of the local community, reporting damage defects, vandalism and anti-social acts.

They are also expected to respond to a variety of complaints about antisocial behaviour, including loud music, street football, and youth disorder.

The initial proposal for funding for community wardens made by Scottish Borders Council to the Scottish Executive was based upon a model where wardens would have a roaming presence within each of the Council's five Area Committee localities. This was not supported by the Scottish Executive which argued that this approach would not achieve the levels of community engagement required for an effective service. The proposals were consequently revised, with funding approved for community warden services in Galashiels and Kelso. This funding was used to employ five community wardens. In addition, a Warden/Antisocial behaviour Co-ordinator was recruited to oversee the development of the service and to assist with wider antisocial behaviour interventions. The community wardens work in teams of two. According to their job description and other local documents, their main role is to make the Scottish Borders a safer place to live by providing high visibility patrols that aim to improve the quality of life for residents by assisting in reducing antisocial behaviour, crime and fear of crime. In the course of conducting such patrols the community wardens are envisaged as acting as the 'eyes and ears' of local communities.

Methodological Challenges

The most significant methodological challenge encountered in this element of the economic evaluation was linking the activities undertaken by the wardens to specific outputs and outcomes. This was a problem for each of four warden services, and was exacerbated by the fact that each service had different aims and objectives and recorded its activity in different ways. Each local authority identified varying sets of statistical indicators to compare with baseline indicators and it was often unclear if an increase in reported levels of crime and antisocial behaviour was due to increases in the number of actual incidents, or because residents were more aware of antisocial behaviour activities and/or more willing to report them. It was not possible to identify appropriate comparator areas without wardens in order to identify the specific impact of the presence and activities of community wardens on levels of antisocial behaviour. The nature of the tasks undertaken by the wardens themselves also varied across the four local authorities. In addition, wardens do a great deal of community development work which is very hard to

quantify. It is also difficult to place a financial value on such work. Furthermore, because each community warden service responded to locally identified requirements and reported its outcomes in different ways, it was not possible to identify comparable unit costs for similar activities.

Activities and Outcomes

The local authorities were required to submit to the Scottish Executive 12- month and 24-month reports on the activities and outcomes of their community warden schemes. Although these reports were expected to follow a common format, including collecting statistical indicators and perception/survey-based indicators for comparison with baseline indicators, the actual indicators used were selected locally. These returns generally included quantitative information about the numbers of incidents reported by the wardens, along with descriptions of other activities undertaken within their designated neighbourhoods. However, the amount of information included in the returns varied considerably, as did the amount and types of other relevant data provided directly for this research.

Key Performance Indicator (KPI) data was provided by the City of Edinburgh Council for KPI 2 (Crime/ASB) and KPI 3 (Vehicles). However, although the 24-month report identified the locally-selected statistical and perception/survey-based indicators, no specific numerical details were included due to local problems with recording this data.

In Fife the statistical indicators selected for inclusion in the Scottish Executive reports focused on reducing violent crime, antisocial behaviour, vehicle crime, domestic housebreaking, vandalism, and void properties. Fife Council's 24-month report showed considerable reductions compared with baseline indicators for most measures, although not all of the improvements can be attributed solely to the wardens, given all of the other local interventions in place to reduce antisocial behaviour and crime. Nevertheless, the available data indicates that community wardens in Fife are having a positive impact in the neighbourhoods where they are operating.

North Lanarkshire Council provided detailed information on the activities undertaken by their community wardens as reflected by the incident reports they made to other services. This data indicated that almost half of the reports made by wardens related to cleansing streets and other public areas. The statistical indicators included for Years 1 and 2 in North Lanarkshire Council's 24-month report, which focus on reducing levels of crime, are presented in Table A4 1. The table also provides a breakdown for the three areas where warden services have been operating since the end of 2004 and shows the percentage changes in recorded criminal activity over this period.

Table A4.1: North Lanarkshire's statistical indicators for years 1 and 2

Indicator	Baseline	Target	Year 1	Year 2**
Numbers of crimes involving dishonesty	A*: 427 B*: 262 C*: 546	Year 1: reduce by 5% from baseline Year 2: reduce by 2% from baseline	A: 573 (+34%) B: 289 (+10%) C: 582 (+ 6.5%)	A: 324 (-43.5%) B: 305 (+5.5%) C: 539 (-7.4%)
Fire raising/ Malicious damage and reckless conduct	A: 340 B: 195 C: 526	As above	A: 449 (+32%) B: 238 (+22%) C: 470 (-11%)	A: 387 (-13.8%) B: 289 (+21.4%) C: 481 (+2.3%)
Other crimes (including drugs, offensive weapons, crimes against justice)	A: 223 B: 109 C: 245	Year 1: reduce by 2% from baseline Year 2: reduce by 2% from baseline	A: 274 (+23%) B: 193 (+78%) C: 413 (+69%)	A: 105 (-61.6%) B: 152 (-21.0%) C: 328 (-20.5%)
Miscellaneous offences (including assault; BOP; alcohol, race crime)	A: 1,330 B: 621 C: 1,256	Year 1: maintain reported figures Year 2: reduce reported figures by 2%	A: 1,447 (+9%) B: 711 (+14%) C: 1,778 (42%)	A: 746 (-48.4%) B: 498 (-30.0%) C: 1,335 (+24.9%)
Offences relating to motor vehicles	A: 320 B: 242 C: 270	As above	A: 465 (+45%) B: 227 (-6%) C: 456 (+69%)	A: 199 (-57.2%) B: 188 (-17.0%) C: 540 (+18.4%)
Assistance to members of the public	A: 593 B: 384 C: 694	As above	A: 454 (-23%) B: 245 (-36%) C: 462 (-33%)	A: 393 (-13.4%) B: 296 (+20.8%) C: 642 (+38.9%)

* A: Airdrie; B: Bellshill; C: Coatbridge. ** The percentages for Year 2 reflect the change from Year 1, not from the baseline.

The data shows varied success in achieving reductions in offences, with some increases as well as decreases. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any consistency in trends across the three areas. For example, there was a large reduction in offences related to motor vehicles in Airdrie but a significant increase in these types of offences in Coatbridge. In many situations it is also unclear if an increase in the number of recorded offences is a manifestation of growing numbers of incidents or, alternatively, an enhanced propensity amongst residents to report incidents. It is also not possible to compare these trends with what would have happened in the three areas had wardens not been operating: therefore this data needs to be interpreted with caution. However, the data suggests that community wardens have had a particularly strong positive effect in Airdrie, where there have been reductions in recorded levels of almost all types of offences during the study period.

Scottish Borders Council's 24-month community wardens report included data on two selected statistical indicators.

- Reduction in noise-related antisocial behaviour
    - Number of complainers contacted and advice given. The target was to increase contact with complainers by 40 per cent from a baseline of 15 contacts. During Year 1 there were 26 contacts (i.e. an increase of 73%).
    - Number of directed patrol strategies implemented – the target was to implement 12 (from a baseline of 0), but during Year 1 the number implemented was 132, due to the success of a database planning tool which increased the efficiency of directing and targeting patrols.
- Reduction in environmental damage
    - Number of recorded incidences of vandalism. The average year-on-year increase over the previous three years had been seven per cent. The target was to restrict this to a 4% (four per cent?) increase. However, comparisons of January – March 2005 with January – March 2006 showed a reduction of 51% in Kelso and 17% in Galashiels.

Scottish Borders Council also undertook some analysis of local data provided by Lothian and Borders Police to identify changes in antisocial behaviour incidence rates in areas with and without wardens. These are reported in Tables A4.2 and A4 3.

Table A4.2: Changes in numbers of antisocial behaviour incidents for areas in Scottish Borders with and without wardens: 2003/04 – 2005/06

	2003/04		2004/05		2005/06	
	No Wardens	**Wardens Present**	**No Wardens**	**Wardens Present**	**No Wardens**	**Wardens Present**
Youth-Related Calls	1,362	441	1,786	473	1,905	676
Neighbourhood Disputes	452	173	364	107	582	205
Noise/Environmental	269	487	328	527	764	338
Reported Vandalisms	1,246	550	1,460	503	1,432	548
Total	**3,329**	**1,621**	**3,938**	**1,610**	**3,683**	**1,767**

Source: Lothian and Borders Police.

Table A4.3: Percentage changes in antisocial behaviour incidents for areas in Scottish Borders with and without wardens: 2003/04 – 2005/06

	Areas Where No Wardens Present	Areas Where Wardens Present
Youth-Related Calls	+40%	+53%
Neighbourhood Disputes	+29%	+19%
Noise and Environmental	+184%	-31%
Reported Vandalism	+15%	-1%

Source: Lothian and Borders Police.

These figures indicate that community wardens have had a significant positive impact. For example, whilst incidents of noise nuisance and environmental antisocial behaviour increased by 184% in areas without wardens, they decreased by almost a third (31%) in the areas where wardens were operating. Similarly, reported vandalism declined marginally in the areas with wardens, in contrast to a 15% rise in areas without wardens. However, neighbour disputes increased in areas with wardens (although not to the same extent as areas without wardens) and there was a 53% rise in youth-related calls in the areas where wardens were operating, which was significantly greater than the increase in youth-related calls in areas without wardens. The generally positive comparative impact of the presence of community wardens on rates of antisocial behaviour is particularly noteworthy given that the areas without wardens were considered by the Scottish Borders Council and the police to be less problematic in terms of antisocial behaviour. It is also the case that the wardens may well have increased the propensity of local residents to report incidents. This data therefore suggests that, after 24 months of operation, the community wardens scheme is having a significant positive impact on reducing antisocial behaviour in Galashiels and Kelso. However, it was acknowledged by local practitioners that the community wardens are not the only explanatory variable; for example, levels of youth provision differ throughout the Scottish Borders area.

The information provided by the four schemes for the perceptions/survey-based indicators in the 24-month reports is less robust. This is partly because some follow-up surveys were still to be undertaken. However, where surveys had been conducted, response rates were often very low, thus compromising the reliability of the data. Furthermore, asking people about their perceptions of change is notoriously problematic, as their responses can be influenced by a myriad of subjective factors. Scottish Borders Council undertook a household Community Safety Survey in November 2005, 14 months after the introduction of the community warden service. The survey results showed that there was good awareness of the community wardens service amongst local residents and that the wardens had a high profile within the communities in which they operated, particularly in Kelso. There was a greater positive perception of the difference the wardens have made to communities in Galashiels than in Kelso. Anecdotal evidence from some Scottish Border Council's Elected Members and local residents suggests there is widespread support for the community warden service in the two towns in which it operates.

Further anecdotal evidence from the warden services in the other areas also indicated that these services were valued and popular. For example, in Fife feedback on the community warden schemes from local Community Councils, Tenants and Residents Associations and individual local residents had been positive. The service has been described as 'invaluable' and many local residents reported that their community is now safer, better and cleaner, with one stating that *"the Council should have done this years ago."*

Costs

It proved difficult to get specific information on budgets and expenditure for all of the community wardens schemes as some of the schemes did not appear to record regular financial information for monitoring or other purposes. However, the initial allocations made by the Scottish Executive for developing the schemes in the four selected local authorities in 2004/05 were available (Table A4.4). It should be noted that additional funds may also have been allocated to the schemes from other local sources and budgets. For example in Edinburgh, additional funds were drawn from the Housing Revenue Account, Quality of Life funding, and Community Safety Partnership resources.

Table A4.4: Allocations by Scottish Executive for community wardens in 2004/05

City of Edinburgh	£650,000
Fife	£400,000
North Lanarkshire	£650,000
Scottish Borders	£105,000

Source: Scottish Executive (2003): *Building Strong, Safe and Attractive Communities: Guidance for Submissions.*

Where local budgetary and expenditure information was provided, it was clear that the vast majority of expenditure comprises salary costs. For example, accounts from Fife Council show that almost 95% of the expenditure on their warden service is accounted for by employee-related payroll costs. The remaining five per cent covers premises-related expenditure, transport-related costs, supplies and services, and support service charges. Total expenditure on warden services in the Scottish Borders was estimated to be about £135,000 in 2006/07, with almost 85% of this being accounted for by employee-related costs (including insurance, training and recruitment). Each team has also been provided with a van. Most of the administrative expenditure in the Scottish Borders is on computer equipment and telephones. This data suggests that warden scheme managers have very little opportunity for discretionary spending, which may in part explain why some scheme managers did not seem to receive financial information on a regular basis.

Wardens and Senior Wardens are paid on Scottish Local Authority salary scales for general grade staff and administrative and professional staff. Although their possible scales and grades in Edinburgh run from GS2 – AP1, all of the concierges were on GS2 (£13,893 – 14,577) in 2006/07. The community wardens in Fife were paid on AP1 or AP2 (£15,441 - £17,871) and the Senior Wardens were paid on AP3 (£18,840 - £20,673) during 2006/07. They also received an additional seven and a half per cent for working unsocial hours. The pay scales in 2006/07 for the wardens in Scottish Borders were GS1 with spinal column point (scp) 7 start point (i.e. £12,438 - £13,893) and AP1 with scp15 start point (i.e. £15,441 - £16,518).

Although it is possible to calculate unit costs - such as the cost per report made by the community wardens - for most of the schemes, these have not been reported here. While such figures may be useful locally for making comparisons of such costs over a period of time, they should not be used for making comparisons across the services due to their different objectives and data recording mechanisms. Furthermore, focusing only on reports of incidents excludes the vital community development work undertaken by wardens.

Cost Consequences

There is some anecdotal evidence of the cost-effectiveness of community warden schemes, or at least of some elements of them. For example, in Edinburgh an initial assessment of the Broomhouse wardens pilot, which started in 2001, showed increased resident confidence in the area, a reduction in residents' concerns about "young people hanging around", and a saving of £50,000 in costs relating to vandalism and illegal litter dumping over a six-month period. The local, unpublished evaluation of the first year of the project showed an eight per cent increase in resident satisfaction and recognition that the estate was cleaner and felt safer than before the introduction of the wardens. Savings on the cost of vandalism and bulk rubbish removal were estimated at £107k for the period.

Some of the 24-month reports to the Scottish Executive included specific examples of where community wardens had made a significant difference. One example was the improvement in the Magdalene area in Edinburgh. The new concierge satellite office there had resulted in a significant reduction in youth nuisance and crime in an area which, 12 months previously, was one of the city neighbourhoods worst affected by antisocial behaviour. The Magdalene Balconies are now a popular place for families to live, in contrast to their previous reputation as a 'no go' area. Much of this improvement was attributed locally to the hands-on commitment and dedication of the Community Safety Concierge. These improvements will have had considerable indirect cost consequences for local residents, the City of Edinburgh Council and the police. For example, the Council is likely to have higher rental income due to a reduction in void properties and will also have to pay less money on boarding-up and monitoring empty properties and responding to the vandalism of such properties.

Future Potential Methodologies

One approach to determining the cost-effectiveness of community wardens is to consider their financial impact on other services. For example, they may generate additional work for other services, for example by reporting environmental problems that would otherwise have been ignored. However, they may also lead to a quicker response from other services to some problems, thus preventing an escalation, for example by reporting damage to unoccupied property or new graffiti. Some work, such as litter picking, may also be diverted to the wardens from other services units. The economic analysis undertaken in England for the evaluation of the Neighbourhood Wardens Scheme by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004) concluded that the effects of warden activity on the costs and savings of other services could be assumed to balance out.

Another approach is to try to assign values to the benefits of the warden programmes, which may include preventing costs that would otherwise have been incurred. The benefits of the warden programmes fall into two categories – quantifiable and non-quantifiable. Non-quantifiable benefits are associated with subjective outcomes, such as improved quality of life, reduced fear of crime, community development, and improved satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a place to live. These benefits, which are enjoyed by local residents, are important and highly relevant, but monetary values cannot be assigned to them.

The main way in which benefits may be quantified is through assigning monetary values to local reductions in crime. Some of the published estimates are presented in Tables A4.5 and A4.6.

Table A4.5: Costs associated with generic antisocial behaviour

	Estimated Cost	**Source**	**Comments**
'Lower' end ASB Vast majority of incidents 'Upper' end ASB	£20 - £50 £100 - £10,000 £1 million +	Whitehead et al., 2003	These costs are borne by a variety of agencies
Daily cost of ASB to agencies in England and Wales	£13.5 million	Anti-Social Behaviour Unit, Home Office, 2003	
Annual costs of responding to and preventing ASB by Rotherham MBC	£3.3 - £4.0 million	Crowther and Formby, 2004	
Annual expenditure on ASB by Leeds Local Authority	£3 - £5 million	Social Exclusion Unit, 2000	

Source: Whitehead et al. (2003).

Table A4.6 Costs associated with specific types of antisocial behaviour

Category of ASB	Nature of Action	Unit Cost Estimates	Source
Noise	Direct costs to environmental services:	£3 - £70	
	including prosecution	£267	
	including imputed staff time.	£500	
	Cost of Housing Department informal intervention	£50	Dignan et al. (1996)
	Cost of transfer of tenancy	£833	
	Cost of legal action/possession	£365 - £3,900	
Rowdy Behaviour	Treated as per noise		
Nuisance Behaviour:			
a) Nuisance neighbours	Cost of legal action to LA	£10,000	SEU (2000)
	Cost of legal action to LA	£142 - £305,000	Hunter et al. (2000)
	Average	*£10,400*	
	Cost of legal action to HA	£500 - £80,000	Hunter et al. (2000)
	Average	*£4,000*	
	Costs of possession action	£1,000 - £5,000	Atkinson et al. (2000)
	Average	*£3,000*	
	Costs of eviction	£5,000	
b) Neighbourhood disputes			Hunter et al. (2000)
	Direct costs:	£50	
	including staff time	£245 - £1,000	
	Cost of possession order	£1,500 - £5,000	Dignan et al. (1996)
	Cost of injunction	£1,000	
	Maximum cost	£1.2m	
Abandoned vehicles	Cost of collection and disposal	£215	Reading Borough Council (2003)
	Cost of disposal	£60 - £100	Jill Dando Institute (2003)
Intimidation/ Harassment	Cost of common assault offence (including social costs)	£500	Brand & Price (2000)
Criminal Damage/ Vandalism	Cost of individual incident (inc social costs)	£510	Brand & Price (2000)
	Cost of incident against commercial/ public sector (inc social costs)	£890	Brand & Price (2000)
	Average cost per LA dwelling in Bradford	£35	

	Cost per incident assuming 5% incidence	£700	SEU (2000)

Source: Whitehead et al. (2003)

Other possibilities include identifying prevented costs associated with void properties due to lost rent (of, say, £70 per week) and costs of boarding-up empty properties. If voids are reduced, along with the numbers of tenants requesting transfers to properties in other, less problematic areas, then local authority housing departments and housing associations will benefit from higher rental income and less transfer-related work.

Another, more aggregated approach, is used in the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit's evaluation of wardens (NRU, 2004). The researchers drew on data provided by Home Office economists (Brand and Price, 2000) which suggested that the benefits of preventing the 'average' offence is around £2,000 (at 2000 prices). This value includes the Exchequer consequences (e.g. as borne by the Criminal Justice System, the NHS and local authorities) as well as those borne by the individual (in terms of the physical and emotional impact) and by society (in terms of lost output). The researchers then calculated the net present value (i.e. the present value of the benefits minus the present value of the costs over the time period for the evaluation) to determine the estimated net benefits attributable to the impact of the Neighbourhood Wardens programme on crime. They recognised that it would be unrealistic to attribute all of these benefits to the warden schemes, but nevertheless were able to conclude that:

> *Even if no more than 10% of the crime impacts in the Neighbourhood Wardens areas are attributable to the Neighbourhood Wardens schemes, then the estimated total costs of the Neighbourhood Wardens Programmes are exceeded by the estimated benefits. Taking account of the important but uncosted additional benefits in terms of wardens' impacts on residents' perceptions, for example, about the improved quality of life in scheme areas further strengthens the conclusions that the Neighbourhood Wardens schemes represent value for money.*

Dubourg and Hamed (2005) updated the work of Brand and Price on the economic and social costs of crimes against individuals and households in England and Wales. Recent research on the cost of exclusion (Prince's Trust, 2007) uses this data to estimate that the average cost per crime committed by young people aged 10-21 years (weighted by the prevalence of the types of crime among young people) was almost £4,600 in 2004.

Local authorities wishing to get a clearer picture of the economic consequences of their warden services need to consider their local expenditure on this service and determine the net numbers of criminal and antisocial behaviour incidents that the wardens have prevented locally (or, alternatively, compare local trends in similar areas with and without wardens). They can then use the cost data presented in this section to estimate the broad cost consequences of their warden service, either using a representative average cost per incident prevented or estimated costs for specific activities. They will need to determine the extent to which they believe the wardens (rather than other locally-operating initiatives)

have been responsible for these cost savings. They will also need to decide if they want to focus purely on the consequences for public costs or also to include the costs borne by individuals experiencing criminal activities.

With regard to the economic impact of the community warden schemes in Scotland, the evidence suggests that, overall, these are having a positive impact on reducing criminal activity, even though some of the activity data is hard to interpret. Given the relatively modest costs associated with the schemes and the high costs associated with many of the criminal and antisocial behaviour incidents that are likely to have prevented by the community wardens, these schemes are likely to reduce public costs by more than the costs of providing the service. Furthermore, wardens tend to be popular in the areas where they work and they have positive, but intangible, impacts such as helping to increase perceptions of safety, improving the physical amenity of neighbourhoods and encouraging greater community involvement, which in turn improve the quality of life of local residents.

Mediation Services

Description of Services

Mediation is a process whereby an impartial third party helps two (or sometimes more) disputing parties resolve their disagreement, with the disputing parties – rather than the mediator – deciding the terms of the agreement. In the selected local authorities, two of the mediation services were provided in-house and two were provided through Service Level Agreements (SLAs) with SACRO (a voluntary organisation specialising in conflict resolution and providing support and rehabilitation to offenders).

In each local authority, the mediation services were provided by a small team of employed staff assisted by trained volunteers, as shown in Table A4.7. Mediation Staff work in pairs with the disputing parties to try to achieve a resolution to a dispute.

Table A4.7: Staffing of mediation services (December 2006)

Edinburgh	Fife	North Lanarkshire	Scottish Borders
SACRO	SACRO	In-house – part of Anti Social Task Force (ASTF)	In-house - part of Anti-Social Behaviour Unit (ASBU)
Service Team Leader; 1 full-time and 2 part-time Mediation Workers; 1 full-time and 1 part-time Administrator; Part-time Mediation Development Worker	Service Manager; 3 Mediation Workers; 1 Schools Mediation Worker; 1 Administrator	Service Manager; 2 full-time Mediation Officers	Service Manager (of ASBU); 2 full-time Mediation Officers
20 volunteers (about 3 hours/week each)	12 volunteers (about 6 hours per month each)	Pool of 42 trained mediators within ASTF (equivalent to about 1.5 FTE Mediation Officers)	3 volunteers (would like 5-6) (equivalent to 0.5 FTE Mediation Officer)

Previous Research

Previous major research reports have evaluated the comparative costs of mediation services in the UK. Dignan et al. (1996) compared the cost-effectiveness of mediation and alternative (e.g. legal action or re-housing) approaches to resolving neighbour disputes in England and Wales. They focussed on identifying and, where possible, quantifying the full range of costs that might be incurred by agencies whose responsibilities encompass handling neighbour disputes. They adopted a mixed-method approach which allowed them to assess relative costs of mediation in neighbour disputes. The estimated average cost per mediation case was £252, though this figure was based on timesheet data from only one mediation service. This study was extended to Scotland in 1999 (Dignan and Soreby, 1999), although this work extrapolated costs from the previous English study rather than calculated average costs per case of mediation in Scotland. The second study compared average costs per case and concluded that community mediation was more expensive than informal intervention, but cheaper than the formal intervention that may be required when disputes persist or escalate. The reports stressed that mediation was not suitable for all cases of neighbour dispute, but where it was used appropriately, there were significant cost savings for a number of agencies.

Brown et al. (2003) considered the role of mediation in tackling neighbour disputes and antisocial behaviour using Scottish data, focussing on the effectiveness and costs of mediation compared with legal remedies, such as actions for repossession and Antisocial Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), for resolving neighbour disputes. The researchers analysed a total of 100 referred cases from two community mediation services and two local authority mediation services and 50 legal proceedings cases (eviction, antisocial behaviour order and interdict) from local authorities. From the 100 mediation cases studies, the researchers

found that the average cost of handling a referral to mediation was £121. This rose to an average of £204 when face-to-face or shuttle mediation was involved. The maximum cost was £484 (and was incurred because the antisocial behaviour had escalated to serious proportions). The costs for the local authority mediation services were, on average, slightly lower than those for community mediation (£105 compared with £136), reflecting the higher proportion of cases managed by local authority mediation services where no contact was made with the parties to the dispute.

The costs of the 50 legal cases included in the study ranged from £339 to £13,692 for a very complex eviction case, with an average cost of £3,546. Average costs of ASBOs and repossession actions were approximately £2,250 (range: £500 - £6,500) and £9,000 (range: £6,500 - £14,000), respectively. These figures were broadly comparable with those found in other relevant studies.

A small study based on a sample of seven possession actions and two interdicts (Atkinson et al., 2000) found that the average cost of an action for possession (at 1999 prices) was £3,200, and £1,175 for an interdict. A complex, defended repossession case could cost up to £7,500, although undefended cases cost in the region of £1,500 - £2,000. A survey of local authorities in England (Campbell, 2002) found the average cost associated with an ASBO was £5,350 (range: under £400 - £18,000). These findings led the authors to conclude that

> *Although mediation will not be sufficient to deal with serious antisocial behaviour, which is associated with alcohol and drug abuse, mental health problems or criminal activity, its cost-effectiveness suggests that there is considerable scope to extend mediation in the area of neighbour disputes.*

However, it is crucial to remember that the costs calculated by Brown et al. (2003) are net costs. The authors suggest that total costs including overheads would be likely to be at least 40 - 50 per cent higher than the net costs that they present. Another study of mediation services (Mulcahy and Summerfield, 2001) estimated the average cost per case to be £410, of which £226 was due to specific case tasks, £75 for general mediator tasks such as monitoring and liaison, and £109 for organisational overheads.

Methodological Challenges

Several methodological challenges arose when considering the cost-effectiveness of mediation services during this research. These were:

- different ways of recording activity,
- different ways of defining outcomes (e.g. success),
- the lack of clear links between activity and outcomes,
- the need to calculate a value for the input provided by volunteers,
- the lack of specific budgets for in-house services,

- the potential omission of organisational overheads in the cost information for in-house services,
- measuring other elements (e.g. public relations and awareness raising; community development; work with schools) provided by the service, and
- lack of data over the full 2006/07 financial year.

Referrals and Activity Data

All four mediation services received referrals from a range of sources, including local antisocial behaviour teams and units, local authority housing departments, registered social landlords and the police, as well as self-referrals by individuals. The proportions of referrals from each of these sources varied considerably between the four services. For example, no referrals had been received from the police in North Lanarkshire, though they were responsible for more than 10 per cent of referrals in Fife and the Scottish Borders. Individuals involved in referred disputes came from all housing tenures, including owner occupiers. Referrals were also made for a number of different reasons, though many were due to noise of one form or another (e.g. barking dogs, loud music, family arguments, children). Boundary and property disputes were also common. Many disputes were caused by several factors, and some had lasted for several years. In addition, some conflicts were the result of serious mental health problems or due to addictions; these were often too complex to be resolved through mediation alone.

Although there is no overall consistency in recording activity, the work of each mediation service can generally be sub-divided into two broad elements: *assessments* and *cases*. 'Assessments' or 'enquiries' relate to those referrals receiving advice, guidance and assistance (often described as 'AGA'), whereas 'cases' involve parties meeting (or using shuttle mediation) in order to try to identify a mutually acceptable solution to their dispute. Generally only a relatively small proportion of referrals become cases. Table A4.8 summarises the data on referrals provided by the four mediation services and shows their split across assessments and cases (where known).

Table A4.8: Referrals received by the mediation services and their split between assessments and cases

Edinburgh	Closed referrals: April 2005 – March 2006: 426 of which 116 (27.2%) became mediation cases April 2006 – November 2006: 320 of which 63 (19.7%) became mediation cases
Fife	Closed referrals: April 2005 – March 2006: 264 of which 93 (35.2%) became mediation cases April 2006 – November 2006: 203 of which 58 (28.6%) became mediation cases
North Lanarkshire	April 2005 – March 2006: 250 referrals (approx 33% assessment only and 67% cases) April 2006 – January 2007: 215 referrals (54% assessment only and 46% cases)
Scottish Borders	April 2005 – March 2006: 118 new referrals and 92 closed cases (no split recorded) April 2006 – November 2006: 61 new referrals and 67 closed cases (no split recorded)

Source: Mediation services in each local authority area.

Outcomes

Two of the biggest problems encountered when considering mediation services are the lack of a consistent link between activity and outcomes, and different views about what constitutes a 'successful' outcome. For example, for some referrals a successful resolution can be achieved simply through providing advice and guidance to one disputant by telephone. In other situations a considerable amount of time may be spent arranging meetings or providing shuttle mediation without a successful resolution being agreed by the disputants. Furthermore, referred clients may define 'success' differently. Some parties may feel that a successful outcome has been achieved if they agree to ignore each another, even though the underlying problem remains. However, in some situations a successful outcome (from the perspective of both parties) may arise only if one or other party moves to a new property. Conversely, even if mediation fails to result in what external parties may deem to be a 'successful' outcome, one or both disputants may have learned a great deal about conflict resolution which may result in fewer future disputes. However, even where seemingly mutually acceptable agreements are reached, there are no figures available about the proportion of these cases where problems re-emerge at a later date.

To illustrate some of the above points, of the 116 referrals in Edinburgh in 2005/06 that proceeded to mediation (i.e. became cases), full agreement was reached in slightly over two-fifths (42.3%) of these, with improvement in a further 15.5%. However, in over a quarter (27.6%) of these cases one or more parties withdrew from the mediation process and one in ten cases were closed 'due to irreconcilable differences'. Of the 242 referrals classified as enquiries during the same period, the problem was resolved without intervention in just over one in ten of these (11.2%). Comparable data for Fife shows that almost four-fifths (79.6%) of cases reached full agreement.

Costs of Mediation Services

When calculating the costs of providing the four mediation services, three specific methodological issues were encountered.

Identifying relevant costs

Because the two SACRO services were provided according to a SLA, they each had clearly-defined budgets. However, the budgets for the two in-house local authority mediation services were incorporated into the budgets for their host antisocial behaviour team/unit, which meant that the costs of the mediation service had to be built up from the costs of the staff salaries and a proportion of the other costs associated with the team/unit. However, despite having clearly identifiable budgets, calculating costs for the two SACRO services was complicated by the SLAs included other elements (for example work with local schools). Therefore some estimates had to be made to determine the share of the costs attributable to the community mediation service. These included costs associated with specific promotional work undertaken by the Service Manager and the Mediation Officers for the four services, as these are seen as integral parts of the mediation schemes. Further adjustments were subsequently made to the costs of the two SACRO services to reflect the specific requirements to undertake local awareness-raising and capacity building activities as part of their SLAs.

Organisational overheads

Service evaluations which adopt a bottom-up approach to costing and focus only on the amount of time staff spend on various activities fail to take into account the full costs associated with providing a service. In reality, aspects such as staff (and volunteer) training and supervision and time spent on administrative tasks are important elements of the service. Using a top-down approach, where the full costs of providing a service are identified for use when calculating unit costs, provides a much more accurate estimate of the costs of all the resources required to deliver the service. These full costs should also include organisational overheads such as the value of office space and of centrally-provided services (e.g. central administration, senior management involvement, payroll activities and recruitment). The SLAs include monies for these aspects, but they had to be estimated for the in-house local authority services.

Volunteer time

To ensure that a value is placed on all of the resources used to deliver mediation services, it is necessary to include some estimate for the value of the time provided by the volunteers. This is partly to reflect the fact that their time has an ‘opportunity cost’ to them, as they could be using it for other uses. In addition, it serves to give a truer picture of what it

would cost to provide the service if staff had to be employed to undertake the work performed by the volunteers.

Different approaches were used for estimating the contributions of volunteers to the four mediation services. The volunteers in Edinburgh were felt to be more experienced than those in Fife, so values of £15 per hour and £7.50 per hour, respectively, were assigned to their inputs (£15 per hour equates to a salary of about £24,000 over a full year, which is close to the national average, whereas £7.50 per hour is slightly above the minimum wage). The managers of the in-house local authority services provided estimates of the number of additional Mediation Officers they would need to employ in the absence of their volunteers. The value of the volunteer time for these services has been based on the annual costs of employing a Mediation Officer. These values are inevitably arbitrary, but they do ensure that some recognition and monetary value is given to the work of the volunteers.

The annual costs for the mediation services in Edinburgh and Fife can be determined from the value of the SLA, adjusted to account for the factors outlined above. The information in the expenditure accounts for 2004/05 and 2005/06 showed the proportions of expenditure on salaries, office costs and central administrative overheads. These proportions were then applied to the estimated salary costs for the two in-house services to provide a range of plausible estimates of the value of the resources (excluding and including volunteer time) used to deliver these services. The resulting annual costs are shown in Table A4.9.

Table A4.9: Summary of annual costs of mediation services

Edinburgh	Total adjusted expenditure in 2005/06 excluding volunteer contribution: £150,000 Total adjusted expenditure in 2005/06 including volunteer contribution: £190,500
Fife	Total adjusted expenditure in 2005/06 excluding volunteer contribution: £161,219 Total adjusted expenditure in 2005/06 including volunteer contribution: £167,699
North Lanarkshire	Estimated annual costs excluding volunteer contribution: £100,000 - £135,000 Estimated annual costs including volunteer contribution: £137,500 - £172,500
Scottish Borders	Estimated annual costs excluding volunteer contribution: £58,824 - £79,365 Estimated annual costs including volunteer contribution: £71,324 - £91,865

Source: Mediation services in each local authority area.

Unit costs

The above cost data was combined with the estimated annual activity data to provide some unit costs. Table A4.10 shows the estimated average costs per referral for each service. Those for Edinburgh and Fife refer to 2005/06, whilst those for the values for the in-house local authority services in North Lanarkshire and the Scottish Borders draw upon data for 2005/06 and 2006/07.

Table A4.10: Estimated average costs per referral received

Edinburgh	2005/06: £352 excluding volunteer input; £447 including volunteer input
Fife	2005/06: £611 excluding volunteer input; £635 including volunteer input
North Lanarkshire	Estimates excluding volunteer input: £400 - £540 Estimates including volunteer input: £550 - £690
Scottish Borders	Estimates excluding volunteer input: £523 - £705 Estimates including volunteer input: £634 - £816

Source: Mediation services in each local authority area.

It was also possible to estimate more specific unit costs for three of the services. The two SACRO services classify all referrals according to the service provided. Staff working for each of these services were asked to allocate local weights to these classifications to reflect the average amounts of time and resources required for each activity. This information was then applied to the overall costs and the numbers of referrals falling into each category to enable estimates of the average cost of each activity to be calculated. These are shown in Table A4.11.

Table A4.11: Estimated average unit costs for various SACRO activities

	Edinburgh			Fife		
	Local Weights	Costs excl Volunteer Input	Costs incl Volunteer Input	Local Weights	Costs excl Volunteer Input	Costs incl Volunteer Input
Info only about service	1	£34	£43	1	£37	£39
Support/advice by telephone	2	£68	£86	2	£75	£78
Support/advice by visit	14	£474	£602	16	£598	£622
Mediation Case	32	£1,084	£1,377	32	£1,197	£1,244

Source: Mediation services in Edinburgh and Fife.

Although referrals in North Lanarkshire are only sub-divided into assessments and cases, the calculations were more complex. This was partly due to fact that a range of cost estimates had been calculated (see Table A4.9) due to the lack of specific local budgets for expenditure. The split between assessments and cases also varied over the two years under consideration (see Table A4.8), which meant that calculations were undertaken for two possible scenarios. Two estimates were made to reflect the relative amounts of time required for assessment and cases. The resulting unit cost estimates are shown in Table A4.12.

Table A4.12: Estimated average unit costs for assessments and cases in North Lanarkshire

	Excluding volunteer time		Including volunteer time	
	Case weight:10	Case weight: 20	Case weight: 10	Case weight: 20
50 assessments and 200 cases:				
Cost per assessment	£49 - £66	£17 - £22	£67 - £84	£34 - £43
Cost per case	£488 - £659	£494 - £667	£671 - £841	£679 - £852
200 assessments and 100 cases:				
Cost per assessment	£83 - £113	£45 - £61	£115 - £144	£63 - £78
Cost per case	£833 - £1,125	£909 - £1,227	£1,146 - £1,438	£1,250 - £1,568

Source: Mediation service in North Lanarkshire

No such calculations were undertaken for the Scottish Borders as mediation services data was not sub-divided to reflect the numbers of assessments and cases.

The average cost per referral varied from about £450 to £820 (including the value of volunteer time). The information provided by SACRO showed that the average cost of an assessment (including the value of volunteer time) was about £40 for the provision of basic information, £80-£90 if advice and support were provided by telephone, and around £600 for a home visit. The cost of an assessment provided by North Lanarkshire's in-house local authority services was estimated as £35-£145. For the three services where the average cost per case could be calculated, this was generally in the order of £1,200-£1,500. However, it was not possible to estimate the cost per successful outcome due to the different interpretations of how such an outcome should be defined.

Potential cost consequences

Although other studies have compared the costs of mediation services with those of legal remedies, it seems unlikely that many of the referrals to the mediation services included in this evaluation would have pursued legal solutions in the absence of a local mediation service. Thus mediation services are not expected to result in preventing significant costs for legal services. It is more likely that those in dispute would have endured the problem or possibly adopted evasive action by moving (or requesting to move) elsewhere. These costs would tend to fall on the individuals and/or on the local authority housing department.

Neighbour disputes are linked with deteriorating health, which may not return to its previous status after a dispute has been settled. A survey was undertaken in Fife in 1999 of 262 clients of Fife Community Mediation Service (Marshall, 1999). It achieved a 37% response rate, 74% of whom had suffered adverse effects on their health during the dispute. Sleeplessness affected about two-thirds of respondents and almost half suffered from depression. Two-fifths of respondents reported visiting their doctor as a consequence of the neighbour dispute and almost half reported taking medication because of it. Just over half

of those whose health was affected reported an improvement in their health following their involvement with community mediation, though many people felt that their health did not return to its pre-dispute level. This suggests that there may be considerable benefits for both the individuals concerned and also (albeit to a lesser extent) for the NHS if neighbour disputes can be resolved before they have a strong negative impact on people's health status. There may also be effects on people's workplace performance, or even on their ability to work, which again has consequences for both the person themselves and for wider society (in terms of lost output and benefits paid).

Most of the benefits of preventing neighbour disputes from escalating (and, indeed, of preventing them from occurring by teaching people how to manage neighbour relations) will be felt by individuals rather than by publicly-funded services. However mediation services can have a considerable impact on local residents and communities, especially if they are targeted appropriately.

Edinburgh Early Intervention Families Project

Description of Service

The Case Management Early Intervention Project[2] (aka the Early Intervention Families Project) was established in Edinburgh in August 2005 with initial funding for two years. It works with vulnerable families in specific parts of the city (including the two case study Edinburgh neighbourhoods) where there is at least one child aged 12 years or under and the behaviour of one or more children is giving cause for concern. Each family is allocated a Case Manager who works holistically with them and with all of the other agencies in contact with the family to co-ordinate these services and to identify and fill any gaps. One of the aims of the Project is to improve the functioning of the family as a unit, which should reduce the subsequent development of antisocial behaviour.

The project is similar in some respects to the Dundee Families Project (Dillane et al., 2001) and others provided by Councils and voluntary agencies with a focus on working with vulnerable families (usually at risk of eviction) involved in antisocial behaviour (see, for example, Nixon et al., 2006 for an evaluation of one Council-run and five NCH-run Intensive Family Support Projects in northern England)[3]. The Edinburgh Project is less intensive than these other models and has a stronger focus on prevention through early intervention and on families with at least one young child. It also draws on a New Zealand model known as Strengthening Families, which encourages families to develop and draw on their own resources.

The project team comprises one Project Manager, two Case Managers (each with a caseload of about 10 families) and an Administrator. The project's aim is to intervene when problems are starting to become apparent (e.g. when a child is truanting or behaving badly at school) but before a crisis point (e.g. school exclusion) has been reached. However, it can be difficult to get families to engage with the project until they are prepared to recognise the seriousness of their situation (e.g. they are facing imminent eviction).

Methodological Challenges

Several methodological challenges were encountered during the evaluation of the project, including:

- the lack of information on expenditure over a full financial year,

[2] This Project is also being evaluated over two years by Brodies (formerly known as Bishops Solicitors and Consulting). Their first monitoring and evaluation report was published in August 2006.

[3] The economic components of Jones et al. (2006) and Nixon et al. (2006) were undertaken by Diana Sanderson, the author of this economic evaluation for the Scottish Executive.

- projects of this type take 18-24 months to become established and achieve 'steady state',
- the Council does not levy organisational overheads during the pilot stage of projects,
- the lack of a realistic comparator to reflect what may have happened in the absence of the intervention,
- many of the potential benefits would arise in the longer-term, but only if the positive effects of the intervention can be sustained, and
- there is a paucity of specific Scottish cost information to use when examining the potential cost consequences.

Activity and Outcomes Data

During the period August 2005 to December 2006, the project worked with 37 families (16 from North Edinburgh and 21 from West Edinburgh). Two-thirds of these families were headed by a lone adult parent and each family had an average of 3.9 children (range: 1 - 9). A total of 97 families (44 from Broomhouse and Sighthill in West Edinburgh and 52 from North Edinburgh) were referred to the project during this period, meaning that around a third were accepted.

As well as including one or more children whose behaviour was causing concern, 60% of accepted families were affected by parental mental health problems and substance misuse, over half by significant poverty and debt, and 40% were affected by poor parental physical health or learning disabilities. Slightly over three-quarters (77%) of accepted families had been involved in, or had generated complaints about their involvement in, antisocial behaviour. Four-fifths of families working with the project had had problems relating to the attendance or behaviour of their children at school and two-thirds of families were involved with the police and social workers at the time of referral or previously. Two-thirds of accepted families were living in City of Edinburgh Council tenancies. At least 40% of these were seriously overcrowded. The remaining third of families were either living in the private rented sector or in homeless accommodation. Over a third of the families accepted by the project were homeless or threatened with homelessness at the point of referral.

Table A4.13 summarises the project's activity since its inception in August 2005 to December 2006. Two families had worked with the project for 17 months (i.e. since it started in August 2005) and almost half (10/21) of the families working with the project in December 2006 had done so for 12 months or longer.

Table A4.13: Summary of project activity: August 2005 – December 2006

	August 2005 – March 2006	April 2006 – December 2006
Number of new clients/cases:	24	13
North Edinburgh	11	5
West Edinburgh	13	8
Number of client months	111	198
Average number of clients (families) per month	13.9	22.0
Number of family members	550	1,039
Average number of family members per month	68.8	115.4
Number of closed cases	6	10
Cases closed during period:		
Average duration (months)	4.8	7.7
Range (months)	3 – 8	4 - 12

Source: Edinburgh Early Intervention Families Project

Given that families are referred to the project for a wide variety of reasons, it can be difficult to capture the specific outcomes, as these will vary from family to family. However, cases are not closed until a family's behaviour and functioning has improved (unless the family chooses to cease engaging with the project before this point is reached). The project also monitors each family's ability to function effectively during their time with the project using the Family Development Matrix[4]. This is completed regularly (usually before each action planning meeting) and although there is some variation between families, most showed an improvement in their functioning over their time with the project.

Costs

Project expenditure to the end of December 2006 is shown in Table A4.14. The table shows that salaries and other employee-related costs comprised about three-quarters of expenditure in each period. However, a fifth of expenditure during the 2005/06 financial year was on the external evaluation, whereas almost a quarter of the expenditure to date in 2006/07 has been on buying in other services and support needed by the families.

[4] This is one of three matrices that make up the California Matrix Model. The Family Development Matrix is a tool to help the caseworker or family support or advocate worker with case management and their ability to measure the progress of the family with whom they are working. It encourages skill building in parents and the development of outcomes that enable family progress to be measured.

Table A4.14: Expenditure on the Early Intervention Project

	August 2005 – March 2006		April 2006 – December 2006	
	£	%	£	%
Employees (basic pay, National Insurance and superannuation)	£89,783	72.7%	£92,666	72.4%
Premises	£0	0.0%	£0	0.0%
Transport costs	£534	0.4%	£634	0.5%
Office-related	£112	0.1%	£1,367	1.1%
Publicity	£0	0.0%	£0	0.0%
Training	£199	0.2%	£528	0.4%
Conferences and subscriptions	£0	0.0%	£0	0.0%
Other expenses	£7,889	6.4%	£32,766	25.6%
Evaluation	£25,000	20.2%	£0	0.0%
Total	**£123,517**	**100**	**£127,961**	**100**

Source: Edinburgh Early Intervention Families Project

The forecast at the end of December 2006 was for project expenditure of about £270,000 in 2006/07, which included £25,000 for the second year of the external evaluation and a total of £90,000 for 'other expenses'. However, it should be noted that due to its status as a pilot project, City of Edinburgh Council did not levy any overhead payments for premises, central support and other services. If the project continues with funding from mainstream sources after the pilot phase, these overheads are expected to amount to about £50,000 per year. Given that the annual allocation of £90,000 for 'other expenses' seems to be relatively high (an estimate of about £45,000 may be more realistic), the above figures suggest that the project should cost about £250,000 per year after the pilot phase (assuming no external evaluation after the pilot phase and making no adjustment for inflation).

Costs per Unit of Outcome

This evaluation adopts similar measures for units of outcome as those used in the evaluation of the Shelter Inclusion Project (Jones et al., 2005) and the evaluation of six projects in England focusing on providing intensive support to families at risk of losing their tenancies due to antisocial behaviour (Nixon et al., 2006). The two key units of outcome used for costing purposes in those projects were the average cost per client month[5] and the average total cost per closed case[6]. In addition, the average cost per family member month[7] has been calculated for this project.

[5] This is calculated by dividing the costs of the project during a financial year by the total number of months of support provided to client families during the period.

[6] When a case is closed, the numbers of months of contact with the family is known. These may fall within one or more financial years. The number of contact months in each financial year is multiplied by the

These unit costs (which have been calculated excluding the evaluation costs) are shown in Table A4.15. The average cost per client (i.e. per family) per month fell from £888 in 2005/06 to £646 in the first nine months of 2006/07. The average cost per family member per month fell from £179 to £123 over the same period. These reductions occurred as the project built up its caseload of clients. However, the average total cost per closed case rose from £4,292 to £4,670. This was because average contact duration for closed cases increased (see Table A4.13), partly because families with more complex problems take longer to reach closure. Table A4.15 also shows that the maximum cost to date for a closed case is less than £10,000.

Table A4.15: Average unit costs for the Family Intervention Project

	August 2005 – March 2006	**April 2006 – December 2006**
Average cost per client month	£888	£646
Average cost per family member month	£179	£123
Total cost per closed case:		
Average	£4,292	£4,670
Range	£2,664 - £7,104	£2,584 - £9,688

Given the above information, it is possible to derive some estimates of future unit costs. These are shown under a variety of potential scenarios in Table A4.16 and are based on the assumption that the project has an average caseload of 20 families each month (i.e. it provides 240 client contact months each year). If the total annual expenditure on the project is £250,000 (as suggested above, when overhead payments are included) and the average duration of contact with the project is 12 months[8], the average total cost per closed case would be £12,500. However, it would only be £9,375 if the average duration of

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relevant average cost per client month to give the total cost of each closed case. These totals are then averaged for all of the families whose cases were closed during the year to give the average total cost per closed case.

[7] Given that some of the families are very large, this gives an estimate of the cost for each family member. It is derived by calculating the total number of family members that the project could work with each month, assuming it works with all members of its caseload of families for that month. These values are then summed to give the total number of family member months provided over the financial year. The total cost for the financial year is then divided by the total number of family member months to give the average cost per month of each family member. Although this is a relatively crude measure, as it assumes that all family members are actively engaged with the project, it nevertheless provides a useful indication of the value for money provided by the project.

[8] This estimate is not unreasonable, given that some families have already been in contact with the project for considerably more than 12 months. Furthermore, contact durations are likely to increase over time as project staff become better at accepting families who will engage with the project for the necessary period of time rather than leave after two to three months.

contact was nine months. These costs are similar to previous evaluations of similar projects (Jones et al., 2006; Nixon et al., 2006).

Table A4.16: Average total cost per closed case in various scenarios

Average Duration of Contact	Annual Expenditure				
	£200,000	**£225,000**	**£250,000**	**£275,000**	**£300,000**
6 months	£5,000	£5,625	£6,250	£6,875	£7,500
9 months	£7,500	£8,438	£9,375	£10,313	£11,250
12 months	£10,000	£11,250	£12,500	£13,750	£15,000
15 months	£12,500	£14,063	£15,625	£17,188	£18,750

Note: Based on an average caseload of 20 families per month

Potential Cost Consequences

Unlike most of the other initiatives included in this economic evaluation, there is already a considerable amount of published literature on the potential cost consequences for publicly-funded services of not tackling children's and families' antisocial behaviour[9]. Some of these are short-term, such as the costs of tenancy failure, foster and residential care, and youth justice. Some of the key cost consequences that may be prevented by a project such as the Early Intervention Families Project are presented in Table A4.17 below. The Table shows clearly that the costs can be very high, particularly if specialist provision is required.

[9] There may also be some (relatively small) increases in costs for some services if family members are referred to them (e.g. for mental health or drug and alcohol problems). However, in many cases the project has only helped them to access services which their needs suggest they should already have been receiving.

Table A4.17: Some potential short-term public-cost savings

Tenancy Failure		
Landlord costs to evict a tenant Landlord costs to evict a tenant due to ASB	£2,000 - £3,000 £6,500 - £9,000	Pawson et al., 2005
Estimated Exchequer costs in a Local Authority in north-west England	£5,000 plus £23,400 for 6 months temporary accommodation for homeless family	Nixon et al., 2006
Serious ASB by Young People		
Costs associated with a teenager involved in criminal behaviour	£13,000 for police time, Youth Offending Team involvement and Court appearances; £51,000 for 6-month custodial sentence at Young Offender Institution	Audit Commission, 2004
HMP and YOI provision in a Local Authority in north-west England	About £95 per day and £36,575 per year. Overall annual costs of at least £50,000	Nixon et al., 2006
Foster and Residential Care for Children		
Foster care	Estimates vary between about £400 - £900 per week (i.e. £20,000 - £47,000 per year), depending upon need and level of care required.	Nixon et al., 2006
Local Authority Community Home for Children	£115,000 - £200,000 per year	Nixon et al., 2006
Alternative Education Provision		
For children who are out-of-school in a Local Authority in north-west England	£2,000 - £3,000 per week £150,000 - £200,000 per year	Nixon et al., 2006
Local Authority Secure Children's Home (10 – 14 year olds and vulnerable 15 year olds)	£185,780 per place	House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2004
A Secure Training Centre (run by private contractors for young people aged up to 17 years)	£164,750 per place	House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2004

An in-depth discussion of these cost consequences is provided in Nixon et al. (2006). Although it was not possible to determine the costs for publicly-funded services that would have been incurred by these families in the absence of the intervention, it includes an illustrative case study showing how a family with four children can easily generate public costs of more than £330,000 over a 12-month period if their antisocial behaviour is not addressed. This sum exceeds the estimated annual cost of running the entire Early Intervention Families Project by about £80,000.

Some of the potential cost consequences, such as those of poor educational attainment and social exclusion, have lifelong and even inter-generational impacts for families and for society as a whole. One of the main strengths of the Edinburgh Early Intervention Families Project is that it focuses on families with children at primary school that are experiencing problems. There are many programmes and initiatives that focus on pre-school age children and on youths, but children aged between 5 and 12 years tend to be overlooked – yet these years are crucial to a person's development.

Although school attendance does not guarantee success in passing examinations and gaining qualifications, there are strong correlations between them. There will also be substantial longer-term savings if the children are prevented from being NEET (not in education, employment or training) when aged 16 - 18 years (and above). Time spent in primary school lays the foundations for future educational attainment, employment and lifetime earnings. The personal costs of not addressing childhood problems with antisocial behaviour are also very high, as people tend to become 'trapped out of opportunity' (Evans and Eyre, 2004). A study of the financial cost of social exclusion due to antisocial behaviour in childhood (Scott et al., 2001) showed that children and adolescents with persistent and pervasive patterns of ASB cost society an average of over £60,000[10] more by the age of 28 than those not displaying such problems in childhood. It concluded that:

> *Antisocial behaviour in children is a major predictor of how much an individual will cost society. The cost is large and falls on many agencies, yet few agencies contribute to prevention, which could be cost-effective.*

Those lacking knowledge and skills generally face a lifetime of low-income jobs and/or unemployment (see, for example, Freud (2007) and Prince's Trust (2007), which both illustrates the benefits for individuals and economic productivity of reducing benefit dependency and social exclusion by encouraging young people to gain qualifications and skills).

Although there is no guarantee that initiatives such as the Early Intervention Families Project will succeed for all families (especially in the longer-term), changing the behaviour of a few families will generate considerable public cost savings through preventing the need for other expensive services in both the short-term and the longer-term. Furthermore, the potential personal and economic benefits for family members are considerable. The Early Intervention Families Project offers an effective and potentially highly cost-effective approach to preventing childhood antisocial behaviour from escalating. It also helps to improve family functioning, which may help reduce family breakdown and its associated public costs.

[10] The mean individual total cumulative cost of public services was £70,019 for those with 'conduct disorder' problems, compared with £7,423 for the 'no problem' group.

Fife Safer Neighbourhoods Team

Description of Service

The creation of a Safer Neighbourhoods Team (SNT) was an integral part of Fife's antisocial behaviour strategy. The primary function of the Team is to implement the provisions of the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 in a co-ordinated, multi-agency manner.

The SNT is split into two elements. The SNT Co-ordination Team comprises representatives from a wide variety of organisations, including Fife Constabulary, Fife Fire and Rescue Service, Fife Council Housing Investigation Team, Victim Support, an antisocial behaviour analyst, and administrative support. It is co-located with the Noise Nuisance Team. Two additional staff members were also recruited to work within the Force Contact Centre to deal with all calls relating to antisocial behaviour. Calls that are 'trivial' in policing terms are referred on to the appropriate service. The SNT has approximately 60 staff attached to it.

The SNT Operations Team comprises four Police Constables, who target small geographical areas experiencing antisocial behaviour problems with the remit of implementing the provisions of the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004. It was initially envisaged that the Operations Team would work within an identified locality for a prolonged period of time (possibly up to 18 months). This stemmed from the premise that a problem-solving partnership approach to dealing with crime and antisocial behaviour would be implemented within the selected area. However, following commencement of Team operations, it was decided that a more fluid, intelligence-led method of Team deployment would be advantageous. The medium- and long-term aspects of the problem-solving approach need to be carried forward by local officers and associated agencies following redeployment of the SNT. It should be noted that the SNT (as a whole) is viewed within Fife as a *strategy* rather than as a *team*. It encompasses all partners and agencies with an interest in antisocial behaviour and brings various agencies on board with varying levels of involvement as appropriate.

Illustrating the Modus Operandi of the SNT– Deploying the SNT in Methil

The work of the SNT and how it inter-acts with other agencies in Methil (one of the Fife case study neighbourhoods) illustrates its activities. To ensure that the SNT was deployed in Fife in an intelligence-led manner, the SNT Antisocial Behaviour Analyst analysed police call data for the three months of October – December 2005. This identified that the Methil area generated the highest number of calls relating to antisocial behaviour in Fife and it was therefore decided to deploy the SNT Operations Team in this area, which includes 1,008 residential properties, 39 businesses (mainly retail and services) and one secondary educational establishment. The SNT Operations Team was deployed between 7 February 2006 and 14 July 2006.

The specific objectives of the SNT activity were to:

- reduce the level of antisocial activity occurring in the target area,
- target repeat offenders with antisocial behaviour legislation and other enforcement, prevention and intervention methods, and
- reduce the impact of antisocial behaviour on the quality of life of local residents.

The Team started their work by gathering information from a diverse range of sources within the area, including a household survey. This approach provided significant amounts of information about the area and an early insight into the ten main community concerns, from which a *Problem Profile* was created. This analytical document provided a clear picture of local concerns about antisocial behaviour within the target area. Its purpose was to enable managers to prioritise problems, identify appropriate resources, and determine tactics for problem resolution. It also included recommendations for prevention and enforcement activity.

The Problem Profile, which subsequently provided the basis for all SNT activity within the target area, identified local hotspots associated with antisocial behaviour and areas of environmental degradation. It also provided a comprehensive list of offences, areas or individuals to be targeted for intervention within several categories, namely:

- noise nuisance,
- disruptive neighbours,
- individuals under 16,
- individuals over 16,
- complainers about youth disorder,
- victims of malicious antisocial behaviour,
- areas of environmental degradation and
- vehicle nuisance.

Activity and Outcomes

After this initial "fact finding" work, a multi-agency group was established to take forward the response phase of the SNT's involvement in Methil. At the initial meeting of this group, which was chaired by the Safer Neighbourhoods Manager, tasks were allocated to relevant agencies. For example, dealing with concerns about dog excrement (the highest ranked local priority) was allocated to Fife Council's Environmental Services Department, whilst problems with youths gathering were allocated to the Community Services Detached Youth Workers. A Task Review Group was established (chaired by the Locality Manager) which met regularly to ensure that relevant actions were progressed.

The SNT also carried out extensive operational activities within the target area. Many of these were enforcement-related activities, including:

- issuing ASBO warnings to relevant individuals,
- deploying the mobile CCTV Unit,
- seizure of vehicles under antisocial behaviour legislation, and
- referrals to SACRO for relevant juvenile offenders.

Others activities included maintaining high visibility foot patrols in hotspot areas and providing reassurance visits to local businesses and individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds. Because of the multi-faceted and multi-organisational activities undertaken in Methil no quantitative data on specific activities was provided.

To determine the impact of the SNT in Methil, a number of measures were used to judge its success or failure. These included:

- the number of calls made to the police regarding antisocial behaviour in the target area,
- whether the antisocial behaviour of targeted repeat offenders had reduced, and
- improvement in the public perception of the local residents as measured by a comparison of 'before and after' surveys.

Three types of calls to the police were monitored and the following changes were identified when the August 2005 - January 2006 period was compared with February - August 2006:

- antisocial behaviour calls: 17% reduction (between January 2006 and August 2006),
- noise calls: 21% increase, and
- street disorder type calls: 34% reduction.

It is difficult to interpret these figures because the public had also been encouraged to phone the police to report problems with antisocial behaviour. However, the falling trend in calls relating to street disorder (including youth-related nuisance and disturbances) does seem to suggest that the SNT and the overall approach had a significant local impact, especially as calls relating to antisocial behaviour and street disorder would be expected to increase in the summer months.

Youth disorder was an endemic problem in the target area during the period of SNT deployment. The Problem Profile had identified 33 youths aged under 16 who were involved in low-level crime and disorder. The most prolific offenders were targeted with enforcement and intervention measures, many of which were successful. For example:

- 10 youths were referred to SACRO, with 5 showing a dramatic improvement in their behaviour,
- 2 youths who refused to interact with SACRO were referred to the local Family Intervention Service,

- 1 youth who was referred to SACRO entered into an Acceptable Behaviour Agreement, and
- 13 ASBO warnings were issued, with 10 of these individuals involved in no further incidents.

The targeting of repeat offenders was the most successful and unambiguous outcome of SNT activity in Methil. In addition to the successes presented above, 11 of the 13 addresses targeted for noise and disruptive behaviour showed no further incidents, while 4 of the 5 addresses issued with tenancy warnings showed no further incidents.

The findings of the 'before and after' household surveys suggest that there was a minor reduction in the proportion of residents feeling that antisocial behaviour had a significant or fairly significant impact on their quality of life (from 51.7% before deployment of the SNT to 48.2% after deployment). They also show that there was an increase in the proportion of residents feeling that antisocial behaviour had no impact on their quality of life (from 11.0% to 17.9%). However, these figures should be treated with extreme caution, because only 56 responses were returned for the 'after' survey, a response rate of only 5.6% (compared with 30.5% for the 'before' survey) and there is no way of knowing the extent to which the views of the 56 respondents were representative of the local community.

Methodological Challenges

The SNT is an integral part of local multi-agency working and it was not possible to isolate its specific activities and their associated costs and benefits. Activities are undertaken by several agencies and cannot be linked directly to outcomes. Services are funded through a variety of budgets across different organisations. The use of 'before and after' surveys to measure the perceived impact of the approach is fraught with problems, especially when response rates are very low. Also, given that a number of initiatives focusing on reducing antisocial behaviour and crime were already in place, it is not possible to link any observed benefits specifically to the work of the SNT. Although it is possible to attribute a proportion of the observed benefits to the SNT, this estimated value would inevitably be arbitrary.

Costs

It was not possible to collect meaningful data on the costs of the SNT because of its multi-organisational composition. It was also not possible to calculate any unit costs for specific activities or outcomes. Furthermore, although the Operations element of the SNT undertook a variety of specific tasks when working in the Methil area, some of its work involved co-ordinating the required services, which are provided by local agencies, making it an integral part of local multi-agency working. In many ways it fulfils the role of a troubleshooter and case management system as well being a provider of some services. Some of the SNT's activities will have resulted in increased expenditure (at least in the

short term) by other agencies, although some potential future expenditure should also have been prevented.

Potential Cost Consequences

Although it is not possible to isolate the specific costs and benefits of the SNT, the available evidence suggests that the overall approach can deliver considerable benefits, especially in terms of reducing disturbances and repeat offences (particularly those involving young people). However, the identified outcomes cannot be attributed specifically to the SNT due to the contributions of all of the other agencies working to achieve the stated objectives. Nor is it possible to attribute a specific proportion of the benefits to the SNT. The identified benefits are likely to be enjoyed by specific individuals and by their communities, at least in the short-term. Follow-up work would be needed to determine if the benefits were sustained after the withdrawal of the SNT Operations Team. Nevertheless, the approach is likely to have resulted in the prevention of some significant amounts of expenditure relating to youth offending. The SNT appears to work effectively. It provides a good example of the benefits that can be achieved through adopting a coordinated multi-agency response in a specific problem area.

North Lanarkshire Night Noise Team

Description of Service

The Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 gave local authorities across Scotland the option to impose specific restrictions on night noise in their area. North Lanarkshire Council resolved to adopt noise control provisions between 19:00 and 07:00 throughout the year. The Night Noise Team, which started operating in late May 2005, comprises a team of one Senior Environmental Health Officer and three Environmental Health Officers (EHOs). A member of the Team is on duty every night between 20:00 and 03:30 to respond to complaints made about night-time domestic noise by residents of North Lanarkshire. When a call is received the EHO on duty visits the home of the complainant unless requested by the caller not to do so or the problem can be resolved over the telephone. The team works very closely with the police, who screen all callers to make sure that it is safe for a Team member to visit the address.

Methodological Challenges

Given that the Team has a clearly-defined budget and that all calls about night noise are logged, it is relatively straightforward to calculate the average cost per call received. However, given that in many instances the noise self-resolves (either with or without a visit to the home of the complainant), it is not possible to define a ‘successful’ outcome relating directly to the Team’s intervention.

The analysis faced three other methodological challenges: the lack of activity and cost data over a full financial year, difficulties in placing a value on the possible deterrent effect of the service on levels of night noise, and the difficulty in identifying quantitative and qualitative outcomes linked to the reduction/cessation of night noise in a neighbourhood and subsequently placing an economic value on these benefits.

Activity, Outcomes and Costs

Since the Team's inception, the numbers of calls received has tended to fluctuate depending on the time of year and day of the week (calls are generally highest on Fridays and Saturdays). An average of about 52 calls per month was received during ten full months of operation in 2005/06. This fell to an average of about 47 calls per month during the first nine months of 2006/07. Almost 80% of the calls related to loud music, and 10% to domestic animals.

Approximately a quarter (24.1%) of the 523 calls received in 2005/06 were resolved over the telephone, with visits being made to the other three-quarters of complainants. Of these cases requiring a visit most were resolved by verbal warnings to alleged perpetrators, with Warning Notices being issued in one-in-twelve (8.1%) visits (i.e. Warning Notices were issued for 6.1% of calls received). Data for the first three quarters of 2006/07 gives a somewhat different picture, as over half (53.3%) of the 363 complaints were resolved over the telephone. Just under four-fifths (78.2%) of those complaints resulting in a visit were resolved by verbal warnings, with over one-in-five visits leading to the issue of a Warning Notice (i.e. 10.2% of calls received led to the issue of a Warning Notice). Therefore the data shows that, although a lower proportion of complaints were being visited in 2006/07 than in 2005/06, a higher proportion led to the issue of a Warning Notice. Since the Team started operating, only one Fixed Penalty Notice has been issued and no seizures of equipment have been required.

Because expenditure data is not available over a full financial year, the costs should be interpreted with some caution. Expenditure during May 2005 - March 2006 was almost £328,000. Staff payroll costs accounted for just over three-fifths (61%) of this, and central overheads (including office accommodation) were responsible for slightly more than one-eighth (13%). The service cost around £245,400 between April and December 2006. This excludes the annual payment towards administrative support and service overheads, which accounted for 20% of expenditure in 2005/06. Staff costs in the period of analysis during 2006/07 comprised over three-quarters (77.4%) of this amount, and publicity and advertising – at almost £16,400 – accounted for 6.7% of expenditure. Each year almost £32,000 was paid for police support (including providing safety checks).

These activity and cost data give an average cost per call received by the Team in 2005/06 of £627 and an equivalent cost of £609 for the first nine months of 2006/07 (though this is likely to be an underestimate of the final cost for the year because of the exclusion to date

from the expenditure accounts of the internal cost transfers for administrative support and service overheads).

Potential Cost Consequences

The benefits to local residents of reducing night noise are likely to be considerable (including, for example, improved sleep and better daytime functioning and fewer disputes with neighbours). However, such benefits are hard to quantify financially. There are also cost savings to other services, including housing and the police, that may otherwise have needed to intervene in a case.

However, the effectiveness of the service is dependent upon residents being aware of it and knowing how they can access it. Despite considerable expenditure on promoting the service in a variety of ways, calls have been much lower than anticipated. It is not clear if night noise is less of a problem in North Lanarkshire than initially thought, or if the knowledge that the Team exists has a strong deterrent effect. The Senior EHO who manages and promotes the service believes that the unit cost of the service could be reduced by using trained Noise Officers rather than EHOs and/or by extending the Team's responsibilities to include night noise from commercial premises.

Scottish Borders Freephone Helpline

Description of Service

Scottish Borders' Anti-Social Behaviour Unit (ASBU) became operational at the end of January 2006. At this time a freephone helpline was launched for the provision of general advice or to point callers to the most appropriate support. It is answered by the four members of the ASBU team and operates from 08:45 to 17:00 from Mondays to Thursdays and from 8:45 to 15:45 on Fridays. (Calls received outwith the above working hours go to an answer service where the caller can leave their name and contact number for follow-up contact the next working day). Staff on the Scottish Borders Council's switchboard also direct relevant calls to the helpline. The helpline number has been publicised extensively throughout the Council area.

Where possible, the caller is helped directly. If the caller lives in an area served by the community warden service (Kelso or Galashiels), a community warden will be sent round to discuss the problem face-to-face and, if necessary, to collect some evidence. Callers living in other parts of the Scottish Borders will be sent incident diary sheets to record times and dates of problems and will be telephoned again by a member of the ASBU team within 28 days. Not all of the calls made on the helpline relate to ASBU problems: if the ASBU team cannot help, the caller's details are taken and these are forwarded to the relevant Council service or local organisation, such as Technical Services or an

Environmental Health Officer. Where appropriate, callers are encouraged to talk to other relevant parties, such as their landlord, when they are sent incident sheets.

Methodological Challenges

Calculating the costs associated with the freephone helpline are relatively straightforward, given that costs can be readily identified for the equipment, the allocation of the freephone number and the calls received. The publicity budget for the ASBU and the helpline can also be identified. The costs of the time spent by ASBU staff handling calls can be ignored if it is assumed that answering telephone queries is part of their job (and therefore already covered by their salaries), and that the freephone number does not increase this element of their work to a significant extent. The average cost per call received can easily be calculated.

However, two specific methodological issues were encountered:

- The absence of any baseline for comparison (e.g. of the numbers of call received), given that the ASBU unit and the freephone helpline became operational at the same time.
- The knock-on cost consequences for other services as a consequence of calls being made to the helpline – these costs could increase if issues are raised that otherwise may not have required a response or decrease if the service enables more timely responses to be provided due to problems being identified quickly.

Activity, Outcomes and Costs

During the first year of operation the ASBU received a total of 302 calls on the helpline, which gives an average of about 25 per month. However, by the end of 2006 the Unit was receiving about 35 such calls each month, as knowledge of the service built up. ASBU staff started to monitor the number of out-of-hours call from 16 October 2006 with 42 such calls being received between 16 October 2006 and early February 2007. During most weekends between two and six such calls are received, suggesting that a significant proportion of calls relating to antisocial behaviour are made outwith standard working hours.

A budget of £5,000 was allocated to the service during 2006/07. Out of this, £1,210 was spent on the equipment and the allocation of the freephone number. A further £334 was spent to the end of January 2007 on the received calls; these were expected to cost about £500 to the end of March 2007. The remainder of the budget (i.e. about £3,300) was expected to be used on further advertising the work of the ASBU, including the freephone number.

The above costs suggest that the freephone number was expected to cost a total of about £1,700 during 2006/07 (i.e. £1,200 for the equipment and £500 for the received calls). If an

average of 35 calls is received each month, this would amount to a total of 420 over a year, giving a cost of about £4 per call made to the freephone number. This would rise to an average of almost £12 per call if the remainder of the £5,000 budget was used to advertise the freephone number. The longer-term costs associated with this service will depend on the numbers of calls received and the amount spent on advertising it.

Potential Cost Consequences

The impact of the freephone helpline on the number of calls made to the Scottish Borders Council relating to antisocial behaviour is not known, though it will improve equity of access to services relating to antisocial behaviour for those living in rural areas and in towns without community wardens. It is also too early to tell if the helpline is having an impact on the workload of other services and whether this ultimately increases or decreases the costs of these services. The fact that the service is provided free of charge to users will prevent callers being deterred by the cost of making the call. Thus the service offers benefits to both the Council and local residents, though such benefits cannot readily be quantified.

Conclusions

This annex has used information provided by the 12 evaluated initiatives and, where relevant, drawn from previously published research to identify and quantify the associated costs and short-term and longer-term benefits of each initiative. The interpretation and use of this information will depend upon local policies and priorities, as an initiative that is considered to offer good value for money in one area may not be felt to do so in another neighbourhood or local authority. Although local decision making can never be an exact science, it will be better informed where it takes account of the tangible costs and considers the intangible consequences for local stakeholders – some of which may be experienced over a considerable period of time. The research has also highlighted a number of methodological challenges in undertaking economic evaluations of local antisocial behaviour interventions.

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ANNEX 5: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Scottish Executive Evaluation of Neighbourhood Anti-social Behaviour Strategies

Household Survey

Introduction

A. READ OUT:

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is _____ from Management Information Scotland. I am undertaking a survey on behalf of the Scottish Executive as part of a study about responses to anti-social behaviour in neighbourhoods across Scotland. The survey asks about your views and experiences of anti-social behaviour in this neighbourhood. By neighbourhood we mean the street you live in and the streets near by. The results of the survey will be used in a report to the Scottish Executive aimed at improving the effectiveness of measures to tackle anti-social behaviour in your neighbourhood and elsewhere.

All the answers you give will be confidential and will only be seen by the research team at Sheffield Hallam University, who will not pass your answers and personal details on to anyone else.

B. COLLECT STREET DETAILS:

Enter full post code here:

Section 1: Personal and Household Details

1.1 Gender *(Circle one answer only)*

Male	Female
1	2

1.2 Age

Can I ask how old you are? *(Circle one answer only)*

16-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	64+
1	2	3	4	5

1.3 Which of the following best describes your household? *(Circle one answer only)*

Single	Single with children	Couple	Couple with children	More than 2 adults sharing	Other *(please describe)*
1	2	3	4	5	6

Describe if 'Other': _____

1.4 Which of these best describes your current employment circumstances?
(Circle one answer only)

Employed full time	1
Employed part time	2
Looking after home or family/carer	3
Retired	4
In further or higher education	5
In training programme	6
Unemployed and seeking work	7
Not working due to ill health or disability	8
Other (please describe)	9

Describe if 'Other':_____

1.5 How would you describe your ethnic group? *(Circle one answer only)*

White-Scottish/Irish/British	1	**Other Asian**	7
White- Other background	2	**Black Caribbean**	8
Chinese	3	**Black African**	9
Indian	4	**Other Black**	10
Pakistani	5	**Mixed Background**	11
Bangladeshi	6	**Other (please specify)**	12

Describe if 'Other':_____

1.6 Which of these best describes your current accommodation? *(Circle one answer only)*

Detached house/ bungalow	Semi-detached house	Terraced house	Flat/ maisonette
1	2	3	4

1.7 What tenure are you currently living in? *(Circle one answer only)*

Owner-occupier	Renting from Council	Renting from Housing Assoc	Renting from private landlord	Other
1	2	3	4	5

Section 2: Your Neighbourhood and Neighbours

2.1 Thinking about the neighbourhood you live in, how would you rate it as a place to live? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	No opinion
1	2	3	4	5

2.2 How would you describe the following aspects of your neighbourhood? *(Circle one answer on each line)*

	Very good	Good	Neither good/ poor	Poor	Very poor	Don't Know
The way streets and public space are maintained	1	2	3	4	5	6
Relations between neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	6
A sense of community	1	2	3	4	5	6
Local shops and facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6
Facilities for children (aged up to 11)	1	2	3	4	5	6

Facilities for young people (aged 12 to 18)	1	2	3	4	5	6

2.3 I would like to ask you how involved you are with other people living in this neighbourhood. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? *(Circle one answer on each line)*

	Strongly agree	**Tend to agree**	**Neither agree or disagree**	**Tend to disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
If I were alone and needed help I could rely on friends/relatives in this neighbourhood to help me	1	2	3	4	5
If my home was empty, I could count on friends/relatives in this neighbourhood to keep an eye on my home	1	2	3	4	5
I feel I could turn to my friends/relatives in this neighbourhood for advice or support	1	2	3	4	5

Section 3: Neighbourhood Problems

3.1 How common would you say the following things are in this neighbourhood? *(Circle one answer on each line)*

	Very common	Quite common	Not very common	Not common at all	Don't know
Noisy neighbours or regular loud parties	1	2	3	4	5
Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	1	2	3	4	5
Rubbish or litter lying around	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbour disputes	1	2	3	4	5
Groups or individuals intimidating or harassing others	1	2	3	4	5
Drug misuse or dealing	1	2	3	4	5
Rowdy behaviour (e.g. drunkenness, hooliganism or loutish behaviour)	1	2	3	4	5
Fire-setting and burnt out vehicles	1	2	3	4	5

3.2 How long have you lived in this neighbourhood? *(Circle one answer only)*

Less than 1 year	**1 to 5 years**	**6 to 10 years**	**More than 10 years**
1	2	3	4
↓	↓	↓	↓
Go to Section 4	***Go to Q 3.3***	***Go to Q 3.3***	***Go to Q 3.3***

3.3 How have these problems changed in your neighbourhood in the last 12 months (since June 2005)? *(Circle one answer on each line)*

	Got much better	Got slightly better	No change	Got slightly worse	Got much worse	Don't know
Noisy neighbours or regular loud parties	1	2	3	4	5	6
Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubbish or litter lying around	1	2	3	4	5	6
Neighbour disputes	1	2	3	4	5	6
Groups or individuals intimidating or harassing others	1	2	3	4	5	6
Drug misuse or dealing	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rowdy behaviour (e.g. drunkenness, hooliganism or loutish behaviour)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fire-setting and burnt out vehicles	1	2	3	4	5	6

3.4 Overall, do you think your neighbourhood has become a better or worse place to live in the last 12 months (since June 2005)? *(Circle one answer only)*

It has become much better	It has become a bit better	It has stayed the same	It has become a bit worse	It has become much worse
1	2	3	4	5

Section 4: Personal Experience of Neighbourhood Problems and Agency Responses

4.1 Which of the following have you personally experienced in the neighbourhood in the past 12 months (since June 2005)? *(Circle ALL that apply)*

Noisy neighbours or regular loud parties	1
Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	2
Rubbish or litter lying around	3
Neighbour disputes	4
Groups or individuals intimidating or harassing others	5
Drug misuse or dealing	6
Rowdy behaviour (e.g. drunkenness, hooliganism or loutish behaviour)	7
Fire-setting and burnt out vehicles	8
None of these	9

4.2a Have you reported any of these problems to anyone in the last 12 months (since June 2005)? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Go to question **4.3a***
No	2	*Go to question **4.2b***

4.2b What are your reasons for not reporting these problems? *(Circle ALL that apply)*

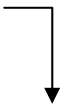
I have been too busy	1

I didn't think the problems were serious enough	2
I didn't know who to report the problem too	3
I didn't think anything would be done about them	4
I didn't want to get involved	5

Go to question 4.11a

4.3a Have you have reported noisy neighbours or loud parties? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.3b and 4.3c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.4a***



4.3b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

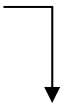
If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.3c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

4.4a Have you reported vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.4b and 4.4c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.5a***



4.4b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If ‘Other’, please describe:_____

4.4c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	**Fairly satisfied**	**Neither satisfied or dissatisfied**	**Dissatisfied**	**Very dissatisfied**
1	2	3	4	5

4.5a Have you reported rubbish or litter lying around? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.5b and 4.5c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.6a***

4.5b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.5c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

4.6a Have you reported neighbour disputes? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.6b and 4.6c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.7a***

4.6b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If ‘Other’, please describe:_____

4.6c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	**Fairly satisfied**	**Neither satisfied or dissatisfied**	**Dissatisfied**	**Very dissatisfied**
1	2	3	4	5

4.7a Have you reported groups or individuals intimidating or harassing others? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.7b and 4.7c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.8a***

4.7b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.7c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

4.8a Have you reported drug misuse or dealing? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.8b and 4.8c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.9a***

4.8b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.8c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	**Fairly satisfied**	**Neither satisfied or dissatisfied**	**Dissatisfied**	**Very dissatisfied**
1	2	3	4	5

4.9a Have you reported rowdy behaviour (e.g. drunkenness, hooliganism or loutish behaviour? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.9b and 4.9c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.10a***

4.9b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.9c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

4.10a Have you reported fire-setting and burnt out vehicles? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.10b and 4.10c***
No	2	*Go to question **4.11a***

4.10b Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	The Council	Housing association	Private landlord	Community warden	Neighbourhood Watch	Other

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

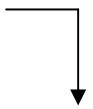
If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.10c How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	**Fairly satisfied**	**Neither satisfied or dissatisfied**	**Dissatisfied**	**Very dissatisfied**
1	2	3	4	5

4.11a Have you have reported any other forms of anti-social behaviour in the last 12 months to anyone? *(Circle one answer only)*

Yes	1	*Complete questions **4.11b, 4.11c and 4.11d***
No	2	*Go to question **4.12***



4.11b Please can you describe what the behaviour or incident was? *(Write in)*

4.11c Who did you report this problem to? *(Circle All that apply)*

The Police	**The Council**	**Housing association**	**Private landlord**	**Community warden**	**Neighbourhood Watch**	**Other**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If 'Other', please describe:_____

4.11d How satisfied were you with the response and action taken? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very satisfied	**Fairly satisfied**	**Neither satisfied or dissatisfied**	**Dissatisfied**	**Very dissatisfied**
1	2	3	4	5

4.12 If you witnessed an incident of vandalism or graffiti taking place how likely would you be to report it to any of the following agencies or organisations?

(Circle one answer on each line)

	Very likely	Quite likely	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely	Don't know
The Police	1	2	3	4	5
The Council	1	2	3	4	5
Housing Association	1	2	3	4	5
Private landlord or property management company	1	2	3	4	5
Community Warden	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhood Watch or residents group	1	2	3	4	5

4.13 How willing would you be to act as a witness in a case involving serious anti-social behaviour in your neighbourhood? *(Circle one answer only)*

Very willing	Quite willing	Quite unwilling	Very unwilling	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5

4.14 To what extent are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what local agencies (such as the Council, Police and landlords) are doing to tackle anti-social behaviour in this area?

(Circle one answer only)

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Fairly dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

4.15 How has the performance of local agencies (such as the Council, Police and landlords) changed in tackling anti-social behaviour in the last 12 months (since June 2005)?

(Circle one answer only)

Performing much better	Performing slightly better	No change in performance	Performing slightly worse	Performing much worse	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

Section 5: Feelings of Safety

The following questions ask you about how safe you feel in your local neighbourhood.

5.1 How safe do you feel...? *(Circle one answer on each line)*

	Very safe	Fairly safe	Neither safe or unsafe	Fairly unsafe	Very unsafe	Don't know
In your own home during the daytime	1	2	3	4	5	6
In your own home after dark	1	2	3	4	5	6
Walking alone in this neighbourhood in daylight hours	1	2	3	4	5	6
Walking alone in this neighbourhood after dark	1	2	3	4	5	6

5.2 How much impact does each of the following have on your own feelings of safety when you are in your neighbourhood? *(Circle one answer on each line)*

	A lot of impact	Some impact	Little impact	No impact at all
Noisy neighbours or regular loud parties	1	2	3	4
Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	1	2	3	4
Rubbish or litter lying around	1	2	3	4
Neighbour disputes	1	2	3	4
Groups or individuals intimidating or harassing others	1	2	3	4
Drug misuse or dealing	1	2	3	4
Rowdy behaviour (e.g. drunkenness, hooliganism or loutish behaviour)	1	2	3	4
Fire-setting and burnt out vehicles	1	2	3	4

Other	1	2	3	4

If 'Other', please describe:_____

5.3 Overall, how much impact do the above types of anti-social behaviour have on your own feelings of safety when you are in your neighbourhood? *(Circle one answer only)*

A lot of impact	**Some impact**	**A little impact**	**No impact at all**
1	2	3	4

READ OUT:

This is the end of the survey. Thank you for your time and assistance.

If you have been a witness or victim of anti-social behaviour in your neighbourhood in the last 12 months, we would be very interested in your views and perspectives of how local agencies are responding to your experiences in order to try to identify how services may be improved.

If you would be willing to speak to a trained University researcher about your experiences, we would be grateful if you could provide us with your name and contact details. Giving your details does not commit you to take part in any further research and we will provide you with more information. If you do agree to take part, your details and views will remain confidential.

COMPLETE DETAILS:

		Tick
Respondent is willing to give contact details	☐ ⟶	***Fill in details below***
Respondent is not willing to give contact details	☐ ⟶	***End of survey***

Respondent's Name

Address

Telephone Number

E-mail address

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