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Fear of Crime in Ireland and its Impact on Quality of Life

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Anne O’Gorman
Director

¹ *Preparation of this report was at an advanced stage when the National Crime Council ceased operations in October, 2008. Arrangements were made for the personnel working on it at that time to complete it for publication.*

Executive Summary

In July 1999, the National Crime Council was established by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform as a non-statutory body in order to facilitate broadly based, informed discussion on crime issues and to aid policy formulation. It continued operating until 14 October 2008 when it ceased operations as a result of a Government decision to rationalise State Agencies in the context of Budget 2009 and against the background of the Minister's intention to initiate a process leading to a White Paper on Crime.

In establishing the Council, one of the priority areas of the Council was to examine fear of crime in Ireland. Fear of crime is a subjective phenomenon which has been defined as “an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime” (Ferraro: 1995: 4). It incorporates not only an individual's emotional concerns about crime, and the consequences of criminal activity, but also their perceptions of risk and the role of the environment in eliciting fear. The purpose of this research was to investigate the level of fear of crime in Ireland and its impact on quality of life.

More specifically, the aims and objectives of this research were to:

- examine the extent to which individuals report a fear of crime in Ireland;
- ascertain the factors which influence stated levels of fear;
- assess the reported impact of fear of crime on quality of life;
- identify the factors influencing the effect of fear of crime on quality of life;
- and
- advance recommendations for the development of strategies and/or initiatives aimed at reducing fear of crime and its consequences.

Fear of crime includes many issues such as: fear of physical violence; fear of loss or damage to property; fear of invasion of one's home; differences in the level of fear reported by different demographic groups in the population; the role of the media and the relationship between fear of crime and victimisation. It is thought that a concern

about crime, feelings of vulnerability, the probability of being victimised, the consequences of victimisation and wider social and situational influences influence the level of fear individuals experience. However, the relationship between fear of crime and victimisation is not straightforward (see Agnew, 1985). Official crime statistics and survey results indicate that those most at risk of being victimised (i.e. young adult males) tend to be the least likely to report a fear of crime (see CSO, 1999, 2004, 2007; Watson, 2000). Instead, fear of crime appears to be more prevalent amongst those are the least likely to be victimised.

Fear of crime can also have a substantial (usually negative) effect on quality of life by prompting some individuals to severely restrict their movements and/or activities, thereby, reducing their physical, social and emotional well-being. It is therefore important to study fear of crime in order to identify the factors associated with individuals experiencing a reduction in their quality of life so as to lessen the negative impact of fear of crime on quality of life.

Methodology

The data for the Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 was used to investigate the level of fear of crime in Ireland. The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys are commissioned annually by An Garda Síochána to investigate respondents' attitudes to and experiences of An Garda Síochána, crime, fear of crime and the Criminal Justice System more generally. At the request of the National Crime Council, a number of additional questions on fear of crime and its impact on quality of life were included in the 2006 and subsequent Garda Public Attitudes Surveys. The data from the 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey was the most recent data available at the time this research was commenced.

In 2007, the Garda Public Attitudes Survey consisted of a nationally representative sample of 10,067 respondents. Of these respondents, 4,916 (48.8 per cent) were male and 5,151 (51.2 per cent) were female. These respondents ranged in age from 18 to over 65 years, resided in both urban and rural locations, were predominantly Irish with a working or lower middle socio-economic status, had some form of secondary school education and were employed or in further education/training at the time of completing the survey.

Respondents' fear of crime was measured based on the extent to which they reported worry about becoming a victim of crime. Respondents who reported being worried about becoming a victim of crime were then asked to state which of the following crimes they were worried about: being mugged/robbed; raped; physically attacked by a stranger; being insulted/pestered: physically attacked due to religion/race/skin colour: burglary; car theft; having items stolen from their car; or having their property vandalised. Respondents were also asked to rate 'How much has your fear of crime affected your quality of life' on a five point Likert scale ranging from 'greatly reduced quality' to 'no effect on quality'.

Frequency and percentage tables were used to explore the extent to which respondents reported a fear of crime as well as the type of crimes they feared. In addition, regression analysis was used to investigate the factors influencing the level of fear individuals experience and the impact of this fear on their quality of life.

Worry About Crime and Its Impact on Quality of Life

The extent to which respondents feared crime and its impact on quality of life was divided into three categories:

- 'Not Worried About Crime' - Respondents who were not worried about becoming a victim of crime (63.5 per cent).
- 'Concerned About Crime' - Respondents who worried about becoming a victim of crime but their fear of crime did not affect their quality of life or only reduced their quality of life a little (21.5 per cent)
- 'Fearful of Crime' - Respondents who worried about becoming a victim of crime and their fear of crime significantly, moderately or greatly reduced their quality of life (15 per cent)

Of those respondents who were worried about crime, they tended to be worried about being burgled, mugged/robbed, having their property vandalised, being physically attacked by a stranger, having their car stolen and/or having items stolen from their car. More females than males were 'very worried' about rape, physical attacks by a stranger, burglary and being mugged/robbed. Older age groups were found to be more

concerned about property crime while younger age groups tended to be more worried about violent crime.

The results of the regression analysis also revealed that there are a number of factors which influenced the level of fear respondents experienced and the impact of this fear on their quality of life. These factors included: gender; age; nationality, socio-economic status; marital status; education level; locality; official burglary crime rate by Garda Division; perceptions of crime in local area; prior experience of victimisation and satisfaction with An Garda Síochána.

Females, individuals aged 65 or above, those believing crime in their local area had increased, individuals with a prior history of victimisation and those who were dissatisfied with An Garda Síochána were more likely to fear crime. In particular, individuals who were widowed, with no formal/primary or lower secondary education, residing in a city other than Dublin, who were unemployed/not working or retired, repeat victims of crime (including both personal and household victimisation), victims of racist attacks and those who believed the level of crime was increasing in their local area were especially at risk of developing a fear of crime which reduced their quality of life. Individuals from an upper middle/middle socio-economic status were less likely to report that their quality of life was affected by their fear of crime. In contrast, individuals whose socio-economic status was unknown, residents of Dublin city and individuals living in an area with a higher official crime rate for burglary (once victimisation and perceptions of local crime were controlled for) were less likely to fear crime.

Perceptions of Crime and the Irish Criminal Justice System

Respondents' perceptions of crime and the Irish Criminal Justice System were also explored to determine whether these perceptions varied depending on whether the respondents were 'not worried about crime', 'concerned about crime' or 'fearful of crime'. The level of fear respondents experienced was found to be related to their perceptions about crime, public safety, the Irish Criminal Justice System and Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes.

Individuals who were ‘concerned about crime’ or ‘fearful of crime’ were more likely to perceive crime in Ireland to be a very serious problem. In addition, these individuals were more likely to worry about friends and family becoming a victim of crime as well as to feel unsafe walking around their neighbourhood alone at night and in their home alone after dark. These individuals were also more likely to state that offenders were treated leniently and less likely to state that offenders were dealt with properly or too harshly by the Criminal Justice System.

Furthermore, individuals who were ‘fearful of crime’ were more likely to agree with the statements that victims of crime ‘get a raw deal from the courts’ and that ‘the better off you are, the better you are treated by the Criminal Justice System’. However, they were less likely to agree with the statement that An Garda Síochána was sensitive to the needs of vulnerable people. A higher proportion of those in the ‘fearful of crime’ group also tended to believe that patrolling, giving advice on crime, safety, security and crime prevention as well as dealing with vandalism and public annoyances should be a ‘very high’ priority for An Garda Síochána. No differences were found between those who feared crime and those who did not in their participation in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes. However, a slightly higher proportion of individuals who were ‘concerned about crime’ and ‘fearful of crime’ stated that these schemes made ‘no difference’ in preventing crime.

While these findings indicate that the level of fear of crime individuals experience and their perceptions of crime, public safety, the Criminal Justice System and Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes are linked, the causal relationship between these perceptions and fear of crime remains unclear. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that, by addressing the underlying realities behind these perceptions, it may be possible to reduce an individual’s fear of crime.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The research findings indicate that, while fear of crime can significantly reduce the quality of life of some individuals, the majority of individuals either do not worry about becoming a victim of crime (63.5 per cent) or their fear of crime has a minimal (if any) effect on their quality of life (21.5 per cent). It seems therefore that, in comparison to a number of international countries surveyed, Irish citizens are less

worried about crime and their quality of life is less affected by fear of crime compared to individuals residing in Northern Ireland, England or Wales.

The research findings also suggest that there are three underlying processes which may influence the level of fear individuals experience and the impact of this fear on their quality of life. These include:

- **Prior history of victimisation:** An individual's prior history of victimisation was found to influence fear of crime, such that individuals who have been victimised are more likely to fear crime and for this fear to reduce their quality of life. In particular, repeat victims of crime (including both personal and household victimisation) are especially at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life due to fear of crime.
- **Personal vulnerability:** Feelings of personal vulnerability also appeared to influence fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. Vulnerable individuals (such as older adults, females, widowed individuals, lower socio-economic status groups and retired individuals) were more likely to fear crime and for this fear to affect their quality of life.
- **Normalisation of crime:** Ironically, individuals living in an area with a higher crime rate for burglary seemed to be less likely to fear crime and to state that this fear reduced their quality of life. This suggests that individuals exposed to a relatively stable amount of crime or a certain type of criminal activity may begin to perceive that crime as a normal occurrence. Consequently, it is possible that living in an area with a high crime rate for burglary may lead to a normalisation of crime so long as the individual has not experienced personal and/or household victimisation or does not believe that the level of criminal activity in their locality has increased.

As the results of this research indicate that fear of crime and its impact on quality of life is not evenly distributed throughout society, the provision of services to deal with fear of crime should be targeted at those most at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life. In particular, the findings indicate that strategies/initiatives should focus on repeat victims of crime, individuals who believe that the level of crime in their local area has increased, victims of racist attacks and females as these

individuals are between three and a half and two and a half times more likely to develop a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life. However, while individuals residing in high crime areas appeared to be less likely to fear crime, it is important that resources are targeted at high crime areas due to the need to reduce victimisation and provide services to those that have been victimised, are vulnerable and/or disadvantaged.

Further, as the fear of crime is a subjective and dynamic phenomenon, successful strategies and/or initiatives for reducing fear of crime and its impact on quality of life will vary from place to place depending on the demographic profile of the community, the amount of crime and victimisation in the community and local perceptions of local crime and policing. As such, while a general framework for tackling fear of crime can be developed from the present research findings, specific proposals to reduce fear of crime will need to be developed in partnership with local communities so as to accurately reflect their specific concerns and experiences.

The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys and crime mapping techniques can be used to identify areas in which individuals express a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life. However, it is recommended that a more detailed method of recording the respondents' locality and ethnicity is included in the Garda Public Attitudes Survey before it is used for this purpose. Once these areas have been identified, a detailed analysis of the demographic profile of the area, common types of crime and local perceptions of crime and policing can be conducted so as to determine the types of services and supports required to reduce fear of crime in that location. It is important to conduct such an analysis as the findings from this research indicate that the types of services and supports required to reduce fear of crime and its impact on quality of life will vary depending on the residents' prior history of victimisation, personal vulnerability and the prevalence of criminal activity in that locality. Hence, the specific strategies and/or initiatives employed to reduce fear of crime, and its impact, in different communities will vary depending on the characteristics of the individuals residing in that community and their concerns and experiences.

Nevertheless, based on the research findings a general framework for reducing fear of crime and its impact on quality of life should include:

- Reducing victimisation
- Improving services for victims of crime
- Providing supports for vulnerable and/or disadvantaged groups
- Addressing local perceptions of crime and policing

The media may also play an important role in influencing the public's perception of crime and policing and, consequently, their fear of crime and quality of life. By being aware that perceptions of crime can increase fear of crime and its effect on quality of life, the media should endeavour to ensure that stories of crime accurately reflect the nature and extent of their true occurrence. In this way, responsible journalism can inform and encourage individuals to engage in crime prevention measures without unnecessarily inflating fear of crime and affecting quality of life.

In conclusion, this research revealed that, as in other countries, some segments of the Irish population are more at risk of experiencing a fear of crime and reduced quality of life than others. Accordingly, by identifying those most at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life, strategies and/or initiatives can be targeted at these individuals so as to lessen the impact of fear of crime on quality of life.

Acknowledgements	ii
Executive Summary.....	iii
List of Tables.....	xiv
List of Figures	xv
Introduction	1
National Crime Council Brief	2
Fear of Crime Research Brief	2
Research Process.....	3
Structure of the Report.....	3
Chapter One: Fear of Crime	5
Defining ‘Fear of Crime’	6
Fear of Crime and its Origins.....	7
Measuring Fear of Crime	10
Factors Influencing Fear of Crime	11
Gender.....	12
Age.....	12
Ethnicity and Victimization	13
Other Demographic Factors	14
Fear of Crime and its Consequences.....	14
Summary	17
Chapter Two: Fear of Crime in Ireland	18
Setting the Scene.....	19
Crime and the Irish Media	21
Examining Fear of Crime in Ireland	23
Risk of Victimization and Fear of Crime	26
The Present Study	29
Summary	29
Chapter Three: Methodology	31
Garda Public Attitudes Surveys	32
Inclusion of Additional Fear of Crime Questions.....	33
2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey Sample.....	33
Measurement of Fear of Crime	36
Data Analysis	37
Possible Limitations.....	37

Chapter Four: Worry About Crime and Impact on Quality of Life	39
Prevalence of Worry About Crime	40
Impact of Fear of Crime on Quality of Life.....	44
Factors Influencing Fear of Crime and a Reduction in Quality of Life.....	46
Socio-Demographic Characteristics.....	49
Crime in Local Area.....	51
Experience of Victimisation	52
Satisfaction with An Garda Síochána	53
Summary	54
 Chapter Five: Perceptions of Crime and the Criminal Justice System.....	 56
Beliefs About Crime and Public Safety	57
Perceptions of the Irish Criminal Justice System	61
Policing Priorities.....	63
Views Of Drug-Related Crime	64
Perceptions of Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes.....	66
Summary	68
 Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion	 70
Key Research Findings on Fear of Crime.....	71
Fear of Crime Levels	72
Factors Associated with Fear of Crime and Quality of Life in Ireland	73
Personal Vulnerability	73
Prior Experience of Victimisation	78
Normalisation of Crime	79
Reducing Fear of Crime and its Impact on Quality of Life	81
Tackling Fear of Crime.....	81
Next Steps	86
 References.....	 88
 Appendices	 97
<i>Appendix A - Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 Sampling Methodology</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Appendix B - Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007.....</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Appendix C - Fear of Crime Regression Results</i>	<i>118</i>

List of Tables

Table 1: Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 Sample Demographics34
Table 2: Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 Sample Demographics (Continued)....35
Table 3: International Comparison of Percentage of Respondents ‘Very’/‘Fairly’
Worried About Crime42

List of Figures

Figure 1: Percentage Worried About Crime 2002-2007	25
Figure 2: Percentage of Respondents Worried About Crime	40
Figure 3: Percentage Worried About Crime by Crime Type.....	41
Figure 4: Percentage ‘Very’ Worried by Gender and Crime Type.....	43
Figure 5: Percentage ‘Very’ Worried by Age Group and Crime Type.....	43
Figure 6: Percentage of Females ‘Very’ Worried by Age Group and Crime Type.....	44
Figure 7: Percentage of Males ‘Very’ Worried by Age Group and Crime Type	44
Figure 8: Percentage of Respondents by Level of Fear of Crime.....	45
Figure 9: Percentage ‘Very’ Worried by Crime Type and Level of Fear of Crime.....	46
Figure 10: Change in Probability of Being ‘Concerned About Crime’ or ‘Fearful of Crime’	48
Figure 11: Percentage Perceiving Crime to be a Serious Problem in Ireland by level of Fear of Crime.....	58
Figure 12: Percentage Who Feel Safe Alone in Neighbourhood After Dark by level of Fear of Crime.....	58
Figure 13: Percentage Feeling More or Less Safe Out Walking in their Area Now Compared to 12 Months Ago.....	59
Figure 14: Percentage Feeling More or Less Safe Out Walking in their Area Now Compared to 6 Years Ago.....	59
Figure 15: Percentage Who Feel Safe at Home Alone at Night by level of Fear of Crime.....	60
Figure 16: Percentage Worried About Family/Friends Becoming a Victim of Crime by level of Fear of Crime	61
Figure 17: Percentage Believing that the Criminal Justice System Deals Appropriately with Offenders by level of Fear of Crime	62
Figure 18: Percentage Perceiving Victims to ‘Get a Raw Deal From the Courts’	62
Figure 19: Percentage Perceiving that ‘the Better Off You Are, the Better You Are Treated by the Criminal Justice System’	63
Figure 20: Policing Priorities Rated ‘Very High’ by level of Fear of Crime	63
Figure 21: Percentage Perceiving An Garda Síochána to be ‘Sensitive to the Needs of Vulnerable People’	64
Figure 22: Percentage Believing that Penalties for ‘Hard’ and ‘Soft’ Drug Possession Should be the Same.	65
Figure 23: Percentage Endorsing the Use of Punishment and/or Rehabilitation for Drug Abuse	65
Figure 24: Percentage Endorsing the Use of Punishment and/or Rehabilitation for Juvenile Crime	66
Figure 25: Percentage Participating in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes by level of Fear of Crime.....	66
Figure 26: Percentage Perceiving Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes to be Successful by level of Fear of Crime.....	67

Introduction

National Crime Council Brief

The National Crime Council was established in July, 1999 as a non-statutory body in order to facilitate broadly based, informed discussion on crime issues and to aid policy formulation. It ceased operations on 14 October 2008 as a result of a Government decision to rationalise State Agencies in the context of Budget 2009. In establishing the Council in 1999, the then Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform listed the priority areas on which it should focus as crime prevention and raising the awareness of crime. The key roles of the Council were to:

- focus on crime prevention, with particular emphasis on the underlying causes of crime and the development of partnerships and practical approaches which will be effective at community level;
- focus on raising public knowledge and awareness of crime;
- examine the ‘fear of crime’;
- undertake in-house research; and
- identify research priorities which could be commissioned by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.

The research on Fear of Crime was the main focus of the Council’s work in the year leading up to its closure.

Fear of Crime Research Brief

Fear of crime is a complex subject both in terms of defining what constitutes ‘fear of crime’ and how it should be measured. It includes many issues such as: fear of physical violence; fear of loss or damage to property; fear of invasion of one’s home; fear accentuated by anti-social behaviour; differences in the level of fear reported by different demographic groups in the population; consideration of the role of the media and the relationship between fear of crime and victimisation.

The purpose of this research is to identify the factors associated with fear of crime in Ireland and the extent to which fear of crime can affect quality of life. More specifically, the Council aims to:

- examine the extent to which individuals report a fear of crime in Ireland;
- ascertain the factors which influence stated levels of fear;
- assess the reported impact of fear of crime on quality of life;

- identify the factors influencing the extent to which fear of crime affects quality of life; and
- advance recommendations for the development of strategies and/or initiatives aimed at reducing fear of crime and its consequences.

Research Process

An analysis of the data collected for the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys was conducted to examine the extent and nature of fear of crime in Ireland. This analysis consisted of two phases. The first phase involved an analysis of the raw data collected for the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys to determine whether the inclusion of additional questions on fear of crime would be beneficial. The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys are conducted annually and cover up to 10,000 respondents (400 in each of 25 Garda Divisions). At the request of the National Crime Council, a number of additional questions were added to the Garda Public Attitudes Survey in 2006. These questions related to fear of rape, physical attack by a stranger, being mugged or robbed, burglary of the home and the possible effect of fear of crime on quality of life.

In the second phase of the study, the data collected for the Garda Public Attitudes Survey in 2007 was examined to determine what factors influence reported fear of crime and the possible impact of this fear on quality of life. The raw data collected for the Garda Public Attitudes Survey in 2007 was analysed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). SPSS is a statistical software package which is used to compute statistics as well as to identify trends, relationships and differences in quantitative data. Using SPSS, a number of statistical analyses were conducted to identify the factors associated with fear of crime, its impact on quality of life and the variables influencing the effect of fear of crime on quality of life.

Structure of the Report

The report is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One examines the concept of fear of crime and addresses issues such as what constitutes fear of crime; how it tends to be measured; factors thought to influence the extent to which people fear crime; and the possible consequences arising from fear of crime. Chapter Two examines fear of crime in Ireland. In this Chapter, issues such as the public perception of crime as a social problem, the relationship between fear of crime and victimisation levels and the

measurement of fear of crime in Ireland are explored. Chapter Three explains the research methodology and describes the sample characteristics and statistical techniques employed. The research findings are presented in Chapters Four and Five. In Chapter Four, the extent of fear of crime in Ireland is investigated as well as the impact of fear of crime on quality of life and the factors influencing the level of fear individuals experience. In Chapter Five, the extent to which fear of crime and its impact on quality of life is related to wider perceptions of crime, the Irish Criminal Justice System and involvement in Neighbourhood Watch/Community Alert Schemes is examined. Lastly, the main research findings are drawn together in Chapter Six and recommendations regarding the development of strategies and/or initiatives aimed at reducing excessive or disproportionate fear of crime, and its impact, are suggested.

Chapter One

Fear of Crime

Although individuals have been concerned about crime for centuries, ‘fear of crime’ is a relatively recent concept (see Emsley, 1987; Lee, 2007). The expression ‘fear of crime’ first began to appear in American newspapers during the 1930’s and was used to explain the public’s reaction to criminal behaviour. However, the term ‘fear of crime’ was not used in Europe until the early 1960’s. It was during this time that the development of victim surveys and improvements in information gathering technologies made data collection more manageable and the measurement of fear of crime² possible (see Lee, 2007). Yet, despite numerous studies examining the fear of crime, there remains a lack of clarity regarding what constitutes fear of crime and how it should be measured (Ferraro, 1995; Lee, 2007). In this chapter, the notion of ‘fear of crime’ is explored before moving on to discuss the challenges involved in its measurement. The factors associated with fear of crime are also examined as well as the possible impact of fear of crime on quality of life. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the concept of fear of crime and provide an overview of how it may affect quality of life.

Defining ‘Fear of Crime’

Fear of crime is difficult to define as it can refer to a range of thoughts, emotions and beliefs regarding an individual’s vulnerability, that of their loved ones and the wider community (Ferraro, 1995). For example, fear of crime is usually taken to mean an individual’s fear of becoming a victim of crime (Gabriel and Greve, 2003; John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999; Maxfield, 1984). However, it can also refer to an individual’s concern about general crime levels, their beliefs regarding their risk of victimisation, and that of their loved ones, as well as an apprehension about the possible consequences of victimisation (Box, Hale and Andrews, 1988; Carrach and Mukherjee, 1999; Skogan, 1987; Warr, 1984). This diversity has resulted in fear of crime being defined as “an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime” (Ferraro: 1995: 4). Consequently, fear of crime is a subjective phenomenon incorporating not only an individual’s emotional

² It is important to note that any measurement of fear of crime depends on an individual accurately remembering and reporting his or her fears. As such, these measurements tend to assess an individual’s reported fear of crime and may not take account of unconscious feelings of fear or fear which the individual does not wish to acknowledge. For this reason, the use of the term ‘fear of crime’ in this report refers to an individual’s acknowledged and reported fear of crime.

concerns about crime, and the possible consequences of criminal activity, but also their perceptions of risk and the role of the environment in eliciting fear.

Fear of Crime and its Origins

There are many factors which are believed to contribute to a fear of crime (see Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996; Lee, 2007). These include personal attributes, prior experience of victimisation, characteristics of the environment and wider social influences such as the media.

In particular, the subjective nature of fear of crime suggests that personal characteristics may play a role in influencing the extent to which individuals fear crime. For instance, an individual's knowledge and beliefs regarding the prevalence of crime may influence the level of fear they report (Ferraro, 1995; Warr and Stafford, 1983). Perceptions of crime as a frequent occurrence may result in fear as individuals believe they are 'at risk' of being victimised. In contrast, those who perceive crime to be an infrequent phenomenon may be less likely to experience fear as they do not consider themselves to be 'at risk'. Judgements regarding their attractiveness as a potential target and their ability to deal with the threats, assaults or the consequences associated with criminal activity may also influence fear of crime (Ferraro, 1995; van der Wurff, van Staalduinen and Stringer, 1989). For instance, an individual's belief that he/she is an attractive target for criminal activity may lead to feelings of fear as he/she believes there is a higher probability that he/she will be victimised. Similarly, doubt about one's ability to deal with the consequences of criminal activity can increase feelings of fear as the potential impact of criminal behaviour may become more serious. In this way, variations in an individual's thoughts, emotions and beliefs (both about their own capacities and vulnerability and their views about crime) may explain differences in their reported fear of crime.

An individual's prior experience of victimisation may also result in feelings of fear. Individuals with a past experience of victimisation may be more likely to fear being a victim of crime than those who have not been victimised (Box et al. 1988; Skogan, 1987). However, the relationship between fear of crime and victimisation is not straightforward (see Agnew, 1985). Instead, fear of crime is thought to depend on an individual's beliefs regarding their probability of being a victim of crime and the

potential seriousness of victimisation. Research by Winkel (1998) suggests that victimisation can increase an individual's belief that they are at risk of being victimised but it may also reduce the perceived seriousness of victimisation. In this way, previous experience of victimisation can increase perceptions of risk while also decreasing the perceived negative impact of crime. Accordingly, an individual's knowledge about crime, past experiences of being victimised and perceived vulnerabilities may influence the extent to which they report fearing crime.

In addition, characteristics of the environment can play a role in eliciting fear. For instance, fear of crime may be more prevalent in an environment which has gained a reputation for being crime prone (Ferraro, 1995). Skogan (1986; 1990) suggests that a location's reputation for crime proneness depends on the amount of criminal activity in that area and on the 'signs of crime'. Signs of crime are features of the physical environment which prompt individuals to believe their risk of victimisation is heightened (Skogan, 1990; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Broken windows, graffiti, burned-out houses and/or cars, homelessness, beggars and 'rowdy' young people can act as signs of crime (Ferraro, 1995; Wilson, 1968; Wilson and Kelling, 1985). These signs of crime are believed to indirectly influence an individual's fear of crime by heightening their perceived risk of being victimised (LaGrange, Ferraro and Supancic, 1992). A community in which instability is common, due to the transient nature of its residents, is also thought to influence fear of crime as residents are unfamiliar with their neighbours and community cohesion is low (Ferraro, 1995; Skogan, 1986). The presence of unknown others, combined with area disinvestment, demolition and deindustrialisation, is thought to increase feelings of fear by contributing to a perception of community decline and/or destabilisation (Skogan, 1986). Consequently, an environment in which criminal activity is frequent, community cohesiveness is low and signs of crime are common can increase fear as individuals feel unsafe and judge their risk of victimisation to be increased.

Further, wider social processes can shape an individual's perceptions regarding crime, vulnerability and the potential impact of criminal behaviour. For instance, many researchers have been interested in the possible effect of the media on fear of crime (Heath and Petraitis, 1987; Liska and Baccaglini, 1990; O'Connell, 1999, 2002; Williams and Dickinson, 1993). While the relationship between the media and fear of

crime remains unclear, the tendency of the media to over-represent serious violent and/or sexual crimes in its reporting has led some researchers to suggest that the media's portrayal of crime has biased the public's view of the prevalence and frequency of criminal activities (O'Connell, 2002; Williams and Dickinson, 1993). However, others have argued that individuals interpret the media in accordance with their own interpretations and perceptions in such a way as to detect sensationalism or bias and/or selectively reinforce their own views regarding crime (Ditton, Chadee, Farrall, Gilchrist and Bannister 2004; Sacco, 1995; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Yet, others have suggested that the media may indirectly influence fear of crime by shaping wider ideological views about crime and its solution rather than narrow attitudinal concerns about personal safety (see Sacco, 1995). Sacco (1995) states that, by restricting the terms of discussion regarding crime, the media give the impression that there is a consensus on how to deal with crime, narrowing the search for alternative ways of conceptualising crime and its solution. It seems, therefore, that while the degree of influence of the media on fear of crime remains unclear, the growth in media technologies has led to a greater awareness of crime and the consequences of criminal activity amongst the general population.

While the growth of the media and information gathering technologies has contributed to a greater awareness of crime, researchers have also argued that it has led to a greater consciousness of 'risk' among the public (Beck, 1992; Furedi, 2002; Lyng, 2005). It is suggested that this public awareness of being 'at risk' has contributed to a culture of fear which encourages feelings of uncertainty and anxiety (see Furedi, 2002). As a result, fear of crime appears to be located within, and linked to wider fears about employment, the family, security, health, finances, the state of the government, etc. (Ewald, 2000; Taylor, 1996; Tulloch and Lupton, 2003; Walklate and Mythen, 2008). Indeed, as many of the crimes which people express fear about involve an identifiable victim and offender, these concerns may seem more manageable than fears about health, employment, decline of community values, etc. Consequently, Hollway and Jefferson (1997) suggest that some individuals may project their fears about wider, more difficult to control issues onto crime as crime appears actionable and potentially controllable. In this way, individuals may displace feelings of anxiety about wider, more uncontrollable issues onto crime and take action and/or demand action to reduce their probability of being victimised. This implies that

some individuals may experience a fear of crime which appears to be disproportionate to their environment and/or risk of victimisation. Hence, this focus on 'risk' may lead some individuals to report a fear of crime which stems from wider anxieties and/or feelings of vulnerability rather than their probability of being victimised or their prior experience of victimisation.

Thus, fear of crime is a subjective phenomenon which is thought to arise from a concern about crime, the consequences of victimisation, the probability of being victimised, feelings of vulnerability and wider social and situational influences. In this way, fear of crime is a dynamic process as the extent to which an individual may fear crime can change depending on their thoughts, emotions and beliefs as well as their wider social circumstances and physical location.

Measuring Fear of Crime

The extent to which people report a fear of crime is usually measured through survey research. Examples include the International Crime and Victimisation Survey, the British Crime Survey, the Northern Ireland Crime Survey, the Irish Garda Public Attitudes Survey and the European Social Survey. In these surveys, questions such as 'How safe do you feel walking around your neighbourhood after dark?' are frequently used to assess fear of crime.

Recent research, however, suggests that the survey methodology used to measure fear of crime may distort and, perhaps, overestimate the level of fear expressed by the general population (see Farrall and Gadd, 2003). In particular, some researchers have questioned the ability of questions such as 'How safe do you/would you feel in your neighbourhood after dark?' to reliably measure fear of crime (Fattah, 1993; Farrall, Bannister, Ditton and Gilchrist, 1997; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987). These questions have been criticised for their failure to distinguish between fear of crime, risk of victimisation and general fears and/or anxieties which may not be related to fear of crime. For example, questions such as 'How safe do you/would you feel in your neighbourhood after dark?' can lead older people to report feeling 'unsafe' while out at night due to concerns about their ability to obtain help should they fall rather than a fear of crime per se. As such, these questions may be measuring respondent's feelings of risk which does not necessarily equate to feelings of fear or a fear of crime (Ferraro

and LaGrange, 1987). Indeed, some researchers have stated that the wording of these questions can exaggerate fear of crime as it evokes an atmosphere of foreboding which can lead respondents to presume that they should be afraid (Farrall and Gadd, 2003). In this way, the ambiguity of the questions used to measure fear of crime may inflate reported levels of fear by measuring generalised feelings of anxiety and worry rather than distinct feelings about particular crimes (see Farrall et al. 1997).

These questions have also been criticised for failing to take account of the situations in which fear of crime occurs, its frequency and its intensity (see Farrall and Gadd, 2004). They do not explore when, where and with whom fear of crime occurs nor do they explore how often respondents report experiencing fear (see Bannister, 1993; Farrall and Gadd, 2003). The use of closed questions to capture how people feel about crime has also led some researchers to question the ability of these surveys to capture the wide array of personal experiences and feelings relating to crime (Farrall et al. 1997; Fattah, 1993). Other researchers have also expressed concerns about the ability of respondents to accurately recall and report their fear of crime (Block and Block, 1984; Fattah, 1993; Hale, 1996; Zauberman, 1985). In particular, the possibility that male respondents may downplay their fears about crime in order to adhere to social pressures to appear strong and confident has been highlighted (see Sutton and Farrall, 2005). As a result, some researchers suggest that fear of crime is partially dependent on how it is measured and acknowledged and, as such, is not a true reflection of the prevalence of fear of crime (see Farrall et al. 1997; Farrall and Gadd, 2003).

Despite these criticisms, fear of crime surveys remain an important source of information as they allow for the identification of trends in reported levels of fear of crime and facilitate international comparisons. Consequently, when repeated, fear of crime surveys allow trends over time and increases and decreases in reported fear of crime in different locations to be identified.

Factors Influencing Fear of Crime

Numerous studies investigating fear of crime indicate that particular groups of the population tend to report a greater fear of crime than others (Box et al. 1988; Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996). Most notably, women and the elderly tend to report more fear than men or younger age groups (French and Campbell, 2002; Hale, 1996; Mirrlees-Black

and Allen, 1998). In addition, ethnicity, past experiences of crime and geographical location have also been linked to fear of crime (Box, et al. 1988; John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999; Salisbury and Upson, 2004; Skogan, 1987). It is, therefore, important to understand how some groups come to experience a greater fear of crime than others.

Gender

Studies indicate that women tend to express a greater fear of crime than males despite statistics suggesting that men are more likely to be victims of all types of crime except sexual offences and/or domestic abuse (Ferraro and LaGrange, 1992; Hale, 1996; Liska, Sanchirico and Reed, 1988; Warr, 1984). Explanations for this include females' concerns about being sexually assaulted and/or abused by significant others as well as feelings of vulnerability (Ferraro, 1996; Killias, 1990; Stanko, 1990; Warr, 1985). In particular, females' concerns about being sexually assaulted and/or abused are believed to heighten their fears of other types of crimes by decreasing feelings of safety (Ferraro, 1996; Stanko, 1990). Indeed, when the fear of sexual assault was taken into consideration, the gender difference observed between men and women on their fear of personal crime was either eliminated or reversed (see Ferraro, 1996). Perceptions regarding their perceived risk of crime (including sexual offences and/or abuse), the seriousness of the consequences and their ability to deal with these consequences can also lead females to feel vulnerable to crime and, for this reason, to report a higher fear of crime than men (see Campbell, 2005; Killias, 1990; Stanko, 1997). However, it is important to note that recent research suggests that men may under-report their fear of crime due to a reluctance to appear 'unmanly' by acknowledging feelings of fear and/or vulnerability (see Goodey, 1997; Sutton and Farrall, 2005). Consequently, the higher prevalence of sexual assault and domestic abuse experienced by women, combined with feelings of vulnerability and an under-reporting of fear by men, may explain some of the gender differences observed in fear of crime research.

Age

Older adults have also been found to report a higher fear of crime than younger age groups despite a lower risk of victimisation (Box et al. 1988; Clemente and Kleiman, 1976; Hale, 1996). This has become known as the fear/risk paradox as most crime

statistics indicate that younger individuals, particularly male teenagers and young adults, are most at risk of being a victim of crime (Cook and Cook, 1976; Ferraro, 1995; Lindquist and Duke, 1982). Indeed, this has led some researchers to question the ‘rationality’ of this fear, implying that the fear of crime is more of a ‘problem’ for older adults than crime itself (Clemente and Kleiman, 1976, 1977; Jaycox, 1978; Lindquist and Duke, 1982). Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, recent studies suggest that the manner in which fear of crime is measured has resulted in an inflation of measured fear levels amongst the elderly (see Chadee and Ditton, 2003; Ferraro, 1995; LaGrange and Ferraro, 1987; Moore and Shepherd, 2007). For instance, questions such as ‘How safe do you feel walking around your neighbourhood after dark?’ are believed to prompt fearful responses by implying that respondents should be afraid. In addition, these questions do not refer solely to crime but can be related to respondents’ general fears about the dark and their feelings of vulnerability such as their health and/or coping abilities (see Ferraro, 1995; Moore and Shepherd, 2007; Ross, 1993;). When respondents are asked about specific types of crime, older people do not appear to be more fearful of crime than younger age groups (Ferraro, 1995; Moore and Shepherd, 2007; Tulloch, 2000). Instead, there appears to be an inverted u-shaped relationship between fear of crime and age, with fear of personal harm (e.g. violence) peaking in the early to mid 20’s and fears of personal loss (e.g. burglary/robbery) peaking in the mid 40’s (Moore and Shepherd, 2007). Accordingly, how fear of crime is measured and general anxieties about health etc. may explain the apparent higher prevalence of fear of crime amongst older individuals.

Ethnicity and Victimization

Different ethnic groups have also been found to report differences in the extent to which they fear crime (Hough, 1995; John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999; Salisbury and Upson, 2004). Studies indicate that black and Asian ethnic groups tend to report more fear of crime than white ethnic groups (see Hough, 1995; Walker, 1994). Similarly, Salisbury and Upson (2004) report higher levels of fear of crime amongst black and minority ethnic groups despite controlling for the type of area in which they live and prior experiences of victimisation. As previously stated, the relationship between an individual’s prior experience of victimisation and their fear of crime is not straightforward. Previous experience of being a victim of crime can amplify fear of crime by increasing an individual’s perceived risk of victimisation.

Alternatively, fear of crime may decrease or remain the same as the perceived seriousness of the consequences arising from victimisation is reduced (see Winkel, 1998). Accordingly, black and minority ethnic groups tend to report a higher fear of crime than white ethnic groups while the impact of prior victimisation on fear of crime depends on the perceived risk and the potential seriousness of the consequences associated with crime.

Other Demographic Factors

Other factors which have been found to be linked to fear of crime include geographical location and socio-economic status. Research suggests that individuals living in urban settings tend to fear crime more so than individuals living in rural locations (Clemente and Kleiman, 1976; Kennedy and Browne, 2007; Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998). Similarly, individuals living in areas in which social cohesion is low, instability is common and graffiti, broken windows, burned-out houses and/or cars, etc. are visible can also lead to a higher reported fear of crime (see Ferraro, 1995; Skogan, 1986). Further, socio-economic status, income and education may also have a small effect on fear of crime with individuals with a lower socio-economic status, income and education level reporting a greater fear of crime (Clemente and Kleiman, 1977; John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999; Pantazis, 2000).

It seems, therefore, that females, older adults, ethnic minority groups and individuals from urban locations tend to report a greater fear of crime than others. However, the manner in which fear of crime is measured, as well as more general feelings of physical, emotional, economic and/or social vulnerability may explain some of the differences observed in the level of fear reported by these different groups (see Ferraro, 1995; Pantazis, 2000; Sutton and Farrall, 2005).

Fear of Crime and its Consequences

Fear of crime is reported as having a substantial (usually negative) effect on quality of life for women, older adults, individuals with a disability and those exposed to a higher risk of victimisation (see Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998; Stafford, Chandola and Marmot, 2007; Stiles, Halim and Kaplan, 2003). However, not all individuals state that fear of crime affects their quality of life (see Mirrless-Black and Allen, 1998). According to the British Crime Survey, fear of crime moderately or

substantially affected the quality of life of approximately 50 per cent of respondents while either no effect or a minimum effect was reported in the remaining cases (see Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998). This implies that, although fear of crime may affect the quality of life of a number of individuals, it does not affect the quality of life of all individuals equally.

The possible consequences arising from fear of crime are many and varied, including both positive and negative effects (see DuBow, McCabe and Kaplan, 1979; Garofalo, 1981; Miethe, 1995). These can include behaviours such as engaging in a range of protective strategies, insurance, communication, participation, information seeking and avoidance behaviours which can impact both positively and negatively on quality of life (see Dubow et al. 1979; Garofalo, 1981). Protective behaviours refer to actions which attempt to increase an individual's resistance to victimisation by protecting the individual and/or their home from crime. Examples include learning self-defence, carrying mace, having a watchdog, adding locks, improving outside lighting and having an alarm (see Ferraro, 1995). Similarly, insurance strategies involve actions which seek to minimise the cost of victimisation or in some way alter the consequences of victimisation. For example, having home insurance and/or personal insurance may lessen the economic cost of being a victim of crime. Other consequences arising from a fear of crime include engaging in communicative, participation and information seeking behaviours (see DuBow et al. 1979; Garofalo, 1981). These activities focus on sharing information and emotions related to crime, scanning the environment for information related to a threat of danger and engaging in activities with others to reduce the risk of being victimised. In this way, fear of crime can potentially have a positive effect on quality of life as it may encourage individuals to engage in behaviours which attempt to increase their resistance to victimisation and/or minimise the potential consequences arising from victimisation.

Nevertheless, fear of crime may also negatively affect an individual's quality of life when they experience an excessive or disproportionate fear of crime (see Holloway and Jefferson, 1997; Patsios, 1999; Seefeldt, Malina and Clark, 2002). In particular, avoidance behaviours have been associated with a reduction in quality of life as individuals restrict their movements and/or withdraw from social life out of a fear of being victimised (Miethe, 1995; Patsios, 1999; Razencroft, Uzzell and Leach, 2002;

Seefeldt et al. 2002). Avoidance behaviours involve actions which are designed to decrease an individual's exposure to crime and/or risk of crime by removing or distancing themselves from 'risky' situations. As a result, avoidance behaviours can be positive as they may reduce an individual's exposure to the threat of victimisation. However, these behaviours may also negatively affect quality of life if they result in severe restrictions on an individual's movements and/or activities. More specifically, fear of crime is believed to indirectly affect quality of life by decreasing an individual's sense of control over their life (see Adams and Serpe, 2000). Hence, fear of crime can result in poorer mental health, reduced physical functioning and lower quality of life as it can hinder the ability of some individuals to participate in health promoting physical and social activities (see Stafford et al. 2007).

The potential impact of fear of crime on quality of life can also vary depending on an individual's age, gender and social circumstances (see Garofalo, 1981; Ferraro, 1995). Research suggests that women and older adults tend to engage in more precautionary measures, such as avoiding potentially dangerous areas, than men or younger age groups (see Ferraro, 1995; Kleinman and David, 1973; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). According to Hindelang and colleagues, these precautionary measures usually take the form of subtle modifications rather than drastic changes to their daily routine: "rather than making substantial changes in what they do, people tend to change the ways in which they do things" (1978: 224).

In addition, fear of crime can have consequences beyond the individual experiencing it. A growing awareness of fear of crime as a social issue has led to the establishment of various initiatives, crime prevention programmes and 'tough on crime' legislation in an attempt to reduce these fears (see Lee, 2007; Walklate and Mythen, 2008). Examples of these initiatives include Neighbourhood Watch schemes, Community Alert programmes and joint policing initiatives. Consequently, while fear of crime may not be an important issue for all individuals, it can have a substantial effect on the quality of life of some segments of the population and can lead to the introduction of criminal justice programmes and legislation.

Summary

Fear of crime is a subjective phenomenon which has been defined as “an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime” (Ferraro: 1995: 4). It incorporates not only an individual’s emotional concerns about crime, and the consequences of criminal activity, but also their perceptions of risk and the role of the environment in eliciting fear. Fear of crime is usually measured through survey research as it allows trends over time and across different locations and characteristics of individuals to be identified. However, caution is required when interpreting the results of these surveys as they may be open to bias and distortion due to the assumption that respondents accurately report and acknowledge their fear of crime. Based on these survey results, it seems that some members of the population tend to report a higher fear of crime than others. In particular, females, older adults, ethnic minority groups and individuals from urban locations tend to report more fear of crime than others. The extent to which individuals report a fear of crime can also affect their quality of life. Fear of crime can potentially result in a number of consequences which can both positively and negatively affect quality of life. Positive consequences include encouraging individuals to engage in behaviours which attempt to reduce their risk of victimisation, increase their resistance to being victimised and minimise the potential costs of victimisation. In contrast, an excessive or disproportionate fear of crime may negatively affect quality of life by prompting individuals to severely restrict their movements and/or activities, potentially reducing their physical, social and emotional well-being.

In the following chapters, the context within which fear of crime became an area of concern in Ireland is reviewed, before moving on to describe the methods used in this research and the research findings. Concern about crime, crime control and the impact of crime in Ireland is explored in Chapter Two while Chapter Three describes the research methodology. The research findings are presented in Chapters Four and Five. In Chapter Four, the level of fear of crime in Ireland, its impact on quality of life and the factors influencing the effect of fear of crime on quality of life are examined. Next, the relationship between fear of crime and perceptions of crime and the Criminal Justice System is explored in Chapter Five. The main research findings are then drawn together in Chapter Six and recommendations for reducing excessive or disproportionate fear of crime are suggested.

Chapter Two

Fear of Crime in Ireland

In recent decades, increasing attention has been paid to crime and the impact of crime on Irish citizens. This in turn has prompted a greater awareness of crime and its effect amongst the general population (see Kilcommins, O'Donnell, O'Sullivan and Vaughan, 2004). In particular, a combination of factors in the mid 1990's provided the catalyst for widespread public anxiety about crime and crime control matters, which resulted in a greater attentiveness to issues such as fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. In this chapter, some of the factors behind this growth in public anxiety about crime are explored before moving on to examine the portrayal of crime in the Irish media. How fear of crime is measured in Ireland is described as well as the potential relationship between risk of victimisation and fear of crime. Following on from this, an outline of the aims and objectives of the present study are provided. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the context within which fear of crime became an area of concern in Ireland and to outline the aims of the current research.

Setting the Scene

Ireland is a small country with a population of approximately 4.2 million people, with roughly 11 per cent aged 65 years or above and 22 per cent aged between 45 and 64 years (Central Statistics Office, 2007). Based on the Central Statistics Office's (CSO) 2006 Census, the population consists of a roughly even mixture of males and females and has grown by over one million people since 1971 (CSO, 2007a). In comparison to previous decades, the 2006 population experienced lower levels of unemployment, a greater level of educational attainment and a growth in the number of foreign nationals living and working in Ireland (see CSO, 2007a). This changing demographic profile reflected wider changes in Ireland's social and economic development which, in combination with other factors, influenced the priority placed on crime and crime control issues (see O'Donnell, 2007)

In the early 1980's, Ireland experienced an economic recession which contributed to high levels of unemployment, emigration and poverty (see Laver, Mair and Sinnott, 1987). During this time, the economic recession, combined with the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland, prompted individuals to be more concerned with unemployment, inflation and Northern Ireland than domestic crime and crime control, despite rising crime figures (see Kilcommins et al. 2004). This led some commentators to state that

Ireland remained a nation “curiously unconcerned” by crime in spite of an unprecedented rise in official recorded crime statistics (O’Donnell and O’Sullivan, 2003). A survey conducted for the Sunday Post in 1994 revealed that only 3 per cent of individuals believed crime was the most important issue facing the country while employment, inflation, emigration and the Troubles in Northern Ireland were most frequently mentioned by those polled (see O’Donnell, 2007). Accordingly, the perception of crime as a social problem appeared to be particularly influenced by the Irish economy, as well as Northern Ireland, as individuals were more concerned with making a living and providing for their families than they were about crime.

Indeed, the Irish public seemed to remain unconcerned about crime until a series of events in the mid 1990’s. While only 3 per cent of those polled stated that crime was the most important issue facing the country in 1994, this had changed to 41 per cent in 1997 despite falling crime rates (see Kilcommins et al. 2004). This anxiety appeared to arise due to a lifting of the economic recession during the 1990’s and feelings of disquiet and unease about an increase in drug use and the criminal activities associated with the supply and demand of drugs.

During the late 1970’s and 1980’s, Ireland experienced a rise in the number of people using drugs, especially heroin, to such an extent that Dublin was believed to be experiencing an ‘opiate epidemic’ (see Dean, O’Hare, O’Connor, Kelly and Kelly, 1985; O’Mahony, 1993). Official crime statistics indicate that the number of burglaries, robberies and thefts increased significantly during this period and commentators suggested that these increases were associated with the growing number of drug addicts in Ireland and their need to fund their habit (see Charleton, 1995; O’Mahony and Guilmore, 1983). Feelings of disquiet in disadvantaged urban locations were also being expressed about the harm caused by drug use as well as the lavish lifestyles of criminals involved in supplying drugs (Kilcommins et al. 2004; Lyder, 2005; O’Connell, 2007). This led to a number of protest marches in which individuals demanded that drug dealers leave their local communities (see Charleton, 1995; Lyder, 2005). It was this anxiety about drugs, combined with the easing of the economic recession, which provided the background against which events in 1996 led to a greater priority being placed on crime control and the public’s perception of crime.

In 1996, there were a number of high profile killings which served as a catalyst for widespread concern about lawlessness (Kilcommins et al. 2004; O'Donnell, 2007). This happened in the context of a relatively small number of murders in the Republic of Ireland, with annual figures ranging from 14 in 1986 to 38 in 1999. In January 1996, three rural killings occurred which demonstrated that crime was not only a problem for deprived urban areas but also for rural locations (see Kilcommins et al. 2004; McCullagh, 1999). An elderly farmer from Killarney, County Kerry was found dead at the bottom of a disused well in or about 18 January 1996. A pensioner from Oranmore, County Galway was killed by intruders in his home sometime between 15 January and 23 January 1996 and a shopkeeper was reported missing on 23 January only to be found dead two days later. In addition, on 7 June 1996, Detective Garda Jerry McCabe was shot dead during an attempted robbery in Adare, County Limerick while two weeks later Veronica Guerin, an investigative journalist with the Sunday Independent, was murdered on the Naas Road in County Dublin. These killings prompted a public outcry and served to trigger widespread media coverage about crime and the effects of crime (see Coulter, 7 July 2008; Kilcommins et al. 2004; O'Donnell, 2007).

It was in this context that issues of crime and the public's fear of crime began to receive special attention (see Coulter, 7 July 2008; Kilcommins et al. 2004; O'Donnell, 2007).

Crime and the Irish Media

Following these killings, the media coverage of crime and the impact of crime became more widespread and intense which served to reflect and reinforce the public's concern about criminal activities (Coulter, 2008; Kilcommins et al. 2004). In particular, the murder of Veronica Guerin led to the writing of numerous books, newspapers articles and a movie detailing the events leading up to and surrounding her death (e.g. Mooney, 2001; O'Reilly, 1998; Williams, 2003). These stories provided more colourful descriptions of criminal behaviour than had been provided in previous decades and led some to suggest that these media stories contributed to an impression that crime had risen significantly over the previous decade (see Coulter, 2008; O'Connell, 1999; O'Donnell and O'Sullivan, 2003). Indeed, some journalists

have criticised the Irish media for their ‘sensationalist’ coverage of crime and argue that this coverage may distort the public’s views regarding the frequency and seriousness of criminal behaviour in Ireland (see Brown, 24 February 2008; Brown, 7 November 2007; Coulter, 7 July 2008; Kerrigan and Shaw, 18 April 1985).

Research by O’Connell (1999; 2002) indicates that how crime is portrayed in the media can influence the public’s perception of crime and criminal activities. He states that there are four main ways in which the press can ‘skew’ the representation of crime. These include: a bias towards reporting extreme and violent offences in terms of frequency; a bias towards reporting extreme and violent offences in terms of newspaper space; a bias towards reporting stories involving a vulnerable victim and ‘invulnerable’ offender; and a bias towards providing pessimistic accounts of the criminal justice system more generally. O’Connell argues that, if the press focus disproportionately on extreme and violent crimes while rarely focusing on other types of crime, then the Irish public will overestimate the frequency of violent crime and underestimate the frequency of other types of crime. He suggests that this will skew public opinion about crime and contribute to a fear of crime in spite of overall low crime rates. McCullagh also argues that “media coverage gives a higher level of coverage to crime than it warrants and tends to emphasize crimes of violence rather than the more common crimes against property. As a result, levels of fear of crime are higher than they should be” (1996: 10).

According to Coulter (7 July 2008), time and space restrictions limit the ability of the media to explain the complexities involved in criminal justice matters, resulting in an oversimplification, and sometimes inaccurate, representation of crime in Ireland. While the public are not passive receptors of media stories, these stories may nonetheless shape and/or reinforce the public’s views on crime and how it should be managed. Research by O’Connell and Whelan (1996) indicates that the Irish public’s perceptions of the prevalence of crime were not linked to official crime statistics but were, instead, associated with age, sex and newspaper readership. They found that there was a match between the sensationalist view of crime held by a newspaper readership and the editorial style of that newspaper. In this way, “minor but noticeable differences in editorial views between newspapers [...] are responsible for the small but significant differences in the perspectives of the readers” (O’Connell, 2002: 252).

Consequently, sensationalist crime stories may contribute to and/or reinforce an individual's fear of crime by shaping their perceptions of crime and their beliefs regarding their probability of being victimised.

While it is not argued that the Irish media deliberately distort public opinion, O'Connell (2002) states that, by attempting to entertain the public with stories of crime, certain consequences follow. In particular, media stories describing local, uncontrollable or random crimes are believed to be especially likely to contribute to a fear of crime due to their proximity and perceived uncontrollability (see Heath, 1984; O'Connell, 2002). In this way, the manner in which crime is presented in the media may shape the public's perception of crime as a serious social problem which may, in turn, influence their fear of crime (see McCullagh, 1996; O'Connell, 2002; O'Connell and Whelan, 1996).

Nevertheless, the media can also play an important role in reassuring the public by accurately informing them of the nature and frequency of criminal activity in their area and conveying their concerns to Government. For example, the widespread public anxiety about crime and crime control matters, evident in the media coverage of the events in 1996, prompted the Government to increase the priority it placed on crime and crime control matters as well as reassuring the public of their safety (see Government Progress Report, 2004; Kilcommins et al. 2003; O'Donnell, 2007). By highlighting the public's concern about criminal activity, the media encouraged the Government to focus on criminal justice matters which subsequently led to the establishment of the National Crime Council to research issues, such as fear of crime, in 1999 and, more recently, the inclusion of a specific focus on fear of crime in the Annual Policing Plan for 2001 of An Garda Síochána³.

Examining Fear of Crime in Ireland

This focus on criminal justice issues also promoted a number of national surveys to examine the nature and extent of crime, victimisation and fear of crime in Ireland (e.g. CSO, 1999, 2004, 2007b; Kennedy and Browne, 2006, 2007; Watson, 2000).

³ An Garda Síochána is the Irish police force.

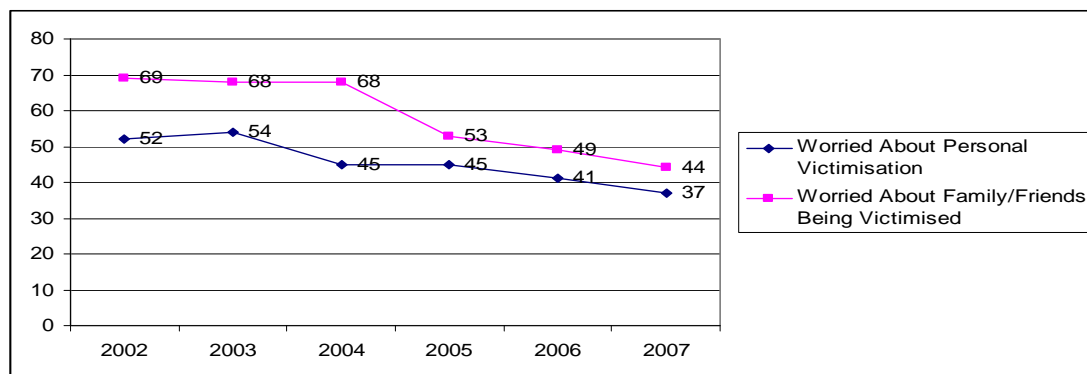
Beginning in 1996, the Economic and Social Research Institute carried out a survey of victims of recorded crime for the Garda Research Unit (see Watson, 2000). This survey revealed that 12 per cent of victims felt 'very unsafe' walking around their neighbourhood alone at night and 3 per cent felt 'very unsafe' in their home alone at night (Watson, 2000). In particular, women, and older age groups tended to report a greater fear of crime than males or respondents from younger age categories. Respondents also tended to believe that they were 'very likely' or 'likely' to be victimised again in the coming year. However, while there was a tendency for victims to believe that they would experience the same crime again, this was not limited to one particular crime but appeared to raise their feelings of being at risk of various different criminal activities (see Watson, 2000). The results, therefore, indicate that some victims of crime are very worried about their safety and are concerned about the possibility of future victimisation (see Watson, 2000).

Figures from the CSO's (2007b) Crime and Victimization Survey indicate that levels of fear amongst the Irish public have remained relatively stable in the previous decade, with approximately 75 per cent stating they feel 'safe' or 'very safe' in their neighbourhood after dark and 93 per cent reporting feeling 'safe' or 'very safe' home alone after dark. Roughly, 5 per cent reported feeling 'very unsafe' walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark and 1 per cent reported feeling 'very unsafe' home alone at night (see CSO, 2007b). The Crime and Victimization Survey is conducted by the CSO as part of the Quarterly National Household Survey (see CSO, 1999). The Quarterly National Household Survey is a large scale nationwide survey examining 39,000 Irish households and is conducted annually to produce official measures of employment and unemployment. It also includes special modules designed to investigate different social topics. In 1998, 2003 and 2006, the Quarterly National Household Survey included a special module on Crime and Victimization to investigate the Irish public's experience of crime, risk of victimisation and feelings of safety (see CSO, 2008a). Based on the results of this survey, approximately 25 per cent of the Irish public reported feeling 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark while 7 per cent felt 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' at home alone at night.

The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys also measure fear of crime. The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys are nationwide surveys investigating respondents' attitudes and experiences of An Garda Síochána, crime, fear of crime and the Criminal Justice System more generally. Since 2002, the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys have been conducted annually and, from 2005 onwards, have consisted of a nationally representative sample of approximately 10,000 respondents (see Kennedy and Browne, 2006, 2007; O'Dwyer, Kennedy and Ryan, 2005).

Similar to the Crime and Victimization Surveys, figures from the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys for 2002-2007 indicate that between 7 and 16 per cent of respondents reported feeling 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' alone in their home at night⁴ while 24-30 per cent felt 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark (see Garda Research Unit, 2002; Kennedy and Browne, 2006, 2007; O'Dwyer et al. 2005; Sarma, 2003; Sarma and O'Dwyer, 2004). As in other countries, the results of the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys indicate that females, older age groups and ethnic minorities tend to report feeling less safe (e.g. Kennedy and Browne, 2006, 2007; Walker, 2007). Respondents from urban areas (other than Dublin) also tended to report lower feelings of safety walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark than those from more rural locations. Furthermore, between 37 and 54 per cent of respondents reported being worried about becoming a victim of crime while 44-69 per cent reported being worried about a family or friend becoming a victim of crime (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Percentage Worried About Crime 2002-2007



⁴ This range of figures is somewhat higher than those observed in the CSO's Crime and Victimization Surveys (1999, 2004, 2007), with a higher percentage of respondents tending to report feeling unsafe in their home alone at night from 2005 onwards.

These figures compare favourably with feelings of safety and fear of crime internationally (see Van Dijk, Manchin, Van Kesteren, Nevala and Hideg, 2006; Van Dijk, Van Kesteren and Smit, 2007). The EU International Crime Survey (2005) found that Ireland's fear of crime, as measured by how safe respondents reported feeling walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark, was below average amongst the EU countries surveyed. However, Ireland was just above the EU average for respondents believing that their house was likely to be burgled in the coming 12 months (see Van Dijk et al. 2006). Similarly, based on the number of respondents reporting feeling unsafe walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark, the International Crime and Victimization Survey ranked Ireland 15th out of a possible 30 countries (see Van Dijk et al. 2007). In other studies, the Irish public appear to be less fearful than their Northern Irish, English and Welsh counterparts (see Kennedy and Browne, 2007; French and Freel, 2008; Jansson, 2007). These studies indicate that, while there is a proportion of the Irish population who fear crime, the Irish public tend not to be as fearful as respondents of other countries (see Van Dijk et al. 2006; Van Dijk et al. 2007).

Interestingly, while recent international surveys have found the Irish public's fear of crime to be about average, the Irish public's risk of victimisation was found to be higher than most countries surveyed (see Van Dijk et al. 2006; Van Dijk et al. 2007). This suggests, as stated in Chapter One, that the relationship between the risk of victimisation and fear of crime is not straightforward.

Risk of Victimization and Fear of Crime

Research in Ireland indicates that approximately 6 per cent of respondents aged 18 or over have been a victim of crime in the previous year (see Kennedy and Browne, 2007). These victims were predominately male and in the 25-44 age category (Kennedy and Browne, 2007). The majority (84 per cent) were the victim of one crime, with domestic burglary, criminal damage and physical assault - excluding domestic and/or sexual assault - being the most common (Kennedy and Browne, 2007). There is also some evidence to suggest that victimisation rates may be higher amongst ethnic minorities (Walker, 2007). Nevertheless, those most at risk of victimisation appear to be the least concerned about becoming a victim of crime.

Figures from the CSO's Crime and Victimization Surveys indicate that those who are most at risk of crime (i.e. young adult males) tend to be the least likely to report a fear of crime. Instead, women and older age groups tend to acknowledge a greater fear of crime than males or respondents from younger age categories, despite their apparent lower risk of victimisation (see CSO, 2007b; Watson, 2000). This may be due to the limitations involved in the use of survey research to measure fear of crime (outlined in Chapter One) and/or a reluctance by male respondents to appear 'unmanly' by admitting feelings of vulnerability (see Sutton and Farrall, 2005). However, it is also possible that a fear of crime may reduce an individual's probability of becoming a victim of crime by encouraging individuals to avoid risky situations (see Dubow et al. 1979; Ferraro, 1995; Watson, 2000; Young, 1994). Research by Boroora and Carcarch (1997) suggests that individuals who experience a greater fear of crime tend to adopt a constrained lifestyle which leads them to reduce their probability of being victimised. Having said this, it is unclear whether individuals who fear crime experience less victimisation due to the constrained lifestyles they adopt or whether they are the least likely to be victimised regardless of their lifestyle.

In Ireland, an examination of the effects of victimisation suggests that being a recent victim of crime in the previous year is associated with reduced feelings of safety (see CSO, 1999, 2004, 2007b; Watson, 2000). In particular, being a recent victim of certain crimes is believed to be associated with a dramatic reduction in feelings of safety. For instance, amongst victims of aggravated burglary, 36 per cent reported feeling 'very unsafe' walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark compared to 12 per cent of all victims surveyed and approximately 5 per cent of the general population (see Watson, 2000). Similarly, 28 per cent of victims of aggravated burglary reported feeling 'very unsafe' in their home alone at night compared to 3 per cent of all victims surveyed and 1 per cent of the general population (see Watson, 2000). This suggests that being a victim of crime in the previous year, in particular violent crime, may lead to a reduction in feelings of safety.

In her research, Watson (2000) found that being a victim of crime can result in a number of physical, financial and psychological effects. According to Watson, while the majority of criminal incidents do not result in physical injury to the victim, 3 per

cent of reported crimes against individuals resulted in a permanent or recurring physical injury. In addition, approximately, 50 per cent of reported crimes involved a financial loss of IR£300 (in 1996) or more while over 25 per cent of victims experienced psychological distress for up to two years after their victimisation. More specifically, she notes that the experience of victimisation can result in increased feelings of anxiety, loss of sleep, difficulty in concentrating as well as the individual restricting their activities (see Watson, 2000). According to her, victims of violent crimes, in particular female victims, were especially likely to experience psychological distress and to restrict their activities. There was also some evidence to suggest that elderly victims may be especially likely to restrict their activities in response to a crime. Being a victim of crime may, therefore, not only decrease feelings of safety but also lead to a reduction in quality of life as individuals attempt to restrict their activities in order to reduce their probability of being victimised.

Being a victim of crime may also influence an individual's perception of crime as a social problem. Watson (2000) states that victims tended to perceive the level of crime to be greater than the general population. However, the majority of victims did not feel that crime was worse in their local area compared to other parts of Ireland. In comparison to the general population, victims were more likely to perceive teenagers hanging around in the streets, rubbish, litter and drug use to be very common problems (see Watson, 2000). Exposure to drug related problems has also been associated with a fear of crime, such that individuals exposed to drug related problems tend to report a greater fear of crime (see Van Dijk et al. 2007). Hence, the experience of victimisation may lead to a greater awareness of crime and community problems amongst victims, however, it is also possible that victims may live in more crime-prone areas and their perceptions accurately reflect the level of crime and/or risk they experience.

It seems, therefore, that, while individuals most at risk of victimisation tend not to report a fear of crime, being a victim of crime can lead individuals to be concerned about crime and attempt to modify their behaviour to reduce their risk of victimisation. However, the relationship between victimisation and fear of crime remains to be clarified as it is still possible that a fear of crime may encourage individuals to avoid risky situations.

The Present Study

The current research investigates the level of fear of crime in Ireland and its impact on quality of life (see the Introduction). More specifically, the aims and objectives of this research are to:

- examine the extent to which individuals report a fear of crime in Ireland;
- ascertain the factors which influence stated levels of fear;
- assess the reported impact of fear of crime on quality of life;
- identify the factors influencing the effect of fear of crime on quality of life;
- and
- advance recommendations for the development of strategies and/or initiatives aimed at reducing fear of crime and its consequences.

Summary

Ireland has undergone significant social and economic changes which have influenced the priority placed on crime and crime control matters. Indeed, the Irish public did not appear to be especially concerned about crime and crime control until a series of events in the mid 1990's. In the mid 1990's, a series of murders, combined with the lifting of the economic recession and public unease about an increase in drug use and the criminal activities associated with the supply and demand of drugs, triggered widespread concern about lawlessness. During this time, the media coverage of crime became more widespread and intense, providing more colourful descriptions of criminal behaviour. This led some to suggest that the media's portrayal of crime encouraged a fear of crime by contributing to an impression that crime had risen significantly. Indeed, research suggests that the Irish public's perceptions of crime are not linked to official crime statistics but are instead associated with age, sex and newspaper readership. Approximately 25 per cent of the Irish public report feeling 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark and 7 per cent feel 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' at home alone at night. The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys for 2002-2007 also reveal that 37-54 per cent of respondents are worried about becoming a victim of crime while 44-69 per cent are worried about a family or friend being victimised. These figures compare favourably with feelings of safety and fear of crime internationally and, similar to other countries, research on victimisation in Ireland indicate that those most at risk of being victimised (i.e. young adult males)

tend to be the least likely to report a fear of crime. In Ireland, being a victim of crime has been associated with reduced feelings of safety and a number of physical, financial and psychological effects. In particular, violent victimisation has been associated with increased feelings of anxiety, loss of sleep, difficulty in concentrating and a restriction in the victim's activities. In this research, the level of fear of crime in Ireland is examined as well as its impact on quality of life. More specifically, the factors associated with fear of crime and a reduction in quality of life are identified, paying particular attention to issues such as age, gender, ethnicity and victimisation. The methods used to investigate fear of crime in Ireland, and its impact on quality of life, are described in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The extent to which individuals fear crime in Ireland is measured both in the Garda Public Attitudes Survey (GPAS) and the Central Statistics Office (CSO) Crime and Victimization Surveys. The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys are conducted annually while the Crime and Victimization Surveys are conducted less often. For this reason, it was decided to focus on the raw data for the GPAS, of which the 2007 survey was the most recently available. In this chapter, a description of the GPAS, the inclusion of additional questions on fear of crime and the characteristics of the 2007 survey sample is provided. Following on from this, the measurement of fear of crime from the responses to questions in the GPAS is discussed and the possible limitations of this data are explored. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed account of how the raw data for the GPAS 2007 was collected and analysed during this research.

Garda Public Attitudes Surveys

The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys are commissioned annually by An Garda Síochána and investigate respondents' attitudes to and experiences of An Garda Síochána, crime, fear of crime and the Criminal Justice System more generally. Since 2005, the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys have consisted of a nationally representative sample of approximately 10,000 respondents randomly recruited from each Garda District (see Appendix A for a description of the sampling method used).

Similar to other surveys (see the British Crime Survey and the Northern Ireland Crime Survey), feelings of safety and fear of crime are measured in the Garda Public Attitudes Survey by asking respondents to rate how safe they feel in the following situations:

- How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood after dark?
- How safe do you feel alone in your home at night?

Respondents are also asked to answer yes or no to the following questions:

- Do you worry that you might become a victim of crime?
- Do you worry that a family member or friend might become a victim of crime?

A copy of the Garda Public Attitude Survey 2007 questionnaire is available in Appendix B.

Inclusion of Additional Fear of Crime Questions

The first phase of the National Crime Council's research on fear of crime involved an analysis of previously conducted Garda Public Attitudes Surveys to determine whether the inclusion of additional questions on fear of crime would be beneficial.

Based on this analysis, the National Crime Council requested the inclusion of a number of extra questions examining respondents' fears about specific crimes and the impact of fear of crime on their quality of life. More specifically, respondents were asked to rate how worried they were about the following occurrences:

1. Being mugged or robbed.
2. Being raped.
3. Being physically attacked by a stranger.
4. Being insulted or pestered in public places.
5. Being subjected to physical attack because of religion/race/skin colour.
6. Having their home broken into and something stolen.
7. Having their car stolen.
8. Having things stolen from their car.
9. Having their property vandalised.

Respondents were also asked to rate 'How much their fear of crime affected their quality of life' on a five point Likert⁵ scale ranging from 'greatly reduced quality', 'significantly reduced quality', 'moderately reduced quality', 'reduced quality a little' and 'no effect on quality'.

These additional questions were included in the Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2006 and subsequent surveys. The inclusion of these questions allowed the extent to which individuals fear specific crimes and the impact of fear of crime on quality of life to be identified.

2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey Sample

In 2007, the Garda Public Attitudes Survey consisted of a nationally representative sample of 10,067 respondents. Of these respondents, 4,916 (48.8 per cent) were male and 5,151 (51.2 per cent) were female. All respondents ranged in age from 18 years to

⁵ A Likert scale is used to measure an individual's attitudes, preferences, beliefs and/or experiences and requires respondents to rate their satisfaction/agreement with a particular statement on a scale.

over 65 years. The majority were Irish. However, a small proportion of foreign nationals were also included in the sample. Over half were married and/or co-habiting while a third had never been married. The level of education of the respondents also varied, ranging from those with no formal education to those with a postgraduate qualification (see Table 1).

Table 1: Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 Sample Demographics

<i>Demographics</i>	<i>Garda Public Attitudes Survey Sample 2007</i>		<i>2006 Population Census</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Gender:				
Male	4,916	48.8	2,121,171	50.0
Female	5,151	51.2	2,118,677	50.0
Age Group:				
18-24yrs	1,402	13.9	461,147	14.4
25-44yrs	4,154	41.3	1,345,873	42.0
45-64yrs	3,045	30.2	928,868	29.0
65+yrs	1,458	14.5	467,926	14.6
Unknown	8	0.1	-	-
Nationality:				
Irish	9,225	91.6	2,909,402 ^a	90.8 ^b
English/ British	286	2.8	96,897	3.0
Other EU	304	3.0	150,183	4.7
Non EU	238	2.4	119,523	3.7
Unknown	14	0.1	34,882	1.1
Marital Status:				
Single/Never Married	3,307	33.0	1,281,942	40.0
Married/ Co-habiting	5,726	57.1	1,564,544	48.8
Separated/ Widowed/ Divorced	1,002	10.0	357,091	11.1
Unknown	32	0.3	-	-
Education:				
No Formal Qualification/ Primary Education	933		514,085 ^a	16.0 ^b
Secondary Education	6,157	61.1	1,376,909	43.0
Non-Degree Qualification	842	8.4	301,327	9.4
Primary Degree or Higher	2,005	19.9	527,775	16.5
Unknown	130	1.3	130,237	4.1

a. This figure includes those aged 15+

b. This figure is based on those aged 18+

In addition, the majority of respondents were either from a working or lower middle socio-economic status and over half stated that they were working full-time at the

time of completing the survey. Respondents were drawn from all Garda regions including a range of both urban and rural locations (see Table 2).

Table 2: Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 Sample Demographics (Continued)

<i>Demographics</i>	<i>Garda Public Attitudes Survey Sample 2007</i>		<i>2006 Population Census</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Socio-economic Status⁶:				
Upper Middle/ Middle Class	805	8.0	-	-
Lower Middle Class	3,051	30.3	-	-
Skilled Working Class	2,277	22.6	-	-
Other Working Class	2,191	21.8	-	-
Lowest subsistence level	105	1.0	-	-
Farmer >50 acres	554	5.5	-	-
Farmer < 50 acres	230	2.3	-	-
Unknown	855	8.4	-	-
Employment Status:				
Unemployed/ Not Working	582	5.8	179,456 ^a	5.6 ^b
Domestic Duties	1,244	12.4	387,014	12.1
Further Education/ Training	601	6.0	349,596 ^c	11.0
Working Full/Part-time	6,279	62.3	1,930,042	60.2
Retired	1,267	12.6	377,927	11.8
Unknown	94	0.9	-	-
Garda Region:				
Dublin	2,430	24.1	1,187,176	28.0
Eastern	1,600	15.9	762,446	18.0
Northern	1,216	12.1	357,108	8.4
South-Eastern	1,226	12.2	602,706	14.2
Southern	1,998	19.8	805,185	19.0
Western	1,597	15.9	525,227	12.4
Locality:				
Dublin City	2,035	20.2	-	-
Other City (Cork, Galway, Limerick, Waterford)	935	9.3	-	-
Town (10,000 – 40,000 pop)	1,112	11.0	-	-
Town (1,000 – 10,000 pop.)	1,636	16.3	-	-
Village/ Rural/ Open Country	3,901	38.8	-	-
Unknown	448	4.5	-	-

a. Includes those aged 15+

b. Based on those aged 18+

c. Classified as 'students' in the 2006 census and includes those aged 15+

⁶ The measure of socio-economic status used in the GPAS differs from that used in the CSO's (2006) Population Census. The measure used in the GPAS is based on the ABC scale used by market research companies. A detailed description of this scale can be found in Appendix 3 of the 2007 GPAS.

Compared to the figures from the 2006 Population Census, the data from the Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 provide a reasonably close match to the population as measured in terms of age, gender, socio-economic status and region. However, residents of the Dublin region are slightly under-represented in the 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey compared to the 2006 Population Census (24 per cent compared to 28 per cent). While those engaged in further education/training may also appear to be under-represented in the 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey compared to the 2006 Census, it is important to highlight that the Census figure includes those aged 15 and above while the Garda Public Attitudes Survey is based on individuals aged 18 or over.

The 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey sample, therefore, consisted of a roughly even mixture of men and women from both urban and rural locations, ranging in age from 18-64 years. The respondents were predominantly Irish with a working or lower middle socio-economic status, some form of secondary school education and were employed or in further education/training at the time of completing the survey.

Measurement of Fear of Crime

As discussed in Chapter One, questions such as ‘How safe do you feel at home alone at night?’ and/or ‘How safe do you feel in your neighbourhood after dark?’ have been criticised for inflating the level of fear respondents’ experience. For this reason, respondents’ fear of crime was measured solely on the extent to which they reported a fear of becoming a victim of crime. This was done in an attempt to avoid ambiguity and the possible overestimation of fear of crime amongst the respondents. Respondents were asked to answer ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to the question ‘Do you worry about becoming a victim of crime?’. Those who responded ‘Yes’ were then asked to state which of the following crimes they were worried about: being mugged/robbed; raped; physically attacked by a stranger; being insulted/pestered; physically attacked due to religion/race/skin colour; burglary; car theft; having items stolen from their car; or having their property vandalised.

The impact of this fear on their quality of life was then assessed based on their responses to the question ‘How much has your fear of crime affected your quality of

life'. Responses were measured on a five point Likert scale ranging from 'greatly reduced quality' to 'no effect on quality'.

Data Analysis

Frequency and percentage tables were used to explore the extent to which respondents reported a fear of crime as well as the type of crimes they feared.

Following on from this, multinomial logistic regression analysis⁷ was used to investigate the factors associated with individuals reporting a fear of crime and the impact of this fear on their quality of life. The extent to which respondents feared crime and its impact on quality of life was divided into three categories: 'not worried about crime' as these respondents did not fear becoming a victim of crime (63.5 per cent); 'concerned about crime' as these individuals feared becoming a victim of crime but this fear did not affect their quality of life (21.5 per cent); and 'fearful of crime' as these individuals experienced a fear of crime which moderately, significantly or greatly reduced their quality of life (15 per cent). In the regression analysis, the impact of the following factors was explored: demographic and socio-economic characteristics; official burglary crime rates by Garda Division⁸; perceptions of crime in local area; prior experience of victimisation; and satisfaction with An Garda Síochána.

Possible Limitations

As previously outlined in Chapter One, there are a number of possible limitations which must be borne in mind when using survey methodology to examine fear of crime. For example, the possibility that individuals may not accurately recall or report their fear of crime due to concerns about appearing 'weak' or 'vulnerable' are relevant. Similarly, concerns have also been expressed about the ability of survey research to explore the types of situations in which fear of crime occurs as well as its

⁷ Multinomial logistic regression analysis is a statistical tool used to examine the ability of one or more variables to predict another variable. Multinomial logistic regression analysis is used when the variable that is being predicted is grouped into three or more categories which are not ranked in any particular order.

⁸ In 2007, there were 25 different Garda Divisions within An Garda Síochána. The official crime rates for a number of different crimes were highly correlated ($r = 0.7$ and above) and, for this reason, only the crime rate for burglary is included in the analysis as an objective measure of official crime rates. The crime rate per 1,000 population for burglary was obtained from the Central Statistics Office (2008b) Garda Recorded Crime Statistics.

frequency and its intensity. These limitations should be borne in mind when interpreting the research findings.

The research findings are presented in the following chapters.

Chapter Four

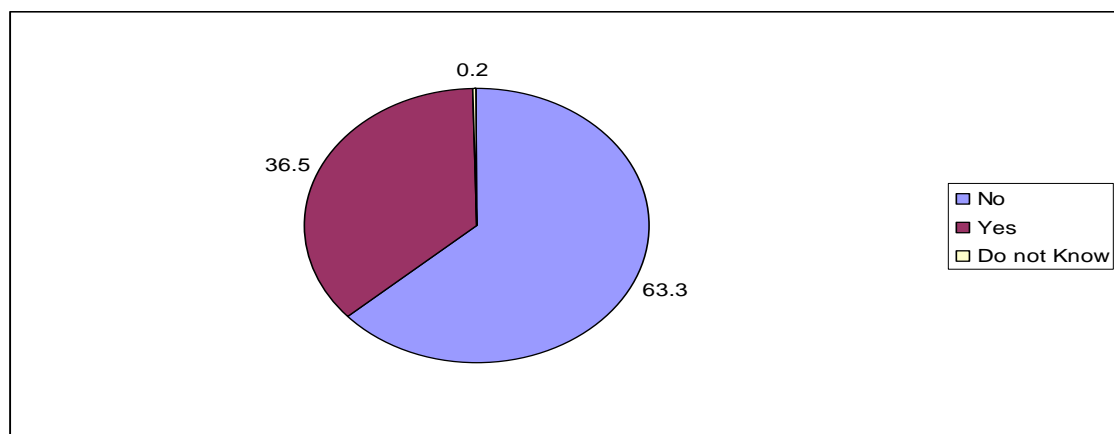
Worry about Crime and
Impact on Quality of Life

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the extent of fear of crime in Ireland, its impact on quality of life and the factors influencing the level of fear respondents' experience. In order to avoid an inflated measure of fear, which confounds concerns with physical vulnerability and concerns with crime, fear of crime is assessed based on participants' responses to the question 'Do you worry that you might become a victim of crime?' (see Chapter Three). Replies to this question are analysed to determine the extent to which individuals fear crime as well as the types of crime they fear. Following on from this, responses to the question 'How much has your fear of crime affected your quality of life' are investigated to examine the impact of fear of crime on quality of life. Based on these responses, two different degrees of 'fear' are distinguished. Individuals who are worried about becoming a victim of crime but whose quality of life is not affected or only slightly reduced are referred to as being 'concerned about crime'. In contrast, those who are worried about becoming a victim of crime and whose quality of life is moderately, significantly, or greatly reduced are referred to as being 'fearful of crime'. Lastly, the factors influencing both 'concern about crime' and 'fearfulness of crime' are also explored. By quantifying the level of fear of crime in Ireland, it is hoped that recommendations can be developed to address this fear and lessen its impact on quality of life.

Prevalence of Worry about Crime

An examination of the participants' responses to the question 'Do you worry that you might become a victim of crime?' indicates that 36.5 per cent of respondents worry about crime (see Figure 2).

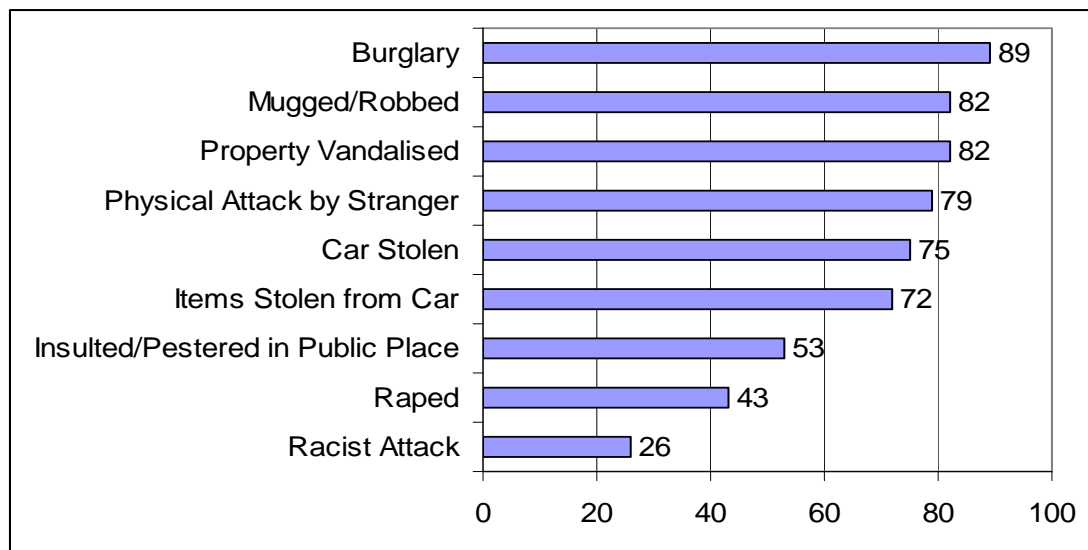
Figure 2: Percentage of Respondents Worried About Crime



Of these respondents, roughly 77 per cent stated that they were worried about personal injury and property theft/damage; 13 per cent were worried about property theft/damage only and 9 per cent were worried about personal injury only.

In particular, respondents were worried about being burgled, being mugged/robbed, having their property vandalised, being physically attacked by a stranger, having their car stolen and having items stolen from their car⁹ (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Percentage Worried About Crime¹⁰ by Crime Type



It is notable that respondents were especially concerned about both property crime (burglary, vandalism, car theft) and crime against the person (physical attack by a stranger)¹¹. The lower level of worry about racist attacks observed in this study is undoubtedly due to the fact that the majority of respondents were Irish nationals. As such, they may be less likely to experience a racist attack and, as a result, be less concerned about racist incidents. Exploring non-Irish and non-British respondents' fear of crime revealed that 54 per cent reported a fear of racist attacks¹². Accordingly,

⁹ As it was not possible to differentiate between car owners and non-car owners in the 2007 GPAS, it is possible that these figures may underestimate the concerns of car owners as all respondents (not just car owners) are included in the analysis.

¹⁰ These figures include respondents who stated they were 'very' and 'fairly' worried about these crimes.

¹¹ Mugging/Robbery involves elements of both personal attack and property theft.

¹² Respondents' ethnicity was not recorded in the 2007 GPAS and therefore it was not possible to explore fear of crime by ethnicity. For this reason, nationality is used as a proxy measure of ethnicity.

these figures may underestimate minority communities concerns about racist attacks and, in particular, the concerns of Irish ethnic minority communities.

Comparing Irish citizens concerns about crime to respondents in other countries revealed that Irish citizens did not appear to be as worried about crime as their English, Welsh, Northern Irish or Scottish counterparts (see Table 3).

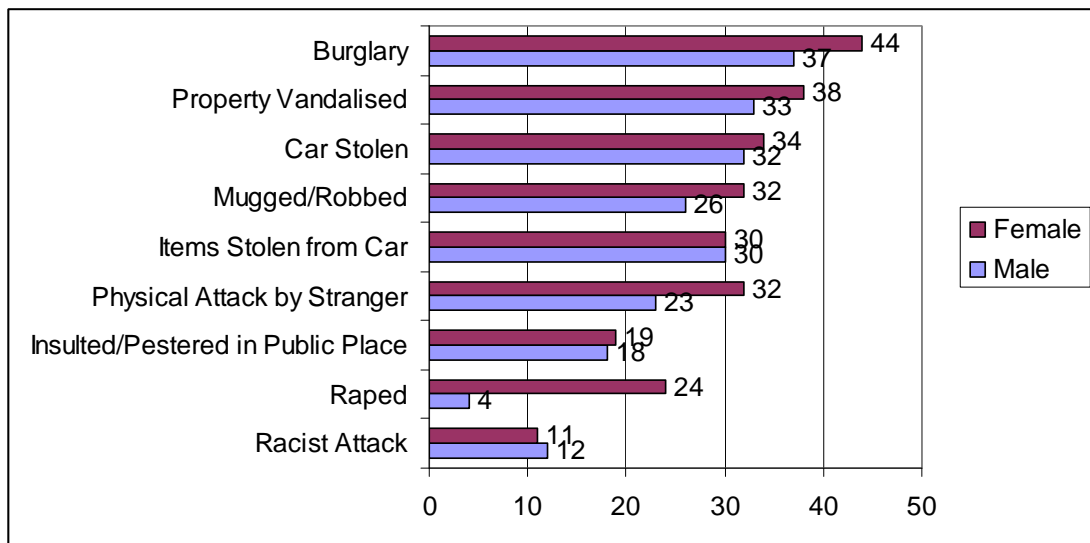
Table 3: International Comparison of Percentage of Respondents ‘Very’/ ‘Fairly’ Worried About Crime

<i>Crime</i>	<i>Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007¹³</i>	<i>Northern Ireland Crime Survey 06/07</i>	<i>Scottish Crime and Victimization Survey 06/07</i>	<i>British Crime Survey 06/07</i>
Burglary	29	56	41	45
Mugged/Robbed	26	42	37	37
Physical Attack by a Stranger	25	39	37	36
Theft of Car	24	51	33	41
Theft from Car	23	44	35	41
Rape	14	30	22	24
Racist Attack	8	22	13	14

Examining these fears by gender also revealed some noticeable differences between men and women, with more females reporting being very worried about rape, physical attack by a stranger, burglary and being mugged/robbed than males (see Figure 4).

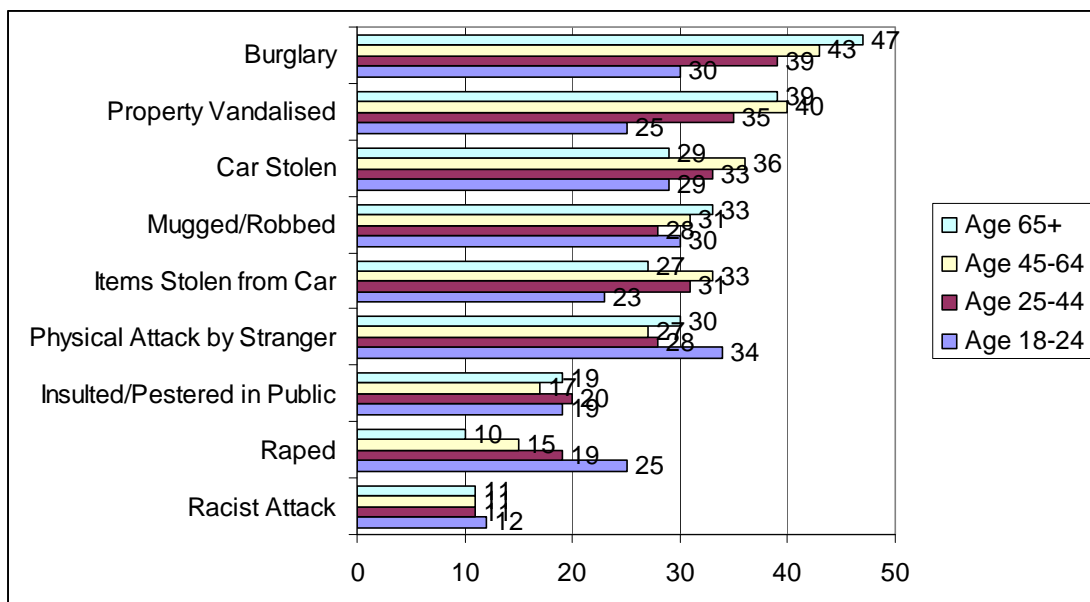
¹³ Surveys in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland tend to ask all respondents about their fears regarding specific crimes. However, the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys only asked those respondents who stated that they were worried about becoming a victim of crime about their fears regarding specific crimes. While only asking those who were worried about becoming a victim of crime about their fears regarding specific crimes may underestimate the prevalence of these fear, this concern can be minimised by focusing on those individuals who stated that they were ‘fairly’ or ‘very’ worried about crime. The figures presented for the Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 are based on the entire Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 sample.

Figure 4: Percentage 'Very' Worried by Gender and Crime Type



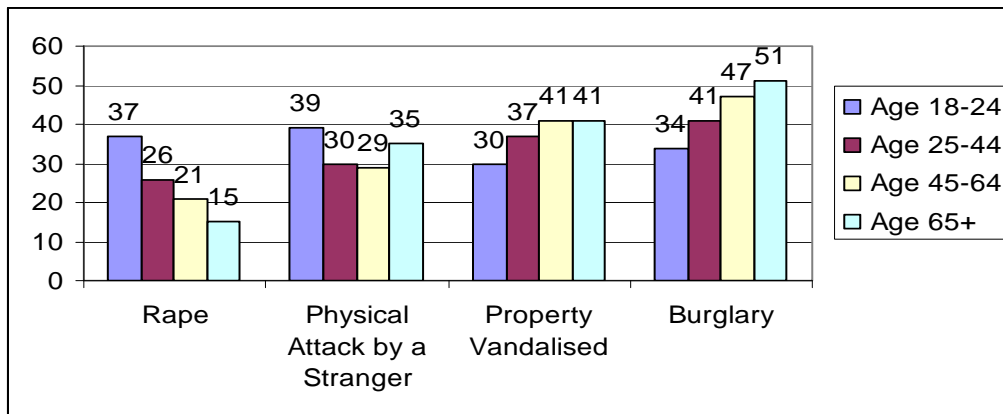
Differences were also observed when the types of crimes about which respondents worried were examined by age group as older age groups were more worried about property crime while younger age groups were more worried about violent crime (see Figure 5)

Figure 5: Percentage 'Very' Worried by Age Group and Crime Type



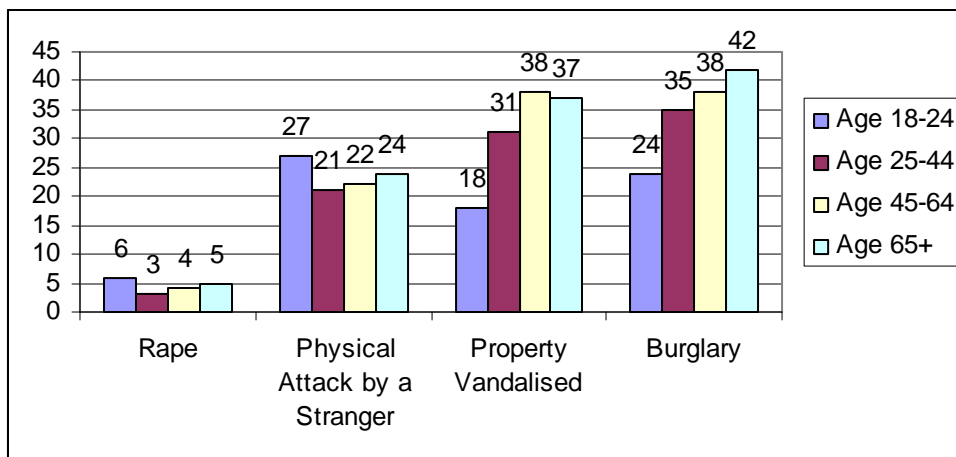
In particular, younger women seemed to be especially worried about rape and physical attack by a stranger while older women were more apprehensive about burglary and/or having their property vandalised (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Percentage of Females ‘Very’ Worried by Age Group and Crime Type



Similarly, older men seemed to be more worried about burglary and having their property vandalised than younger men (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Percentage of Males ‘Very’ Worried by Age Group and Crime Type



This implies that variables such as age and gender may influence the extent to which individuals fear crime in Ireland as well as the types of crime they fear.

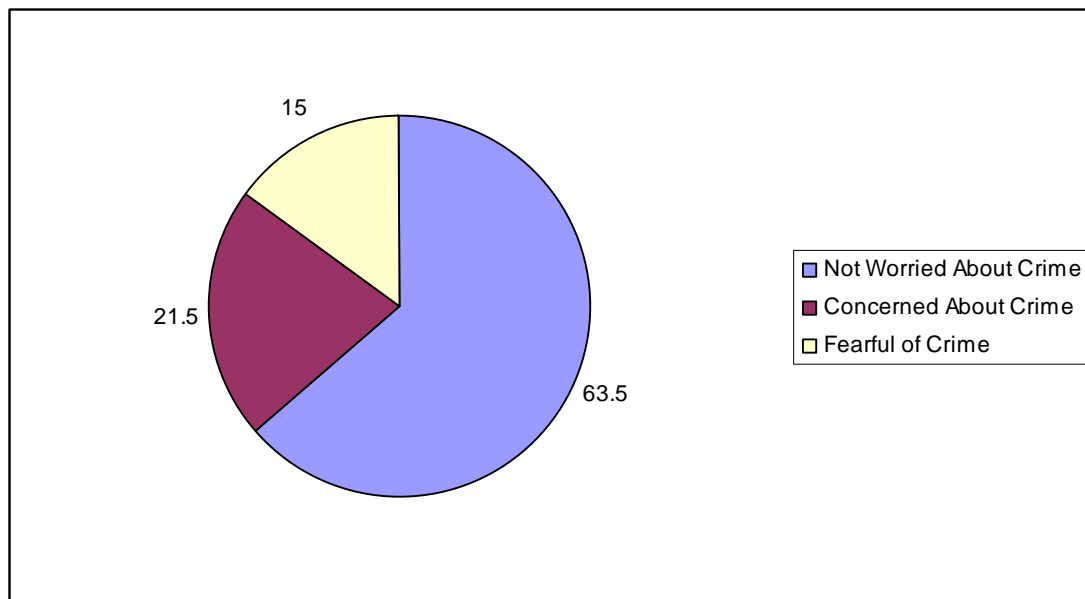
Impact of Fear of Crime on Quality of Life

Of those who reported being worried about crime, over half stated that their fear of crime did not affect their quality of life or only reduced their quality of life a little. In contrast, 41.1 per cent stated that their fear of crime moderately, significantly or greatly reduced their quality of life. Accordingly, respondents were categorised into one of three groups:

- ‘Not Worried About Crime’ - Respondents who were not worried about becoming a victim of crime.
- ‘Concerned About Crime’ - Respondents who worried about becoming a victim of crime but their fear of crime did not affect their quality of life or only reduced their quality of life a little.
- ‘Fearful of Crime’ - Respondents who worried about becoming a victim of crime and their fear of crime significantly, moderately or significantly reduced their quality of life.

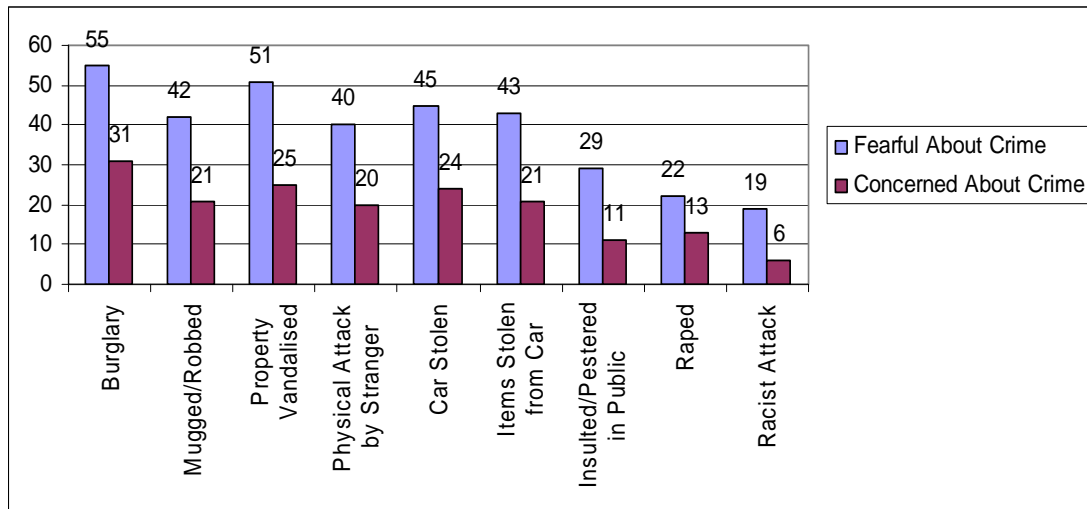
Of the entire sample, almost two-thirds (63.5 per cent) of respondents stated that they were ‘not worried about crime’ while 21.5 per cent were ‘concerned about crime’ and 15 per cent were ‘fearful of crime’ (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Percentage of Respondents by Level of Fear of Crime



Amongst the ‘fearful of crime’ group, almost twice as many individuals reported being ‘very worried’ about each of the different types of crime compared to those who were ‘concerned about crime’ (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Percentage ‘Very’ Worried by Crime Type and Level of Fear of Crime



Factors Influencing Fear of Crime and a Reduction in Quality of Life

In order to identify the factors influencing the extent to which individuals fear crime and the effect of this fear on their quality of life, a series of hierarchical multinomial logistic regression analyses were used. A hierarchical regression analysis¹⁴ was used as it allows for a systematic and sequential investigation of the effect of different variables on fear of crime. The relevant factors were divided into different groups and these groups were entered into the regression analysis in the following order: demographic information; official crime rate by Garda Division and perceptions of local crime; experience of victimisation; and satisfaction with An Garda Síochána¹⁵. The results presented in this section are based on the final regression model which was found to significantly predict fear of crime and its impact on quality of life ($p < .001$)¹⁶ and in which all non-significant variables have been removed¹⁷.

¹⁴ Hierarchical regression is a form of regression analysis which allows the researcher to decide on the order of entry of the variables being examined.

¹⁵ In line with international research on fear of crime, perceptions of local crime and satisfaction with An Garda Síochána were included as independent variables in the regression model. While there may be some ambiguity as to the direction of causality between fear of crime and perceptions of local crime and policing, international research tends to include these variables as independent variables in their fear of crime regression models.

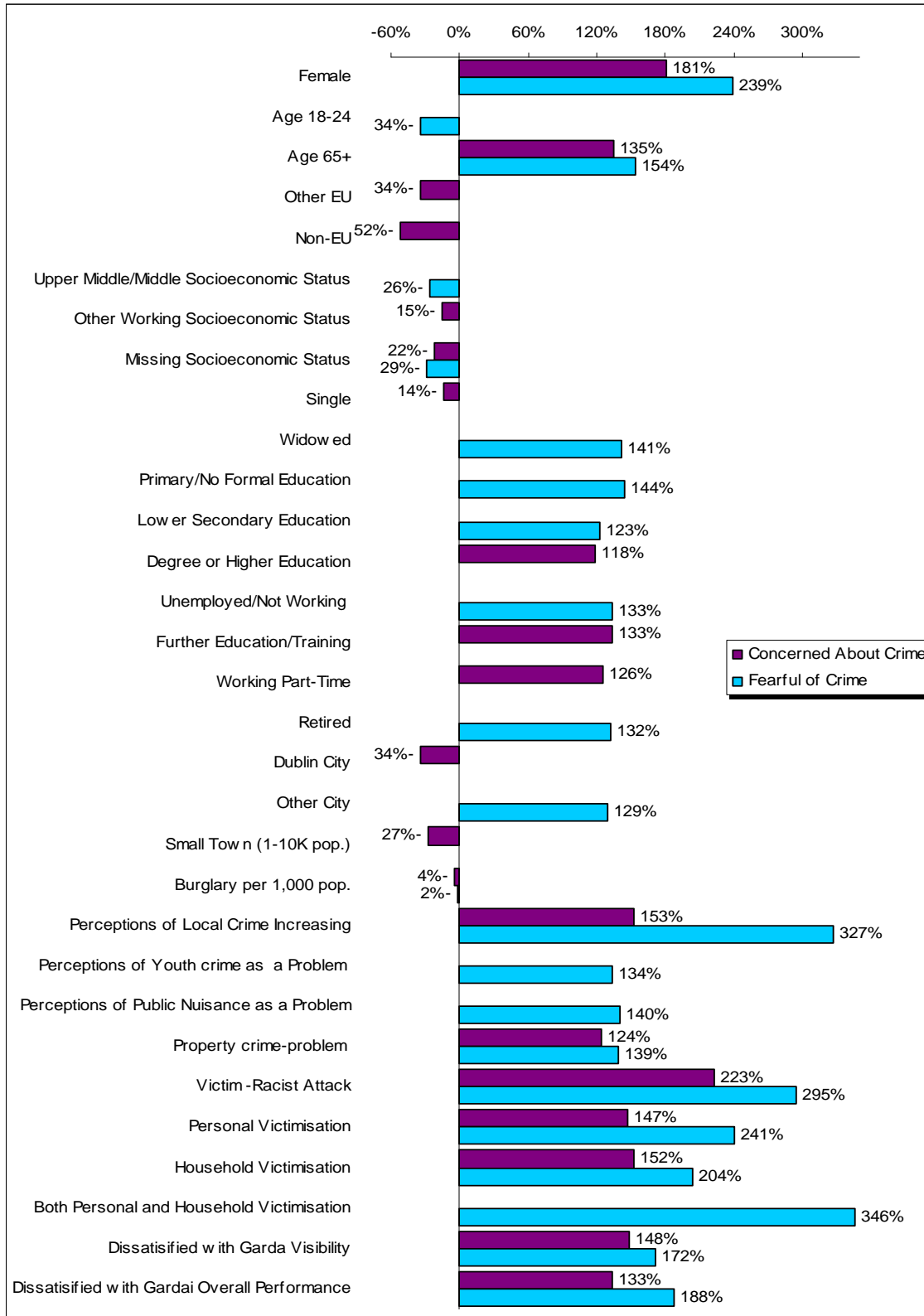
¹⁶ The final regression model had a sample size of 10,067, a -2 Log Likelihood of 15,735.34 and a Nagelkerke R-squared of 20.2 per cent. This suggests that the final regression model fits the data well.

¹⁷ See Appendix C for a detailed breakdown of the regression results at each stage of the analysis.

The reference group for the multinomial logistic regression analysis was the 'not worried about crime' group. As such, the figures presented in Tables 3 and 4 are based on the per cent change in the probability of being in the 'concerned about crime' group or the 'fearful of crime' group compared to the 'not worried about crime' group.

Based on the regression results, a number of factors were found to significantly predict fear of crime and its impact on quality of life (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Change in Probability of Being ‘Concerned About Crime’ or ‘Fearful of Crime’



An examination of the regression results indicates that there are a number of factors associated with fear of crime. In particular, factors, such as age and gender, perceptions of the level of local criminality, history of victimisation and satisfaction with An Garda Síochána, appeared to increase an individual's probability of experiencing a fear of crime. However, there were also a number of factors which seemed to distinguish between those whose fear of crime did not affect their quality of life (i.e. those 'concerned about crime') and those whose fear of crime moderately, significantly or reduced their quality of life (i.e. those 'fearful of crime').

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

A number of demographic factors were found to influence fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. For instance, females were 181 per cent more likely to fear crime than males and were also 239 per cent more likely to state that this fear moderately, significantly or greatly reduced their quality of life. In other words, females were almost twice as likely to be 'concerned about crime' and were almost two and a half times more likely to be 'fearful of crime'. Similarly, individuals aged 65 or above were 135 per cent more likely to be 'concerned about crime' compared to those aged 25-44 and were also one and a half times more likely to report that their fear of crime reduced their quality of life. Individuals aged 45-64 did not appear to be more likely to be either 'concerned about crime' or 'fearful of crime' than those aged 25-44. In terms of nationality, once prior experience of victimisation was controlled for, non-Irish nationals (apart from British nationals) were less likely to be 'concerned about crime' than Irish nationals (-34 per cent and -52 per cent respectively). No differences were observed between British nationals and Irish nationals in their 'concern about crime' or between non-EU, other EU, British nationals and Irish nationals in their probability of being 'fearful of crime'. However, the regression results indicate that being the victim of a racist attack is associated with a greater probability of experiencing a fear of crime and a reduction in quality of life. Demographic characteristics, such as age, gender and nationality, may, therefore, play an important role in influencing fear of crime and the impact of this fear on quality of life.

An individual's socio-economic status and marital status also appeared to influence fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. Individuals from an upper middle/middle socio-economic status were less likely to be 'fearful of crime' while

'other working' socio-economic status respondents were less likely to be 'concerned about crime' (-26 per cent and -15 per cent respectively). In addition, those whose socio-economic status was unknown seemed to be less likely to be 'concerned about crime' (-22 per cent) and to be 'fearful of crime' (-29 per cent). In terms of marital status, those who were widowed were almost one and a half times (141 per cent) more likely to be 'fearful of crime' while single respondents were less likely to be 'concerned about crime' (-14 per cent). No other statistically significant differences were observed between socio-economic status and marital status on an individual's probability of being either 'concerned about crime' or 'fearful of crime'. Accordingly, widowed individuals, regardless of their socio-economic status, were more likely to report a reduced quality of life while those of an upper middle/middle socio-economic status were less likely to state that their quality of life was affected by their fear of crime.

Similarly, education level and employment status were also associated with fear of crime and a reduction in quality of life. Individuals with no formal/primary or a lower secondary education were more likely to be 'fearful of crime' (144 per cent and 123 per cent respectively). In contrast, those educated to degree level or higher were more likely to state that their quality of life was not affected by their fear of crime (118 per cent). Unemployed/not working respondents were also almost one and a half times more likely to be 'fearful of crime' as were those who were retired (133 per cent and 132 per cent respectively). In comparison, those engaged in further education/training and/or working part-time were more likely to state that their fear of crime did not affect their quality of life (133 per cent and 126 per cent respectively). No other statistically significant differences were observed between education and employment status and an individual's probability of being either 'concerned about crime' or 'fearful of crime'. Hence, unemployed, not working and retired individuals were more likely to experience a reduction in their quality of life while those educated to degree level, engaged in further education/training and working part-time were more likely to fear crime but state that this fear did not affect their quality of life.

Further, the type of area in which the individual resided seemed to affect their fear of crime and quality of life. While controlling for prior experience of victimisation and perceptions of local criminality, residents of Dublin city were 34 per cent less likely

to be 'concerned about crime' compared to those living in larger towns (population between 10,000 and 40,000). Similarly, those living in smaller towns (population between 1,000 and 10,000) were 27 per cent less likely to be 'concerned about crime' compared to those living in larger towns. However, living in Dublin or a small town did not appear to affect quality of life of respondents as no statistically significant differences were observed between residents of Dublin city and small towns in their probability of being 'fearful of crime'. In comparison, those living in cities other than Dublin were 129 per cent more likely to report that their fear of crime affected their quality of life. Accordingly, individuals living in Dublin city and smaller towns are less likely to be 'concerned about crime' while those living in cities other than Dublin are more likely to be 'fearful of crime'.

Crime in Local Area

Official crime rates and perceptions of local criminal activity also appeared to influence fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. The official burglary crime rate by Garda Division per 1,000 population was found to significantly affect both the extent to which individuals feared crime and the impact of this fear on their quality of life. Only the official crime rate for burglary was included in this analysis as an objective measure of local crime rates as the official crime rates were highly correlated (see Chapter Three). Intriguingly, while controlling for a history of victimisation and perceptions of local criminality, as burglary crime rates increased, an individuals' probability of experiencing a fear of crime and a reduced quality of life slightly decreased (-4 per cent and -2 per cent respectively). This may be indicative of a possible normalisation of crime in areas with higher reported crime levels as well as suggesting that the impact of crime levels on fear of crime may be mediated by an individual's perceptions of crime in their local area. Consequently, living in an area with a high crime rate for burglary may lead to a perception that crime is a normal occurrence, and, in this way, reduce an individual's fear of crime.

Interestingly, the results of the regression analysis also point to the importance of perceptions of local criminality in influencing fear of crime and quality of life. Individuals who believed that property crime was a problem in their local area, regardless of official crime statistics, were 124 per cent more likely to be 'concerned about crime' and 139 per cent more likely to be 'fearful of crime'. Similarly,

respondents who believed that the level of crime in their locality had increased were one and a half times more likely to be 'concerned about crime' and almost three and a half times more likely to be 'fearful of crime'. Consequently, perceptions of an increase in local crime levels, as well as a perception that property crime is a problem in their local area, are more important than objectively measured crime levels in predicting fear of crime.

In addition, differences were observed between those who were 'concerned about crime' and 'fearful of crime' in their perceptions of local youth crime and public nuisance as a problem in their local area. Individuals believing that youth crime and public nuisance were a problem in their locality were more likely to be 'fearful of crime' as they felt their quality of life was moderately, significantly or greatly reduced by their fear of crime (134 per cent and 140 per cent respectively). In contrast, perceptions of youth crime and public nuisance as a problem in one's local area were not found to influence an individual's probability of being 'concerned about crime'.

These findings indicate that perceptions of crime in one's locality, as well as official crime rates, can influence fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. However, it is difficult to determine whether perceptions of crime as a problem in one's local area cause fear of crime or whether individuals who fear crime pay more attention to levels of local criminal activity than those who do not fear crime. As such, the causal relationship between fear of crime and perceptions of crime is unclear as while perceptions may influence fear of crime, fear of crime may also influence perceptions of local criminality. Despite this ambiguity, perceptions of crime were included in this research so as to allow consistency and comparability with international research which also tends to include perception of crime in their fear of crime regression models

Experience of Victimization

Another factor found to significantly predict the extent to which individuals feared crime and the impact of this fear on their quality of life was their prior experience of victimisation.

Individuals who had been the victim of a crime in the past year were almost one and a half times (147 per cent) more likely to be 'concerned about crime' and were almost two and a half times (241 per cent) more likely to be 'fearful of crime' compared to those who had not been victimised. Similarly, individuals stating that a member of their household had been victimised were also one and a half times (152 per cent) more likely to be 'concerned about crime' and twice as likely (204 per cent) to be 'fearful of crime'. However, individuals who had prior experience of both personal victimisation and household victimisation were especially vulnerable to experiencing a reduction in their quality of life as they were almost three and half times (346 per cent) more likely to report being 'fearful of crime' but not 'concerned about crime. Further, individuals who had been the victim of a racist attack were also more than twice as likely to be 'concerned about crime' (223 per cent) and almost three times (295 per cent) more likely to report a reduction in their quality of life due to their fear of crime.

Prior experience of victimisation is, therefore, associated with individuals experiencing a fear of crime and a reduction in their quality of life.

Satisfaction with An Garda Síochána

Lastly, respondents' level of satisfaction with An Garda Síochána was also found to significantly predict whether respondents feared crime and the effect of this fear on their quality of life.

Compared to those who were satisfied/very satisfied with the level of visibility of An Garda Síochána, individuals who were dissatisfied/very dissatisfied were almost one and a half times (148 per cent) more likely to be 'concerned about crime' and 172 per cent more likely to state that their fear of crime reduced their quality of life. Similarly, those who were dissatisfied/very dissatisfied with the overall performance of An Garda Síochána were also more likely to be 'concerned about crime' and to report that their fear of crime affected their quality of life compared to those who were satisfied/very satisfied (133 per cent and 188 per cent respectively).

Accordingly, feelings of satisfaction with Garda visibility and performance are associated with a lower probability of experiencing a fear of crime and reduction in

quality of life. However, as before, the existence of a causal relationship between satisfaction with An Garda Síochána and fear of crime remains unclear as individuals who are afraid of crime may be more attentive to policing issues, and may demand more from the Gardaí than those who are not afraid of crime. Nevertheless, as with perceptions of crime, satisfaction with policing tends to be included as a predictor variable in international research. Accordingly, satisfaction levels with An Garda Síochána were included in this research so as to allow consistency and comparability with international studies.

Based on these findings, it appears that females, individuals aged 65 or above, victims of crime and racist attacks, those dissatisfied with An Garda Síochána and individuals perceiving property crime to be a problem in their area are more likely to fear crime and experience a reduction in their quality of life. Widowed individuals, those with no formal/primary or lower secondary level education and those who have experienced both personal victimisation and household victimisation also appear to be especially vulnerable to developing a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life, as are those who are unemployed/not working, retired or living in a city other than Dublin. Individuals who perceive youth crime and public nuisance to be a problem in their locality are also more likely to report a reduction in their quality of life than those who do not. In contrast, when experience of victimisation and perceptions of local criminality are controlled for, individuals living in an area with a higher official crime rate for burglary, Dublin city and/or smaller towns are less likely to be ‘concerned about crime’ while upper middle/middle socio-economic status individuals and those with a degree or higher qualification are less likely to report that their quality of life is affected by their fear of crime.

Summary

Approximately 36.5 per cent of respondents were found to be worried about crime. In particular, they were worried about being burgled, mugged/robbed, having their property vandalised, being physically attacked by a stranger, having their car stolen and/or having items stolen from their car. More females than males were ‘very worried’ about rape, physical attacks by a stranger, burglary and being mugged/robbed. Older age groups were also found to be more concerned about property crime while younger age groups tended to be more worried about violent

crime. However, in comparison to residents of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, Irish residents did not appear to be as worried about crime.

Of those who feared crime, 41.1 per cent stated that their fear of crime moderately significantly or greatly reduced their quality of life. Accordingly, 63.5 per cent of all respondents were 'not worried about crime' (i.e. did not fear crime), 21.5 per cent were 'concerned about crime' (i.e. feared crime but this fear did not affect their quality of life) and 15 per cent were 'fearful of crime' (i.e. fear of crime moderately, significantly or greatly reduced quality of life).

Based on the regression analysis, a number of factors were associated with individuals fearing crime and experiencing a reduction in their quality of life. These factors include: gender; age; nationality, socio-economic status; marital status; education level; locality; official burglary crime rate by Garda Division; perceptions of crime in local area; prior experience of victimisation and satisfaction with An Garda Síochána. Females, individuals aged 65 or above, those believing crime in their local area had increased, individuals with a prior history of victimisation and those who were dissatisfied with An Garda Síochána were more likely to fear crime. In contrast, individuals whose socio-economic status was unknown, residents of Dublin city and individuals living in an area with a higher official crime rate for burglary (once victimisation and perceptions of local crime were controlled for) appeared to be less likely to be 'concerned about crime'. Widowed individuals, those with no formal/primary or lower secondary education, residing in a city other than Dublin, who were unemployed/not working or retired and those who had experienced both personal victimisation and household victimisation seemed to be especially vulnerable to developing a fear of crime which reduced their quality of life. In comparison, upper middle/middle socio-economic status individuals were less likely to report that their quality of life was affected by their fear of crime.

The extent to which fear of crime and its impact on quality on life is related to wider perceptions of crime, the Irish Criminal Justice System and involvement in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Perceptions of Crime and the Irish Criminal Justice System

In this chapter, the focus changes from examining the factors influencing an individual's fear of crime to examining perceptions of the Criminal Justice System. Respondents' perceptions of crime and the Irish Criminal Justice System are explored to determine whether these perceptions vary depending on whether the respondent is 'not worried about crime', 'concerned about crime' or 'fearful of crime'. Respondents' beliefs about crime, the causes of crime and public safety are investigated first, before moving on to explore their perceptions about the operation and effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System more generally. Finally, respondents' perceptions of and participation in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes are also examined. These perceptions are investigated to determine whether there is a relationship between fear of crime and beliefs about the seriousness of crime and the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System.

Beliefs about Crime and Public Safety

In the following sections, charts, graphs and correlation coefficients are used to explore the relationship between fear of crime and respondents' beliefs about crime and public safety. A correlation coefficient is a statistical technique used to examine the strength of the relationship between two continuous or ordered variables¹⁸. Accordingly to this analysis, there is an association between fear of crime and views on public safety.

For example, as can be seen in Figure 11, there is a significant relationship between respondents' fear of crime and their perceptions of crime as a serious social problem in Ireland ($r = -.193$; $p < .001$ ¹⁹). Respondents who expressed a fear of crime (i.e. those 'concerned about crime' and 'fearful about crime') were more likely to perceive crime in Ireland to be a very serious social problem (55.6 per cent and 67 per cent respectively). In particular, individuals whose quality of life was affected by their fear of crime (i.e. the 'fearful of crime' group) were especially likely to describe crime in

¹⁸ A Spearman's correlation coefficient was used as the variables of interest were ordinal or ranked in nature (e.g. 'not worried about crime', 'concerned about crime' and 'fearful of crime').

¹⁹ This notation is used to refer to the size, direction and statistical significance of the relationship between two variables. The r value represents the size and direction of the relationship while the p values is the probability that this relationship is due to chance. A p value of less than .05 represents a statistically significant result as this means that there is a less than 5 per cent probability that this result is due to chance.

Ireland as a very serious social problem compared to the ‘not worried about crime’ group (67 per cent compared to 42.4 per cent - see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Percentage Perceiving Crime to be a Serious Problem in Ireland by level of Fear of Crime

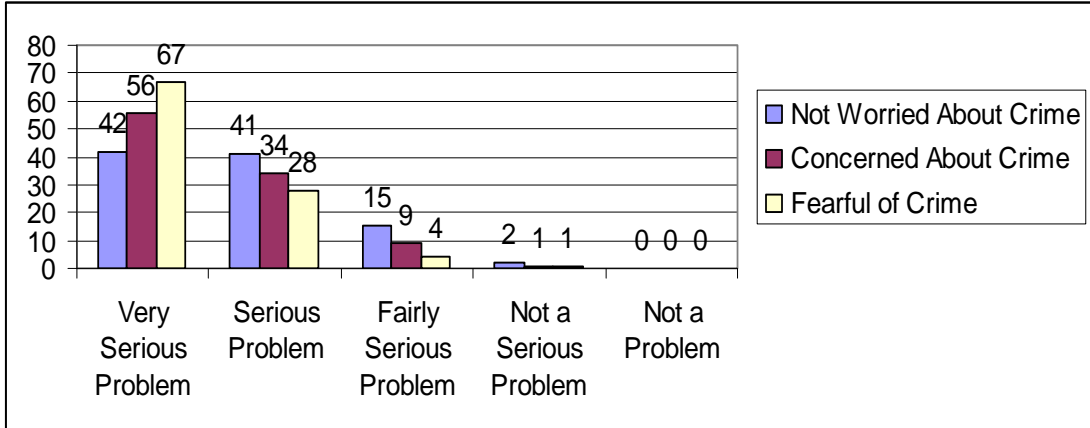
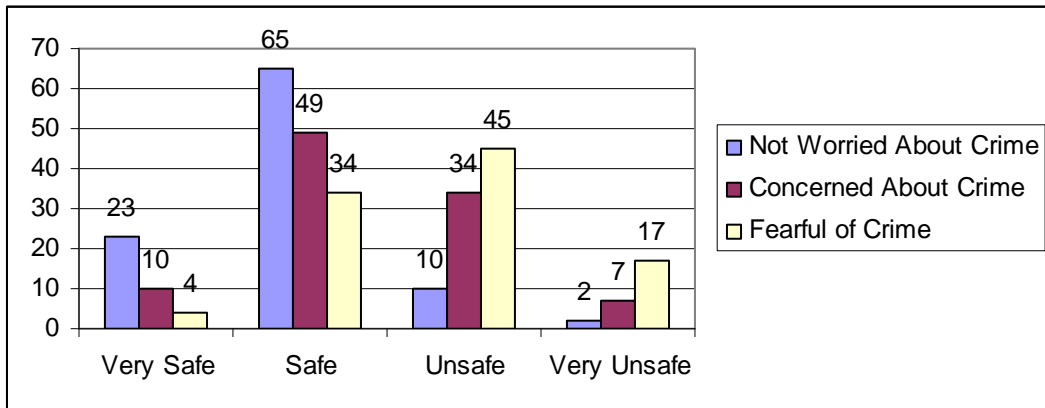


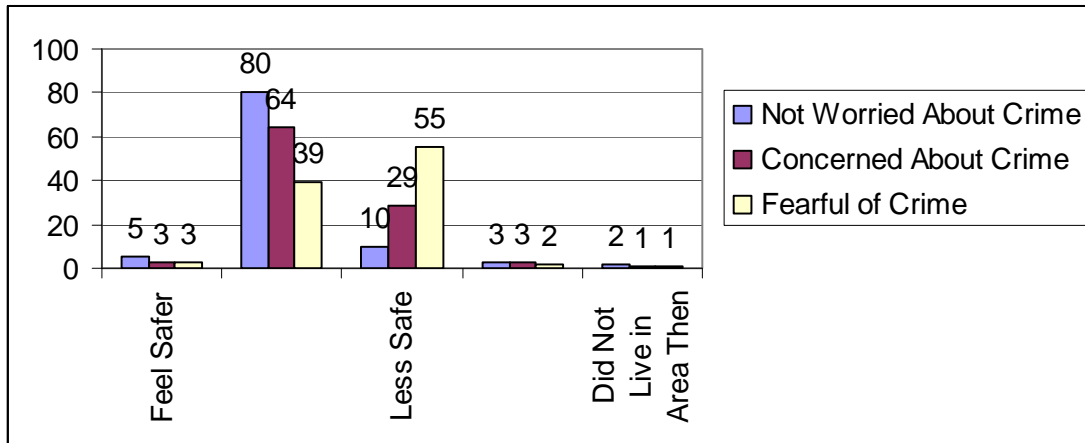
Figure 12 shows that fear of crime was also related to feelings of public safety, such that individuals expressing a fear of crime tended to feel less safe walking around their neighbourhood after dark ($r = .418; p < .001$). More respondents in the ‘fearful of crime’ group tended to feel very unsafe alone in their neighbourhood after dark compared to the ‘not worried about crime’ groups (16.8 per cent compared to 2.2 per cent - see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Percentage Who Feel Safe Alone in Neighbourhood After Dark by level of Fear of Crime



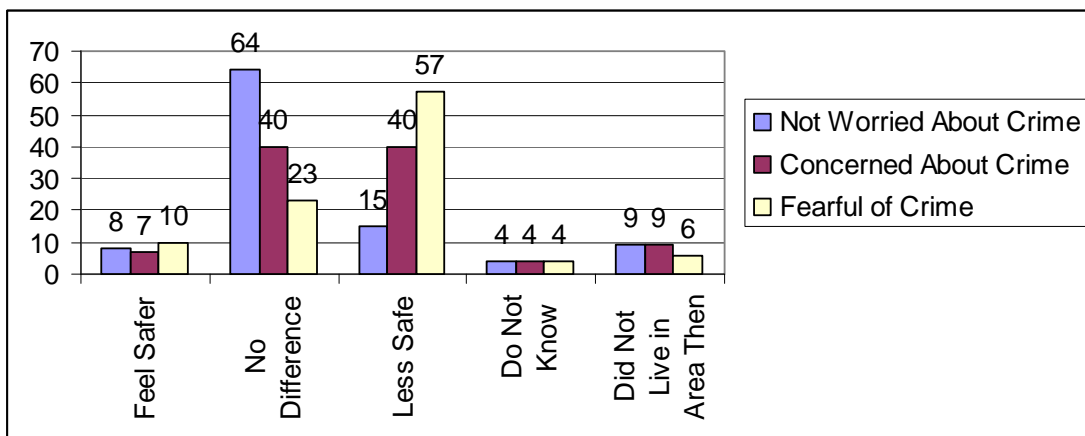
Individuals who were ‘fearful of crime’ were also more likely to state that they felt less safe out walking in their area now then they did 12 months ago compared to those who were ‘not worried about crime’ ($r = -.307$; $p < .001$ – see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Percentage Feeling More or Less Safe Out Walking in their Area Now Compared to 12 Months Ago



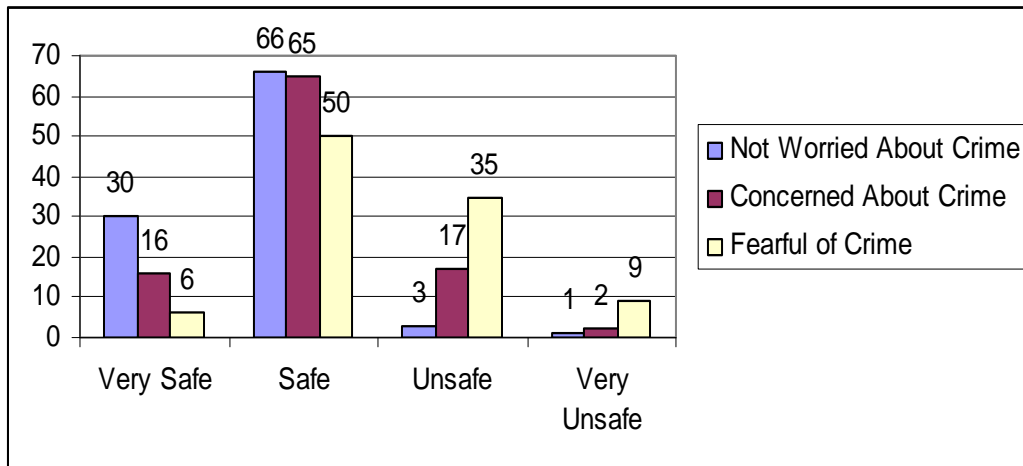
Likewise, individuals who were ‘fearful of crime’ were also more likely to report that they felt less safe out walking in their area now then they did 6 years ago ($r = -.224$; $p < .001$ – see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Percentage Feeling More or Less Safe Out Walking in their Area Now Compared to 6 Years Ago



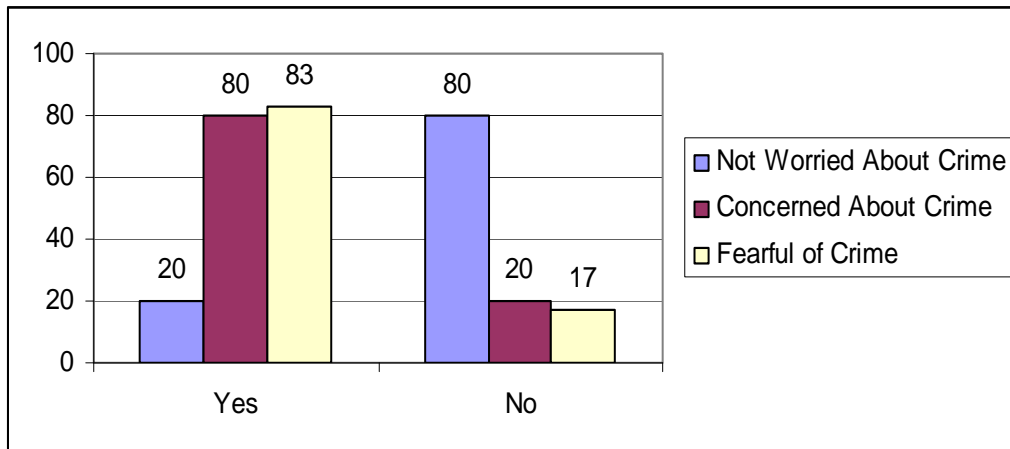
In addition, feelings of personal safety were found to be related to feelings of fear ($r = .367$; $p < .001$) with those in the ‘fearful of crime’ group tending to feel less safe alone in their home after dark (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Percentage Who Feel Safe at Home Alone at Night by level of Fear of Crime



Furthermore, respondents who were ‘concerned about crime’ or ‘fearful of crime’ were also more likely to worry about family and friends becoming a victim of crime ($r = -.579$; $p < .001$). These individuals were approximately four times more likely to report being worried about family and friends becoming a victim of crime than those who did not fear crime (79.7 per cent and 82.8 per cent respectively compared to 20.4 per cent - see Figure 16)

Figure 16: Percentage Worried About Family/Friends Becoming a Victim of Crime by level of Fear of Crime

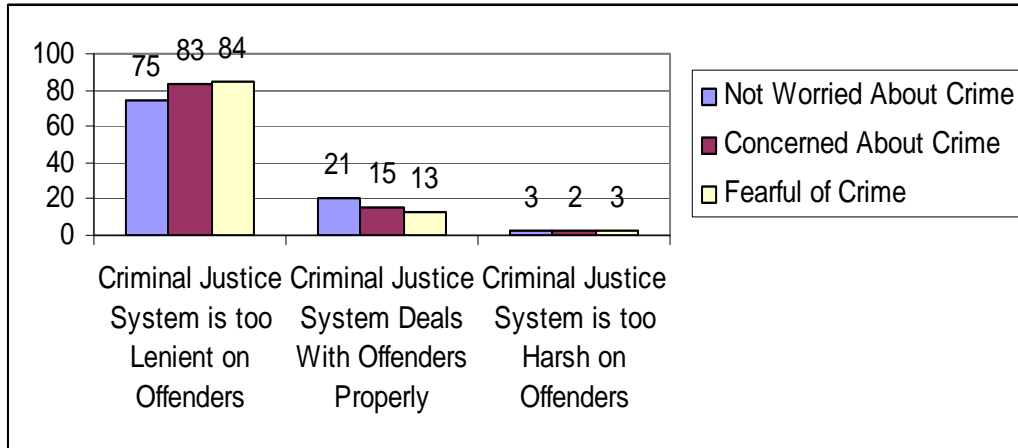


Perceptions of the Irish Criminal Justice System

Respondents' perceptions of the Irish Criminal Justice System were also examined to determine whether these perceptions are associated with an individual's fear of crime and its impact on his/her quality of life.

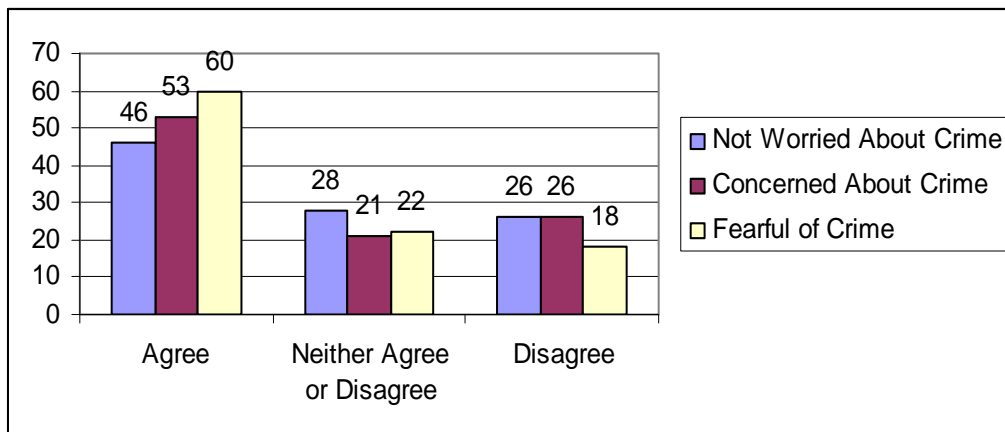
A relationship between fear of crime and respondents' perceptions of the appropriateness of the Criminal Justice System in dealing with offenders was observed but the association was not a strong one ($r = -.095$; $p < .001$). While the majority of respondents felt that the Criminal Justice System was too lenient on offenders, individuals who feared crime were slightly more likely to state that offenders were treated leniently and less likely to state that offenders were dealt with properly or too harshly by the Criminal Justice System (see Figure 17).

Figure 17: Percentage Believing that the Criminal Justice System Deals Appropriately with Offenders by level of Fear of Crime



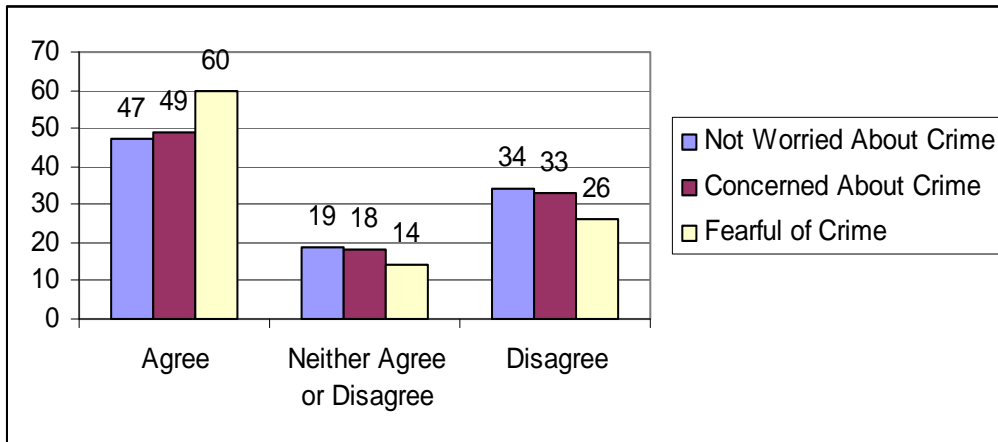
Perceptions regarding the treatment of victims in court was also found to be related to fear of crime and its impact on quality of life ($r = -.095$; $p < .001$). In comparison to those who were ‘not worried about crime’, a higher proportion of those ‘fearful of crime’ agreed with the statement that victims of crime ‘get a raw deal from the courts’ (46.1 per cent compared to 60 per cent - see Figure 18).

Figure 18: Percentage Perceiving Victims to ‘Get a Raw Deal From the Courts’



Similarly, there is evidence that fear of crime is associated with a perception of the Criminal Justice System as unfair ($r = -.083$; $p < .001$). A higher proportion of those in ‘fearful of crime’ group agreed that ‘the better off you are, the better you are treated by the Criminal Justice System’ compared to those who were ‘not worried about crime’ (59.6 per cent compared to 46.4 per cent - see Figure 19).

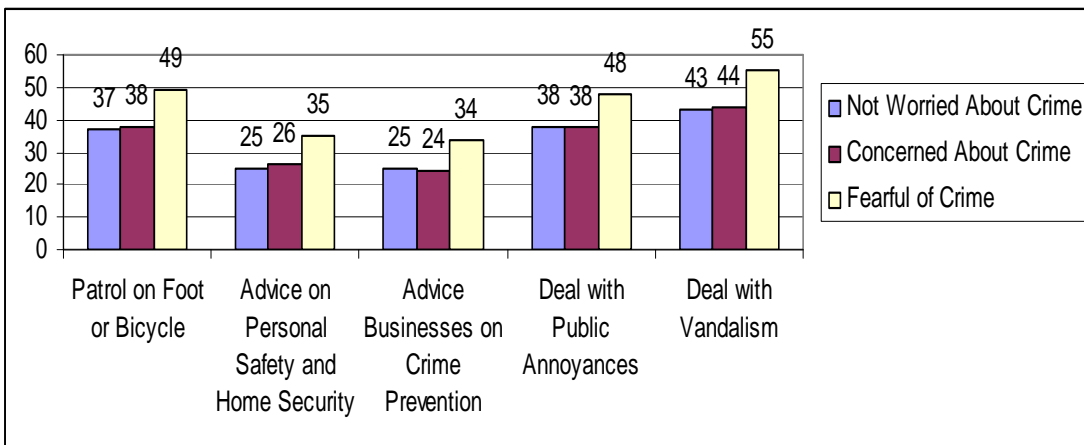
Figure 19: Percentage Perceiving that ‘the Better Off You Are, the Better You Are Treated by the Criminal Justice System’



Policing Priorities

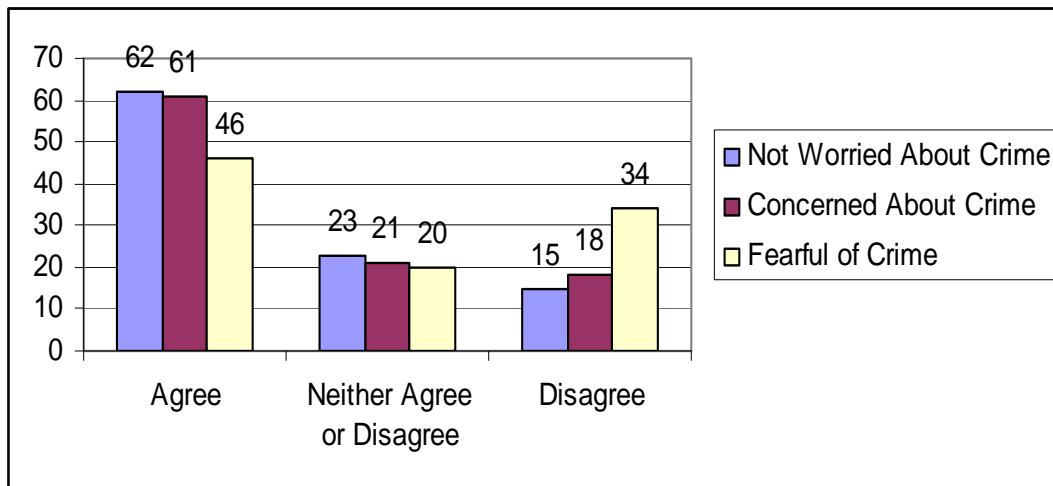
Respondents’ beliefs regarding what policing priorities should be a very high priority for An Garda Síochána were also investigated to determine whether there were any differences between the groups. While the majority of respondents had similar beliefs regarding what the policing priorities should be, some differences between the groups were observed. In particular, those who were ‘fearful of crime’ differed from those who were ‘not worried about crime’ and ‘concerned about crime’. More respondents who were ‘fearful of crime’ tended to believe that patrolling, giving advice on safety, security and crime prevention measures, as well as dealing with vandalism and public annoyances should be a ‘very high’ priority for An Garda Síochána (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: Policing Priorities Rated ‘Very High’ by level of Fear of Crime



Furthermore, a relationship between fear of crime and the perceived sensitivity of An Garda Síochána in dealing with the needs of vulnerable people was also observed ($r = -.105$; $p < .001$). Fewer respondents who were ‘fearful of crime’ tended to agree that An Garda Síochána was sensitive to the needs of vulnerable people (see Figure 21).

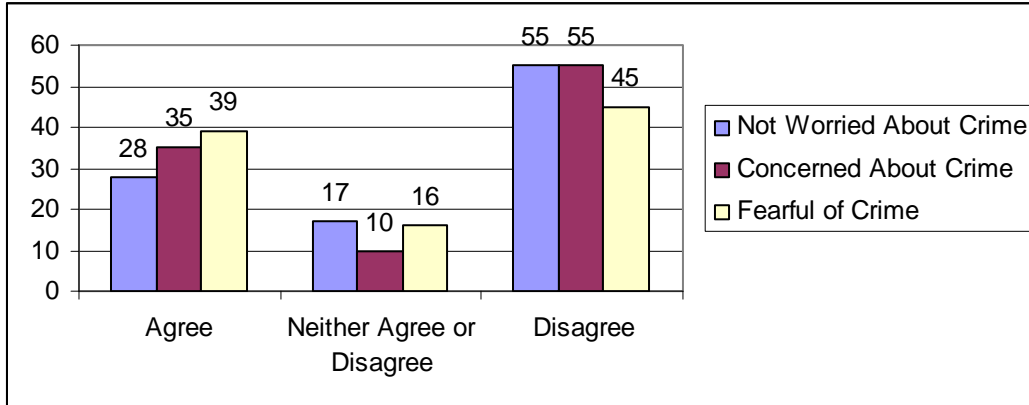
Figure 21: Percentage Perceiving An Garda Síochána to be ‘Sensitive to the Needs of Vulnerable People’



Views of Drug-Related Crime

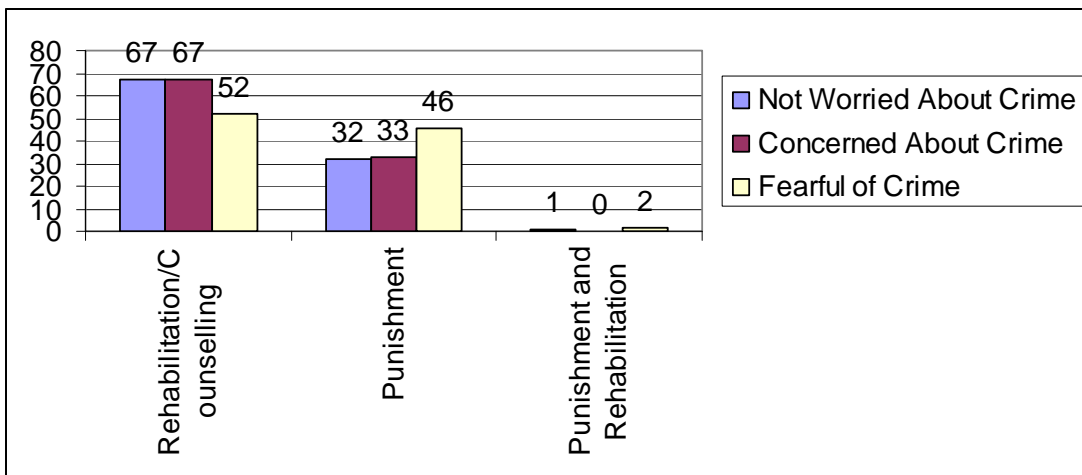
In addition, perceptions regarding the appropriateness and effectiveness of criminal justice sanctions were also investigated and a relationship was observed between fear of crime and perceptions regarding the penalties for possession of ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ drugs ($r = -.057$; $p < .001$). A higher proportion of individuals who were ‘fearful of crime’ tended to agree that the penalties for ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ drug possession should be the same (see Figure 22).

Figure 22: Percentage Believing that Penalties for ‘Hard’ and ‘Soft’ Drug Possession Should be the Same.



A significant relationship was also observed between fear of crime and respondents’ beliefs regarding how drug abuse and juvenile crime should be dealt with. For example, a significant relationship was found between fear of crime and how drug abuse should predominately be combated ($r = -.076$; $p < .001$), with a higher proportion of the ‘fearful of crime’ group endorsing the use of punishment compared to the other groups (see Figure 23).

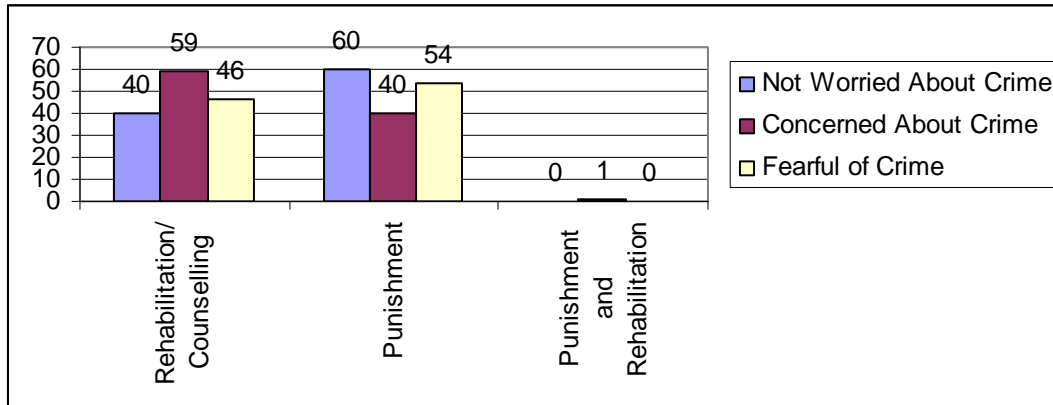
Figure 23: Percentage Endorsing the Use of Punishment and/or Rehabilitation for Drug Abuse



Likewise, a significant relationship between fear of crime and beliefs regarding how juvenile crime should be dealt with was also found ($r = -.071$; $p < .001$). Interestingly, those who were ‘concerned about crime’ (i.e. feared crime but this fear did not affect

their quality of life) were more likely to endorse the use of rehabilitation/counselling in dealing with juvenile crime than those who were ‘not worried about crime’ and ‘fearful of crime’ (59.2 per cent compared to 40.1 per cent and 45.9 per cent respectively - see Figure 24).

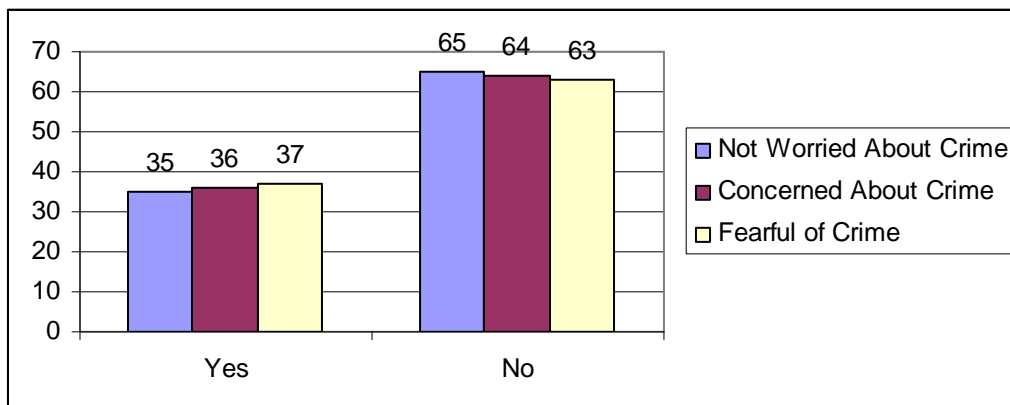
Figure 24: Percentage Endorsing the Use of Punishment and/or Rehabilitation for Juvenile Crime



Perceptions of Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes

Lastly, respondents’ perceptions about and participation in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes were examined to investigate whether fear of crime was associated with participation in these schemes. Perhaps surprisingly, fear of crime was not associated with the respondents’ involvement in such activities. (see Figure 25).

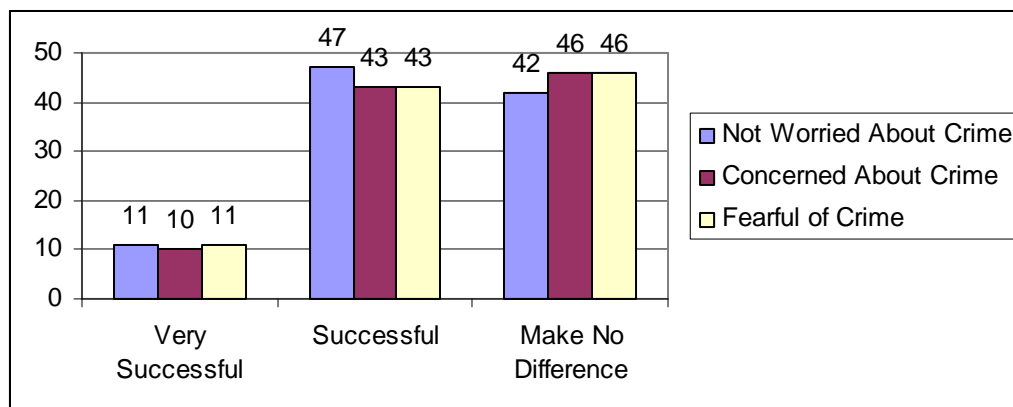
Figure 25: Percentage Participating in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes by level of Fear of Crime



There are a number of potential explanations for this lack of association between fear of crime and involvement in these activities. For example, those fearful of crime may be drawn to participate in such schemes, or participation may depend on the availability of Neighbourhood Watch and/or Community Alert Schemes, an individual's knowledge of, motivation to engage with and feelings of being able to contribute to these schemes as well as their fear of crime levels. Alternatively, participation in these schemes may reduce fear of crime so that individuals participating in these schemes no longer fear becoming a victim of crime. However, without additional research it is difficult to identify the explanation for this lack of association.

While fear of crime was not related to participation in Neighbourhood Watch and/or Community Alert Schemes, a relationship was observed between fear of crime levels and their perceived effectiveness. As Figure 24 shows, ($r = .042$; $p < .001$) a slightly higher proportion of those who fear crime (i.e. those 'concerned about crime' and 'fearful of crime') tend to believe that participation in these schemes 'make no difference' in preventing crime (see Figure 26).

Figure 26: Percentage Perceiving Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert Schemes to be Successful by level of Fear of Crime



While those who fear crime seem to be slightly less optimistic about the ability of Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes to prevent crime, the causal direction of this relationship remains unclear. The absence of an association between level of fear and membership in such groups could reflect the operation of two opposing tendencies: those fearful of, or concerned about, crime may be drawn

towards becoming involved in such groups because of their fears and concerns. These individuals may then expect more and/or demand more from such schemes due to their fears. On the other hand, involvement in such groups may lead individuals to no longer fear crime, prompting them to perceive these schemes to be 'successful' at reducing fear of crime levels. Alternatively, an individual's belief that these schemes 'make no difference' may lead them to develop a fear of crime. Future research is needed to explore the relationship between fear of crime levels, participation in Neighbourhood Watch/Community Alert Schemes and the perceived effectiveness of these schemes.

Summary

Fear of crime was related to an individual's beliefs about crime, public safety, the Irish Criminal Justice System and Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes.

Individuals who were 'concerned about crime' and 'fearful of crime' were more likely to perceive crime in Ireland to be a very serious problem. Similarly, these individuals were more likely to worry about friends and family becoming a victim of crime as well as to feel unsafe walking around their neighbourhood alone at night and in their home alone after dark. In particular, feeling unsafe and a perception that crime in Ireland was a very serious social problem appeared to be more prevalent amongst those whose fear of crime affected their quality of life (i.e. the 'fearful of crime' group).

In addition, individuals who were 'concerned about crime' and 'fearful of crime' were more likely to state that offenders were treated leniently and less likely to state that offenders were dealt with properly or too harshly by the Criminal Justice System. Individuals who were 'fearful of crime' were also more likely to agree with the statements that victims of crime 'get a raw deal from the courts' and that 'the better off you are, the better you are treated by the Criminal Justice System'. However, they were less likely to agree with the statement that An Garda Síochána was sensitive to the needs of vulnerable people. A higher proportion of those in the 'fearful of crime' group compared to those in the other groups also tended to endorse the use of punishment for combating drug abuse. In contrast, a higher proportion of those

‘concerned about crime’ were more likely to endorse the use of rehabilitation/counselling in dealing with juvenile crime than those ‘not worried about crime’ and those ‘fearful of crime’.

With regard to policing priorities, more respondents who were ‘fearful of crime’ tended to believe that patrolling, giving crime, safety, security and crime prevention advice as well as dealing with vandalism and public annoyances should be a ‘very high’ priority for An Garda Síochána. Further, no differences were found between the three groups in their participation in Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes. However, a slightly higher proportion of individuals who were ‘concerned about crime’ and/or ‘fearful of crime’ were more likely to state that these schemes made ‘no difference’ in preventing crime.

It seems, therefore, that while fear of crime and an individual’s perceptions of crime, public safety, the Criminal Justice System and Neighbourhood Watch and Community Alert schemes are linked, the causal relationship between these perceptions and fear of crime remains unclear. For instance, whether fear of crime causes these perceptions or these perceptions lead an individual to be more likely to develop a fear of crime remains to be investigated. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that, by addressing these perceptions, it may be possible to reduce an individual’s fear of crime.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter draws on the main research findings from Chapters Four and Five to identify the individuals most likely to experience a reduced quality of life due to their fear of crime and the processes influencing the level of fear they experience. How fear of crime was defined and measured is briefly reviewed before moving on to acknowledge some of the limitations of the research findings. Next, the key research findings from Chapters Four and Five are drawn together and compared to international research to examine whether the level of fear of crime in Ireland, its impact on quality of life and the factors influencing the extent to which individuals fear crime differs from that observed in other countries. Following on from this, three underlying processes believed to be important for influencing the extent to which individuals fear crime and experience a reduction in their quality of life are identified. Lastly, recommendations for reducing excessive or disproportionate fear of crime, and its impact on quality of life, are suggested. By identifying the main processes underlying the extent to which individuals fear crime, strategies and/or initiatives can be targeted at these processes so as to reduce fear of crime and its consequences.

Key Research Findings on Fear of Crime

The aims of this research were to examine the extent of fear of crime in Ireland, the impact of this fear on quality of life and the factors associated with individuals experiencing a reduced quality of life due to this fear. As discussed in Chapter One, fear of crime is a complex subject incorporating a range of thoughts, emotions and beliefs regarding an individual's concern about crime, their risk of being victimised, the role of the environment in eliciting fear and an individual's ability to deal with the consequences of victimisation (see Box et al. 1998; Ferraro, 1995; Skogan, 1987). This has resulted in fear of crime being broadly defined as "an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or the symbols that a person associates with crime" (Ferraro, 1994: 5). Studies investigating fear of crime tend to focus on whether individuals fear becoming a victim of crime, the types of crime they fear, the frequency and intensity of this fear as well as the types of situations which elicit fear (see Farrall et al. 1997; Farrall and Gadd, 2004, 2003; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987). In this research, a survey methodology was used to explore the level of fear of crime in Ireland and fear of crime was assessed based on participants' responses to the question 'Do you worry that you might become a victim of crime?' (see Chapter Three).

While survey research is useful in identifying trends in reported fear of crime levels, and for facilitating international comparisons, there are a number of limitations which must be borne in mind. For example, in order to be able to answer questions on fear of crime, individuals must be able and/or willing to accurately recall and report their level of worry or fear of crime (see Fattah, 1993; Hale, 1996). There are concerns that males may not report their fears due to concerns about appearing ‘unmanly’ by expressing ‘weakness’ and/or ‘vulnerability’ (see Sutton and Farrall, 2005). As a result, the validity of survey research depends on respondents accurately acknowledging and reporting their fear of crime. In addition, survey research is limited in its ability to explore the types of situations in which fear of crime occurs as well as its frequency and intensity (Farrall and Gadd, 2004). Accordingly, while the present study is limited in its ability to explore in depth the context of fear of crime, it is nonetheless able to identify the prevalence of such fear in Ireland as well as the individuals most likely to experience a fear of crime.

Fear of Crime Levels

In the 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey, approximately 36.5 per cent of respondents stated that they were worried about becoming a victim of crime. These individuals were especially worried about being burgled, mugged/robbed, having their property vandalised, being physically attacked by a stranger, having their car stolen and having items stolen from their car (see Chapter Four). However, Irish residents did not appear to be as worried about crime as their English, Welsh, Scottish and Northern Ireland counterparts (see Table 3). This finding corresponds to previous research which suggests that worries about crime and public safety appear to be slightly less prevalent in Ireland compared to a number of other EU and international countries surveyed (see Van Dijk et al. 2006, 2007).

In addition, fear of crime does not seem to affect the quality of life of Irish citizens to the same extent as individuals residing in Northern Ireland, England or Wales (see French and Freel 2008; Nicholas et al. 2008). Almost two-thirds (63.5 per cent) of Irish respondents stated that they were ‘not worried about crime’ while 21.5 per cent were ‘concerned about crime’ (i.e. feared crime but this fear did not affect their quality of life or only affected their quality of life a little) and 15 per cent were ‘fearful of crime’ (i.e. feared crime which moderately, significantly or greatly reduced

their quality of life). In contrast, 61 per cent of individuals in Northern Ireland stated that their fear of crime had a minimal impact on their quality of life while 39 per cent claimed that their fear of crime either moderately affected their quality of life or greatly reduced their quality of life (see French and Freel, 2008)²⁰. Similarly, 63 per cent of individuals in England and Wales felt that their fear of crime had a minimal impact on their quality of life while 37 per cent felt it had a moderate effect on their quality of life or greatly reduced their quality of life (Nicholas et al. 2008). Based on these figures, a smaller proportion of Irish respondents stated that their quality of life was moderately, significantly or greatly reduced by their fear of crime compared to individuals living in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Factors Associated with Fear of Crime and Quality of Life in Ireland

A multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to identify the factors associated with individuals living in Ireland being either ‘concerned about crime’ or ‘fearful of crime’ (see Chapter Four). Based on the regression results, a number of factors were found to influence the extent to which individuals reported a fear of crime and a reduced quality of life. These included an individual’s socio-demographic profile, perceptions of local crime, satisfaction with An Garda Síochána and prior history of victimisation. These findings are discussed in terms of three underlying processes which seemed to play an important role in influencing the extent to which individuals feared crime and the impact of this fear on their quality of life. These processes are: personal vulnerability; prior experience of victimisation; and a possible normalisation of crime.

Personal Vulnerability

The research findings reveal that the socio-demographic profile of the respondents influenced the extent to which they feared crime and experienced a reduction in their quality of life. Fear of crime does not affect the quality of life of all individuals equally (see Chapter One). Instead, international research suggests that fear of crime affects the quality of life of some individuals more so than others (see Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998; Stafford, Chandola and Marmot, 2007; Stiles, Halim and Kaplan,

²⁰ Respondents in the Northern Ireland, England and Wales were only asked to rate whether fear of crime had a ‘minimal’, ‘moderate’ or ‘greatly’ affected their quality of life which makes direct comparison with respondents in Ireland difficult.

2003). It is not surprising, therefore, to note that this research observed a number of differences between those whose fear of crime did *not* affect their quality of life (i.e. those who were ‘concerned about crime’) and those whose fear of crime moderately, significantly or greatly reduced their quality of life (i.e. those who were ‘fearful of crime’).

Similar to other studies, an individual’s gender and marital status were found to influence their fear of crime and its impact on their quality of life. As in other countries (e.g. Box et al. 1988; Hale, 1996; Ferraro, 1995), fear of crime was more frequently reported amongst females, despite Irish victimisation surveys indicating that females are the least likely to be victimised (see CSO, 1999, 2004, 2007). Females are believed to be more likely to fear crime and for this fear to affect their quality of life due to feelings of personal vulnerability arising from decreased feelings of safety (due to concerns about sexual assault and/or abuse) and doubts about their ability to defend themselves and/or cope with the consequences of victimisation (see Campbell, 2005; Killias, 1990; Stanko, 1997). Widowed individuals are also thought to be more likely to experience a reduction in quality of life due to feelings of vulnerability arising from feelings of loneliness and/or a more limited support network. Accordingly, individuals may feel vulnerable to crime due to their physical ability/inability to protect themselves, loved ones and/or possessions as well as due to the limited availability of help and support to assist them during the crime or in dealing with the consequences of crime.

Tentative support for the idea that feelings of personal vulnerability may influence the extent to which fear of crime affects quality of life is available in the respondents’ feelings of personal safety and policing priorities. A higher proportion of those who were ‘fearful of crime’ tended to rate patrolling, giving crime, safety, security and crime prevention advice as well as dealing with vandalism and public nuisance as a ‘very high’ priority for An Garda Síochána. While it is difficult to disentangle the causal relationships between these factors and fear of crime, the results suggest that those who are ‘fearful of crime’ may feel vulnerable due to a lack of knowledge about crime prevention techniques and/or methods of dealing with crime, as well as being concerned about the availability of An Garda Síochána should they encounter difficulties. By obtaining advice from An Garda Síochána and observing An Garda

Síochána patrolling their neighbourhood, vulnerable individuals may feel reassured that An Garda Síochána are available to assist them, if they should require assistance.

Older adults were also more likely to report being worried about crime and experiencing a reduction in their quality of life compared to younger adults, despite experiencing a lower risk of victimisation (see CSO, 1999, 2004, 2007; Watson, 2000). This has become known as the fear/risk paradox (Box et al. 1988; Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Hale, 1996). However, older adults may be more likely to fear crime as the potential physical, psychological and economic consequences associated with crime may be more serious for older adults than younger adults. Similarly, the finding that individuals aged 18-24 were less likely to report that their quality of life was affected by their fear of crime may be due to a sense of invulnerability which is frequently associated with youth (see Elkind, 1967) and/or because the consequences of crime may be less serious for younger adults. For instance, younger adults may have fewer material possessions (such as a house, car, etc) which can be damaged/stolen and they may also be less concerned about their ability to deal with crime/offenders/victimisation due to their youth, agility and sense of invulnerability. This suggests that older adults may be more likely to fear crime, and for this fear to reduce their quality of life, due to concerns about their ability to cope with offenders and/or the experience of victimisation.

Suggestive evidence for this is available in the finding that different age groups tend to fear different types of crime. Younger individuals tended to be more worried about being physically attacked by a stranger or raped while older adults were more concerned about burglary (see Chapter Four). For other crimes (such as car being stolen, items stolen from car or property being vandalized), an inverted u-shape was observed such that individuals aged between 24 and 64 expressed the most concern about these types of crimes. On the other hand, a similar level of concern was expressed across all age groups about racist attacks and being insulted/pestered in public places (see Chapter Four). These findings point to the need for age-specificity in any interventions designed to reduce fear of crime.

Further, individuals may feel vulnerable if they feel 'at risk'. Furedi (2002) suggests that, due to a growth in media technologies, there is now a greater awareness of crime

amongst the public as well as a greater sense of being 'at risk'. For example, although individuals aged 65 or above are less likely to be victimised, media coverage of stories in which older adults are physically attacked may increase their perceptions of being at risk and, in this way, increase their feelings of fear. It has also been argued that the growth in media technologies has not only contributed to a greater awareness of being at risk of crime but also more generalised feelings of unease and uncertainty as people become aware of their risk of ill health, unemployment, financial instability, family instability, etc. (see Beck, 1992; Furedi, 2002; Lyng, 2005). This has led some researchers to suggest that individuals may project their fears about wider, more difficult to control issues onto crime as crime appears actionable and potentially controllable (see Holloway & Jefferson, 1997). This implies that some individuals may experience a fear of crime which appears to be disproportionate to their environment and experiences but which is related to their wider fears and anxieties. In this way, an individual's fear of crime may be related to wider feelings of anxiety and/or vulnerability beyond their risk of victimisation and/or ability to deal with the consequences of victimisation.

However, individuals may also experience feelings of personal vulnerability due to their ability to cope with the financial costs of victimisation. In particular, individuals with no formal/primary education or lower secondary education and individuals who are unemployed/not working or retired are especially vulnerable to the effects of victimisation. For these individuals, fear of crime may reduce their quality of life due to their inability to financially cope with the costs and/or repercussions associated with being a victim of crime. In contrast, upper middle/middle socio-economic status respondents may be less likely to report a reduced quality of life as the consequences of crime may be lessened for these individuals by insurance, crime prevention measures and/or their ability to cope with the costs associated with victimisation. Individuals educated to degree level or higher, working part-time or in further education/training were also more likely to fear crime but to report that this fear did not affect their quality of life. These findings correspond to international research which has found that individuals experiencing deprivation and/or disadvantage are more likely to report that their quality of life is reduced by their fear of crime (European Crime and Prevention Network, 2004; Mayhew and Reilly, 2007; Panatazis, 2000). As such, the resources available to an individual to replace

stolen/damaged possessions and/or to cope with the costs associated with victimisation may influence the level of fear they experience.

Individuals who were dissatisfied with the level of policing provided by An Garda Síochána were also found to be more likely to fear crime and report a reduced quality of life, as were those who believed that the levels of crime in their locality had increased and that property crime was a problem in their locality. This is consistent with international research which suggests that feelings of vulnerability and perceptions of crime as a frequent occurrence may result in feelings of fear as individuals believe they are 'at risk' of being victimised (see Box et al. 1988; Hale, 1996; Ferraro, 1995; Warr and Stafford, 1983). In addition, individuals who were 'fearful of crime' were more likely to perceive youth crime and public nuisance to be a problem in their locality. While it is unclear whether these perceptions cause fear of crime or whether an individual experiencing fear of crime may be more attentive to incidents of youth crime and/or public nuisance, interventions targeting these perceptions may decrease fear of crime and its impact on quality of life.

Similarly, while feelings of dissatisfaction with the level of visibility provided by An Garda Síochána and the overall performance of An Garda Síochána were associated with being 'concerned about crime' or 'fearful of crime', the causal relationship between these feelings of dissatisfaction and fear of crime remains unclear. Individuals who are afraid of crime may pay more attention to policing issues and, consequently, may demand more from the Gardaí than those who are 'not worried about crime'. Nevertheless, despite the confusion surrounding the causal direction of this relationship, interventions aimed at enhancing feelings of satisfaction with An Garda Síochána may assist in reducing fear of crime and ameliorating the impact of fear of crime on quality of life.

Individuals who were 'fearful of crime' were also less likely to feel that members of An Garda Síochána were 'sensitive to the needs of vulnerable people'. Addressing feelings of vulnerability may therefore help to reduce fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. This may become particularly important in coming years as the age demographic of the population changes to include a higher proportion of older adults than in previous times. Accordingly, strategies such as community outreach, foot

patrols and dissemination of information on crime prevention have a role to play in addressing feelings of risk and vulnerability, thus lessening the impact of fear of crime on quality of life.

Prior Experience of Victimisation

As in other countries (see Skogan, 1987; Box et al. 1988), a history of victimisation was associated with Irish respondents reporting a fear of crime, such that individuals with a prior experience of victimisation were more likely to fear crime than those who had not been victimised. Unlike other studies which have *not* found a straightforward relationship between victimisation and fear of crime (see Agnew, 1985; Winkel, 1998), the experience of victimisation in Ireland appears to be directly related to individuals reporting a fear of crime and a reduced quality of life. In particular, individuals who have experienced both personal victimisation and household victimisation were almost three and a half times more likely to report that their quality of life was moderately, significantly or greatly reduced by their fear of crime. Similarly, victims of a racist attack were also more likely to be afraid of crime and for this fear to affect their quality of life. This suggests that individuals who have been victimised are likely to develop a fear of crime and to experience a reduction in their quality of life.

This finding corresponds to previous research in Ireland which found that being a victim of crime is associated with reduced feelings of safety and, in some cases, a reduction in quality of life (see CSO, 1999, 2004, 2007; Watson, 2000). In particular, there are a number of physical, financial and psychological costs associated with victimisation in Ireland (see Watson, 2000). This implies that, if the experience of victimisation could be reduced and/or the costs of victimisation lessened, an individual's probability of fearing crime, and it negatively affecting their quality of life, may also be reduced. In this research, individuals who were 'fearful of crime' were also more likely to agree with the statement that 'victims of crime get a raw deal from the courts'. Consequently, services aimed at supporting victims by ameliorating the costs of victimisation may help to reduce fear of crime and the effects of fear of crime on quality of life.

However, although being a recent victim of crime is associated with being either ‘concerned about crime’ or ‘fearful of crime’, the level of crime in one’s local area (as measured by the official burglary crime rate by Garda Division per 1,000 population) was found to be negatively associated with fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. In other words, as official crime levels increased, an individual’s probability of developing a fear of crime and this fear reducing their quality of life seemed to decrease. This suggests that living in an area with a high crime rate for burglary may lead to a perception that crime is a normal occurrence and, in this way, reduce fear of crime so long as the individual, or a member of their household, has not been victimised.

Normalisation of Crime

The research findings indicate that individuals living in an area with a higher crime rate for burglary tended to be less likely to fear crime and to state that this fear reduced their quality of life. This suggests that individuals living in an area in which burglary is more prevalent may be more likely to begin to perceive burglary/crime as a normal occurrence and, as a result, may be less fearful. This implies that individuals exposed to a certain amount of crime or a certain type of crime may begin to perceive that crime as a normal occurrence, and one with which people cope and survive.

For example, individuals living in a city (other than Dublin) were more likely to report experiencing a fear of crime which reduced their quality of life while residents of Dublin city and small towns (population 1-10,000) were less likely to be ‘concerned about crime’ or ‘fearful of crime’. It is interesting to note that residents of Dublin city were less likely to fear crime as international research suggests that residents of urban areas are more likely to fear crime and for this fear to reduce their quality of life (European Crime Prevention Network, 2004; Mayhew and Reilly, 2007; Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998). However, the higher levels of crime (as measured by the official burglary crime rate) observed in Dublin may have lead respondents to perceive crime as a normal occurrence as long as they or a member of their household had not been victimised or they did not perceive the level of crime in their locality to have increased. In addition, the media’s portrayal of violent crime in Dublin as being between ‘feuding gangs’ may have had the paradoxical effect of leading residents of Dublin to feel safer by leading them to believe that such crimes

are unlikely to happen to them. Alternatively, the level of services and supports available to individuals residing in Dublin may reduce concerns about the availability of help and support if victimisation occurs. Further research is needed to clarify why residents of Dublin city are less likely to fear crime while residents of other Irish cities are more likely to be experience a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life.

With regards to nationality, non-Irish nationals (apart from British nationals) were also found to be less likely to be ‘concerned about crime’ than Irish nationals, once their prior history of victimisation was controlled for. Reasons for this finding are unclear but may depend on how non-nationals perceive the level of crime in Ireland compared to the level of crime which they may have become accustomed to in their origin country. However, caution is required in interpreting this finding as individuals who have been the victim of a racist attack are especially likely to develop a fear of crime which moderately, significantly or greatly reduces their quality of life. Other studies have also found that different ethnic groups and/or nationalities report differences in the level of fear they experience (Hough, 1995; John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999; Salisbury and Upson, 2004). Unfortunately, it was not possible to investigate the relationship between ethnicity and fear of crime in the current research as respondents’ ethnicity was not recorded in the 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey. For this reason, nationality is used as a proxy measure of ethnicity. Accordingly, this research may underestimate minority communities concerns, in particular the concerns of Irish ethnic minority communities, about crime and the impact of fear of crime on quality of life.

This possible process of normalisation also implies that changes in the amount or type of crime which individuals have become accustomed to may lead to an increase in feelings of fear. Accordingly, this process of normalisation may help to explain how individuals living in a high crime area may be less likely to fear crime while individuals living in a lower crime area may be more likely to be ‘concerned about crime’ or ‘fearful of crime’ if they believe that the level of criminal activity in their locality has increased. It may also help to explain how certain crimes (such as the murders of Veronica Guerin, Anthony Campbell and, more recently, Shane Geoghegan and Aidan O’Kane) can evoke feelings of fear and anger amongst the

public as the public are not accustomed to these types of crime. In this way, an individual's perception of crime may play a more important role in influencing their fear of crime than actual official crime rates.

Indeed, a perception that the levels of local crime had increased was associated with individuals fearing crime and reporting a reduced quality of life. Likewise, a perception that property crime, youth crime and public nuisance were a problem in one's local area was associated with individuals experiencing a reduced quality of life due to their fear of crime. However, as the experience of victimisation is associated with an increased probability of fearing crime and experiencing a reduced quality of life, living in a high crime area may potentially lead to a normalisation of crime if the individual or their household has not been victimised.

Reducing Fear of Crime and its Impact on Quality of Life

As fear of crime is a subjective and dynamic phenomenon, successful strategies and/or initiatives for reducing fear of crime and its impact on quality of life will vary from place to place depending on the demographic profile of the community, their experience of crime and victimisation and their perceptions of local crime levels and policing. In addition, the results of this research indicate that fear of crime and its impact on quality of life is not evenly distributed throughout society, indicating that the provision of services to deal with fear of crime should be targeted at those individuals who are most at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life. As such, while a general framework for tackling fear of crime can be developed from the present research findings, specific proposals to reduce fear of crime will need to be developed in partnership with local communities so as to accurately reflect their level of concern and experiences.

Tackling Fear of Crime

While fear of crime can significantly reduce an individual's quality of life, it is important to note that the majority of individuals in Ireland did not report a fear of crime (63.5 per cent) or else stated that, while they feared becoming a victim of crime, this fear did not affect their quality of life or only reduced their quality of life a little (a further 21.5 per cent). Accordingly, strategies and/or initiatives aimed at reducing fear of crime should focus on those individuals who experience a fear of crime which

moderately, significantly or greatly reduces their quality of life. Identifying and targeting services at those who are most likely to experience a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life is more cost-effective and ensures that resources are directed towards those who most need them.

Similar to the identification of crime ‘hot spots’, the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys and crime mapping techniques could be used to identify areas in which individuals express a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life. However, it is recommended that a more detailed method of recording the respondents’ locality and ethnicity is included in the Garda Public Attitudes Survey before it is used for this purpose. Once these areas have been identified, a detailed analysis of the demographic profile of the area, common types of crime and local perceptions of crime and policing can be conducted so as to determine the level of services and supports required to reduce fear of crime and its impact on quality of life in that location. It is important to conduct such an analysis as the findings from this research indicate that the types of services and supports required to reduce fear of crime and its impact on quality of life will vary depending on the residents’ prior history of victimisation, personal vulnerability and the prevalence of criminal activity in that locality.

Accordingly, based on the research findings, a general framework for reducing fear of crime and its impact on quality of life should include initiatives and/or strategies aimed at reducing victimisation, improving services for victims of crime, providing supports for vulnerable and/or disadvantaged groups and addressing local perceptions of crime and policing. However, the specific strategies and/or initiatives employed to reduce fear of crime, and its impact, in different communities will vary depending on the characteristics of the individuals residing in that community and their concerns and experiences.

- *Reducing Victimisation*

As victimisation is related to fear of crime and a reduction in quality of life, reducing victimisation should reduce fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. Nevertheless, the methods used to reduce victimisation will depend on the types of crime and victimisation common to that locality and an analysis of when, where and how these crimes occur. Providing individuals with

information about crime prevention measures, techniques to design out opportunities for crime as well as information on crime ‘hot spots’ and the types of crime individuals may be likely to experience can assist in reducing victimisation by empowering individuals to protect themselves and by providing greater familiarity with the local Gardaí. However, unless the underlying causes of criminal behaviour are addressed, these measures are unlikely to substantially reduce crime and, consequently, victimisation. As a result, the provision of services to those that have been victimised plays a key role in ameliorating fear of crime and its effect on quality of life by reducing the effects of victimisation.

- *Provision of Services to Victims*

As victims of crime are more likely to fear crime and experience a reduced quality of life, adequate support services are required to mitigate the effects (physical, financial, emotional and psychological) of this experience on their quality of life. Particular attention should be paid to repeat victims of crime (including both personal victimisation and household victimisation) and victims of racist attacks as these individuals are especially at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life. When reporting a crime, individuals who have been victimised should receive information about local services available to them to assist them with the physical, financial and psychological consequences of victimisation. However, as victims of crime may not always report their victimisation to the police, community and voluntary organisations should also be able to provide individuals with information about local services available to assist them, where required, in dealing with the effects of victimisation. The establishment of the Commission for the Support of Victims, the Victims of Crime Office in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and a Crime Victims Helpline are welcome developments which may help to lessen the impact of victimisation and reduce fear of crime.

- *Supports for Vulnerable Individuals*

The results of this analysis demonstrate that fear of crime, and its impact on quality of life, is not evenly distributed throughout society. Therefore, support

services should be targeted at vulnerable groups who are most at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life.

The research findings indicate that vulnerable groups, such as widows/widowers, those aged 65 or above, retired individuals, those who are unemployed/not working and those with no formal, primary or lower secondary level education are more likely to have their quality of life affected by their fear of crime. This suggests that interventions should be focused on specific groups, such as the elderly, widows/widowers, retired individuals and those experiencing educational and economic disadvantage, if the effects of fear of crime on quality of life are to be reduced. In particular, community and voluntary groups may assist in reducing fear of crime and its impact on quality of life by informally engaging with individuals to reduce feelings of vulnerability and isolation. In this regard, schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch and/or Community Alert programmes may prove useful by reducing feelings of isolation and providing practical information on how to reduce vulnerability. In addition, as feelings of vulnerability and isolation may also be related to wider anxieties, individuals dealing with these groups may need to be aware of how wider anxieties can be related to fear of crime and, consequently, quality of life.

It is also worth noting that the higher levels of fear of crime and reduced quality of life experienced by these groups may be due to their more vulnerable position within society. Accordingly, more general measures towards increasing social inclusion may reduce fear of crime and its effect on quality of life.

- *Perceptions of Local Crime and Policing*

Another method of influencing an individual's fear of crime and their quality of life is to examine their perceptions of crime and policing. While it is unclear whether these perceptions cause fear of crime or fear of crime causes these perceptions, it may nonetheless be possible to influence fear of crime and its effect on quality of life by engaging with, and addressing, local communities concerns about crime and/or policing.

As dissatisfaction with the overall performance and level of visibility provided by An Garda Síochána was associated with fear of crime and a reduction in quality of life, improving satisfaction levels may decrease fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. It is, however, important to note that satisfaction levels with An Garda Síochána are usually very high with 81 per cent of respondents stating they were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the overall performance of An Garda Síochána and 63 per cent stating they were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the level of visibility provided by An Garda Síochána (see Kennedy and Browne, 2007). Nevertheless, the results of the 2007 Garda Public Attitudes Survey indicate that levels of satisfaction can fluctuate slightly between different Garda Districts and the housing tenure of the respondents (see Kennedy and Browne, 2007).

In areas where feelings of satisfaction are not as high, community policing and joint policing committees could play an important role in enhancing and further strengthening the public's feelings of satisfaction with An Garda Síochána. Through their involvement in these activities, An Garda Síochána attempt to address local communities concerns about criminal activity and endeavour to tailor their response to crime to the needs of the local community (An Garda Síochána, 2007). As such, engagement in these activities can increase the perceived competence of An Garda Síochána by reassuring members of the public that their concerns are being dealt with in a controlled, capable and professional manner. Further, these activities provide an important forum in which to tackle perceptions of local criminal activities. In particular, providing local information on actual levels and trends in crime may be a useful counter to high profile media reports of isolated incidents which can generate a perception that crime is increasing when levels are actually stable or declining. Community meetings may also provide a forum within which to inform and update members of the public about local crime levels and the progress of An Garda Síochána in tackling areas of concerns. The use of joint policing committees, community policing and community meetings to engage with the community can, therefore, both provide

reassurance and enhance levels of co-operation with the Gardai in crime prevention.

The media also have a role to play in influencing the public's perception of crime and, consequently, their fear of crime and quality of life. By being aware that perceptions of crime can increase fear of crime and its effect on quality of life, the media should endeavour to ensure that stories of crime accurately reflect the nature and extent of their true occurrence. By highlighting potentially problematic criminal activities, media stories can encourage individuals to engage in precautionary measures but may also inflate fear of crime levels if they do not accurately portray the true prevalence of these activities (see Brown, 7 November 2007, 24 February 2008; Coulter, 2008). In this way, responsible journalism can inform and encourage individuals to engage in crime prevention measures without unnecessarily inflating fear of crime and affecting quality of life. It would, therefore, be important for the Press Council of Ireland and the Office of the Press Ombudsman to consider the best methods of encouraging and promoting responsible journalism in Ireland to inform readers about crime levels without unnecessarily inflating fear of crime.

Next Steps

It is recommended that, strategies and/or initiatives aimed at reducing fear of crime should be targeted at those individuals whose quality of life is most likely to be reduced due to their fear of crime. In particular, the results of this research indicate that these strategies/initiatives should focus on repeat victims of crime (including both personal victimisation and household victimisation), individuals who believe that the level of crime in their local area has increased, victims of racist attacks and females as these individuals are between three and a half and two and a half times more likely to develop a fear of crime which reduces their quality of life (see Chapter Five). The Garda Public Attitudes Surveys can be used to identify areas where residents believe that the level of crime in their local area has increased. In addition, it may be useful to focus on areas in which high profile incidents have occurred as such incidents may heighten an individual's fear of crime by influencing their perception that the level of crime in their locality has increased. It is also important to ensure that resources are

not diverted away from high crime areas as while individuals living in these areas may begin to perceive crime as a normal occurrence, services will still be required to reduce victimisation and provide support to those that have been victimised, are vulnerable and/or disadvantaged, if fear of crime and its impact on quality of life is to be reduced.

Further, the results of this analysis also indicate that there are a number of areas worthy of further investigation to broaden our understanding of fear of crime and its impact on quality of life. For instance, further research could be used to clarify the relationship between locality and fear of crime to investigate why residents living in Dublin city and smaller towns are less likely to fear crime. It would also be beneficial to explore the effect of perceived vulnerability and the normalisation of crime to investigate how, and in what circumstances, these processes influence fear of crime and its impact on quality of life.

In conclusion, this research revealed that, as in other countries, some segments of the population are more at risk of experiencing a fear of crime and reduced quality of life than others. Nonetheless, by being able to identify which segments of the population are more at risk of experiencing a reduced quality of life than others, strategies and/or initiatives can target these individuals so as to lessen the impact of fear of crime.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007

Sampling Methodology

The Garda Public Attitudes Survey is commissioned by An Garda Síochána and the questionnaire design and subsequent data analysis is carried out by the Garda Research Unit. However, the survey fieldwork is completed by an outside agency following a tendering process. In 2007, this outside agency was Millward Brown IMS²¹.

Millward Brown IMS used a quota sampling technique to select respondents for a face-to-face interview. Sampling involved the selection of 50 ‘clusters’ at random in each Garda district. These ‘clusters’ were selected from a list of Electoral Districts in each of the 25 Garda districts. Interviewers were then dispatched to these locations, provided with a map and instructed to walk in a certain direction, surveying every other household until they successfully interviewed a pre-determined number of people. Quotas were used to ensure that the sample of respondents reflected the population in that area. This involved calculating the proportions of people in different sub-groups in the population of interest and then collecting the sample on that basis. For instance, if half the population was male, you would endeavour to ensure that half the sample was also male. Quotas for gender, age group and social class were calculated for each Garda District using the small area demographic data from the 2002 Census and the Joint National Readership Survey.

The results of the Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007 were also weighted to adjust for potential biases in the data collection due to the possible over-representation of individuals from the settled community in the sample. The raw data was weighted to adjust for housing type and to reflect variations in the population of each Garda district. The purpose of these weights was to minimise potential differences between the known population of interest and the sample so as to obtain a nationally representative sample of survey respondents.

The findings presented in this report are based on the un-weighted data.

²¹ Millward Brown IMS is a company which provides a research-based consultancy service.

Appendix B

Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2007

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO THE GARDA SÍOCHÁNA

domestic violence (physical)	1	2		14
Other (please specify)	1	2		15

The following question relates to the level of satisfaction with the overall service provided by the Gardaí

1. How satisfied or dissatisfied overall were you with the service provided to the community by the Garda Síochána during 2006 (circle one only).

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4

The following set of questions relate to any experience of being the victim of crime in 2006

2. Were you or any member of your household the victim of a crime in 2006? (circle one only).

You	1	→ go to Q9
Household member	2	
Both	3	
Neither	4	

SHOW CARD "A"

3. a) What type of crime did you or a household member experience in 2006?
 b) How many times did you experience this in 2006?
 c) Which incident was the most recent? (Single code only)

	(A)		(B)	(C)
	Type of crime		No. of Occasions in 2006	Most Recent
	Yes	No		
burglary of your home or outbuildings (breaking and entering and stealing or attempting to steal)	1	2		1
burglary of your business premises (owned by you)	1	2		2
theft of car or other vehicle	1	2		3
theft from car or other vehicle	1	2		4
theft of bicycle	1	2		5
criminal damage to car or other vehicle	1	2		6
criminal damage to home or other property	1	2		7
Robbery involving force or threat of force (including mugging)	1	2		8
theft from your person without force (e.g. pickpocket)	1	2		9
theft from your home or outbuildings, other than burglary	1	2		10
consumer fraud, such as swindling or obtaining payment using false pretences	1	2		11
physical assault (other than domestic or sexual)	1	2		12
sexual assault	1	2		13

4. Thinking of the most recent incident, was the crime reported to the Garda Síochána?

Yes	1	→ go to Q8
No	2	

- 5(a). Did you or anyone else in your household receive a letter acknowledging the report of the crime and giving the name of the Garda dealing with the case and other information?

Yes	1	Go to Q5b
No	2	Go to Q5c
Don't know/can't remember	3	Go to Q5c

- 5(b). To what extent did you find the letter helpful?

Very helpful	1
Helpful	2
Not much help	3
No help	4

- 5(c). Were you or anyone else in your household informed of the Garda's name through any other means?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/can't remember	3

- 5(d). Have you ever received information on victim support services from a member of the Garda Síochána?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/Not sure	3

- 6(a). Did you or anyone else in your household receive a letter reporting significant developments in your case (such as an arrest)?

Yes	1	Go to Q6b
No	2	Go to Q6c
Don't know/can't remember	3	Go to Q6c

- 6(b). To what extent did you find this further letter helpful?

Very helpful	1
Helpful	2
Not much help	3
No help	4

- 6(c). Were you or anyone else in your household contacted through any other means by the Gardai about significant developments?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/can't remember	3

SHOW CARD "B"

7. In regard to this most recent incident, how satisfied or dissatisfied was your household with being kept informed of progress?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4
Please go to Q9.			

SHOW CARD “C”

8. Why was the crime not reported (**circle all that apply**).

Not serious enough/no loss	1
No chance of recovering property	2
No insurance claim anticipated	3
Believed Gardaí could not have done anything	4
Believed Gardaí would not have been interested	5
Felt the Gardaí would not believe you	6
No involvement wanted with the Gardaí	7
Fear of reprisal	8
Did not have time	9
Other (please specify)	10
.....	
.....	
Don't Know	11

ASK ALL

The following questions relate to various forms of contact you personally may have had with the Gardaí in 2006

SHOW CARD “D”

9. a) Have you had contact with the Garda Siochana in 2006 for any of these reasons?
 b) How many times have you had contact with the Gardaí for that reason? (Repeat for each contact)
 c) What was the most recent contact? (Single code only)

(A) (B) (C)

	Yes	No	No. of Occasions in 2006	Most recent contact
Contact initiated by you				
to report a crime	1	2		1
to report a disturbance/nuisance	1	2		2
to report a traffic incident	1	2		3
to report suspicious activity	1	2		4
to report lost/found property	1	2		5
to make a general enquiry	1	2		6
to make a complaint	1	2		7
to enquire about a person in custody	1	2		8
to be a witness	1	2		9
signing passports	1	2		10
to avail of other services (witness documents etc.)	1	2		11
Garda-initiated contact				
to produce documents	1	2		12
to ask about a crime	1	2		13
to investigate a traffic collision	1	2		14
to investigate noise/disturbance	1	2		15

to carry out a routine vehicle check (on public street)	1	2		16
to make a witness statement	1	2		17
alleged speeding offence	1	2		18
alleged drink driving offence	1	2		19
alleged other driving/traffic offence	1	2		20
Arrested, detained for questioning or searched	1	2		21
to receive summons	1	2		22
any other reason (please specify)	1	2		23
.....				
.....				
If 'no' to all above please go to Q25(a)				

SHOW CARD “E”

10. Thinking of the most recent contact, what form did it take? (circle one only).

Visit to a Garda station	1	→	go to Q11
Telephone call to Gardaí (excluding 999/112 calls)	2	→	go to Q12
Telephone call from Gardaí	3	→	go to Q14
Letter from Gardaí	4	→	go to Q15
Electronic means (email, etc)	5	→	go to Q15
Spoke to Garda on patrol	6		
Spoke to Garda at checkpoint/vehicle stop	7		
Garda called to my home/work	8	→	go to Q14
Other (please specify)	9		
.....			
.....			

11. If you visited a Garda station were you dealt with... (**circle one only**)

Quicker than expected	1		
Within the time expected	2	→	go to Q14
Slower than expected	3		

12. If you telephoned, was your call answered... (**circle one only**)

Promptly	1
Following a short delay	2
After an unacceptable delay	3
Had to call more than once before getting through	4

13. When your call was answered, did the respondent identify the station?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/can't remember	3

SHOW CARD “F”

14. To what extent did the manner of the Garda with whom you spoke meet your expectations in terms of the following?

Read out	Better than you expected	As you expected	Worse than you expected
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Helpfulness	1	2	3
Competence	1	2	3
Sensitivity	1	2	3
Politeness	1	2	3
Interest	1	2	3

15. Thinking of the most recent contact, do you think the matter required that a Garda call on you at your home?

Yes	1
No	2

16. Did the Gardaí indicate that someone would call on you?

Yes	1
No	2

17. Did a Garda call on you?

Yes	1
No	2

If 'no' to both Q16 and Q17 please go to Q20

18. When you originally contacted the Garda Síochána on this matter, were you told approximately how long it would be before someone would call on you?

Yes	1	
No	2	→ go to Q20.

19. Did a Garda call on you within the time indicated?

Yes	1
No	2
This amount of time has not yet elapsed	3

ASK ALL

20. Did the Garda Síochána get in touch later to inform you about the outcome of your contact?

Yes	1	→ go to Q22(a)
No	2	

21. Do you think you should have been contacted?

Yes	1
No	2

ASK ALL

22(a). Have you dialled 999 or 112 and asked for emergency Garda response in 2006?

Yes	1	
No	2	→ Go to Q24

22(b). Was your call answered within 10 seconds?

Yes	1
No	2
Not sure	3

22(c). How long did it take for the Gardaí to call out to you?

Within 15 minutes	1	→ go to Q23
More than 15 minutes	2	→ go to Q22(d)
Did not respond	3	→ go to Q23

22(d). If more than 15 minutes, how long did it take for the Gardaí to call out to you?

		minutes
--	--	---------

SHOW CARD "G"

23. If you called for emergency Garda response, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the service you received?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4

The following questions relate to your overall contact with the Gardaí and suggestions for improvement

SHOW CARD "G" AGAIN

24. Thinking of your overall contact with the Gardaí, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the service you received?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4

25(a). Do you think the service which the Garda provides needs to be improved?

Yes	1	
No	2	→ go to Q26

25(b). How do you think the service could be improved?

More gardai on foot patrols	1
Greater Garda numbers	2
Enforce traffic laws more thoroughly	3
Garda stations open longer	4
Gardaí to be friendlier	5
More contact with the community	6
Other (please specify)	7
.....	
.....	

The next questions deal with Garda approachability and behaviour

SHOW CARD "H"

26. In general, how approachable do you think the Gardaí are at your local station? (**circle one only**)

Very approachable	1	→ go to Q27(a)
Approachable	2	
Unapproachable	3	→ go to Q27(b)
Very unapproachable	4	
Don't Know	5	→ go to Q28

27(a). Why do you think they are approachable? (**Check all that apply**)

Very friendly/helpful	1
Respondent know them	2
Very reassuring	3
They have time for you	4
They are members of the community	5
Can communicate with them	6

Other (please specify)	7
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Yes	1	→ go to Q34
No	2	

27(b). Why do you think they are unapproachable? **(Check all that apply)**

Unfriendly/rude	1
Not always there/station frequently closed	2
Just not interested	3
Think they are superior/formal manner	4
Minor complaints dealt with more seriously	5
Unhelpful	6
Distance themselves from the community	7
Other (please specify)	8

ASK ALL

28. Do you know, by name, any member of the Garda Síochána at your local station or the station which you would normally contact?

Yes	1
No	2

29. Has a Garda ever behaved towards you in a way you consider unacceptable?

Yes	1	→ go to Q31
No	2	

SHOW CARD "I"

30. In what way was the behaviour unacceptable? **(circle all that apply).**

Was disrespectful or impolite	1
Did not follow proper procedures	2
Stopped or searched without reason	3
Harassed	4
Clearly was very lax in carrying out duty	5
Used racist language	6
Used sexist or sectarian language	7
Made wrongful accusation	8
Behaved in a violent way (e.g. pushing)	9
Discriminated due to age, gender, race or ethnicity	10
Swore	11
Searched house without reason	12
Took an item of your property	13
Other – please specify:	14

ASK ALL

The next set of questions are about racism

31. Have you ever been subjected to a racist incident? *(A racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim, a witness to the incident or the investigating Garda.)*

Yes	1	→ go to Q36
No	2	

32. Thinking of the most recent incident, was it reported to the Garda Síochána?

33. How satisfied or dissatisfied were you with how it was dealt with?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4
Please go to Q35.			

34. Why did you not report the incident? **SHOW CARD "J1"**

Not serious enough	1
Believed Gardaí could not have done anything	2
Believed Gardaí would not have been interested	3
No involvement wanted with the Gardaí	4
Fear of reprisal	5
Did not have time	6
Other (please specify)	7
Don't Know	8

35. Have you ever been subjected to a racist incident by a Garda?

Yes	1
No	2

ASK ALL

The following questions are concerned with Garda presence in your locality and road safety

SHOW CARD "K"

36. When was the last time you remember seeing a Garda in your locality?

Today	1
Yesterday	2
2-7 days ago	3
1-4 weeks ago	4
Longer	5
Can't remember	6

SHOW CARD "L"

37. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with this level of Garda visibility in your locality?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4

SHOW CARD "M"

38. Do you think the level of Garda foot patrol in your locality has changed in the past year?

Yes – increased	1
Yes – decreased	2
About the same/little or no change	3
Don't Know	4

SHOW CARD "M" AGAIN

39. Do you think the level of Garda activity in your locality, generally, has changed in the past year?

Yes – increased	1
Yes – decreased	2
About the same/little or no change	3
Don't Know	4

SHOW CARD “N”

40(a). All in all, how good a job do the Gardaí do in your locality?

Very Good	Fairly Good	Fairly Poor	Very Poor
1	2	3	4

SHOW CARD “N” AGAIN

40(b). How good a job do the Gardaí do in your locality as regards road safety?

Very Good	Fairly Good	Fairly Poor	Very Poor
1	2	3	4

41. Were you involved in a road traffic collision as a driver of a vehicle (e.g. car, bus, lorry, motorcycle etc), a pedestrian or a cyclist in 2006 which was dealt with by the Gardaí?

Yes	1		
No	2	→	go to Q44.

42. If yes, who was most at fault?

You	1
The other party	2
Both equally	3

SHOW CARD “O”

43(a). How satisfied were you with the Garda investigation of the collision?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4
go to Q44		go to Q43(b)	

43(b). Why were you dissatisfied with the Garda investigation?

Garda withheld information	1
Nothing was/has been done	2
Nobody came to the scene	3
Garda took very long time to come to scene	4
Garda wrongfully charged the respondent	5
Very bad service	6
Were not interested in incident	7
Other (Specify)	8

SHOW CARD “P”

44. The Garda Síochána has limited resources and is faced with a wide range of demands. In your opinion, what priority do you think the Garda should give to the following policing tasks? **ROTATE STARTING POINT.**

	Very high priority	High priority	Low priority
Investigate crime	1	2	3
Patrol on foot or bicycle	1	2	3
Patrol by car/van	1	2	3
Patrol by motorcycle	1	2	3
Enforce drink/drive laws	1	2	3
Enforce speed laws	1	2	3
Ensure effective traffic management and flow	1	2	3
Enforce laws relating to wearing of	1	2	3

seatbelts			
Enforce other traffic laws	1	2	3
Advise on personal safety and home security	1	2	3
Advise businesses/shops on crime prevention	1	2	3
Enforce laws relating to drugs	1	2	3
Ensure immediate response to emergencies	1	2	3
Deal with public annoyances (e.g. loud music, street fights)	1	2	3
Deal with vandalism	1	2	3
Provide help and support to victims of crime	1	2	3
Supervise licensed premises	1	2	3
Work with community groups (e.g. Neighbourhood Watch/Community Alert, youth clubs, schools, senior citizens)	1	2	3
Ensure State security	1	2	3
Enforce immigration laws	1	2	3
Deal with under-aged drinking in pubs	1	2	3
Deal with under-aged drinking on the streets	1	2	3
Tackle the sale of alcohol to those under age	1	2	3
Target organised crime	1	2	3
Deal with youths racing around in cars	1	2	3
Enforce laws relating to fraud & white collar crime	1	2	3
Deal with crimes of sexual violence	1	2	3
Deal with domestic violence incidents	1	2	3

SHOW CARD “Q”

45. In your opinion, what priority do you think the Garda actually give to the following policing tasks? **ROTATE STARTING POINT.**

	Very high priority	High priority	Low priority	Very low priority
Investigate crime	1	2	3	4
Patrol on foot or bicycle	1	2	3	4
Patrol by car/van	1	2	3	4
Patrol by motorcycle	1	2	3	4
Enforce drink/drive laws	1	2	3	4
Enforce speed laws	1	2	3	4
Ensure effective traffic management and flow	1	2	3	4
Enforce laws relating to wearing of seatbelts	1	2	3	4
Enforce other traffic laws	1	2	3	4
Advise on personal safety and home security	1	2	3	4
Advise businesses/shops on crime prevention	1	2	3	4
Enforce laws relating to drugs	1	2	3	4
Ensure immediate response to emergencies	1	2	3	4
Deal with public annoyances (e.g. loud music, street fights)	1	2	3	4
Deal with vandalism	1	2	3	4
Provide help and support to victims of crime	1	2	3	4

Supervise licensed premises	1	2	3	4
Work with community groups (e.g. Neighbourhood Watch/Community Alert, youth clubs, schools, senior citizens)	1	2	3	4
Ensure State security	1	2	3	4
Enforce immigration laws	1	2	3	4
Deal with under-aged drinking in <u>pubs</u>	1	2	3	4
Deal with under-aged drinking on the <u>streets</u>	1	2	3	4
Tackle the sale of alcohol to those under age	1	2	3	4
Target organised crime	1	2	3	4
Deal with youths racing around in cars	1	2	3	4
Enforce laws relating to fraud and white collar crime	1	2	3	4
Deal with crimes of sexual violence	1	2	3	4
Deal with domestic violence incidents	1	2	3	4

Blue

ASK ALL**The next set of questions concern the relationship between Gardai and the community, personal safety and crime generally in Ireland****SHOW CARD "R"**

46. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

	strongly agree	agree	neither	disagree	strongly disagree
The Gardai serve the interests of the rich more than the poor	1	2	3	4	5
The better off you are, the better you are treated by the criminal justice system	1	2	3	4	5
Gardai discriminate against immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
Gardai are representative of the communities they serve	1	2	3	4	5
The local Gardai reflect the make-up of my local community	1	2	3	4	5
Gardai are sensitive to the needs of vulnerable people	1	2	3	4	5
The local Gardai are fully answerable to the people for their actions and conduct	1	2	3	4	5
The people around here have a real say in deciding what is important for the Gardai to attend to	1	2	3	4	5

Green

ASK ALL

The next set of questions concern the relationship between gardai and the community, personal safety and crime generally in Ireland

SHOW CARD "R"

46. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

	strongly agree	agree	neither	disagree	strongly disagree
When people are dissatisfied with what the Gardaí do, it is easy to have the matter corrected	1	2	3	4	5
The Gardaí carry out their role in a fair impartial manner	1	2	3	4	5
Garda management fully support community policing (e.g. assigning Community Guards to area, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
The Garda organisation is made up of honest and honourable people	1	2	3	4	5
People who are different are likely to experience ridicule or personal attack on our streets	1	2	3	4	5
The Gardaí provide good leadership in the guidance and direction of our young people	1	2	3	4	5
Anyone in Garda custody would be well treated	1	2	3	4	5

Pink

ASK ALL

The next set of questions concern the relationship between gardai and the community, personal safety and crime generally in Ireland

SHOW CARD "R"

46. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

	strongly agree	agree	neither	disagree	strongly disagree
Anyone in Garda custody would have their rights fully respected	1	2	3	4	5
Penalties for people caught in possession of cannabis or ecstasy should be more lenient	1	2	3	4	5
Penalties for possession of so-called "soft" and "hard" drugs should be the same	1	2	3	4	5
Young people who are caught in possession of cannabis or ecstasy should be treated as criminals	1	2	3	4	5
Young people caught in possession of cannabis or ecstasy should be cautioned, for first offence	1	2	3	4	5
Alternatives to prison, such as fines, community service and probation, should be used for all but the most serious crimes and offenders	1	2	3	4	5
Prison does not prevent re-offending	1	2	3	4	5
I would encourage a friend or relative to join the Garda Síochána	1	2	3	4	5

Yellow

ASK ALL**The next set of questions concern the relationship between gardai and the community, personal safety and crime generally in Ireland****SHOW CARD "R"**

46. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

	strongly agree	agree	neither	disagree	strongly disagree
People like me would be welcome in the Garda Síochána as members	1	2	3	4	5
If my rights were infringed, I could rely on the Gardaí to help me	1	2	3	4	5
The Gardaí never blame victims of crime	1	2	3	4	5
Domestic violence is a private matter, not a garda matter	1	2	3	4	5
Irish culture accepts violence as a means to resolve problems	1	2	3	4	5
The criminal justice system treats crimes of violence committed by strangers as different to those committed by people known to the victim	1	2	3	4	5
Victims of crime get a raw deal from the courts	1	2	3	4	5

47. **SHOW CARD "S"**
How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood after dark?

Very safe	Safe	Unsafe	Very Unsafe
1	2	3	4

48. **SHOW CARD "S" AGAIN**
How safe do you feel alone in your home at night?

Very safe	Safe	Unsafe	Very Unsafe
1	2	3	4

49. **SHOW CARD "T"**
Do you feel more safe or less safe out walking in your area now than you did 12 months ago? And compared with six years ago?

	Safer	No different	Less safe	Don't know	Didn't live in area then
12 months ago	1	2	3	4	5
6 years ago	1	2	3	4	5

- 50(a). Do you worry that you might become a victim of a crime?

Yes	1	
No	2	→ go to Q51(a)

SHOW CARD "U"

- 50(b) Do you worry that you might become a victim of personal injury or property theft/damage?

Only personal injury	1	→ go to Q50(c)
Only property theft, damage	2	→ go to Q50(d)
Both personal and property	3	→ go to Q50 (c) & (d)

SHOW CARD "V"

- 50(c) How worried are you about the following?

	very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Being mugged or robbed	1	2	3	4
Being raped	1	2	3	4
Being physically attacked by stranger	1	2	3	4
Being insulted or pestered by anybody in street/public place	1	2	3	4
Being subject to physical attack because of your religion/race/skin colour	1	2	3	4

SHOW CARD "V" AGAIN

- 50(d) How worried are you about the following?

	very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Having your home broken into and something stolen	1	2	3	4
Having your car stolen	1	2	3	4
Having things stolen from your car	1	2	3	4
Having your property vandalised	1	2	3	4

SHOW CARD "W"

- 50(e) How much has your fear of crime affected your quality of life?

Greatly reduced quality	Significantly reduced quality	Moderately reduced quality	Reduced quality a little	No effect on quality
1	2	3	4	5

ASK ALL

- 51(a). Do you worry that a family member or friend might become a victim of a crime?

Yes	1	
No	2	→ go to Q52

SHOW CARD "X" AGAIN

- 51(b). Do you worry that a family member or friend might become a victim of personal injury or property theft/damage?

Only personal injury	1
Only property theft, damage	2
Both personal and property	3

52. Do you believe that crime in Ireland is increasing, decreasing or staying the same?

Increasing	Decreasing	Staying the same
1	2	3

53. Do you believe that crime in your area is increasing, decreasing or staying the same?

Increasing	Decreasing	Staying the same
1	2	3

SHOW CARD "Y"

54. How would you describe crime in Ireland today?

A very serious problem	A serious problem	A fairly serious problem	Not a serious problem	Not a problem
1	2	3	4	5

SHOW CARD "Z"

55. Thinking about where you live, do you think the following are a major problem, minor problem or not a problem?
ROTATE STARTING POINT.

READ OUT	Major problem	Minor problem	Not a problem	Don't know
Juvenile / teenage crime	1	2	3	4
Drug abuse (taking drugs)	1	2	3	4
Other drug crime (importing/selling)	1	2	3	4
Public drunkenness	1	2	3	4
Public nuisance	1	2	3	4
Race/hate crime	1	2	3	4
Violent crime	1	2	3	4

Rape/sexual assault	1	2	3	4
Domestic Violence	1	3	3	4
Property crime	1	2	3	4
Car crime	1	2	3	4
White collar crime	1	2	3	4

SHOW CARD “Z” AGAIN

56. With regard to the country as a whole, do you think the following are a major problem, minor problem or not a problem? **ROTATE STARTING POINT.**

READ OUT	Major problem	Minor problem	Not a problem	Don't know
Juvenile / teenage crime	1	2	3	4
Drug abuse (taking drugs)	1	2	3	4
Other drug crime (importing/selling)	1	2	3	4
Public drunkenness	1	2	3	4
Public nuisance	1	2	3	4
Race/hate crime	1	2	3	4
Violent crime	1	2	3	4
Rape/sexual assault	1	2	3	4
Domestic Violence	1	2	3	4
Property crime	1	2	3	4
Car crime	1	2	3	4
White collar crime	1	2	3	4

SHOW CARD “Z1”

57. What do you believe to be the main cause of crime in Ireland today? (**circle one only**)

Drugs	1
Drink/alcohol	2
Drugs and drink	3
Reduction in moral standards	4
Human greed and individual deviance	5
An unequal society – unfair distribution of wealth	6
Insufficient education, health and welfare provision	7
Lack of parental control	8
The Irish system of criminal justice	9
Poor policing	10
Lenient penal system	11
Other (please specify)	12
.....	
.....	
Don't know	13

58A. Do you believe that juvenile/teenage crime should be combated predominantly by ... ?

58B. Do you believe that drug abuse (taking drugs) should be combated predominantly by ... ?

	Punishment	Rehabilitation /counselling	Don't know
Juvenile / teenage crime	1	2	3
Drug abuse (taking drugs)	1	2	3

SHOW CARD “Z2”

59. Which of the following do you feel is nearest to the truth? (circle one only)

Our criminal justice system is too lenient on offenders	1
Our criminal justice system deals with offenders properly	2
Our criminal justice system is too harsh on offenders	3

ASK ALL

The next set of questions are about Neighbourhood Watch/Community Alert Schemes

60. Is your household in a Neighbourhood Watch or Community Alert Scheme?

Yes	1	→ go to Q62
No	2	
Don't know	3	

61(a). Do your scheme co-ordinators keep residents informed about criminal activity in your area?

Regularly	Occasionally	Never
1	2	3

61(b). Do you know who your scheme co-ordinator(s) are?

Yes	1
No	2
Not sure / Dont know	3

62. How successful do you think such schemes are in preventing crime?

Very successful	1
Successful	2
Make no difference	3
Don't Know	4

ASK ALL

These final questions are general background questions used for basic analysis

B1. What was your age last birthday...
(STATE EXACT)

--	--

& CODE:-

18-24	1
25-44	2
45-64	3
65+	4

B2. Record...

Male	1
Female	2

SHOW CARD "Z3"

B3. What is your marital status?

Single (never married)	1
Married	2
Co-habiting / Living together	3
Separated	4
Divorced	5
Widowed	6

SHOW CARD "Z4"

B4. What is your nationality?

Irish	1
English / British	2
Austrian	3
Belgian	4
Czech	5
Cypriot	6
Danish	7
Dutch	8
Estonian	9
Finnish	10
French	11
German	12
Greek	13
Hungarian	14
Italian	15
Latvian	16
Lithuanian	17
Luxembourg	18
Maltese	19
Polish	20
Portuguese	21
Slovakian	22
Slovenian	23
Spanish	24
Swedish	25
Other Non EU Country (please specify)	26
.....	
.....	
.....	

SHOW CARD “Z5”

B5. What is your highest Educational Qualification? (circle one only).

Primary education	1
Lower secondary (Junior/Group/O Level)	2
Upper secondary	
- Technical or Vocational	3
- Leaving Certificate	4
- Both Technical/Vocational and Leaving Certificate	5
Third Level	
- Non degree qualification	6
- Primary degree	7
- Professional qualification (of at least primary degree status)	8
- Primary degree and professional qualification	9
- Postgraduate degree (excluding postgraduate diplomas)	10
No formal qualification	11

B6. Which one of these areas would best describe your locality?

Dublin City	1
Other city (Cork, Galway, Limerick, Waterford)	2
Town (10,000 – 40,000 pop.)	3
Town (1,000 – 10,000 pop.)	4
Village/rural/open country	5

B7. Do you have any dependent children?

Yes	1
No	2

SHOW CARD "Z6"
 B8. Is the home you live in...(circle one only)

Owned occupied with loan	1
Owned occupied without loan	2
Being purchased from a Local Authority	3
Rented from a Local Authority	4
Rented privately unfurnished	5
Rented privately furnished	6
Occupied free of rent	7
Other (please specify)	8
.....	
Don't know	9

SHOW CARD "Z7"
 B9. Employment status (circle one only):

Self-employed	1
Working full-time	2
Working part-time	3
Seeking work for the first time	4
Unemployed (having lost or given up a job)	5
Home (domestic) duties	6
Unable to work due to permanent illness / disability	7
Not working (seeking work)	8
Not working (not seeking work)	9
On a government training / education scheme (e.g. Fás)	10
On government employment scheme (CE, Jobs-option etc.)	11
Retired	12
Student (further education)	13
Other (please specify)	14
.....	

B10. Have you ever had a paid job?

Yes	1	
No	2	→ go to B13

B11. If at work (either self-employed or employee) what is your main occupation **OR** If unemployed, retired, engaged in home duties or on government training scheme and previously employed, what is the main occupation you previously held (please give as full a description as possible).

B12. If currently / previously a farmer or farm worker, please state the NUMBER OF ACRES of land farmed.

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INTERVIEWER RECORD CLASS

- AB
- C1
- C2
- D
- E
- F50 +
- F50 -

B13. Do you have a telephone land-line?

Yes	1
No	2

B14a. Including yourself, how many people aged 18 years and over usually live in your household?

B14b. How many people aged under 18 usually live in your household?

Finally, do you have any further comments

If no suggestions, please tick box

Appendix C

Fear of Crime Regression Results

Table 7: Change in Probability of Being 'Concerned About Crime' or 'Fearful of Crime'

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Final Model	
	Concerned About Crime ²²	Fearful of Crime ²³	Concerned About Crime	Fearful of Crime	Concerned About Crime	Fearful of Crime	Concerned About Crime	Fearful of Crime
<u>Gender</u> (ref = male)								
Female	177%***	218%***	178%***	223%***	181%***	232%***	181%***	239%***
<u>Age</u> (ref = 25-44)								
18-24	ns	-35%***	ns	-31%**	ns	-35%**	ns	-34%***
45-64	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
65+	127%*	ns	136%**	150%**	136%**	151%**	135%**	154%***
<u>Nationality</u> (ref = Irish)								
British	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Other EU	-36%**	ns	-32%*	ns	-40%**	ns	-34%*	ns
Non EU	-50%**	ns	-48%**	ns	-58%***	ns	-52%***	ns
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u> (ref=Lower Middle)								
Upper Middle/Middle	ns	-26%*	ns	-24%*	ns	-26%*	ns	-26%*
Skilled Working	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Other Working	ns	ns	-15%*	ns	ns	ns	-15%*	ns
Lowest Subsistence Level	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Farmer	-23%*	-30%*	-24%*	-28%*	-23%*	-27%*	ns	ns
Missing	-22%*	-31%**	-22%*	-32%**	-22%*	-30%**	-22%*	-29%*

²² 'Concerned About Crime' is used to refer to those respondents whose fear of crime does not affect their quality of life.

²³ 'Fearful of Crime' is used to refer to the fear of crime affects quality of life group.

Martial Status

(ref = Married/Cohabiting)

Single	-15%*	ns	-15%*	ns	-15%*	ns	-14%*	ns
Separated/Divorced	ns	133%*	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Widowed	ns	ns	ns	135%*	ns	-134%*	ns	-141%**

Education Status

(ref = Upper Secondary)

No Formal/Primary Only	ns	129%*	ns	143%**	ns	145%**	ns	144%**
Lower Secondary	ns	137%***	ns	126%**	ns	124%**	ns	123%*
Non-Degree Qualification	121%*	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Degree or Higher	116%*	ns	117%*	100%	ns	ns	118%*	ns

Employment Status

(ref = Work Full-time)

Unemployed/Not Working	ns	138%*	ns	146%**	ns	137%*	ns	133%*
Domestic Duties	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Further Education/Training	ns	ns	ns	ns	131%*	ns	137%*	ns
Work Part-time	120%*	ns	122%*	ns	122%*	ns	126%*	ns
Retired	ns	128%*	ns	ns	ns	129%*	ns	132%*

Locality (ref = Town 10-40K)

Dublin City	-41%***	ns	-30%***	ns	-31%***	ns	-34%***	ns
Other City	ns	ns	ns	137%*	ns	137%*	ns	129%*
Small Town (1-10K)	-28%***	ns	-28%***	ns	-27%***	ns	-27%**	ns
Village/Countryside	-18%**	-22%**	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns

Crime Rates by Garda Division

Burglary per 1,000 population			-3%***	-2%***	-4%***	-2%***	-4%***	-2%***
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<u>Perceived Change in Local Crime</u> (ref = Staying the Same/Decreasing) Increasing	170%***	390%***	166%***	369%***	153%***	327%***
<u>Perceive Property Crime as a Problem</u> (ref = No) Yes	126%***	152%***	124%**	148%***	124%***	139%***
<u>Perceive Youth Crime as a Problem</u> (ref = No) Yes	114%	136%**	ns	135%**	ns	134%**
<u>Perceive Public Nuisance as a Problem</u> (ref = No) Yes	108%	142%***	ns	143%***	ns	140%***
<u>Recent Victim of a Crime</u> (ref = No) Personal			161%***	291%***	147%***	241%***
Household			166%**	246%***	152%**	204%***
Both			193%*	448%***	ns	346%***
<u>Victim of a Racist Attack</u> (ref = No) Yes			238%***	336%***	223%***	295%***
<u>Satisfaction with Garda Visibility</u> (ref = Satisfied/Very Satisfied) Dissatisfied/Very Dissatisfied					148%***	188%***

Satisfaction with Garda Performance

(ref = Satisfied/Very Satisfied

Dissatisfied/Very Dissatisfied

133%***

172%***

Model Significance

p<.001

p<.001

p<.001

p<.001

Log Likelihood

10,170.34

16,133.11

16,041.30

15,735.34

Nagelkarke R Square

6.7%

15.9%

17.8%

20.2%

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

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