

Attitudes to the City

An occasional series of investigations into the urban environment: perception and policy

BINGEING ON ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR: The questionable logic of city clean-up campaigns

By Martin Earnshaw

KEY POINTS

- Respondents under the age of 25 are more concerned about crime and personal safety than are older age groups. Younger age groups are also more likely to demand or support more policing and other interventionist measures in order to regulate anti-social behaviour.
- Londoners are significantly less likely to worry about crime than people who live in cities outside the capital. Londoners are also less likely to support measures that are perceived to regulate peoples' behaviour.
- 'Improvements in transport' is the most important priority of city dwellers. 'Living Costs' are listed second. Anti-social behaviour ranks a poor third.
- Specific measures to curb anti-social behaviour are seldom demanded but are often accepted.

INTRODUCTION

This research paper, *Bingeing on Anti-Social Behaviour*, investigates the real attitudes that people have towards crime and anti-social behaviour and how that reflects – or impacts on – their primary concerns about urban living in the UK. It addresses the issues that are regularly regarded as 'problems' for cities and society but also looks at the positive responses to urbanism.

This national research has been set within the framework of the urban or 'city environment' and, as such, has elicited responses from people who work or live within a city as opposed to rural, town or village dwellers. The spread of responses gives a snapshot across major cities in England.

OBJECTIVES

This Attitudes to the City survey was carried out online between end-November 2004 and end-March 2005. In essence, the survey sought to explore what respondents regarded as the benefits of living in a city; what they regarded as the problems; and what they would like to see improved. The intent was to gain an indication of whether the government's urban policy was being directed fairly and accurately.

In recent years, there has been a growing concern at the need to promote responsible behaviour in our towns and cities as a precursor to re-engaging civil society. Policies implemented since the government's Urban Summit in 2003 have had a specific focus on cleaning up the urban environment. Under the generic title *Cleaner, Safer, Greener*, there has been a vocal campaign against everything from fly-posting, abandoned cars and litter to the need for curfews, the extended use of ASBOs (Anti-Social Behaviour Orders) or a clamp-down on binge drinking and smoking in public places.

The aim of this survey is to gain an insight into whether, for example, people consider such policies are proportionate to the actual scale of anti-social behaviour; whether they satisfy or alleviate the *perception* of anti-social behaviour; and, importantly, whether these issues are key concerns. In other words, is anti-social behaviour (in its many guises), really high on the list of everyday concerns for real people residing or working in cities; is it over-hyped or is it of no consequence. Either way, what exactly, are their real concerns?

*Attitudes to the City is a series of occasional papers exploring a range of contemporary issues relating to the urban environment. Set up by the Future Cities Project, the series comprises a range of independent investigations into the social and political realities of city life. Often these papers will relate to policy initiatives, public consultation or other relevant debates in the public realm relating to *inter alia*, architecture & planning, community, urbanism and urbanity.

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DESCRIPTION

At the outset, we intended to highlight any discrepancies between people's expressed concerns (catalogued in their survey responses) and current urban policy initiatives and debates on the subject.

For instance, if official policy is directed to address certain problems – or perceptions of problems – but these were not identified in our survey to be a key concern for people, then we hope that the survey will go some way, at least, to flag up a disconnection in government policy that might need to be addressed.

Conversely, if people have concerns that are not being addressed – either wilfully or due to a focus on the 'wrong' target – then these too need to be investigated further. Discrepancies, where they appear, may question the time, effort, direction and efficacy of an urban strategy. Policy initiatives, for example, that talk up an anti-social issue that is actually of limited concern to peoples' lives could obstruct real progress and exacerbate the growing 'fear of crime.'

Table 1: Most commonly cited advantages and disadvantages of living in a city

Benefits of Cities %		Problems of Cities %	
Access to Employment	74.44	Cost of Living	58.14
Access to Culture	68.83	Crime and Safety	41.65
Sociability	40.58	Quality of Transport	37.53
Wages	18.39	Environment	36.91
Quality of Transport	18.16	Housing Standards	21.65

RESULTS

1 Our research indicates that anti-social behaviour is not, by a large degree, the most pressing concern of respondents. Transport and living costs are much more significant issues of concern.

2 Under the rubric of anti-social and criminal behaviour, however, we note that while nearly half of those questioned felt that crime was a problem, measures designed to curb crime and anti-social behaviour appeared to be low on their priorities.

Some measures like the 'prosecution of noisy neighbours' and a 'crackdown on binge drinking' were barely mentioned at all. However, items such as the need, or desire, for a 'reduction of litter' and bans on fly-posting or smoking in public places, did have a significant measure of support.

3 18-25 year-olds are significantly more likely to worry about crime and anti-social behaviour than any other age group in the survey. (This challenges somewhat the commonly held view that older age groups, particularly pensioners, are more likely to fear crime¹). But even though 18-25 year-olds have significant concerns about anti-social behaviour and criminality, they cite, more than any other age group in the survey, 'sociability' and 'a fast pace of life' as principle benefits of city life.

4 Even though under-25s show more support for restrictions on personal behaviour than do older age groups,

their focus about what constitutes problem behaviour is different from older groups.

5 Londoners are far less likely to perceive crime as a problem than those who live outside London. This does not correlate with the actual incidence of crime and anti-social behaviour in London, which, as in other major cities, is higher than the national average²). Like the 18-25 year-old cohort, Londoners, in general, were more likely to perceive sociability and a fast pace of life as benefits of living in the city.

Table 2: Respondents' top choices and most important choices for improving the city %

City Improvements	Multiple choice	Most important
Better transport infrastructure	62.17	23.58
Cheaper public transport	49.9	9.93
More affordable housing	41.31	14.35
Reduced living costs	33.33	10.11
Improved air quality	30.88	4.96
Reduced litter and fly posting	28.63	3.37
More public squares/parks	24.53	2.13
Smoking bans in public places	23.52	3.9
Pedestrianisation	18.81	1.95
Demolish ugly buildings	16.77	2.13
Improve community participation	16.16	4.43
More public spending	12.68	3.37
More policing	12.68	3.72
Improved café culture	12.27	0.89
Public art projects	11.66	0.71
Creation of jobs	10.43	1.42
Crackdown on binge drinking	9.61	0.89
More tall buildings	9	1.6
Air-conditioned public transport	9	0.18
More school and hospitals	8.38	0.89
Anti-racism initiatives	7.57	1.42
Prosecution of noisy neighbours	6.34	0.71
Other	5.73	3.01
Wider Streets	4.7	0.35

6 Respondents say that they are attracted to the city for very similar reasons: 'access to employment' was a category chosen by three quarters of all respondents, and 'access to culture' by two thirds.

These results, along with 'sociability' in third place, are consistent across region, age, and gender.

7 The problems that people face in the city are more diverse with only 'living costs' being cited by more than half of respondents (58%) as a problem. When subdivided into region and age, the order of ranking of respondents' preferences and dislikes about the city changes quite radically. However, the 'cost of living' is overall ranked at number one.

'Crime and Safety' is the second most-cited concern about

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the urban environment, but is experienced differently by different groups.

8 'Environmental' issues such as a desire for 'improvements in air quality' and a crackdown on 'littering' and 'fly-posting' are rated highly as necessary changes that people would like to see.

Table 3: Attitudes to policy, Londoners and Non Londoners

Congestion Charging (%)	Main	London	Other
Strongly Agree	31.6	37.64	21.56
Agree	31.08	33.15	27.98
Neither Agree nor Disagree	13.02	9.27	18.81
Disagree	10.59	7.87	15.14
Strongly Disagree	12.5	11.24	14.68
Don't know/not stated	1.22	0.84	1.83
Ban Smoking in Public Places (%)			
Strongly Agree	32.81	29.49	37.61
Agree	30.21	31.74	27.98
Neither Agree nor Disagree	12.15	12.92	11.01
Disagree	9.38	10.39	7.8
Strongly Disagree	14.58	14.89	14.22
Don't know/not stated	0.87	0.56	1.38
Ban Flyposting (%)			
Strongly Agree	19.79	17.42	23.39
Agree	22.4	21.91	22.94
Neither Agree nor Disagree	28.13	30.62	24.31
Disagree	19.44	19.38	19.72
Strongly Disagree	8.68	9.55	7.34
Don't know/not stated	1.56	1.12	2.29
Crackdown on Binge Drinking (%)			
Strongly Agree	16.15	13.76	19.72
Agree	25.52	23.31	28.9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	26.56	27.81	24.77
Disagree	18.58	20.22	16.06
Strongly Disagree	11.26	12.64	9.17
Don't know/not stated	1.91	2.25	1.38

9 Table 2 shows that improvements in transport, in particular 'better transport infrastructure', are by far the most important change respondents would like to see (63%). Economic considerations like the availability of more affordable housing and reduced living costs also feature prominently on the list, in third and fourth places respectively.

ATTITUDES TO REGULATION

1 When asked to cite five measures to *improve* the urban condition, more than half of respondents (56%) mentioned at least one measure against anti-social behaviour - roughly the same number as those who mentioned crime as a problem (see chart 1)³. However, there does not seem to be much consistency. Just over 20% mention more than one anti-social behaviour regulatory measure and only 6% mention more than two. The most popular anti-social

behaviour regulator are measures to reduce litter and fly-posting (29%). Support for smoking bans polls 24%. These are the only regulatory measures to be directly cited by over 20% of respondents (table 2).

2 Even though suggested headings were flagged up in the questionnaire, very few respondents identified the need for prosecuting noisy neighbours or cracking down on binge drinking (less than 10% each) as an improvement on the current situation. While 1 in 4 mentions litter and fly-posting and 1 in 5 mentions smoking bans, it is clear that respondents have other priorities. While tackling anti-social behaviour of some sort is ranked as the third most necessary urban improvement measure, less than 1 in 5 of all respondents placed it at the top of their list (see chart 2).

Table 4: Attitudes to policy across age

Congestion Charging (%)	18-25	26-35	36-45	45+
Strongly Agree	20.66	36.62	27.34	38.61
Agree	36.36	34.74	22.66	28.71
Neither Agree nor Disagree	16.53	10.33	12.5	12.87
Disagree	13.22	9.86	11.72	7.92
Strongly Disagree	10.74	7.51	24.22	11.88
Don't know/not stated	2.48	0.94	1.56	0
Ban Smoking in Public Places (%)	18-25	26-35	36-45	45+
Strongly Agree	37.19	30.99	25.78	37.62
Agree	31.4	35.21	21.09	30.69
Neither Agree nor Disagree	16.53	11.27	12.5	9.9
Disagree	7.44	12.21	10.94	3.96
Strongly Disagree	7.44	9.39	28.91	15.84
Don't know/not stated	0	0.94	0.78	1.98
Ban Flyposting (%)	18-25	26-35	36-45	45+
Strongly Agree	14.05	19.72	18.75	25.74
Agree	15.7	23.47	18.75	30.69
Neither Agree nor Disagree	39.67	27.23	23.44	23.76
Disagree	23.14	19.72	24.22	9.9
Strongly Disagree	5.79	8.45	14.06	6.93
Don't know/not stated	1.65	1.41	0.78	2.98
Crackdown on Binge Drinking (%)	18-25	26-35	36-45	45+
Strongly Agree	13.22	15.96	9.38	25.74
Agree	21.49	28.64	20.31	29.7
Neither Agree nor Disagree	30.58	26.76	26.56	22.77
Disagree	24.79	19.25	20.31	8.91
Strongly Disagree	8.26	7.98	23.44	7.92
Don't know/not stated	1.91	1.41	0	4.95

No single anti-social behaviour measure comes anywhere near the core concerns about housing, transport, and living costs. In fact, no anti-social regulatory measure rates more than 5% of the vote for most important improvement (table 2).

3 Respondents seem to be supportive of behavioural change mechanisms in general once these have been implemented or officially proposed (see table 3). However,

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there is considerable ambivalence amongst respondents to congestion charging outside London (see table 3). Support for the congestion charge is high overall although responses outside London are more ambiguous with only 50% of respondents (as compared with 71% of Londoners) supporting the charge. Interpreting the congestion charge as an authoritarian or behavioural modification measure, London seems more willing to accept it than the regions. London is also the only city to have already implemented the charge, but support for it challenges the notion of a more liberal, metropolitan attitude (see Item 3.1 above). The support for congestion charging also jars somewhat with the fact that transport infrastructure is the one improvement most people would like to see, given that congestion

‘Reduced litter and fly-posting’ was an objective of 29% of respondents (table 2), but bans and restrictive policies on litter didn’t seem to be popular as a means of achieving it; possibly due to the fact that while litter is a concern for many people, it is, after all, possible to reduce litter by more waste bins and street cleaning or it may be the case that flyposting is not seen as a form of littering.

6 Only 10% list a crackdown on binge drinking as a desirable city improvement measure (table 2). This doesn’t signify a high level of concern.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

1 In general, Londoners are less likely to demand measures to tackle anti-social behaviour. Part of the

Chart 1: Percentage citing regulatory measures to improve cities

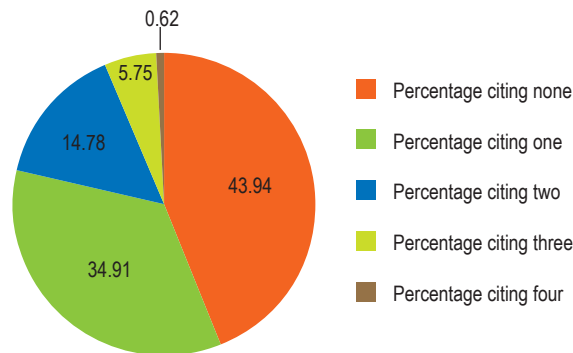


Chart 2: Most Important City improvements

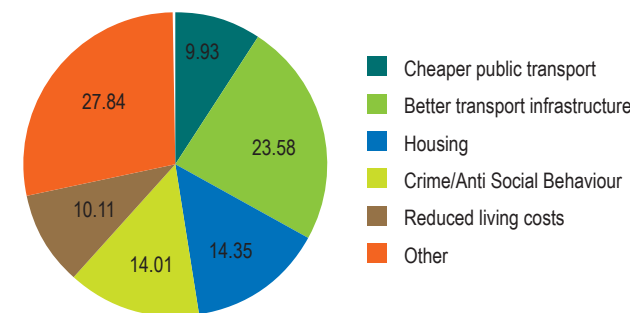
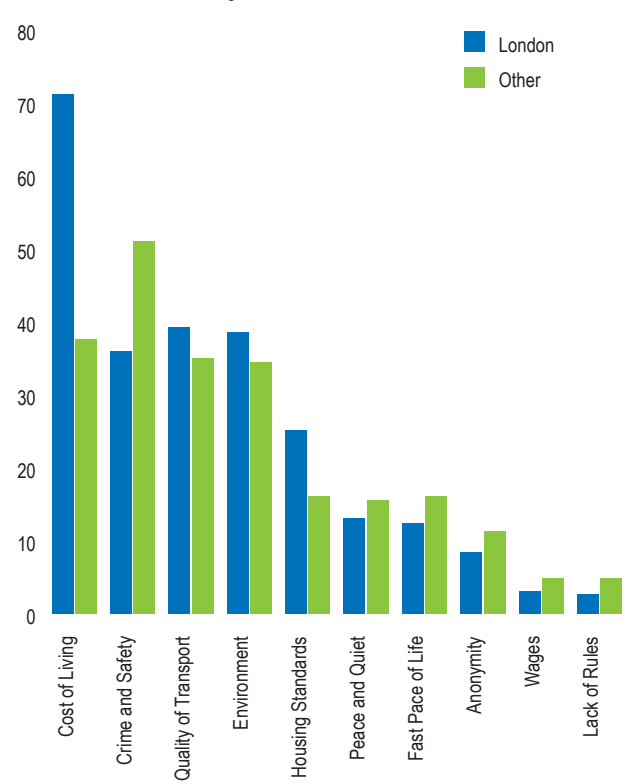


Chart 3: Selected City Problems



charging is a form of demand management often at odds with building additional infrastructure.

4 63% of respondents agree with a ban on smoking in public places (table 3). A ban on smoking comes in the top ten (24%) of respondents’ lists of preferred city improvements (table 2). In the ‘Most Important’ column, it hardly registers, at only 4%. This suggests that most people agree with a ban on public smoking, but it isn’t particularly important to them.

5 Just 42% support a ban on fly-posting or a crackdown on binge drinking (table 3). 28% oppose a ban on these measures, and 28% are indifferent. That nearly 60% (respondents who were neutral or opposed to it) do not support a ban, denotes a considerable ambivalence towards a ban on fly-posting which contradicts somewhat with the results on the list of city improvements.

reason for this is that Londoners are more likely to perceive transport, the environment, and, most notably, cost of living as problems (see chart 3). Living costs are indeed higher in London, but Londoners may well have a different outlook from the rest of the country. (According to a recent MORI survey, 7 out of 10 Londoners describe their outlook as markedly different to that of people in other parts of the country.⁴) This is supported by the fact that Londoners appear less authoritarian in relation to regulatory policies (see table 3). Also Londoners are more likely to cite ‘sociability’ and ‘fast pace of life’ as positive aspects of the city (chart 4).

As noted respondents outside London cite crime as one of the biggest problems. Half of respondents said that crime was a problem, a quarter that it was the most important. Non-Londoners were also consistently more likely to support authoritarian measures in their attitudes to policy (table 3).

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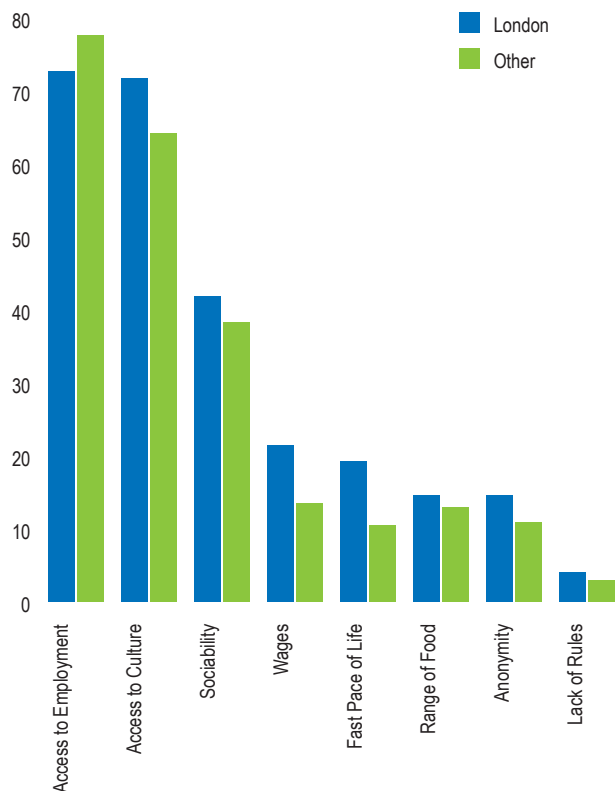
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However, anti-social behaviour measures still ranked low on the respondents' city improvements list, especially in the 'Most Important' category. The exceptions are litter and fly-posting, and smoking bans, the latter possibly due to the general acceptance of smoking bans (see item 2.1).

AGE GROUPING

1 One might have expected there to be a correlation between age and particular attitudes, for example, that concern with crime rises with age. In fact our research shows that 18-25 year-olds are more likely to worry about crime and support regulatory measures than other age groups. (See tables 4 and chart 5) This pattern is not necessarily true across all anti-social behaviour regulations.

Chart 4: Selected City Benefits



2 Support for bans on litter and fly-posting and the prosecution of noisy neighbours increases with age. These problems involve locality and community, concerns that one might expect an older, less mobile, person to be worried about. There is a markedly lower level of support among 18-25 year-olds for laws on littering and fly-posting.

3 Classifying the measures that 18-25 year-olds are most likely actively to support is more difficult. 18-25 year-olds show the greatest degree of support - compared to the other age groups - for bans on smoking, anti-racism initiatives, and increased policing. The first two issues may not be too surprising since these issues have more resonance with young people, with smoking and racism having been increasingly politicised in education and youth dialogue over the past 20 years. That the young cite the need for more policing is possibly more surprising.

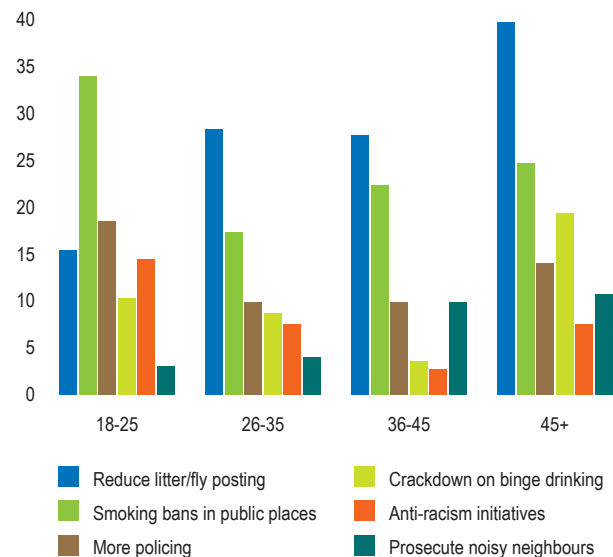
4 18-25 year-olds are also relatively more likely than other age groups, to support a crackdown on binge drinking (though those over 45 are most likely to support it). The meaning of this result should be assessed in conjunction with the fact that 18-25 year-olds are most likely to cite 'sociability' as a benefit of living in a city (see chart 6)⁵.

5 18-25 year-olds are the most likely to be ambivalent about regulatory measures. 36-45 year-olds, by contrast, are (generally) the least likely to support authoritarian measures⁶ and the most likely to oppose them.

SUMMARY

1 We note that Londoners are far less likely to cite crime as a problem than those who live in other cities.

Chart 5: Selected City Improvements by Age



Furthermore, the relative unimportance that respondents place on crime and anti-social behaviour in cities seems to be the case regardless of the actual level of crime in the city⁷.

2 Under 25s express the greatest concern about crime. On one level this is rational. Young people, particularly young males, are far more likely to be victims of crime than any other group. However, this still doesn't make it entirely clear why concern about crime should be so high in this group. Government studies indicate that five years ago, 18-24 year-olds were the age group *least* concerned by crime⁸. Other studies have suggested that nowadays, those aged between 18-34 are more concerned about drugs, anti-social behaviour and their own safety, than are people aged over 60⁹.

3 The fact that fear of crime falls in the middle age groups (26-45) also suggests that this anxiety is specific to the younger generation of today. There has been an increasing tendency, in recent years, to view social problems through the prism of crime, safety and personal behaviour and this may explain why 36-45 year-olds appear to be the most 'libertarian'. This age group lived its formative years in the politicised atmosphere of the 70s and 80s, which -

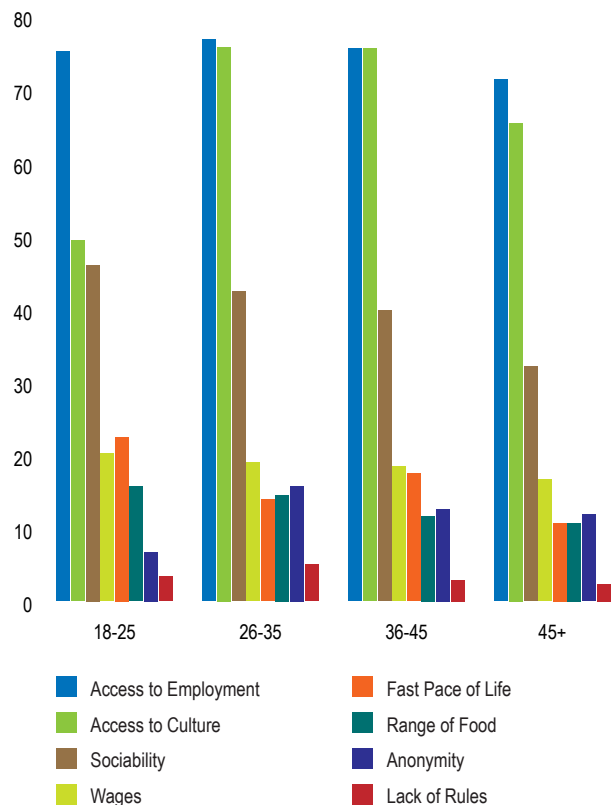
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although we have no data about the political affiliations of our respondents – was renowned for its polarised political relationships; through which many responded with antipathy to the state and authority. Conversely, generations that have reached adulthood through the 90s are more likely to experience ‘politics’ in terms of regulatory mechanisms and the so-called, politics of behaviour¹⁰.

4 This non-political, or behavioural perspective sheds some light on the tension between an apparent support for regulatory measures and an apparent lack of interest in them. While anti-social behaviour seems to rate low among

Chart 6: Selected City Benefits by Age



the respondents’ concerns, very few oppose measures to deal with it. This could be because regulation is now seen as the mainstream and legitimate response to social issues; it could indicate a decline in a libertarian tendency; or it could also reflect an apathetic response to social problems. It doesn’t seem to reflect wholehearted support for state intervention in personal actions.

CONCLUSION

1 The ‘Attitudes to the City’ survey set out to discover whether anti-social behaviour is really the biggest problem facing city dwellers and workers. Our research suggests that it is not.

2 These findings are at odds with the government’s approach to the issue, exemplified by Prime Minister Tony Blair’s description of anti-social behaviour as ‘the number one issue for many in our society’¹¹. While under-25s and respondents living outside London indicate that crime, and fear of crime, is a significant concern for them, actual

measures designed to tackle anti-social behaviour and criminality, including more policing, do not rank very highly on their list of priorities.

3 There are good reasons to be concerned with the government’s urban policy focus on anti-social activity and criminality. Firstly, by imposing restrictions on personal behaviour, the government has been criticised for curtailing civil liberties¹². Critics have noted that Anti Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) have the power to criminalise behaviour that is otherwise beyond the remit of the criminal law. The propensity to issue ASBOs and ABCs (Acceptable Behaviour Contracts) as a quick and easy method for dealing with troublesome behaviour is increasing¹³.

4 The results of this survey call into question the official focus on personal behaviour which has the effect of raising the issue of anti-social behaviour above other issues in the public mind. Frank Field, MP suggests that a growing lawlessness has caused complaints about anti-social behaviour to rise in inverse proportion to issues like jobs and housing¹⁴. He does not suggest that lawlessness, in the criminal sense of the word, has actually increased – or that employment or homelessness has decreased - by any such comparative degree.

5 It may of course be true that some groups and regions do experience crime and anti-social behaviour as a significant problem, but there is some evidence here to suggest that the issue has been over-hyped. Blanket policy-making on this issue is dangerous as it runs the risk of increasing fear instead of reassuring the public. It can also narrow the debate about social matters to a technical discussion about personal behaviour. It can also significantly shift attention from what seems to be genuine and significant concerns that people have about the need for better infrastructure and reducing the cost of living.

What seems to be needed is a broader focus on urban issues – problems and benefits – that posits material solutions rather than restrictions and regulations on personal behaviour.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ 72 percent of pensioners felt that they were more likely to become a victim of crime as they got older. Age Concern, 21 May 2003.
See: www.ageconcern.org.uk/AgeConcen/News_109.htm
- ² City crime figures April 2003-March 2004: www.crimestatistics.org.uk/tool/Default.asp?region=9&11=0&12+0&13=0&sub=0&v=24
- ³ Six out of twenty four improvements are considered to be methods of tackling anti-social behaviour. These are 'Reduced litter and Flyposting', 'Bans on smoking in public places', Crackdown on binge drinking', 'More policing', 'Anti-racism initiatives', 'Prosecution of noisy neighbours'.
- ⁴ A MORI poll for the Commission on London Governance showed that seven out of ten Londoners felt that they have a different outlook to people in the rest of the country, putting this down to a faster way of life and the capital's more multicultural environment. The survey was carried out between the 17th and 24th March 2004.
- ⁵ This result is also interesting in light of the fact that young people are most likely to be seen as problem drinkers. The Institute of Alcohol studies suggests that people between 16 and 24 are more likely to binge drink than other age groups. <http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/problemdrinking-gb.pdf>
- ⁶ By 'authoritarian', we mean a raft of measures constraining, in some way, personal freedom and individual choice regardless of the arguments about whether these constraints are socially acceptable, eg. congestion charging, smoking bans, etc.
- ⁷ See City crime figures April 2003-March 2004: www.crimestatistics.org.uk/tool/Default.asp?region=9&11=0&12+0&13=0&sub=0&v=24 and compare London, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Sheffield. In Newcastle and Sheffield the crime figures are lower than London.
- ⁸ 'Survey of Public Attitudes to quality of Life and to the Environment: 2001,' Defra, figure 1.4. <http://www.defra.gov.uk/environment/statistics/pubatt/ch1issues.htm>
- ⁹ Survey of Londoners 2004, TNS commissioned by the Association of London Government, pg 12, <http://www.alg.gov.uk/upload/public/attachments/375/Amended%20ALG%20Report%20-%2017%20Jan1.pdf>
- ¹⁰ 'Neighbours From Hell: The Politics of Behaviour' Frank Field, Politicos (London) 2003
- ¹¹ Prime Minister's Monthly Press conference, 23rd October 2003 <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page4712.asp>
- ¹² 'When Home's A Prison', Decca Aitkenhead, *Guardian* Weekend, 24th July 2004
- ¹³ The number of ASBOs issued between October and December 2004 totalled 17% of all orders since they were introduced in 1998. Hazel Blears, *Hansard*, 29th June 2005, Column 59WS, Written Ministerial Statements, Home Department, Antisocial Behaviour Orders
- ¹⁴ 'Neighbours from Hell' op.cit.

METHOD

The survey was designed such that all options were equally weighted to retain as far as possible, impartiality on the researchers' part. During the course of the survey, however, the government's "Delivering Sustainable Communities" summit convened and achieved a high media profile for the government's measures on a number of anti-social behaviour issues. Our results after this summit did not indicate any significant shifts in the emerging results trend noted before the summit.

To be eligible, respondents had to live or work in a city within the United Kingdom. Excluding a number of spoiled and ineligible returns, a total of 580 completed responses have been assessed and formulated into this report.

Demographic Breakdown of Respondents

Total	580	Region	
Gender		London	359
Male	317	North West	46
Female	251	North East	69
Age		Midlands	29
18-25	121	The South	53
26-35	216	Scotland	14
36-45	128	Wales	10
46+	103	Major Cities	
		Manchester	21
		Liverpool	23
		Newcastle	35
		Sheffield	17

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