Community Safety of Ethnic Minorities: The Lived Experience of the Pakistani Scottish Community in Glasgow

Santanu Mandal

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Geography

2013

School of Applied Social Sciences (HASS)

University of Strathclyde

Declaration

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.

Signed: Santanu Mandal

Dated: 23/09/2013

Word count: 100756

For Rupa, Agniprava
&
Professor Pacione

Acknowledgement

Abstract

Over the past two decades, community safety in Britain has emerged as an area of urban policy which seeks to improve the quality of life (QoL) of communities. To date,

however, little research has been undertaken on the implications of community safety policies and initiatives for ethnic minority communities in Scotland. The present research uncovers the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields: an inner-city neighbourhood of Glasgow. The research revealed that community safety was a fundamental element in the life quality of the study group. Respondents were concerned with many community safety issues in the neighbourhood: anti-social behaviour (ASB), road safety, drugs, public drinking and disorderly behaviour, housebreaking, racial abuse and harassment, domestic violence, fire in domestic buildings and indiscriminate use of fireworks. Many became victims of housebreaking, vandalism, racial abuse and harassment in the past two years. Still others witnessed such incidents or became apprehensive about these after hearing from others. Day-to-day experiences of crime, ASB and the fear of crime and other dangers impacted lives of the local residents in myriad ways and limited their movement within the neighbourhood. Moreover, the local community felt deprived in terms of community safety initiatives from the concerned agencies. It appeared that the police, the Council and other agencies have neglected the community safety concerns of Pakistani Scottish youths and women by prioritising the interest of a section of elderly Asian males and some vocal white people of the neighbourhood. Persistent projection of the Muslim youths as a community safety problem by a section of the local community, concerned agencies and the media also placed an undue emphasis on the need to control ASB and criminality among these young people. In so doing, wider social justice issues such as reducing poverty amongst children, and providing training, employment and leisure opportunities to young people in this neighbourhood have been pushed down the priority list. The present research also revealed that far from being supportive, a section of the community appeared to be the cause of many problems that the Pakistani Scottish youths face today. This research recognises that many levers of the issues affecting community safety of ethnic minorities lie in social inequalities. It also concludes that an appropriate combination of locality-based initiatives and structural measures can make a major contribution to enhanced community safety in the study area. An improved physical fabric of this deprived neighbourhood and more community engagement by the police and GCSS are needed to enhance the perception of safety and wellbeing of local residents. In addition, the Scottish Government and the Glasgow City Council must take initiatives to arrest educational failure among Pakistani Scottish children and provide them with training and employment opportunities. Finally, elder members of the Pakistani Scottish community must take responsibility of addressing some neglected community safety issues such as domestic violence and drugs in the community.

Table of Contents

Bibliography

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Plates

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ASB: Anti-social Behaviour

ASBO: Anti-social Behaviour Order

BME: Black and Minority Ethnic

CDA: Crime and Disorder Act (1998)

CSPs: Community Safety Partnerships

COSLA: Convention of Scottish Local Authorities

CPP: Community Planning Partnerships

EPP: Enhanced Policing Plan

GCC: Glasgow City Council

GCPP: Glasgow Community Planning Partnership

GCSS: Glasgow Community and Safety Services

GSAU: Glasgow South Addiction Unit

HCSI: Hamilton Child Safety Initiative

LCPP: Local Community Planning Partnerships

NACRO: National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders

PRP: Public Reassurance Policing

QoL: Quality of Life

SCSN: Scottish Community Safety Network

SDL: Scottish Defence League

SNS: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

YCSA: Youth Community Support Agency

ZTP: Zero Tolerance Policing

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The present study

This research explored the lived experience of community safety of an ethnic minority group. In a novel attempt, it also examined the implications of this experience for quality of life (QoL) of the study group: the Pakistani Scottish community. The research was carried out in East Pollokshields - an inner-city neighbourhood in Glasgow.

In this chapter, we introduce the research. We describe the terms community safety and ethnic minorities and go on to explain the rationale of conducting a research into the lived experience of community safety of ethnic minorities. This is followed by an outline of the key objectives of this study. The chapter concludes by delineating the structure of the present thesis. The following section describes the term community safety.

1.2 What is community safety?

Community safety in Britain is 'a new area of urban policy where local policy makers, working alongside local communities, seek to tackle crime, the fear of crime and its underlying causes' (Khan, 1998: 33). However, as Prior (2005: 359) argues, 'community safety is a term that continues to evade a precise definition.' National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO) - the inventor of the term - stressed that 'the term describes neither a mode of intervention (as does situational or social prevention[1]) nor does it describe a technique for the delivery of either of these types of intervention. It more accurately denotes a *goal* - to be achieved by the activity of crime prevention, among other activities. Consequently it has been embraced by local crime prevention partnerships and other agencies as a convenient way of describing a range of all-embracing activities with a broad crime or safety focus that seek to improve the quality of life of communities' (NACRO, 1999: 14). The complexity of the concept of community safety is illustrated by Hope (1998: 168) who asks: 'is "crime prevention" an end in itself or a means to an end of achieving community safety – and if so, what is community safety? Obviously, in as much as victimisation, criminality and disorder threaten people's wellbeing, life-style and life-chances then the prevention of crime will create community safety. But are the interests of the various parties to crime – the State, victims, the community and potential offenders – always the same; is "community safety" the aggregation of these interests into a "common good" acceptable to all – or is the construction of community safety contestable, involving sometimes incompatible ends and conflicts of interest?'

---

1 Crime prevention is any measure aimed at preventing crime. *Situational crime prevention* focuses on reducing opportunities for crime by modifying the immediate circumstances surrounding criminal acts (Tilley, 2005: 759,769). *Social crime prevention* is a label covering an array of ideas and interventions oriented towards the prevention of criminality. It is 'social' in the sense that its focus is upon people (not situations), and the factors that motivate or dispose some individuals and groups to engage in criminal activity (Gilling, 2009: 24).

As we shall see in Chapter 8, there were conflicts within the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields over community safety concerns. The research also revealed that community safety of the dominant group often came at the cost of the less powerful sections in the community.

Ekblom (2000: 37) suggests that 'community safety is perhaps best seen as an aspect of "quality of life" in which people, individually and collectively, are protected as far as possible from hazards or threats that result from the criminal or anti-social behaviour of others, and are equipped or helped to cope with those they do experience. It should enable them to pursue, and obtain fullest benefits from, their social and economic lives without fear or hindrance from crime and disorder.' The definition is relevant to the present research which sees community safety as an element of QoL of the study group. In Scotland, a broad definition of community safety has been adopted to include a range of factors that can affect the safety of an individual. As Hewitt et al. (2000: 7) contend:

> Community safety has different meanings to different people at different stages of their lives. From protecting children, keeping teenagers out of crime, protecting property to addressing fears in older years - community safety is an essential element. Although there is no universally agreed definition of community safety, most partnerships have accepted…the COSLA definition of **'protecting people's right to live in confidence and without fear for their own or other people's safety'.** This embraces a range of issues from crime prevention, domestic abuse, drug abuse, road safety, fire safety, accident prevention etc. (Original emphasis).

Crawford (1998a: 213) observes that 'crime and insecurity by their nature are multifaceted both in their causes and effects. Traditionally, social responses to them have tended to be segmented and compartmentalised. The term community safety has come to stand as a referent for an emerging approach to crime and disorder which a) is local, b) encompasses a broad focus upon wider social problems such as fear, anxieties, and other quality of life issues, and c) needs to be delivered through a 'partnership' approach drawing together a variety of organisations – in the public, voluntary and private sectors – as well as relevant community groups' (also see Prior, 2005). The underlying justification for this approach lies in the belief that, as far as possible, the social reactions to crime should reflect the nature of the phenomenon itself (Young, 1992; cited in Crawford, 1998a). The Morgan Report which gave currency to the term community safety - observes that 'the term crime prevention is often narrowly interpreted and this reinforces the view that it is solely the responsibility of the police. On the other hand, the term community safety is open to wider interpretation and could encourage greater participation from all sections of the community in the fight against crime' (Home Office, 1991: 3). As Pease (2002: 963) maintains, 'police do not control most of the levers which generate crime levels…local authorities have powers in relation to the planning of new developments, tenancy agreements with those in social housing and the operation of schools. These can be used to impact on crime opportunities.'

The Audit Commission (2002) advocates that tackling crime and concern about crime is clearly very important to ensure community safety. However, a range of other issues also contribute to public concern, including vandalism, racial harassment

and graffiti - so 'crime' is the 'tip of the iceberg' as shown in Figure 1 below. Many of the factors below the waterline are covered by existing council services; the performance of these services, therefore, is crucial to the way people judge levels of community safety (Audit Commission, 2002). In the Aberdeenshire community plan, for example, 'community safety is set in the context of community well being generally, including health improvement and housing' (Spicker et al. 2004: 6). However, commentators argue that - in practice - subsequent enactments such as the Antisocial Behaviour Act: 2003 (2004 in Scotland) have actually restricted the goals

Figure 1: Factors affecting community safety

Source: Audit Commission, 1999

of community safety from contributing towards wider social justice and wellbeing to the narrow confines of crime and disorder reduction (see Croall, 2005; Hughes and Follett, 2006). Moreover, as Gilling (2001) argues, community safety in Britain is mostly concerned with crime and incivility that takes place in the 'public space' and that it turns a blind eye to many other crimes which are domestic and those committed in the corporate world.

The Audit Commission (2002: 9) maintains that 'making communities and neighbourhoods safer is very important to the public. Despite changes in national crime rates, the public does not perceive that enough is being done locally.' In Britain, there is a void in the existing literature on this perception gap of people in communities and their lived experience of community safety. From practitioners' point of view too, there is little research on the obstacles of delivering community safety initiatives in communities, especially in ethnically mixed communities. As Prior (2008: 9) argues, 'comparatively little attention has been given by either policymakers or researchers to questions about the challenge of pursuing the Safer Communities agenda in areas characterised by high levels of ethnic and cultural diversity.' It is within this context, that we discuss the rationale of undertaking a research into community safety of ethnic

minorities below. Before that, however, it will be useful to identify who the ethnic minorities are.

1.3 Who are ethnic minorities?

Ethnic minority or minority ethnic communities are group of 'people who are in the minority within a defined population on the grounds of race, colour, culture, language or nationality' (Universities Scotland, 2006: 81). Fenton (2010) argues that often an ethnic group is referred to as the 'other' (foreign, exotic, minority) to some "majority" who are presumed not to be ethnic. In Britain, for example, the word "minority" is almost always qualified with the term "ethnic" and 'entails a distinctive conception of difference' (Mason, 2000: 15). This notion of *otherness* is central to the following definition proposed by Modood et al. (1997: 13):

> An ethnic group would be defined as a community whose heritage offers important characteristics in common between its members and which makes them distinct from other communities. There is a boundary, which separates 'us' from 'them', and the distinction would probably be recognised on both sides of that boundary. Ethnicity is a multi-faceted phenomenon based on physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion.

More generally, ethnic minority groups all over the world are often associated with the migrant population. In Britain, for example, ethnic minorities were mainly identified as those people coming from the New Commonwealth countries since the 1950s (see Mason, 2000). Interestingly, the persistence of the status of 'in-comers' well beyond the migration period is found almost everywhere. In Britain, immigrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent, constituted a generation who have since had children, grandchildren and greatgrandchildren born in the UK. Still this group of migrants and their next generations are called "immigrants" and hence "ethnic" (Fenton, 2010).

In this thesis the terminology *Pakistani Scottish* is used to denote the ethnic minority community who are of Pakistani descent. As we shall see, existing literature in Britain uses parallel terms such as *Pakistani*, *Pakistani British* as well as *Asian* for the same group. The present thesis also uses 'Asian' to denote the wider community of which the Pakistani Scottish is a sub-group. This research was the first attempt in Scotland to explore the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community – the largest ethnic minority group in this country. The following section discuses the rationale of undertaking this research.

1.4 Why research community safety of ethnic minorities?

Governments in Britain are committed to improve the QoL of communities through community safety (see Audit Commission, 1999; Ekblom, 2000). Research to date, however, suggests that there is a wide gap between government rhetoric and the actual experience of local communities (see Chapter 2). Commentators argue that fundamental flaws in the concept and practice of community safety have resulted in socially-based differences in safety within and between communities as opposed to improved QoL (see, for example, Cooper, 2006; Hughes, 2000; Squires, 2006). It has also been suggested that community safety initiatives in Britain have failed to

improve safety for people living in poorer and disadvantaged communities (Cooper, 2006, 2008; Crawford, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2007; Gilling, 1999, 2001).

Research suggests that the vast majority of ethnic minority communities in Britain constitute the country's most disadvantaged communities. de Lima (2005: 146), for example, argues that 'growing evidence demonstrates that…minority ethnic groups across Britain are more likely to experience poverty, unemployment, racial harassment, poor health and inadequate housing.' Commentators also argue that members of ethnic minority communities are more likely to be victims of crimes than whites, particularly due their age structure, socio-economic characteristics and the type of area they live in (see Croall and Frondigoun, 2010; FitzGerald and Hale, 1996, 2006; also Chapter 2). Moreover, studies have shown that ethnic minorities have a greater risk of victimisation (and repeat victimisation) of crimes such as vandalism, racial abuse than whites (see Bowling, 1993, 1999; Clark and Leven, 2002; Evans, 1992).

However, the image of minority ethnic communities, especially the Black and Asian youths in Britain in popular discourse is that of crime perpetrators rather than victims of crime (see Bowling and Phillips, 2003; Goodey, 2001; Kalunta-Crumpton, 2005; and Webster, 1997). In a recent work, FitzGerald and Hale (2006) argue that community safety initiatives in England and Wales have adversely affected ethnic minorities. These authors go on to suggest that young people (predominantly male) of the Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are currently the most at risk from government's crime and disorder reduction policies. In particular, the post 9/11 and 7/7 policing and law enforcement throughout Britain has put a question mark on the community safety of Pakistani and other Muslim communities. As Spalek (2005) argues, *Islamophobia* in the aftermath of September 11th had significant impact upon the experience of crime, criminal justice and feelings of safety of the Muslims in Britain. As Craig (2007:102-03) dryly observes:

More recently, in the wake of bombings and attempted bombings in London, people of "unusual" dress and appearance have been apprehended on buses, trains and airplanes leading one senior police officer of Asian origin to say that a new offence, of "travelling whilst Asian," had been introduced by the police.

To the north of the border, Reid Howie's (2001) research *Police Stop and Search among White and Minority Ethnic Young People in Scotland* - found anecdotal evidence that many young people from black and minority ethnic (BME) communities appear alienated from the police, do not trust them, and feel that they are being harassed. In similar vein, Spicker et al.'s (2004) study of community safety for the minority ethnic people in Aberdeenshire has identified 'persistent negative attention' from the police as a 'recurring issue'. These authors also found that 'some police officers tend to stereotype people from minority groups as potential offenders, and treat them accordingly' (Spicker et al., 2004: 4, 31). More recently, Frondigoun et al. (2007) report that minority ethnic young respondents in Edinburgh and Greater Glasgow criticised police for "over policing" and "poor communication". Moreover, Clark and Leven (2002) report that ethnic minority respondents had a higher risk of household victimisation (e.g. vandalism, housebreaking) than white respondents. Moreover, ethnic minority respondents were about five times more likely than whites to be concerned about racial attacks, and were also more concerned than whites

about theft from vehicles and car vandalism. However, there is lack of community-based detailed qualitative research into the implications of crime, ASB and other harms for the QoL of ethnic minorities in Scotland.

Moreover, from the practitioner's point of view, the Audit Commission (1999) finds that public consultation remains problematic especially for "hard-to-reach" groups, such as ethnic minorities and victims of domestic violence, whose experiences often not feature in general surveys or public forums. In similar vein, Prior (2008) expresses concern that the voice of certain groups in community safety initiatives, such as Asian women and young people are still not heard. The present research was designed to overcome this gap in our knowledge of an important social issue affecting ethnic minorities. In the following section, we discuss the key objectives of this research.

1.5 Study objectives

Despite the government rhetoric of bringing about "local solutions for local problems" (Gilling, 2001) through community safety, Khan (1998: 33) argues that 'community safety has in practice been a top-down policy, representing an attempt by a number of state agencies…to bring together policy relating to crime under a single generic term.' To understand the ground realities in terms of the implications of government's community safety initiatives for ethnic minority communities, a bottom-up view of community safety in a local community was presented in this research. A case study approach was adopted where depth was prioritised over breadth. A neighbourhood was selected as the study locale where day-to-day experiences of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish group were explored.

The key objectives of the present research were to:

i) examine the importance of community safety in QoL of the Pakistani Scottish community (Chapter 7);

ii) appraise the nature of crime and disorder problem in East Pollokshields (Chapter 5, 6 and 7);

iii) reveal and interpret the spatial pattern of crime and ASB in the neighbourhood (Chapter 6);

iv) identify the major community safety issues affecting the study group in East Pollokshields (Chapter 7);

v) uncover the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community and to examine the implications of this experience for QoL of this group
(Chapter 7 and 8);

vi) critically analyse the role of governments and other agencies in addressing community safety issues of the local community (Chapter 8); and

vii) suggest necessary measures for enhanced community safety and better QoL of the ethnic minority and other residents of East Pollokshields (Chapter 9).

In view of the above objectives, an intensive field study was undertaken in East Pollokshields using multiple methods (see Chapter 4). The following section discusses how arguments in this thesis are organised.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The present thesis consists of nine chapters. A brief outline of the chapters is provided below:

Chapter 1 introduces the research. It defines the terms community safety and ethnic minorities before explaining the rationale of undertaking a research into community safety of ethnic minorities. It also outlines the principal objectives of the study and goes on to delineate the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses the conceptual background of this research. First it briefly describes the concept of QoL. Drawing on past researches, it highlights community safety as an important element in QoL of a person. It also discusses the impact of crime on a person's QoL. The conceptual framework of the study of community safety in Britain is discussed next. The chapter also highlights the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of community in the context of community safety. This is followed by a discussion on the problematic nature of the concept of community safety in Britain. Finally, it examines the relationship between social inequalities, crime and community safety before going on to present the overall conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 3 traces the development of community safety policies and initiatives in Scotland and its largest city Glasgow over the past few decades. The chapter concludes by providing a critical analysis of these policy developments using David Garland's concept of the 'sovereign state' and 'adaptive' strategies.

Chapter 4 is concerned with methods and techniques used in the present research. It discusses the rationale of using a case study approach in this study. The chapter also explains the processes involved in the collection of data using a mixed-method design. The chapter concludes by providing a brief account of data analysis in this research.

Chapter 5 portrays the contemporary geography of the study locale. It describes the evolution of East Pollokshields first as part of Scotland's earliest garden suburb and then as a Pakistani Scottish enclave. Using relevant secondary data, the chapter also highlights the nature of poverty and multiple deprivation in this inner-city neighbourhood. Finally, it examines the nature of the problem of crime and disorder in the area using police records and recent media reports.

Chapter 6 describes the geographies of crime and ASB in the study locale. First it discusses four major placed-based theories of crime. It also reveals the spatial pattern of crime and ASB in the neighbourhood through a series of maps. The resultant geographical distribution of crime is interpreted with the help of social disorganisation and crime pattern theory. Finally, the chapter highlights the reciprocal relationship

between East Pollokshields and its surrounding areas in terms of poverty, deprivation and crime.

Chapter 7 examines the importance of community safety in the life quality of the Pakistani Scottish community. It then identifies the day-to-day community safety issues and concerns of the study group. It also reveals the lived experience of community safety of respondents in East Pollokshields and describes how these experiences impacted their quality of life.

Chapter 8 provides a critical analysis of the role played by the Government, other agencies and the local community in ameliorating community safety issues in East Pollokshields. It also discusses issues around the commitment of the local community in working alongside the concerned agencies to make East Pollokshields safer.

Finally, Chapter 9 presents the overall conclusions of this research and provides a number of key recommendations for enhanced community safety and improved quality of life of the Pakistani Scottish and other residents of East Pollokshields.

In conclusion, despite the government rhetoric of improving quality-of-life of the local communities through community safety, little is known about the reality in ethnic minority communities. This research was undertaken in order to make a significant contribution to the neglected ethnic dimension of community safety in Scotland. In the following chapter, we discuss the conceptual framework of this study.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Background of the Research

2.1 Introduction

According to the Audit Commission (1999), community safety is central to people's QoL. The present research explored the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields. It also examined the implications of this experience for QoL of the group. This chapter discusses the conceptual framework within which the research was conceived and undertaken. The discussion in this chapter is organised under the following 6 sections: section 2.2 briefly describes the concept of QoL. Drawing on past researches, section 2.3 highlights community safety as an important element in a person's QoL. It also discusses the impact of crime on QoL of a person. In section 2.4 we discuss the conceptual framework for the study of community safety in Britain. The section also examines the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of community in community safety. Section 2.5 highlights the problematic nature of the concept of community safety in Britain. In section 2.6, we explore the relationship between social inequalities, crime and community safety. Finally, section 2.7 presents overall conclusion of this chapter. We now discuss the concept of QoL.

2.2 The concept of QoL

Pacione (1984) observes that concern over the quality of modern life is a characteristic of contemporary society. As Berger-Schmitt (cited in Benzer, 2011: 2) contends:

'Nowadays, the concept of quality of life [QOL] is probably the most … widely used theoretical framework for assessing' social 'living conditions'. In Europe, QOL conceptions have allegedly 'replaced the idea of wealth' as the primary social 'goal'.

The term QoL, however, has no single and universally accepted definition and standard form of measurement. Commentators even argue that QoL 'cannot be defined exactly. The definition assigned to the term, and the way in which it is used, are contingent upon research objectives and context. Consequently, there is a lack of consensus about its meaning' (Galloway, et al. 2005: 9-10). The Quality of Life Research Unit at the University of Toronto defines QoL as 'the degree to which a person enjoys the important possibilities of his/her life' (http://www.utoronto.ca/qol). Cummins (1997: 6) proposes that 'QoL is both objective and subjective, each axis being the aggregate of seven domains: material well-being, health, productivity, intimacy, safety, community and emotional well-being.' In similar vein, Pacione (1984) suggests that the sum total of life concerns (both objective and subjective) adds up to the QoL, though the particular weight attached to each of the components may vary from person to person and between social groups. The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines QoL as:

Individuals' perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concern (WHOQOL Group, 1995: 1405).

The 'position in life in the context of the culture and value systems' in the above definition is of particular relevance to the present research which focuses on community safety as an element of life quality of an ethnic minority group.

In this context it should be noted that only a few studies have examined the ethnic dimension of QoL in Britain. Most of these are English studies and have a limited focus on the wellbeing of ethnic minority people and especially the minority elderly groups (see, for example, Bazekal, et al., 2004; Butt et al., 2003; Grewal, et al. 2004; Nazroo, et al. 2003). In her study on the elderly ethnic minority migrants in Austria, Germany and Britain, Brockmann (2002) argues that current approaches to analyse the QoL are not suited to addressing the QoL of immigrants as they omit crucial aspects related to migration and their impact on key domains in the lives of this group. Moreover, there is no existing research identifying the domains of life quality of ethnic minority groups in Scotland. The present research contributed to this underresearched area by identifying the fundamental elements in the life quality of the Pakistani Scottish group in Glasgow (see Chapter 7). In addition, the emphasis on community safety as an element of QoL of this social group was unique to this study. In the following section we discuss community safety in relation to a person's QoL.

2.3 Community safety and QoL

Discussion in this section concentrates on two aspects: i) examples of research highlighting crime and safety as elements of QoL; and ii) the impact of crime and the fear of crime on QoL of a person.

2.3.1 Crime and safety as elements of QoL

Research suggests that issues of 'safety' have widely been used as indicators of QoL all over the world. As Michalos and Zumbo (2000: 246) contend:

Virtually every list of social indicators produced in the last 30 years purporting to provide a comprehensive set capable of capturing all important aspects of the quality of life of a population has included some measures of crime or personal safety.

The objective of this section is not to undertake an exhaustive review of all past researches highlighting *safety* as an element of a person's QoL. This instead summarises studies – both in UK and abroad – which used concern over crime and safety as an indicator of QoL.

Pacione (1986) used both subjective and objective indicators while examining the spatial variation in QoL in Glasgow. These include "concerns over safety in walking alone at night", "security from home theft", and the "level of vandalism". In similar vein, the Australian Bureau of Statistics used a group of social indicators to define QoL where *crime rate* and individual's *sense of safety* were used as the objective and

Table 1: Social indicators of QoL

Frequently used Objective social indicators (represent social data independently of individual evaluations)	Subjective social indicators (individual appraisal and evaluation of social conditions)
Life expectancy	Sense of community
Crime rate	Material possessions
Unemployment rate	**Sense of safety**
Gross Domestic Product	Happiness
Poverty rate	Satisfaction with 'life as a whole'
School attendance	Relationships with family
Working hours per week	Job satisfaction
Peri-natal mortality rate	Sex life
Suicide rate	Perception of distributional justice
	Class identification
	Hobbies and club membership

Source: Rapley, 2003

subjective indicators (see Table 1) respectively (Rapley, 2003). In 1999, the UK Government published *A Better Quality of Life - a strategy for Sustainable Development for the UK* (DETR, 1999b). 15 key indicators were used to raise awareness as to the meaning of Sustainable Development and whether 'a better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come' is being achieved. "Reducing crime and fear of crime" were identified as the headline indicator. In its subsequent report (Audit Commission, 2005) too, "community safety" was included in the list of local QoL indicators. The four 'key measures' used under the umbrella term community safety in the report are presented in Figure 2. Some of these

Figure 2: Community safety as an indicator of QoL

Community Safety
5.   The percentage of residents surveyed who said they feel 'fairly safe' or 'very safe' outside a) during the day; b) after dark.
6.   a) Domestic burglaries per 1, 000 households;
       b)   Violent offences committed per 1, 000 population;
       c)   Theft of a vehicle per 1, 000 population;
       d)   Sexual offences per 1, 000 populations.
7.   The percentage of residents who think that a) vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles; b) people using or dealing drugs; and c) people being   rowdy or drunk in public places is a very big or fairly big problem in their local area.
8.   The number of a) pedestrian, and b) cyclist road accident casualties per 100, 000 populations.

Source: Audit Commission, 2005

indicators were used in this research to examine the level of crime problem in East Pollokshields as well as local residents' perception of community safety (see Chapter 6 and 7).

In a unique way, Fitts (2001) developed *Popsicle Index* to measure QoL based solely on the issue of safety. The index is given as the 'percentage of people in a community who believe that a child can leave their home, go to the nearest place to buy a Popsicle or other snack, and return home alone safely. The purpose of developing this index was to inspire continuous conversation and learning in every neighbourhood about what it means to feel safe and secure, to be physically free to wander and roam without concern and to identify and shift the people and things that contribute or drain that feeling' (Fitts, 2001; see www.solari.com). In the present research, Popsicle Index was used as an indicator of life quality of the study group in East Pollokshields (see Chapter 7). However, there was one practical difficulty in using the index in that Fitts did not specify the age limit of a 'child'. To measure people's QoL in East Pollokshields using Popsicle Index, the present research used 5-11 years (primary school-going age) to describe a child in question.

In the following section we discuss the implications of the experience of crime and fear of crime for people's QoL.

2.3.2 Impact of crime on QoL of a person

Researchers throughout the world have examined the impact of the perception and experiences of crime on people's QoL. Kinsey and Anderson's (1992) research *Crime and the Quality of Life: Public Perceptions and Experiences of Crime in Scotland,* for example, shows that although the emotional and financial costs of victimisation were not very great in a majority of cases, crime was found to intrude upon and restrict people's daily life. Women were four times more likely than men to avoid going out alone at night. In addition to gender, wealth was found to be an important factor restricting outdoor movement with people from poorer households staying indoor due to limited access to a car (see Chapter 7). In a recent British study, Christmann and Rogerson (2004: i) report:

Crime is an important factor in understanding quality of life…if perception of crime is known then fear of crime and experience of crime do not offer any additional information with which to understand quality of life. However perception of crime cannot be reduced without tackling experience of crime…any attempt to improve quality of life by reducing crime should combine physical improvements with the attempts to address perceptions and this should be underpinned with interventions designed to tackle crime directly. Strategies that fail to include all of these elements are likely to fail or to be short lived.

Findings of the above study were important for this research due to its focus on the differential impact of the perceptions and experiences of crime on a person's QoL.

In their Canadian study, Michalos and Zumbo (2000) find that victimisation and life satisfaction were correlated but victimisation contributed very little to the explanation of life satisfaction in their regression analyses in which crime issues were easily be displaced by other neighbourhood concerns (also see Kitchen and

Williams, 2010). In similar vein, Moller's (2005) research in South Africa revealed that victimisation did not have the pronounced negative impact on quality of life as was initially expected. The author goes on to state that 'perhaps quality-of-life researchers should not be surprised that actual victimisation has a lesser impact on personal wellbeing than subjective factors such as fear of crime. If fear of crime crowds out actual victimisation in our regression solutions, then surely this is the key crime issue that calls for intervention to enhance quality of life' (Moller, 2005: 303). Recently, Kitchen and Williams (2010) have shown that the impact of crime and the fear of crime on QoL are mediated through individual characteristics such as gender and the socio-economic status (also see Chapter 7). They find that 'gender was not a factor with men and women reporting similar levels of concern for violent crime. However, in the interviews, several women in the low SES areas expressed their fear of going outside at night and one indicated that she had become accustomed to crime in her neighbourhood. By comparison, no women living in middle or high SES areas expressed similar sentiments' (Kitchen and Williams, 2010: 56).

Contrary to explaining the statistical relationship between experiences of community safety and QoL, the objective of this research was to gain an in-depth understanding of the implications of day-to-day experiences of crime, fear of crime, ASB and other harms for the QoL of the Pakistani Scottish people in East Pollokshields. The conceptual framework for the study of community safety is discussed below.

2.4 Conceptual framework for the study of community safety

As we saw in Chapter 1, community safety in Britain is a new area of urban policy which 'reverses the dominant assumption of a single agency or "police solution" to crime' (Crawford, 1998b) and adopts a locally-based, multi-agency approach to tackle crime and its causes. This section, however, does not intend to summarise this transition from the "criminal justice state" response to the problem of crime to crime prevention and community safety in contemporary Britain. The task has been ably achieved by other commentators (see, for example, Crawford, 1997, 1998c, 2007; Gilling, 1997, 1999, 2001; Henry, 2009a, Hughes, 2007). The objective of this section is to identify the dominant forces which shaped this transition. In doing so, the present

section also provides a conceptual framework for researching community safety in local communities.

Figure 3: Drivers of the rise of crime prevention and community safety in Britain

Evidence that the modern criminal justice institutions had failed to deliver the goods.
Growing recognition that the levers of crime prevention (the levers that you could pull that would make things happen that would actually affect crime) simply lay out-with the reach of the traditional criminal justice system.
Neo-liberal politics shifting responsibility for crime control and local safety away from the state, making communities, individuals and the private sector responsible for their own fortunes.
Leftwing political desire to decouple crime prevention from the activities of the police and the punitive criminal justice state.

Source: Henry, 2009a.

Henry (2009a) identifies that there were several drivers of the crime prevention and community safety in Britain. As we find in Figure 3, wider economic and political forces shaped the emergence of community safety in Britain. In this context, it will be useful to quote Gilling (1999) at some length. He observes that 'in recent years a remarkable air of optimism has blown through parts of the criminal justice system. It is remarkable because it stands in such a stark contrast to the 'nothing works' pessimism of the 1970s and early 1980s, when officially recorded rates of crime appeared to be spiralling, and officially sponsored research undermined confidence in the competence of criminal justice institutions to reverse the trend…The optimism challenges the belief that little can be done about crime with case studies of success. It discerns a convergence of commitment and perspective between different agencies whose agendas once appeared to be so different. The convergence occurs around ideologies of preventionism (Gilling, 1997) and community, in that there is a newfound belief that something can be done about crime if it is done early, in the name of prevention, and if it is done in, by and with the support of the community' (Gilling, 1999: 1). He continues:

The preventionist consensus occurs over crime, but especially over minor crimes and disorders: it is here that zero-tolerance policing…converges with community safety and a local authority agenda which has become increasingly intolerant of disorder and its negative consequences for the local economy, housing management and, obviously, the community's sense of safety. The convergence manifests itself as another ideology, of partnership: a sense of togetherness and unity of purpose which fits neatly with the implied communitarianism of community safety (Gilling, 1999:1).

Two dominant forces shaped the emergence of community safety in Britain: i) Adaptive strategy; and ii) rhetoric of activating communities. We discuss these below.

2.4.1 Adaptive strategy

As Hughes (2007: 29-30) maintains:

According to Garland, there is…a two-fold and contradictory response to the collapse of the rehabilitative ideal and of penal-welfarism in crime control systems of late modernity at the end of the

twentieth century. The first dominant response is that of a non-adaptive 'denial and acting out' which invokes neo-conservative principles and is concerned with denying the crisis of record crime rates and the 'failure' of prison…In seemingly dramatic contrast the second response is that of an adaptive preventive strategy based on neo-liberal principles. This involves greater rationalisation and commercialisation of criminal justice functions and specifically a stress on multi-agency crime prevention partnerships (also see Fyfe, 2010; Johnstone, 2004).

In terms of Scotland, as Fyfe (2010: 185) opines, 'it is the "adaptive strategy" of prevention and partnership which has come to particular prominence in the crime reduction policy landscape over the past 20 years' (see Chapter 3). Garland (1996: 450-51) argues that 'the new criminologies of everyday life see crime as continuous with normal social interaction and explicable by reference to standard motivational patterns. Crime becomes a risk to be calculated (both by the offender and by the potential victim) or an accident to be avoided, rather than a moral aberration which needs to be specially explained.' Accordingly, as Garland (1996: 451) argues, adaptive strategies of governments are 'directed not towards individual offenders, but towards the conduct of potential victims, to vulnerable situations, and to those routines of everyday life which create criminal opportunities as an unintended byproduct. This is, in effect, 'supply side criminology', aiming to modify the everyday routines of social and economic life by limiting the supply of opportunities, shifting risks, redistributing costs, and creating disincentives…Instead of relying upon the threat of deterrent sentences, or the dubious ability of the police to catch villains, it sets about replacing cash with credit cards, building locks into the steering columns of cars…encouraging local authorities to co-ordinate the various agencies that deal with crime and, of course, encouraging citizens to set up Neighbourhood Watch schemes' (see Chapter 3).

The recurring message of these adaptive strategies, as Garland (1996: 453) purports, is that 'the state alone is not, and cannot effectively be, responsible for preventing and controlling crime. Property owners, residents, retailers, manufacturers, town planners, school authorities, transport managers, employers, parents, and individual citizens—all of these must be made to recognize that they too have a responsibility in this regard, and must be persuaded to change their practices in order to reduce criminal opportunities and increase informal controls.' We are now going to discuss two fundamental aspects of this adaptive strategy: i) responsibilisation; and ii) multiagency partnership.

2.4.1.1 Responsibilisation

Garland (1996) argues that policy developments over the past few decades in Britain around crime prevention and community safety are the results of a responsibilisation strategy through which governments withdraw their claim to be the primary provider of security and crime control. As Garland (1996: 452) says:

There has developed a new mode of governing crime which I would characterize as a *responsibilization strategy.* This involves the central government seeking to act upon crime not in a direct fashion through state agencies (police, courts, prisons, social work, etc.) but instead by acting indirectly, seeking to activate action on the part of non-state agencies and organizations. This is the essence of the new crime prevention approach developed by the UK government in the last 10 years. Its key phrases are terms such as 'partnership', 'inter-agency cooperation', 'the multi-agency approach', 'activating communities',

creating 'active citizens', 'help for self-help'. Its primary concern is to devolve responsibility for crime prevention on to agencies, organizations and individuals which are quite outside the state and to persuade them to act appropriately.

Evans (2002:12) sees this strategy as neatly fitting with the 'dominant neo-liberal agenda which holds individuals, and their families, responsible for their eventual fate and which denies the part played by inequalities which are woven into the structural fabric of society.' However, there are problems with such strategies as Garland (1996: 463) continues:

One problem which has been repeatedly pointed out is that the 'responsibilization' of non-state agencies and the routinization of crime prevention are liable to give rise to huge disparities in the social provision and distribution of security. Once 'security' ceases to be guaranteed to all citizens by a sovereign state, it tends to become a commodity, which, like any other, is distributed by market forces rather than according to need. The groups that suffer most from crime tend to be the poorest and the least powerful members of society and will usually lack the resources to buy security or the flexibility to adapt their routines or organize effectively against crime. This disparity between rich and poor— which overlaps with the developing divisions between property- owning classes and those social groups who are deemed a threat to property—will tend to propel us towards a fortified, segregated society and the demise of any residual civic ideal.

As we shall see in Chapter 8, the responsibility of community safety (as well as the accountability for failure) in East Pollokshields was passed on to the shoulders of the local community by governments and other agencies without the necessary power and resources to achieve the goal.

Boundaries of responsibility become even more blurred in a multi-agency partnership to crime prevention and community safety which we discuss below.

2.4.1.2 Multi-agency partnership

As Henry (2009a) observes, multi-agency partnerships focusing on crime prevention, crime reduction and community safety in Britain had been developing since the 1980s. However, these were given statutory force in the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998 which prescribed a duty jointly on local authorities and the police to establish and promote community safety partnerships. Berry et al. (2011) contend that a partnership approach to community safety is built on the premise that no single agency can deal with, or be responsible for dealing with, complex community safety and crime problems. A recent guideline of the Scottish Government (2011) suggests that many organisations are stakeholders in a community safety partnership. These include the police, fire, NHS, Procurator Fiscal, Community Justice Authority, Community Planning Partnership strategic groups, Housing, Education, Social Work and elected members among others. Bringing people and expertise from such a diverse fields together for a common goal of crime prevention and community safety is not a straightforward task; rather it is problematic (Crawford, 1998). In this context, it is useful to quote Henry (2009a: 2) at some length:

Contributions from a diverse range of organisations were desired precisely because of the different perspectives and skills they could bring to bear on this complex problem. However, even before the statutory duty existed, research was raising concerns about possible problems and limitations of this

approach in practice, in part because of this sheer diversity of the agencies to be involved (Blagg et al., 1988; Pearson, et al., 1992; Crawford and Jones, 1995). Organisations and agencies brought in to criminal justice partnerships…varied in terms of the nature and level of their funding; their capacity to marshal resources and manpower quickly; the form and structure of their internal decision-making processes; their role within, and in relation to, the wider criminal justice system; and the values, training and occupational culture of their personnel. The last point proved to be particularly pertinent. It was understood that different organisations had different mentalities; different ways of thinking about crime, understanding what caused it, and what could therefore be done to prevent it (Gilling, 1994; Crawford and Jones, 1995; Crawford, 1997). Such fundamental differences were seen as a potential source of conflict and a barrier to the communication and cooperation that would be necessary for partnerships to work.

Research suggests that except for a few exceptions, the goal of multi-agency partnership in community safety in Britain has remained largely at the rhetorical level (see Audit Commission, 1999; Crawford, 1997, 1998d, 2007; Evans, 2002; Hope, 2005; Hughes and Edwards, 2002; Hughes, 2006, 2007; Skinns, 2003). Commentators also argue that the major obstacles in the formation of effective partnership include conflicts over ideology and purpose, differential power relations among the partners, lack of trust, unclear rationale of working in partnerships, lack of financial support from the government, lack of integration with the mainstream service provision and failure to engage with the local community (Figure 4).

Figure 4: What is wrong with Community Safety Partnerships and how can it be rectified?

Many current stategies...

...do not reflect local people's priorities

...fail to invest sufficiently in prevention

...lack integration with mainstream activities

...are weak on the causes of crime

...are unclear on the rationale for working in partnership

Effective strategies need to...

...engage with local communities

...develop an investment approach to community safety

...integrate community safety into the mainstream

...develop a learning approach to community safety

...develop accountable and delivery-focused partnerships

Source: Audit Commission, 1999

Moreover, in partnerships there is 'the problem of many hands' where so many people contribute that 'no one contribution can be identified; and if no one person can be held accountable after the event, then no one needs to behave responsibly beforehand' (Rhodes, 1996: 663).

Another fundamental component of these adaptive strategies is government's rhetoric of 'activating communities' and 'active citizens' who are expected to work alongside concerned agencies in the fight against crime. We discuss the concept of community in the context of community safety below.

2.4.2 Rhetoric of activating communities

New Labour, after coming to power in 1997, made 'community' a fundamental concept in the ideology of the party with repercussions both on national and local levels. Their emphasis on community involvement can be seen as a way to separate them from the earlier top-down approach of the Conservative government (Fremeaux, 2005). The political project of the New Labour was widely known as the 'Third Way' and was theorized mainly by Anthony Giddens who asserts that the theme of community is 'fundamental to the new politics, not just as an abstract slogan...Community doesn't simply imply trying to recapture lost forms of social solidarity; it refers to practical means of furthering the social and material

17

refurbishment of neighbourhoods, towns and larger local areas' (Giddens, 1998; cited in Fremeaux, 2005: 268). According to Fremeaux (2005), the above extract reflects New Labour's position on the subject and the double dimension of community as *locality* and a *value-laden entity*. Before we discuss the conceptualisation of community as a panacea for crime prevention and community safety, it is necessary to define the term community.

2.4.2.1 Definition of community

As Collins argues, (2010), the term community continues to resonate throughout social policy, scholarship, popular culture, and every day social interactions. At the same time, however, community remains as one of the most ill-defined concepts in Social Sciences (Fremeaux, 2005). There is no wonder, as Scherer (1972:1) finds, when the word community has become a 'cliché and a rallying cry; an analytic concept and a sociological sample; a geographic location and an emotional state'. Cohen (1985:11) observes that the community is 'symbolic' and 'has proved to be highly resistant to satisfactory definition'. Yet, there are innumerable definitions of community in social sciences. Most definitions, as Pacione (2009) observes, however, agreed on three points: i) community involves groups of people who reside in a *geographically distinct area*; ii) community refers to the quality of relationships within the group, with members bound together by *common ties* such as culture, values and attitudes; and iii) community refers to a group of people engaged in *social interaction*, such as neighbouring. The author goes on to suggest that geographical research has long been using community as a unit of enquiry both in urban and rural setting. He offers that a working definition of community can be 'a group of people who share a geographic area and are bound together by common culture, values, race or social class' (Pacione, 2009: 376). This definition is relevant to the present research which focuses on a community based on ethnicity. We now discuss the conceptualisation of community in the context of community safety.

2.4.2.2 Community in the context of community safety

As Cohen (cited in Hughes, 2007: 7) observes, 'it would be difficult to exaggerate how this ideology – or more accurately, this single word, has come to dominate western crime control discourse in the last few decades'. The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) - which mainstreamed community safety in Britain - articulated the diverse meanings that "community" might have. In the background notes of the Act, Ekblom (1998) maintains that the concept of community relates to community safety in several ways: i) a community can be a collective *target of crime* in receipt of crime reduction or broader safety initiatives; ii) a *source of crime* committed by its members meriting preventive action; iii) a *setting* in which crime reduction interventions are planned and implemented; iv) community safety can exploit specific *community crime reduction mechanisms,* such as informal social control or support processes, in the intervention itself (emphasis added). Thus, community appears in different guises, especially when it relates to the issue of crime: it is the locality in which crime occurs, and that which has broken down, it is the potential victim, and the potential judge, as well as the

instrument of social control' (Levitas, 1998; cited in Fremeaux, 2005: 270; also see Cooper, 2006 and Prior, 2005).

Moreover, New Labour's civil renewal[2] agenda builds on this communitarian principle and 'envisions strong communities of active and responsible citizens willing and able to stand up against "the minority that cause misery and distress" (Home Office, cited in Johnstone, 2004: 82). Prior (2005: 358) argues that 'current policies assume the existence of mutually reinforcing effects between civil renewal and community safety. There is a belief that civil renewal helps to prevent crime, by creating stronger communities more able to exercise informal controls: communities suffer less crime, anti-social behaviour and family break down when people know and trust each other, and interact in clubs, associations and voluntary groups…The policies and processes of civil renewal and community safety are thus joined in a virtuous spiral, powered by social capital'. However, as we now discuss, such a conceptualisation of community in government's crime control policy is problematic.

2.4.2.3 Mis-conceptualisation of community

As Johnstone (2004: 88) purports, 'New Labour seeks the revitalization and remoralization of civil society through the renewal of its key institutions: the family and the community.' However, as Crawford (1998b: 244) argues, 'there are a number

---

2 Civil renewal is an emerging policy priority for the UK government, aiming to build stronger, more cohesive communities and to encourage individual citizens to be active members of such communities. The promotion of social capital and trust relationships is central to this approach (Prior, 2005).

of fundamental confusions about the role and nature of "community" that infuse Labour policy and proposals and the communitarian literature, as well as much community safety practice generally.' He continues:

There is little acknowledgement of intra-communal conflict. Communities are assumed to be largely homogenous entities with easily discernible needs and objectives…The empirical reality of communities is that they are not the Utopias of egalitarianism, which some communitarians might wish, but are hierarchical formations, structured upon lines of power relations. Here, lies the danger of 'moral authoritarianism', whereby one dominant group or interest is able to impose its values upon others with little regard for individual rights. The moral voice of a community may come to be dominated by unrepresentative elites within communities. 'In the name of the community' can become an instrumental totem on the back of which the exclusion of undesirables is legitimised (Crawford, 1998b: 244).

As we shall see in Chapter 8, the moral voice of the Pakistani Scottish community was dominated by some religious leaders and elderly members; voices of the young people and women, on the other hand, remained unheard. The neglect of such crucial issues of what or who is their community as well as questions of power within

'community' is problematic when it comes to implementing community involvement in community safety (Cooper, 2006). Indeed on a practical level, such difficult questions as 'whom to involve' need to be tackled and often lead to sharp power struggles on the ground as they are almost always linked to debates over who can ensure "proper" representation of the community as opposed to protecting vested interests (Fremeaux, 2005; see Chapter 8). Moreover, Gilling and Barton (1997)

suggest that there can be a conflict between agencies seeking to participate in community safety: with their different concerns about the victim and the offender, crime and the fear of crime, there is plenty of scope for disagreement and little semblance of a genuine community of interest.

Nevertheless, community remained "the governing idea" in much of New Labour's social policy, community safety included (see Fremeaux, 2005; Prior, 2005). 'Community is utilised by New Labour not just in a traditional sociological sense to bemoan fragmentation and breakdown, but also in a governmental manner to signal its determination to use the discretionary powers of the state to tackle not just

"crime" but to restore order and pro-social behaviour' (Eugene and McLaughlin, 2002; cited in Johnstone, 2004: 83). The theoretical underpinnings of mobilising local communities in the fight against crime and disorder owe much to the Broken Windows theory and informal social control. We discuss this below.

2.4.3 The Broken Windows theory and informal social control

For the proponents of the social disorganisation theory, crime in the community is a result of the failure in community socialisation and informal social control (see Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion). As commentators argue, the term social disorganisation itself points to the remedy. 'If there is a failure in the community and those communities are socially disorganised then the solution is clear; you replace social disorganisation with social organisation' (Bean, 1994: 12). Skogan (1990: 10) argues that 'in an important article that appeared in the Atlantic Monthly, academic policing experts James Q. Wilson and George Kelling (1982) maintained that disorder actually spawns serious crime. They alluded to a sequence in which unchecked rule-breaking invites petty plundering and even more serious street crime and theft. However, the precise relationship between crime and disorder becomes unclear. It is an important question, for research has not identified many neighbourhoods that are high in disorder but low in crime; whatever the link between the two is, it is powerful.' Before we go on to discuss the link between disorder and crime as well as its implications for the concept of community and community safety, it is important that we define "disorder".

There is no agreement over 'what constitutes a disorderly behaviour' and, as Skogan (1990) writes, it varies both in time and space and also according to culture. Skogan (1990: 4) maintains that 'order is defined by norms about public behaviour, and these norms are only a subset of the manners and morals of the community. Disorder violates such widely shared values in the society. Thus disorder signals a breakdown of the local social order' (also see Innes, 2004). According to the proponents of the Broken Windows theory, thus, this breakdown in social order has to be stopped as soon as possible. It should be noted, however, that the link between disorder and crime remains contentious. Based on their research in 196 Chicago neighbourhoods, Sampson and Raudenbush (2001) argued that disorder does not directly promote crime, although the two phenomena are related. These authors also suggest that crime stems from the same sources as disorder - structural characteristics of certain neighbourhoods, most notably concentrated poverty. However, as we shall see in the following chapter, policy

developments around community safety in Britain are still heavily premised on the concept of Broken Windows. One major implication of this reliance on the principles of Broken Windows is an increasing adherence by governments to a 'zero tolerance' stance in dealing with minor disorders branded as "anti-social behaviour". We discuss this below.

2.4.4 Zero tolerance and anti-social behaviour (ASB)

As Field (cited in Waiton, 2008: 1) observes, 'antisocial behaviour is important because it is the newest horseman of the apocalypse.' Waiton (2008) argues that the term ASB has been politicised in the past two decades. He goes on to state that 'twenty years ago ASB did not exist as a significant social problem nor was it a political issue…The problems of litter and graffiti, for example, have been an annoyance for "local people" for decades but not until recently have they been grouped together under the banner of "antisocial behaviour" and promoted as a key problem for government and society itself' (Waiton, 2008: 1).

Though the term anti-social behaviour has become a buzz-word in recent era, it is – as Hughes and Follett (2006) note - is notoriously difficult to define. In similar vein, Mackenzie et al. (2010: i) contend that ASB is a 'confusing term which has been variously applied to a wide spectrum of activity, from serious criminal violence and persistent ongoing intimidation and harassment at one end of the spectrum, to subjective feelings of unease caused by relatively minor and perhaps occasional environmental disturbances, such as litter, at the other.' Typology of ASB offered by the Scottish Executive (Figure 5) proves this point. The Home Office defines ASB as '**any aggressive, intimidating or destructive activity that damages or destroys another person's quality of life' (https://www.gov.uk). In Scotland, the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act, 2004 defined ASB - in line with the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998 - as a 'conduct which caused or was likely to cause alarm, harassment or **Figure 5: Scottish Executive guidance on the typology of ASB**

DISREGARD FOR COMMUNITY/PERSONAL WELLBEING	ACTS DIRECTED AT PEOPLE	ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE	MISUSE OF PUBLIC SPACE
Noise • Noisy neighbours • Noisy cars / motorbikes • Loud music • Alarms (persistent ringing / malfunction) **Rowdy behaviour** • Shouting & swearing • Fighting • Drunken behaviour • Hooliganism / loutish behaviour **Nuisance behaviour** • Urinating in public • Setting fires (not directed at specific persons or property) • Inappropriate use of fireworks • Throwing missiles • Climbing on buildings • Impeding access to communal areas • Games in restricted areas / inappropriate areas • Misuse of air guns • Letting down tyres **Hoax Calls** • False calls to emergency services **Animal realted problems** • Dog fouling	**Intimidation / harassment** • Groups or individuals making threats • Verbal abuse • Sending nasty / offensive letters • Obscene/nuisance phone calls and text messages • Menacing gestures **Can be on the grounds of** • Race • Sexual orientation • Gender • Religion • Disability • Age (including youth as well as older people)	**Criminal damage / vandalism** • Graffiti • Damage to bus shelters • Damage to phone kiosks • Damage to street furniture • Damage to buildings • Damage to trees / plants / hedges **Litter / rubbish** • Dropping litter • Dumping rubbish • Fly-tipping • Fly-posting	**Drugs / substance misuse and dealing** • Taking drugs • sniffing volatile substances • discarding needles / drug paraphenalia • Presence of dealers or users **Street drinking** **Prostitution** • Soliciting • Discarded condoms **Kerb crawling** • Loitering • Pestering residents **Abandoned cars** **Vehicle related nuisance & innappropriate vehicle use** • Setting vehicles alight • Racing cars • Off road motorcycling / quad bikes

Source: Glasgow City Council, 2005

distress to one or more persons not of the same household as him or herself' (Scottish Executive, 2004; also see Chapter 3).

Commentators argue that the much of the current hegemony of ASB in policy discourse can be attributed to an increasing 'zero tolerance' stance by governments, law enforcement agencies and the general public. As Young (1998: 63) explains, zero tolerance has five components: i) 'a lowering of tolerance to crime and deviance; ii) the use of punitive, sometimes drastic, measures to achieve this; iii) a return to perceived past levels of respectability, order and civility; iv) the awareness of the continuum between incivilities and crime with both low spectrum 'quality of life' rule breaking and serious crimes being considered problems; and v) the belief that there is a relationship between crime and incivilities in that incivilities left unchecked give rise to crime.' Quite clearly, such an approach draws heavily on the Broken Windows theory discussed above. As Hughes and Follett (2006: 162-63) put it:

> The logic is that seemingly minor sub-criminal misdemeanours, incivilities and acts of 'anti-social behaviour' need 'nipping in the bud' by means of 'zero tolerance' community policing and the rigorous cleansing of the streets and public places have been proven to be profoundly seductive.

However, many commentators question the effectiveness of zero tolerance policing of crime and disorder in the long run. For example, Crawford (1998: 241-42) argues that zero tolerance offers 'a cosmetic solution to difficult social problems, such as homelessness and unemployment. The concept of 'zero tolerance' as a policing strategy is a misnomer. It denies the essential element of policing, that of *discretion*. It does not entail the rigorous enforcement of all laws, which would be impossible, let alone intolerable, but rather involves highly discriminatory enforcement against specific groups of people in certain symbolic locations. There is no analogous 'zero tolerance'

of white collar crimes, business fraud, unlawful pollution and breaches of health and safety regulations. In reality, the forms of policing conducted in the name of 'zero tolerance' are more accurately described as strategies of *selective intolerance*.' In terms of its counter-productive potentials for inner-cities, Young

(1998) questions: 'had not zero tolerance in Brixton, South London, led to the riots in 1981?' Moreover, Crawford (1998b) argues that in many senses, 'zero tolerance' policing contradicts appeals to partnerships approach to crime control and prevention as it evokes a 'police solution' to crime, incivility and disorder. As we shall see in Chapter 8, selective intolerance towards the Pakistani Scottish youths engendered social exclusion of the group in East Pollokshields.

The following section highlights the debated nature of the concept of community safety in Britain.

2.5 The Contested nature of community safety

Commentators argue that community safety - as a concept - remains elusive and contestable (see, for example, Byrne and Pease, 2003; Cooper, 2006, 2008; Crawford, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2007; Ekblom, 1998; Gilling, 1999, 2001; Hope, 2005; Hughes and Follett, 2006). First, as Byrne and Pease (2003: 287-88) argue, 'the term community safety is a misnomer, since the function as circumscribed within the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 deals only with those sources of danger which are occasioned by human agents acting criminally or in a disorderly way. This distorts recognition and prioritisation of other threats to safety which a community may encounter.' Elsewhere Pease (2002) suggests that the word 'safety' implies reduction of 'harms' that include not only crime, but other sources such as traffic, food, pollution, product design and planning. In similar vein, Crawford (2007) maintains that a pan-hazard approach would see crime as only a small element of harm reduction. Moreover, as Byrne and Pease (2003: 287-88) contend:

Community safety is currently a function legislated within a Crime and Disorder Act. This is topsyturvy, a bit like having 'education' as an element within a 'schools exclusion' Act. Crime is only one of the things which threaten community safety…Crime and disorder reduction should be embedded within a Community Safety Act, not the other way round.

Second, as Crawford (1998b: 251) writes, 'crime may be an inappropriate vehicle around which to construct open and tolerant communities.' As we shall see in Chapter 8, the practice of community safety in East Pollokshields has heightened the level of mis-trust between the older generation ("established") and the younger ("outsider") in addition to the existing mis-trust between the White and the minority ethnic people in the neighbourhood. In this context Rodger (2008: 167) argues that 'focussing on surveillance and suspicion, and creating established and outsider groups as a basis for "defending" a community against deviance and crime, is the wrong place to start.'

Third, commentators argue that community safety becomes a local rather than a social good as affluent neighbourhoods become secure bubbles of governance, forming enclaves based around defensive exclusion to insulate themselves from dangerous outsiders and exacerbating a social and spatial polarisation (see Crawford, 2007; also

Chapter 7). Moreover, as argues Cooper (2008), concerns of the least powerful and socially disadvantaged have seldom been addressed - leading to what Squires (2006) termed the *social division of safety* (see Chapter 7).

Fourth, it may be argued that contemporary policy responses to community safety and anti-social behaviour are contradictory. Since the passing of the Crime and Disorder Act in 1998 and Anti-social Behaviour Act in 2003 (2004 in Scotland), there has been a shift in attention towards everyday incivilities and petty offences to be considered as 'anti-social'. As a result, as Rodger (2008) observes, there is an increasing tendency of *defining deviance up* in the British society. Hughes and Follett (2006: 169) argue that such a 'concerted political drive to "define deviance up"…had the paradoxical result that public tolerance to incivility is progressively lowered and public fear of young people…is significantly increased. Positive communication between generations is put in jeopardy. We shall see such a tension within the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields (Chapter 7 and 8). Moreover, to make the criminal justice system financially more effective, a contradictory policy lets 'minor offences and offenders fall below the threshold of official notice — to allow them to slip a 'net' that is in danger of bursting at the seams' (Garland, 1996: 456-57). This process of *defining deviance down,* a term coined by Moynihan (cited in Garland, 1996) 'includes the use of community and monetary penalties for crimes that would once have attracted custodial sentences…It also includes decisions by the police that they will no longer use investigative resources on certain offences which have a low likelihood of detection and a low priority for the public, in order to conserve resources for those crimes which can be targeted and investigated effectively' (Garland, 1996: 456). As part of it, youth justice policy both in the UK and US over the past few decades have relied on early intervention, cautioning, and prevention-diversion strategies (e.g. restorative justice[3]).

However, research suggests that 'instead of reducing the number of youth formally processed through the juvenile justice system, these prevention and early intervention policies actually subject more youths to formal justice system intervention'
(Macallair and Roche, 2001: 1). From their Edinburgh study, for example, McAra (2012) argues that early identification did not lead to desistence from offending by young people, rather many such early identification groomed children for later imprisonment. This phenomenon where "wrong" populations or soft delinquents are being swept into the net is called *net widening* by Stanley Cohen (2002) and is a growing trend in Britain. Commentators argue that implications of such widening are 'serious because the process results in the diversion of resources from youth most in need of intervention to youths who may require no intervention' (Macallair and Roche, 2001: 1). Summing up, the net effect of the processes of 'defining deviance up' and a 'failed-defining deviance down' is net widening in criminal justice system. As we shall see in Chapter 8, this has particular implications for minority ethnic youths.

Fifth, research suggests that the greater emphasis on crime and disorder within the policy and practice of community safety has resulted in the *criminalisation of social policy* (see Crawford, 1998a, 1999; Croall, 2005; Knepper, 2007; Rodger, 2008).

According to Knepper (2007: 139), criminalisation of social policy 'refers to the situation in which social welfare issues become redefined as crime problems.' In the context of community safety, Crawford (1999: 527) writes:

The danger is that through a partnership focus to community safety, which wraps criminal and social policy in the same clothes, we may come to view unemployment, poor housing, homelessness, racism, failed educational facilities, the lack of youth leisure opportunities, and so on, as no longer important issues in themselves. Rather, their importance may become increasingly seen to derive from the belief that they lead to crime and disorder. The fact that they may do exactly that is no reason not to assert their importance in their own right. After all, there are other things which are more important than crime prevention. The fear is that social deficiencies are being redefined as "crime problems" which need to be controlled and managed, rather than addressed in themselves. This would represent the ultimate criminalisation of social policy.

As we shall see in Chapter 8 and 9, community safety in the inner-city neighbourhood of East Pollokshields has been associated with the 'marginalisation of fundamental public issues' such as sport and recreation facilities for teenagers, 'except insofar as they are related to their criminogenic qualities' (Croall, 2005: 190).

3 Restorative justice involves 'participation by victims and offenders in processes designed to repair the harms done by the offender to the victim. "Family group conferences" are devices often used for the delivery of restorative justice. Restorative justice has most often been applied with young offenders in relation to relatively minor crimes (Tilley, 2005: 767)

Finally, as Crawford (2007: 888) argues, 'the focus on community-level governance begs a more fundamental question: to what extent are the "community" and the "social" complementary aspects of the same broad rationality of government or different and potentially competing levels of government? Community justice is not the same as social justice. Community-based solutions tend to be particularistic and parochial, with little concern for externalities and wider social ramifications. Welldefended communities may serve to displace crime on to less-well-defended residential areas. Hence, one community's safety may come at the expense of others'. Is it desirable that safety as a public good is transformed into a parochial or exclusive good?'

It is in this context that the discussion now centres on the fundamental question whether the goal of community safety can be achieved without addressing wider issues of social inequalities.

2.6 Social inequalities, crime and community safety

Empirical evidence suggests that crime affects some communities more than others (Audit Commission, 1999; Hope, 1998). Based on his analysis of the British Crime Survey data, Hope (1998: 174) contends that 'both the distribution of victimisation and the characteristics of high crime communities…suggest that crime victimisation may be concentrating in residential areas alongside the concentration of poverty and deprivation.' In similar vein, Mooney et al. (2010: 22) maintain that 'in Scotland's major towns and cities, repeated and continuing connections are drawn in many different ways between places of disadvantage/impoverished communities and issues of crime and disorder' (also see GCSS, 2009 and Chapter 3).

To explain the inter-relationship between social inequality and crime, the present research uses the framework of multiple deprivation proposed by Pacione (2003; see Figure 6). With respect to the framework, Pacione (2003: 326-27) argues that

Figure 6: The anatomy of multiple deprivation

'poverty is a central element in the multidimensional problem of deprivation in which individual difficulties reinforce one another to produce a situation of compound disadvantage for those affected'. Though the precise mechanisms linking poverty to crime remain elusive (Berk, et al. 1980), Pacione (2009: 314) suggests:

Unemployment provides the motivation in the form of material deprivation, frustrated aspirations, boredom and anger, while the generally high level of material possessions enjoyed by the majority in employment provides the opportunity…In urban areas where poverty and deprivation is spatially concentrated, the weakening of individual moral restraint on a more general scale can provide a fertile breeding ground for anti-social behaviour and may foster the development of a marginalised criminal subculture.

Social inequalities are manifested in crime through a number of ways: level of offending, nature of victimisation as well as the perceptions of crime as a local problem. Drawing on past researches in Scotland, Croall (2012: 181) purports that 'while involvement in crime is common for youth across the social spectrum, more serious and persistent offenders…are more likely to come from the most deprived backgrounds'. She continues:

Inequalities are also seen in relation to victimisation. While rich and poor alike are victimised,…surveys suggest that the most deprived experience more kinds of crime more often, and more seriously affected by victimisation and are less able to protect themselves (Croall, 2012: 181).

As we shall see in Chapter 7, one respondent in East Pollokshields experienced repeated victimisation of housebreaking primarily due to his inability to install security devices in his home.

Research also suggests that residents in the most deprived neighbourhoods are more likely to feel unsafe and consider crime as a major problem (MacLeod et al.; cited in Croall, 2012). Pacione (2004: 120) argues that 'significantly, the complex of poverty-related problems has been shown to exhibit spatial concentration within cities. This

intensifies the overlapping effects of the various forms of deprivation for the residents of particular urban localities'. A notable concentration of poverty, deprivation and crime is found in the inner-city areas. As Harrison (1992:326-27) contends:

Just as Britain's economic and social structure gives rise to inner cities, so the inner city generates crime with a purpose-built production line…the gradual breakdown of the family and the community; the collapse of social control; education failure leading to truancy and the search for alternative road to status; lack of legitimate play facilities inside or outside the home; housing-allocation policies producing high densities of children and high concentrations of disadvantaged families on individual estates. To these must be added the factors pushing adults towards crime: low and fluctuating wages; inadequate and sometimes erratic social-security payments; unemployment…Crime emerges from this whole complex of causes, not from any one factor in isolation.

Research suggests that minority ethnic communities tend to settle in the inner city, leading to discrimination in job and housing markets and engendering community and racial tensions in times of economic hardship (see Chapter 5). Pacione (2009: 322) maintains that 'although ethnic minorities in inner cities are affected by the same kind of disadvantage experienced by other residents, as a visually and culturally distinct group they are open to discrimination and are easy targets for those seeking scapegoats for the city's economic decline.' Commentators also argue that victimisation from crime should be seen as an element of inner-city deprivation (Smith, 1982; also see FitzGerald and Hale, 1996). As Walklate (2000: 50) writes:

Criminal victimisation is a key problem in inner-city areas. The chance of becoming a victim of crime, and the material impact (at a minimum) that such victimisation is likely to have, is…far greater in inner-city areas. It has also been demonstrated that the problem of 'repeat victimisation' is largely a phenomenon of these localities.

These experiences of victimisation of people living in inner-cities are compounded by another disadvantage: inner-city neighbourhoods are often deprived in terms of allocation of community safety resources. Research suggests that it is difficult to make community safety initiatives effective in disadvantaged inner-city neighbourhoods. Crawford (1999: 523) argues that 'the central paradox of community crime prevention is that there is often an inverse relationship between existing activity and need. Years of research have shown that community responses to crime are easiest to generate in exactly those areas where they are least needed and hardest to establish where the need is greatest. This tends to mean that community safety activity is easier to sustain in homogenous, middle-class suburbs rather than heterogeneous, working class inner-city neighbourhoods' (also see Chapter 3). As we shall see in Chapter 7 and 8, many obstacles came in the way of involving local ethnic minority communities in the community safety initiatives in East Pollokshields. The following section argues that community safety cannot be achieved without addressing social justice issues.

2.6.1 Community safety without social justice?

The Scottish Executive (2000: 13) states:

Inter-related issues such as crime, unemployment, poverty and a lack of equal opportunity can undermine public safety…those members of our society who feel excluded are often those who feel unsafe within their own communities. The Scottish Executive…pledged to tackle social exclusion and work towards equality of opportunity and improve social justice with a vision of safer communities

But, what exactly social justice is? As Miller (1999: ix) observes, social justice is an idea that is central to the politics of contemporary democracies'. He opines:

When we talk about social justice, what exactly we are talking or arguing about? Very crudely, I think, we are discussing how the good and bad things in life should be distributed among the members of a human society. When, more concretely, we attack some policy or state of affairs as socially unjust, we are claiming that the person, or more usually a category of persons, enjoys fewer advantages than the person or group of persons ought to enjoy (or bears more of the burdens than they ought to bear), given how other members of the society in question are faring (Miller, 1999: 1).

The above explanation is useful for the present research in view of the differential experiences of opportunities and outcomes by the members of ethnic minority groups in Britain (see Craig, 2007). In terms of Britain, Craig (2007: 94) contends that 'the adoption of the goal of social justice - with a stated commitment to an agenda of equalities - has been used to mark off the policy agenda of the Scottish Executive as being more radical and redistributive than that of the UK Parliament. However, recent commentary suggests that Scotland too, despite its rhetoric, has some way to go to grasp the thistle of social justice'.

Croall (2012: 179) argues that 'crime and criminal justice are intricately linked to the issues of welfare and social justice…The clientele of police stations, courts and prisons are largely drawn from the most deprived groups and crime has a disproportionate impact on the poor.' Commentators also argue that community safety and criminal justice goals of governments will not be realised until its target for social justice is achieved (see McAra, 2012). In its report *Social Justice...a*

Figure 7: Life cycle approach to tackling poverty in Scotland

Scotland where everyone matters, the Scottish Executive (2000: 5) proclaims:

We committed ourselves to ambitious goals: i) the elimination of child poverty; ii) full employment by providing opportunities for all those who can work; iii) securing dignity in old age; and iv) building strong, inclusive communities (see Figure 7).

Despite such rhetoric, a recent research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2013) reveals the following: i) 21% of children were in poverty in 2010-11; ii) by mid2012, some 210,000 people in Scotland were unemployed. This represents a rise of 90,000 (80%) since the low point of mid-2008. Almost half of this rise was among those aged under 25; iii) since 2007, all areas of Scotland have seen a rise in the proportion of people claiming Job Seeker Allowance. The report concludes:

This findings highlights real and growing problems – rising poverty among working-age adults without dependent children, rising numbers of people working part-time for want of a full-time job, and high young adult unemployment. They are problems that cannot wait (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2013: 6).

Moreover, as we shall see in Chapter 5, 32% children in East Pollokshields were in poverty in 2010. These evidences suggest that community safety and a better quality of life of communities will remain a far cry until governments address the issues of poverty and unemployment. Moreover, social justice of the ethnic minority communities is a critical issue for safety and wellbeing of these social groups. Craig (2007: 106) argues that 'social justice…is not a reality for Britain's minorities. In the current political climate, the tendency is increasingly to deny minorities effective expression of their cultural and religious rights. The wider agenda of ensuring equality as citizens – in terms of status, opportunity and access – has, despite legislation and

political rhetoric – hardly begun to be addressed'. We will return to these questions in Chapter 8 and 9. The following section presents the overall conclusion of this chapter.

2.7 Conclusion

Drawing on past researches this chapter has shown that quality of life and community safety are major concerns of contemporary society. Research suggests that safety and community safety are important aspects in people's QoL. Both perceptions and experiences of crime as well as the fear of crime intrude upon and restrict people's daily life. Community safety in Britain has emerged over the past few decades as an area of urban policy where local policy makers, working alongside local communities in multi-agency partnership, seek to tackle crime, the fear of crime and its underlying causes. However, as commentators argue, the concept of community safety is contestable. This is more so due to the problematic conceptualisation of the term community by governments in Britain. Studies have shown that community safety has an exclusionary dynamic and it has been argued that community safety has failed to make communities safer especially in deprived neighbourhoods. Moreover, it was found, that the multi-agency partnerships approach to community safety did not have the desired success due to many issues, such as conflicts over ideology and purpose, differential power relations among the partners, lack of trust, unclear rationale of working in partnerships, and failure to engage with the local community. The chapter has shown how the inter-related issues such as crime, unemployment, poverty, multiple deprivation and a lack of equal opportunity can undermine public safety. Finally, it is argued that governments must work towards achieving its social justice objectives so as to make communities safer. Having established the conceptual framework for the study of community safety of ethnic minorities, we focus on community safety policies and initiatives in Scotland and its biggest city Glasgow in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Community Safety in Scotland: Overview of Policies and Initiatives

3.1 Introduction

Crime, ASB and the fear of crime remain significant concerns for many people living in Scotland. These issues are also high on the country's political agenda (Fyfe, 2010). Making a safer, stronger Scotland is one of the key strategic objectives of the SNP Government. Government policy is based on the belief that everyone has the right to be safe and feel safe in their communities. The origin, evolution and present characteristics of community safety in England and Wales are well documented (see, for example, Crawford, 1997, 2007; Gilling, 1999; 2001; Hughes, 2007; and Squires, 2006). On the contrary, and until very recently, little attention has been paid to the development of community safety in Scotland (for a recent exception, see Henry, 2009a, 2009b, 2012; also see Fyfe, 2010 and Monaghan, 1997 for crime and disorder reduction initiatives in Scotland). As Henry (2009b) argues, the commonly held assumption is that evolution of community safety in Scotland has mimicked its larger and more thoroughly researched neighbour. He goes on to suggest that developments in the field of community safety and crime prevention north of the border have followed similar, but not identical trajectory to that in England and Wales (also see Monaghan, 1997). This chapter provides an overview of policy developments in the field of community safety in Scotland. In view of the focus of the present research, the discussion emphasises key developments in the Glasgow region. In doing so, it also contextualises community safety measures adopted in a neighbourhood community in Scotland's biggest city. The discussion is organised under the following three topics:

i) a chronological account of major policy developments and initiatives in the field of community safety in Scotland; ii) key developments in the Glasgow region; and iii) contradictory characteristics in the policy developments and initiatives around community safety in Scotland.

3.2 Tracing the contours of community safety in Scotland

Commentators argue that multi-agency crime prevention and community safety initiatives were established in Scotland well before the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998. However, as we shall see in this chapter, major policy developments around community safety emerged in Scotland after the turn of the twentieth century, more specifically after the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 2003. Since this enactment community safety is placed within a wider framework of statutory community planning partnerships for all the 32 local authorities in Scotland. Table 2 charts the major initiatives in the field of community safety in Scotland. Key developments are described below:

Table 2: Community safety in Scotland: timeline of key developments

Focus	Policy and Practice	Year
Scotland	Children's Hearing System	1971
	Interdepartmental Circular 6/84	1984
	SACRO Safe Neighbourhood Programme	1986
	Neighbourhood Watch	1986
	Safer Cities Programme	1989
	The Children (Scotland) Act	1995
	Crime and Disorder Act	1998
	Local Government (Scotland) Act	2003
	Anti-social Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act	2004
	Community Justice Authorities	2006
	ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy	2007
	Promoting Positive Outcomes: Working together to Prevent Antisocial Behaviour in Scotland	2009
	Safer Communities Programme	2009

	Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act	2011
	Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act	2012
	Police Scotland	2013
Glasgow/ Strathclyde	Juvenile Liaison Scheme	1956
	Operation Spotlight	1996
	Hamilton Curfew	1997
	Glasgow's Antisocial Behaviour Strategy	2005-08
	Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Taskforce	2005
	Glasgow Community and Safety Services	2006
	Enhanced Policing Plan, Glasgow	2007-08
	Glasgow's Community Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV)	2008

a) Dealing with children who offend or are at risk of offending

Three related developments will be discussed under this point: i) Children's Hearing System: 1971; ii) The Children (Scotland) Act: 1995; and iii) the Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act: 2011.

i) Children's Hearing System: 1971

As Henry (2009a: 135) maintains, the Children's Hearings System is arguably the most distinctive feature of Scottish criminal justice process. He continues:

Set up under the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968, Children's Hearings were based on the understanding that there was no difference between young people who offended and those who were in need of social support and/or intervention. Offending was simply a consequence or manifestation of wider social problems in the young person's environment, and so addressing these problems was central to addressing offending behaviour. In short, Children's Hearings eschewed the language of punishment and represented the institutionalisation of penal-welfare values at precisely the moment that those values were coming under direct attack south of the border (Henry, 2009a: 135).

Under this legislation, as Burman et al. (2006: 441) argue, the 'Scottish juvenile courts as arenas of punishment were replaced by a more informal and multidisciplinary system with powers to make decisions about the social education and welfare supervision of the children brought to its attention, taking account of the child's needs. The focus on 'needs' not 'deeds' has remained a central tenet of the philosophy of the Children's Hearing System. Scotland has retained this system, largely unchanged, for over 30 years, although it was given a new statutory framework by the Children (Scotland) Act 1995' which we discuss below. **ii) The Children (Scotland) Act: 1995**

The 'welfare focus of the Children's Hearing System is preserved in the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, which states: "in determining any matter with respect to a child, the welfare of that child throughout his childhood shall be their paramount consideration" (Hallett, 2000: 33). According to the Children 1st (2002: 1), the 'Children (Scotland) Act 1995 is founded on the following five principles: i) each child has the right to be treated as an individual; ii) each child who can form views on matters affecting him or her has the right to express those views if he or she wishes; iii) parents should normally be responsible for the upbringing of their children and should share that responsibility; iv) each child has the right to protection from all forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation; and v) in decisions relating to the protection of the child, every effort should be made to keep the child in the family home.' As Burman et al. (2006: 441) find, 'although responsibility for the Hearings was removed from Scottish local authorities in 1995, and a single Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA) was created to manage the service, the conduct of the system and its associated structures remained largely the same.' **iii) The Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act: 2011**

Recently Children's Hearings Scotland (CHS) has been developed as a new nondepartmental public body in Scotland 'to improve outcomes and experiences for children   and   young people in   Scotland   who   may   be   at   risk'

(www.chs.chscotland.gov.uk). It is established under the Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act 2011, and comes into force in June 2013. The major objectives of this enactment are: i) 'to create an improved and more effective Children's Hearings System that provides greater consistency across Scotland; ii) to improve outcomes for children and young people; iii) to make sure that the voice and experience of the child or young person is at the centre of every hearing; iv) to make sure that the rights of everyone at the hearing are upheld and respected'

(www.chs.chscotland.gov.uk). For community safety of children and young people, this is an important development and it also reiterates Scotland's welfarist approach to criminal justice. However, as we shall see in Section 3.3, there are issues with the effective running of the Children's Hearing System and only time will tell to what extent CHS can bring justice to young people in Scotland. In the following section we discuss the crime prevention circular of 1984 issued by the then conservative government.

b) Interdepartmental Circular 6/84

As Henry (2009b) observes, by the early 1980s there were a lot of multi-agency partnership work in Scotland involving police and other agencies in local crime prevention. During this time *Interdepartmental Circular 6/84* (following the Home Office Circular 8/84) provided further impetus to this partnership approach to crime prevention. Monaghan (1997: 35) purports that the 'Circular essentially proposed a situational approach to crime prevention. Short-term, target-hardening approaches were considered necessary to reduce the opportunities for crime to occur, but longerterm work was also envisaged, such as providing opportunities for unemployed young people to use their time more constructively, or providing alternative social

activities for first offenders. This circular was launched at a time of hostility to the ideals of the treatment of offenders and welfarism…The main message of the Scottish circular was to emphasize the importance of the multi-agency approach in developing crime prevention initiatives that would reflect local characteristics and local problems.' Quite clearly, the circular prescribed two central themes of the community safety initiatives formally emerged in the late 1990s in Britain: i) local solutions to local problems; and ii) shared responsibility for crime prevention. These principles were also reflected in the Safe Neighbourhood Programme developed at that time.

c) SACRO Safe Neighbourhood Programme

Following similar development in England and Wales by NACRO, the Scottish Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (SACRO) set up a 'safe neighbourhood' scheme in 1986 on the Whitfield estate in Dundee. The project, as Monaghan (1997: 33) says, 'adopted broad social welfare objectives rather than more specific technical crime reduction ones, due to its source of funding. These included the containment and reduction of crime; environmental and security improvements; improved co-operation and liaison between the community and the police; improved local amenities and services; the development of community and voluntary groups and activities; and improved provision for young people in recreation, employment and training.' Although no evaluation of the programme is currently available, we shall see in the final chapter that it resonates with many recommendations made by the present research for enhanced community safety in East Pollokshields (see Chapter 9).

In parallel with the gradual promotion of partnership-based crime prevention, Scotland continued to have centrally-controlled measures during the 1980s such as the Neighbourhood Watch (1986) and the Safer Cities programme (1989). As Monaghan (1997: 21) purports:

In crime prevention, the Conservatives have sought, on the surface, to involve local authorities directly in policy making. At the same time, however, central government generally fostered the growth of organizations which by-passed or limited the power of local authorities in this area, such as neighbourhood watch, crime prevention panels, the Safer Cities Programme and 'Crime Concern Scotland' which, like its centrally based counterpart south of the border, operated from a base in Edinburgh and was given a Scotland-wide remit.

In the following section, we discuss the Neighbourhood Watch scheme in Scotland.

d) Neighbourhood Watch

Neighbourhood Watch was introduced nationally in Scotland in 1986, and by 1995, a 'total of 4514 schemes had been established in Scotland, along with 132 adult crime prevention panels and 56 youth panels' (Monaghan, 1997: 35). This scheme was intended to 'facilitate the social contact and interaction necessary to strengthen informal social control and cohesion and, through this process, reduce the incidence and the fear of crime. It also provided an opportunity for the police to establish constructive links with the community and for the community to act as the eyes and ears of the police' (Monaghan, 1997: 35-36). However, neighbourhood watch grew more rapidly in some areas than in others; and as Monaghan (1997) argues, it

developed rather slowly in poorer areas affected by decline and deprivation. In similar vein, Crawford (2007) finds that it is easiest to establish Neighbourhood Watch in affluent, suburban areas with low crime rates involving people who hold favourable attitudes towards the police rather than in inner-city, crime-prone, public sector housing estates with heterogeneous populations (also see Evans, 1992). Commentators also argue that there is little evidence that Neighbourhood Watch is effective in reducing victimisation (see Fyfe, 2010). Recent research indicates that the number of Neighbourhood Watch schemes has plummeted considerably over the past decade in Scotland (see Fyfe, 2010). We are now going to discuss the Safer Cities programme in Scotland.

e) The Safer Cities Programme

The *safer cities* initiative was launched in Scotland in 1989 with projects started in Central Edinburgh, Castlemilk, Greater Easterhouse and Dundee North East and subsequently in Aberdeen in 1992 (Monaghan, 1997). These programmes were originally premised on the logic of urban regeneration and as Carnie (1995) noted, their objectives were to create safer cities where economic enterprise and community life could flourish. It also favoured the use of situational measures of crime prevention over social or welfare-based initiatives (Henry, 2009b). As Gilling (1999) argues, safer cities programme was a political move of the then Thatcher government to tackle three problems in addition to crime in cities: i) the flight of business from urban areas which had become unattractive as sites of investment, ii) red political hue of the selected cities, and iii) incompetent and unhelpful local authorities. As a result, says Gilling (1999), safer cities programme was intended for the safety of the 'frightened business community', not the residents of these areas. In an evaluation of the programme, Carnie (1995:3) concluded that 'Safer Cities initiative provoked fair amount of suspicion in each of the five localities in Scotland where it was introduced. To the local politicians and activists, it was Scottish Government's part of the plan to 'off-load crime prevention responsibilities to local authorities' without providing the necessary resources'. In Castlemilk and Easterhouse areas of Glasgow, for example, suspicions existed about the influence and role of police. In both areas, community representatives opposed the idea of a seconded police office to head the project and preferred a civilian co-ordinator (Monaghan, 1997).

In the following section, we discuss the Crime and Disorder Act as one of the principal enactments with respect to community safety in Britain.

f) The Crime and Disorder Act (CDA): 1998

As Tilley (2005: 759) observes, the CDA lays out 'statutory responsibilities for crime reduction in local authority areas' (see Figure 8 below). Though the Act prompted the growth of numerous Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) south of the border almost overnight, it was not statutory for the local authorities in Scotland to do so. Henry (2009b: 97), however, argues that 'even though partnership remained non-

statutory north of the border, the level of encouragement to develop such strategies was such that it is questionable whether it actually remained genuinely voluntary. Certainly by the end of the decade all 32 of the Scottish local authorities were involved in some kind of community safety related multi-agency work'. Elsewhere Henry (2009a:151) purports that the 'infrastructure within which community safety has developed in Scotland remained less formal for longer than in England and Wales. Indeed, it is only in the last decade that a statutory infrastructure for community safety has been erected.' We now discuss the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 2003 which made community safety partnerships a statutory requirement for local authorities north of the border.

Figure 8: Statutory framework for CSPs in the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998
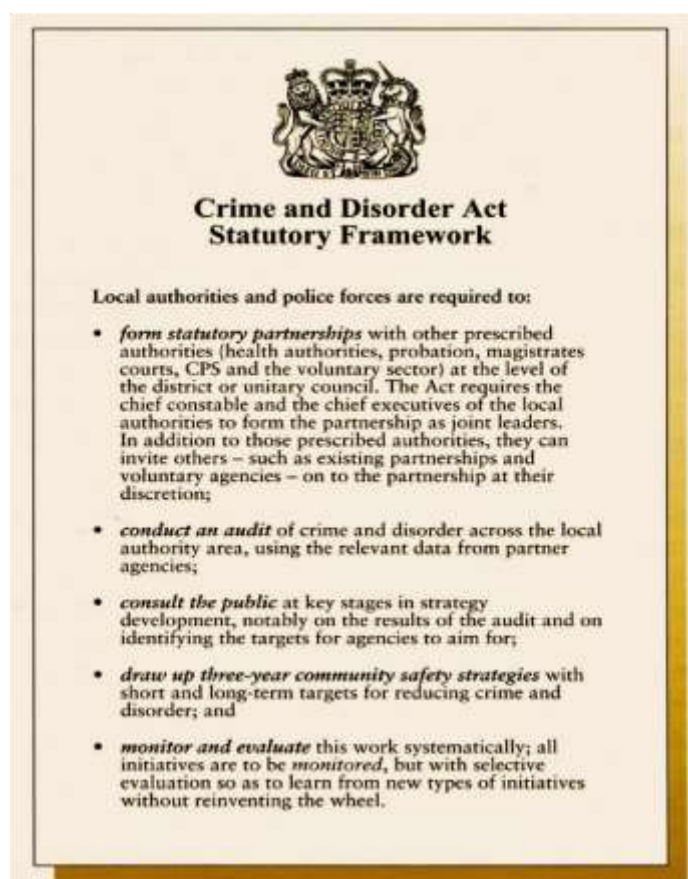
Source: Audit Commission, 1999

g) The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 2003

The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 2003 provided a framework to enable the delivery of a better, more responsive public services in Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2004). Henry (2009a) maintains that Community Planning – which was given statutory force through this enactment - acts as an overarching framework ensuring public services to be more responsive to and better organised around the needs its diverse communities. Since this enactment, 'community safety has been placed within the framework of Community Planning as a strategic priority for many of the partners. It sits, therefore, nested amongst other partnership-based strategic priorities…which

include: social inclusion, partnerships for parenting, healthy communities, social justice, lifelong learning, economic development and sustainability, environmental planning etc' (Henry, 2009a: 153). Henry (2009a) also argues that such a statutory duty of placing community safety within a more holistic community planning indicates a broader focus of community safety in Scotland than crime and disorder. However, we shall see below that policies and initiatives around community safety in the post-Local Government (Scotland) Act are much more focussed on tackling ASB and its causes. The Antisocial Behaviour Act, 2003 (2004 in Scotland) has arguably remained one of the major landmarks in the policy development of community safety in Britain. We discuss this below.

h) Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act, 2004

The Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 contributed to the community safety infrastructure in Scotland by placing a statutory duty on local authorities and chief constables to develop and publish an antisocial behaviour strategy for their areas (Henry, 2009a). This Act of the Scottish Parliament provides Scottish local authorities with the legislative framework to tackle antisocial behaviour in their area. Among the tools at their disposal are Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) and Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABAs) which can be used prior to obtaining Antisocial Behaviour Orders (ASBOs). Other tools include dispersal of groups, closure of premises, parenting orders, issuing fixed penalty notices, community reparation orders and seizing of vehicles (GCC, 2005). As Henry (2009: 154) argues:

There is nothing in this act that gave a nod to any residual commitment to welfare values. The Act extended the use of anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs) to young people between the ages of 12and 16, gave the police increased powers to disperse groups of young people, created community reparation orders, extended the use of electronic monitoring in the community and created parenting orders for parents who were viewed as 'failing' their problematic children.

However, recent research suggests that the use of ASBOs in Scotland is relatively low compared to England and Wales. Henry (2009a:154) purports that there was some 'resistance to use of some of the orders provided by the act. It has remained unclear to what extent the ASBOs were actually used particularly for under 16s'. The author also noted that application for ASBO varied among local authorities in Scotland. He concluded that it may be possible that the local authorities viewed them as the last resort for this age-group and continued to favour the Children's Hearing System where possible (Henry, 2009a). In 2009, 'the SNP Government made it clear that it wants ASBOs to be used more sparingly than in the past and that, unlike the previous Labour administration, it would interpret the low use of ASBOs as a positive outcome rather than a sign of failure, indicating that offending behaviour is being dealt with effectively before enforcement action is required (Fyfe, 2010: 186; also see below). The following section discusses government's initiative to tackle the problem of re-offending in Scotland.

i) Community Justice Authorities (CJAs)

The Audit Scotland (2011: 33) contends that re-offending is a growing problem in Scotland while there has been little progress towards government's national indicator to reduce reconviction rates. According to the Prisons Commission, almost half of those receiving prison sentences had been in prison more than three times before and between 15 and 22 per cent had been in prison more than ten times before.' Such a high level of re-offending poses serious challenges to stakeholders in community safety partnerships. To address this issue, Community Justice Authorities (CJAs) were created through the Management of Offenders etc. (Scotland) Act 2005 (see Henry, 2009a). CJAs provide a co-ordinated approach to planning and monitoring the delivery of offender services. A National Strategy for the Management of Offenders has been developed in Scotland to: i) target services to reduce reoffending; ii) ensure close co-operation between community and prison services; and iii) aid the rehabilitation of offenders (Scottish Executive, 2006). A total of 8 CJAs were created in Scotland. As Henry (2009a: 156-57) argues:

It was certainly clear that the creation of CJAs reflected ongoing tendencies felt around the world for there to be increased coordination, management and monitoring of criminal justice services…It was rather less clear how they would fit, if at all, next to Community Planning. There are undoubted differences between the objectives of the two partnership structures… CJAs focus upon people who have already been identified as offenders and try to stop them re-offending…On the other hand Community Planning is a much more proactive enterprise that focuses on the social welfare of the population at large …and, potentially, on needy groups within the population who might be viewed as being at risk of becoming offenders. The distinctive objectives of the two structures may indeed keep them separate, in theory at least.

Moreover, a recent report from the Audit Scotland on reducing reoffending also called for a review of existing arrangements (www.scotland.gov.uk). In view of these, the SNP Government is currently working on the proposal of redesigning the community justice system. Three options are being considered: i) an enhanced Community Justice Authority model; ii) a local authority model; and iii) a national criminal justice social work service (UNISON Scotland, 2013). It remains to be seen, therefore, which of these options is embraced by the Government to effectively tackle re-offending and ensure community justice in Scotland.

Figure 9: Strategic objectives of PRP

1. To engage with local communities to establish an understanding of the issues that affect their quality of life and sense of security, thereby ensuring they have a primary role in the identification of local policing priorities.
2. To develop and improve our ability to gather, analyse and effectively utilise community intelligence.
3. To work in co-operation with the community and other partners to deliver sustainable solutions.
4. To improve our visibility and accessibility within communities.
5. To reduce the incidence of antisocial behaviour in communities by making full use of the powers contained within the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 and other associated legislation.
6. To implement a performance framework that informs and drives police/partner activity and measures the public's sense of security and well-being.

7. To integrate and mainstream the practice and ethos of public reassurance policing with engaging criminality, response policing and other policing activity.

8. To create safer environments by engendering the trust and confidence of all communities in order to combat the threat of violent extremism and terrorism.

Source: ACPOS, 2007

j) ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy: 2007

As Hamilton-Smith et al. (2013) argue, 'reassurance', as a function of local policing, was given explicit recognition rather later in Scotland than it was in England and Wales. In its Public Reassurance Strategy (2007), the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPOS) advocates that 'Public Reassurance Policing (PRP) will create the environment and the opportunity to increase the public's confidence in policing, improve people's quality of life and reduce crime and disorder in our communities' (ACPOS, 2007: 3). The organisation also identified 8 strategic objectives to achieve its purpose (Figure 9 above). Fyfe (2012) argues that this strategy of ACPOS and subsequent guidelines by the Scottish Government (e.g. Community Policing Engagement Principles, 2009) have changed the way community policing is structured and delivered in Scotland. In similar vein, Hamilton-Smith et al. (2013: 7) purport that 'though lacking in detail as to how precisely public reassurance should be achieved, the ACPOS strategy emphasized that better engagement and communication processes were needed to facilitate effective reassurance.' We shall see in Chapter 8 to how this public reassurance by the local community policing team works in a multi-ethnic community. In the following section, we discuss the Scottish Government's recent initiative to tackle anti-social behaviour.

k) Promoting Positive Outcomes: working together to prevent antisocial behaviour in Scotland, 2009

The SNP Government advocates:

We believe that the overriding focus on Antisocial Behaviour Orders has not been helpful: they are a useful tool, but they are only one of the tools in the box. Enforcement measures alone will not solve the deep-seated problems that fuel disorder in our communities. So, while the Scottish Government will not seek to repeal the measures in the 2004 Act, this Framework marks a significant shift in policy away from simplistic quick-fixes towards smarter solutions. We will focus on protecting communities by preventing antisocial behaviour occurring in the first place (Scottish Government (2009: 1).

The Government's new ASB framework Promoting Positive Outcomes revised the PIER (prevention, early intervention, enforcement and rehabilitation) Model of the 2004 ASB statutory guidance by putting extra focus on prevention and early and effective intervention, reducing the emphasis on enforcement and placing education and support at the centre. The Scottish Government (2009: 20) also advocates that 'we will only deliver long term solutions for communities by addressing the root causes of ASB, such as drink, drugs and deprivation, and not just the symptoms.' It appears that by adopting this framework to tackle the problem of ASB, the SNP Government signalled a shift in emphasis from enforcement (e.g. through ASBOs) to addressing wider social justice objectives. However, no research currently exists on the evaluation of this approach to tackling ASB in Scotland. The following section describes the Safer

Communities programme as a framework for the effective delivery of community safety initiatives in Scotland.

l) Safer Communities Programme, 2009

The Safer Communities Programme provides a framework for national guidance and support developed by the Scottish Government's Community Safety Unit. The programme was developed to support: i) multi-agency strategy level groups dealing with issues relating to community safety; and ii) staff from partner organisations who play a key role in providing support to the partnership and delivering partnership activity (http://www.scotland.gov.uk). The Scottish Government (2009) also contends that the Programme is designed around four key partnership principles: Leadership; Governance & Accountability; Evidence; and Better Outcomes for Communities (Figure 10). In this framework, the Government also recognises that 'effective community engagement using partnership approaches is challenging and

Figure 10: Framework for national guidance and support to community safety partnerships

Source: Scottish Government, 2009

demands that partners have a shared vision of their goals, and a way of working together which realises this ambition…Engaging communities, particularly those communities with individuals considered 'hard to reach', can only happen by pooling skills and resources with other agencies or the community/voluntary sector. Good community engagement can occur when agencies recognise the skills and attributes of partners' (Scottish Government, 2011: 3). As we shall see, however, community safety partnerships – particularly in ethnically diverse areas - are often ineffective and they fail to engage with the so-called 'hard-to-reach' group, such as ethnic minority youths

(see Chapter 8). Finally, we discuss the recent reform in the policing landscape in Scotland.

m) The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 and the formation of Police Scotland

The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 changed the policing landscape in Scotland, bringing together former eight police forces of the country, the Scottish Police Services Authority and the Scottish Crime and Drug Enforcement Agency into a single Police Service of Scotland from 1 April, 2013 (http://www.scotland.gov.uk). As the Police Scotland (2013: 4) advocates, the strategic aims of this police reform are threefold: i) strengthening the connection between services and communities by creating a new formal agreement with each of the local authorities; ii) creating more equal access to specialist support; and iii) protecting and improving local services within the available budget (see Figure 11). The force also believes that for the common people in Scotland, this reform will mean: a) a better targeted local policing; b) an improved access to, and quality of, policing services across Scotland; and c) a more sustainable service providing value for money (Police Scotland, 2013: 4). As part of this wider policing plan, Glasgow City Local Policing Plan 2013-14 identifies the following four priorities: i) Tackling Violence, Disorder and Antisocial Behaviour; ii) Protecting People; iii) Increasing Public Confidence and Local Engagement; iv) Tackling Serious Crime and Responding to National Events.

Figure 11: Priorities of Police Scotland

Source: Police Scotland, 2013

It remains to be seen, however, to what extent this newly organised police force addresses community safety concerns of local communities, especially in the disadvantaged and multi-ethnic communities of the country. While commenting on the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill, Fyfe (2012: 2, 4) argues:

The approach outlined in the Bill significantly shifts the balance of power towards the professional expertise of members of the Scottish Police Authority, the Chief Constable and local commanders and away from local government...The Bill makes clear the requirement on a local commander to submit a local police plan to the relevant local authority for approval. Given that such a plan must have regard to the national strategic police plan as well as priorities identified by local community planning there are

areas of potential tension around the balance between a 'bottom up' and a 'top down' approach to setting priorities and objectives.

He also asks:

How will the local authorities exert influence when the Bill largely concentrates power in the hands of the chief constable, local commanders and the Scottish Police Authority? How will local authorities engage with local communities to establish their concerns about policing, crime and disorder? (Fyfe, 2012: 3).

In similar vein, UNISON, Scotland (2012: 4) concludes that that 'the centralisation of police services in Scotland is wrong in principle and contrary to the principles of public service reform as described by the Christie Commission' (see Figure 12; also Fyfe, 2012). Thus commentators warn that the recent emergence of a unitary police

Figure 12: Key points of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill, 2012

1. This reform is contrary to the principles of public service reform as described by the Christie Commission.
2. ACPOS estimate between 2,000 & 3,000 police staffs will lose their jobs
3. Taking trained operational police officers off the street to perform administrative tasks – at greater cost, is economic madness
4. The link between communities and their local police force would be broken. 5. The financial arrangements are sketchy to say the least

force in Scotland may exacerbate the tension between the local and the central in representing local community's interest over community safety.

In view of the focus of the present research on community safety policies and practices in a neighbourhood community of the Glasgow city, this chapter now offers a brief overview of the major developments in the field of community safety in the Glasgow area.

3.3 Key developments in the Glasgow area

Glasgow is the largest city in Scotland. According to a 2011 estimate, the city's population was 598, 830: 11.4 per cent of the total population of Scotland (National Records of Scotland, 2012). As Glasgow Community and Safety Services (GCSS) observe, 'Glasgow is the economic, business and cultural heart of a major metropolitan region…At the same time, it is recognised that the city experiences high levels of social, economic and health disadvantage' (GCSS, 2009:10). The Scottish
Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2009 reveals that 'Glasgow continues to have the highest concentrations of multiple deprivation in Scotland' with almost one third of the 15% most deprived datazones of Scotland are in the city (Scottish Government, 2009:1). According to GCSS (2009), geographical areas where community safety problems exist have remained the same for decades, and are generally concentrated within, and around, the most deprived areas.

However, there is limited research highlighting community safety issues, policies and initiatives in the Glasgow region. Studies conducted so far have primarily concentrated

on community safety initiatives and the regulation of space in Glasgow's city centre (see, for example, Atkinson, 2003; Belina and Helms, 2003; Ditton, 2000; Fyfe and Bannister, 1998; Helms, 2008; Van den Berg, 2006). Some others (see below) have examined the implications of specific community safety initiative, such as the Hamilton Curfew, for local communities. None of these, however, looked into the implications of community safety initiatives for neighbourhood communities. Key developments in and around the Glasgow City are outlined below:

a) Juvenile Liaison Scheme: 1956

As Monaghan (1997) contends, the origin of the multi-agency crime prevention in Scotland can be traced back to the Juvenile Liaison Scheme introduced in the Greenock area of Glasgow in 1956. At that time, as Shields and Duncan (1964, cited in Fyfe, 2010: 175) observed:

Greenock was "Scotland's top housebreaking area". But over the next seven years, while Scotland's recorded housebreaking rates continued to rise steeply, Greenock was alone showing "a substantial decrease" and had "fallen to seventh position in the housebreaking hierarchy." What accounts for this remarkable change in Greenock's fortunes? Analysis at the time suggested "certain special measures of crime prevention carried through…by the Greenock police".

Henry (2009b) contends, that the police Juvenile Liaison Scheme 'involved police officers working closely with a range of other local social services and community members (including schools, probation officers,…local businesses and families themselves) in order to supervise and monitor young people who had been identified as being engaged in…problematic and disruptive behaviour.' The scheme was also an 'attempt to reproduce, in the urban setting, good relationships between the police, other agencies and individuals, which already existed in more rural communities. It represented an informal method of social control in the more anonymous environment' (Monaghan, 1997: 26). As Fyfe (2010: 176) argues, the above

'description of crime prevention some 50 years ago clearly resonates with contemporary approaches to tackling crime and disorder.'

In the following two sections, we discuss two community safety initiatives in and around the Glasgow city. Both of these drew heavily on the principles of the Broken Windows theory, and as Fyfe (2010: 182) argues, are 'sovereign policing approaches…illustrated by the introduction of a zero-tolerance strategy by Strathclyde Police' (also see section 3.4 below).

b) The Operation Spotlight

The Operation Spotlight initiative of the Strathclyde Police was launched in October, 1996 with a view to 'dramatically reduce violent crime, disorder, and the fear of crime throughout the force area' (Orr, 1998:105). Many commentators (see, for example, Atkinson, 2003; Belina and Helms, 2003; Fyfe, 2010; MacLeod, 2002) label the initiative as a replica of the highly debated New York model of Zero Tolerance Policing (ZTP; see Chapter 2) applied to a Scottish context. However, its proponent - the then Chief Constable John Orr (1998: 106) denies this labelling and claims:

The aim of the Spotlight Initiative is simply to make the Strathclyde Police area a safer place to live, work, visit and invest. A crackdown on crime it is. Targeting criminals it is. Positive action against quality-of-life crime it is. Community policing with the gloves off it is. 'Zero tolerance' it is not.

However, nobody denies the fact that both ZTP and Spotlight Initiative are premised heavily on the concept of 'broken windows' advocated by Wilson and Kelling (1982) which we discussed in Chapter 2. Even the proponent of the initiative admits:

I believe that minor crime is often simply the breeding ground and nursery that spawns and nurtures more serious and violent crime. Similarly, day-on-day disruption of minor crime creates an environment which is inhospitable to the active criminal. With this in mind, the Spotlight Initiative was born (Orr, 1998:114).

A focussed approach was adopted in the Spotlight Initiative with high visibility police patrols focussing i) on a range of specific crimes, e.g. vandalism, drinking in public, carrying weapons, underage drinking; and ii) certain locations, e.g. parks and public places, transport network, sporting events (Fyfe, 2010; Orr, 1998). In a few months' time, it is claimed, promising results were noted: 'violent crime fell by 3.8%, car crime was down by 22%, housebreaking by 12% and vandalism by 7%' (Orr, 1998: 119-20). However, Atkinson (2003:1838) notes that the 'Spotlight contains contradictory elements with particular problems emphasised one day only to be ignored the next. The force targets these problems according to geographical and temporal priorities so that littering might be policed heavily one day with people charged for the offence and the next day people behaving in a similar way might be ignored.' In the following section, we discuss another debated community safety initiative adopted by Strathclyde Police.

c) Hamilton Curfew

In October 1997, Strathclyde Police - in partnership with the South Lanarkshire Council – initiated the *Hamilton Child Safety Initiative* (HCSI), known as the Hamilton Curfew. The explicit aims of the initiative were to i) ensure the safety of vulnerable youngsters under the age of 16 and with particular regard to those under 12; ii) increase parental awareness of their responsibilities towards their children; iii) reduce the incidence of juvenile crime and disorder; and iv) increase public safety and reduce public anxiety over crime (McGallagly cited in Atkinson, 2003). The initiative 'banned' children under 16 from venturing outside their homes after 9pm in 3 areas of Hamilton: Whitehill, Hillhouse and Fairhill. In the first year of the initiative, 280 young people were taken home by the police (Thomson, 2006). Atkinson (2003: 1835-36) writes:

Local and regional newspapers portrayed the initiative as a *curfew*…yet it has been seen as both a role model for proposed youth curfews and as an instigator of renewed local fears about crime… An evaluation conducted for the Scottish Office markedly lauded the initiative as a success which was not simply welcomed by local residents and business owners but even by the children picked up during curfew…The evaluation, however, was directly contradicted by the Scottish Human Rights Centre. The latter study concluded that the HCSI was not wanted by the areas concerned and that police activity lacked legal authority and was in breach of international human rights.

The "success story" of HCSI is summarised nicely by Thomson (2006) who experienced the Hamilton Curfew herself as a teenager:

It **wasn't** successful in creating good relationships between young people and the police. As a 12 year old, I felt I was being punished without doing anything wrong, I felt the police were merely interested in gaining credible statistics, collecting names and addresses to show how many young people they had 'protected'. The HCSI **was** successful in increasing the fear of crime in the initiative areas. Residents suddenly found their area discussed on television as 'rife with crime' and 'dangerous'. Importantly, it **wasn't** successful in convincing anyone of its achievements (original emphasis).

We are now going to discuss the anti-social behaviour strategies adopted in the Glasgow area.

d) Glasgow's Antisocial Behaviour Strategy

According to the Glasgow City Council (GCC, 2005: 4), 'antisocial behaviour is a multi-faceted problem, often with no simple response or intervention.' In Glasgow, the Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Strategy Group – a partnership with members from the Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde Police, Glasgow Housing Association (GHA), and many more key agencies - has the 'specific responsibility for the production, monitoring and review of ASB strategy' (GCC, 2005: 4). Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Strategy Group has adopted a five strand approach to tackling antisocial behaviour in Glasgow. This approach - called the PIERS approach - includes: i) prevention (including education); ii) intervention and diversion; iii) enforcement; iv) rehabilitation of perpetrators; and v) support for complainants and victims (GCC, 2005). 'However, in recognising the specific needs of some localities and to enhance the PIERS approach, Glasgow has developed a multi-agency, coordinated response to engage with the range of issues that can be deemed as antisocial, including related causes. This response has been formalised as the Antisocial Behaviour Task Force (GCC, 2005: 8). We discuss this below.

e) Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Task Force: 2005

According to the Scottish Government (2008), the Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Taskforce was established in 2005 to provide a strategic approach to tackling high levels of ASB and low level crime in 10 targeted areas of the city: i) Springburn, ii) Drumry, iii) Tollcross, iv) Summerhill, v) Shettleston, vi) Barlanark, vii) Govan, viii) Pollok, ix) North Cardonald, and x) Scotstoun. 'The selection of these areas was based on a process of area mapping and the analysis of information and intelligence from partner organisations and communities' (Scottish Government, 2008: 1). According to the Glasgow City Council (GCC, 2005: 26), the Taskforce adopted a 'problem-solving approach…to provide sustainable solutions to antisocial behaviour issues'. Seven key stages were also identified in the deployment of Taskforce resources (Figure 13).

Figure 13: A seven-stage approach to tackling ASB in Glasgow
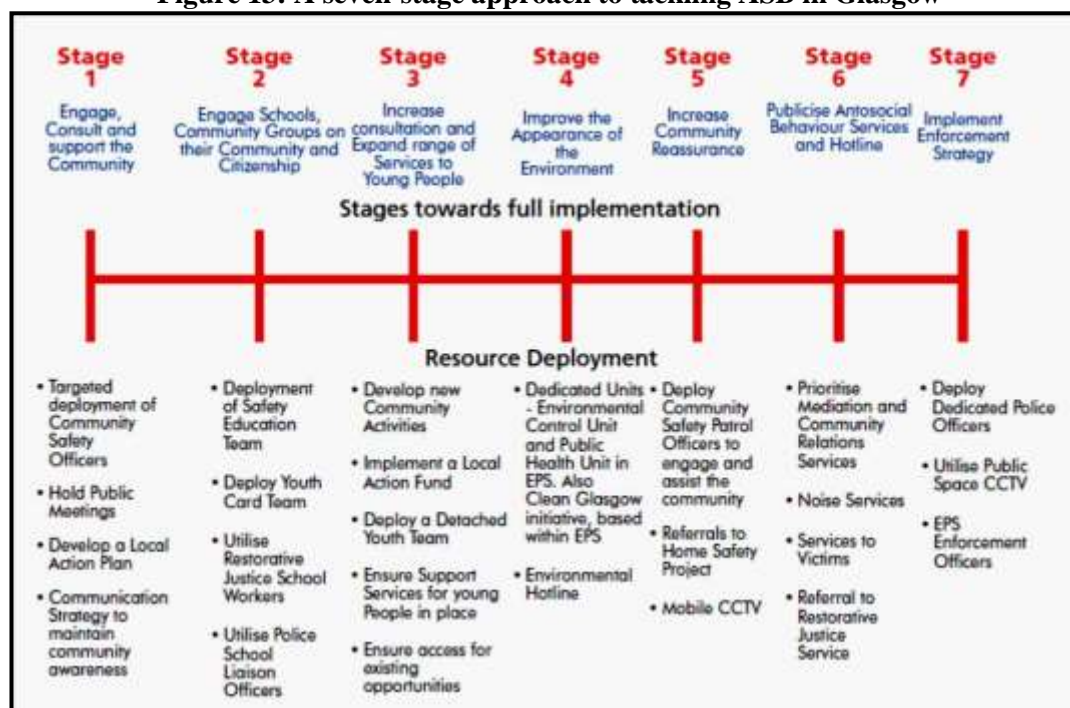
Source: Glasgow City Council, 2005

An evaluation of the Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Taskforce suggests:

Evidence on the impact of the Taskforce on ASB in Glasgow is beginning to emerge, but these findings are mixed and complex, which may be an indication of the scale and nature of the problems faced by the Taskforce. There is however some evidence to suggest that the Taskforce had some positive impact, and there is some limited evidence of progress towards intermediate outcomes and some signs of change which can provide the foundations upon which more sustainable changes can be built (Scottish Government, 2008: 28).

In October 2006 the Taskforce became Glasgow Community and Safety Services (GCSS) and extended its services citywide (Scottish Govt, 2008). In the following section, we discuss GCSS's approach in dealing with low-level offences and ASB in the city of Glasgow.

f) Glasgow Community and Safety Services

GCSS was established in October 2006. First of its kind in the UK, the organisation brings together staff from the Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde Police, Strathclyde Fire and Rescue, Glasgow Community Safety Partnership and Streetwatch - a CCTV monitoring company. Its mission is 'to work in partnership with other agencies and communities to create a safer, better, cleaner Glasgow, where equality and respect are paramount' (GCSS, 2011: 3). Since community safety in Scotland is nested within the wider framework of community planning, community safety priorities in

Table 3: **Glasgow's Local Outcome Agreements related to community safety**

LO 1: Reduce the level of violent crime, including gender-based and domestic violence
LO 2: Reduce injuries as a result of road traffic incidents, fires & incidents in the home
LO 3: Reduce the public acceptance and incidence of over-consumption of alcohol and its subsequent negative effects (personal, social and economic)
LO 4: Reduce the impact and incidence of antisocial behaviour
LO 5: Reduce the involvement of young adults and children in crime and as victims of crime and accidents
LO 6: Reduce the fear of crime
LO 16: Reduce the harm caused by drug addiction

Source: Glasgow City Council, 2011

Glasgow are guided by the National Outcomes set by the Scottish Government. In 2008, the Government introduced a requirement for the Scottish Councils to produce a Single Outcome Agreement. The strategic planning approach of GCSS also links directly to the Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement 2009-2012 and specifically to 7 Local Outcomes (LO) as shown in Table 3.

Moreover, Glasgow's Safe Theme Strategic Assessment for 2010-11 provides a strategic overview of community safety issues and priorities for the city (Figure 14). It also provides clear evidence of the Community Safety Partnership's shared commitment to improving the safety and well-being of people who work, live and visit Glasgow (GCSS, 2010). Community safety initiatives are structured and **Figure 14: Community safety priorities in Glasgow**
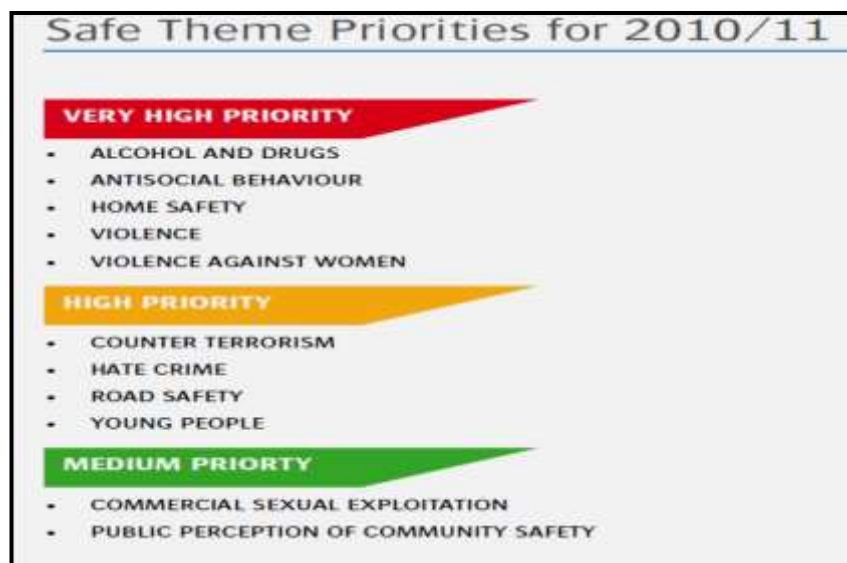
Source: GCSS, 2010

resources deployed according to the merit of all these priorities. There is no research to show the implications of these priorities and practices in Glasgow for community safety of the local communities. The present research explored the issue with respect

48

to the Pakistani Scottish community living in East Pollokshields (see Chapter 7 and 8). In the following two sections we discuss community safety initiatives primarily targeted at Glasgow's East End.

g) Enhanced Policing Plan, Glasgow: 2007-08

As Frondigoun et al. (2008) maintain, Enhanced Policing Plan (EPP) was an innovative approach to policing carried out in Glasgow's East End during 2007-08. It was built on the success of previous schemes in Glasgow such as the 'Operation Reclaim' (2004) and 'Operation Phoenix' (2007) targeted at gang culture, violence and territoriality among the young people (see Nicholson, 2010). The Shettleston, Baillieston and Greater Easterhouse area of Glasgow has 'historically been characterised by the endemic problem of violence and gang activity… The EPP was structured specifically to increase public reassurance through intensive policing by addressing on the one hand local concerns about youth and gang activity; and on the other the needs of these youths through the delivery of a combination of educational and diversionary activities…Strathclyde Police developed the EPP in accordance with ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy (see above) and delivered it in conjunction with Community Planning Limited through a multi-agency approach' (Frondigoun et al. 2008: 4). While evaluating the initiative, these authors find that overall the EPP was a successful initiative for the police and all of the partner agencies. Statistics show a significant decrease for the key crime and incident indicators: i) violent crime was at its lowest level for 5 years; ii) anti-social behaviour related crime decreased by 7%; and iii) anti-social behaviour incidents decreased by 8% (Frondigoun et al, 2008: 66; also see Frondigoun et al, 2010). However, these authors go on to suggest that there were concerns among the local residents about the sustainability of enhanced levels of policing. The implication of EPP for community safety in Glasgow is that when intensive community policing is supplemented with prevention-diversion techniques targeted at young people, rates of crime and disorderly behaviour drops. However there is a lack of recent research on the longterm impact of EPP on the community safety of the area. Finally, we discuss Strathclyde Police's initiatives to reduce violence in Glasgow.

h) Glasgow's Community Initiative to Reduce Violence: 2008

Community Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV) is a multi-agency initiative designed to reduce gang violence across Glasgow (Strathclyde Police, 2011). As Burns et al. (2011: 1) observe:

The National Violence Reduction Unit implemented the Community Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV) in 2008. This £5 million multi-agency, community-centred initiative brings together health, education, social work, criminal justice, housing, employment, and community and safety services in a novel, enlightened collaborative partnership. CIRV operates a three pronged approach to the prevention of future violence: enforcement by the criminal justice system, the provision of programmes and services to enable the youths to leave their violent lifestyle, and the moral voice of the community delivering the message that "the violence must stop".

CIRV – introduced to the city in October, 2008 - is a focused deterrence strategy modelled on the Boston Ceasefire project and the Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence (Strathclyde Police, 2011). Since 2009 the initiative has been extended into the north of the city. According to a recent newspaper report '400 gang members have signed up and reduced their violent offending by 46%. Those who have taken part in the most intensive programmes have cut their offending by 73%. Knifecarrying among participants has dropped by almost 60%' (see Guardian, 4 July

2011). Despite its success, Strathclyde Police (2011: 23) recognises that 'the challenge now is to embed CIRV on a mainstream basis across the city, as supported by community planning partners and delivered long-term in order to effectively remove Glasgow's tradition of street gang violence, one which stretches back decades.' As we shall see in this thesis, the lack of integration of community safety initiatives with mainstream service provision is a major issue in the field of community safety.

3.4 Discussion and Conclusion

A close look at community safety policies and initiatives in Scotland described above would reveal that, like in England and Wales, they are a collage of what Johnstone calls a *two-pronged strategy* which is 'at the same time neo-conservative - advocating the maintenance of a strong state able to uphold law and order and punish the deviant; and neo-liberal - preferring to manage crime problem in a cost effective manner via networks of active citizens and local partnerships' (Johnstone, 2004: 80). This dualism, as Garland (1996, 2001) explains, is between 'sovereign state strategies' and 'adaptive strategies' (also see Fyfe, 2010 and Chapter 2). As Fyfe (2010: 181) argues, a '*two-pronged strategy* developed during the 1980s and 1990s by successive Conservative governments and which continues today in

Table 4: Two-pronged strategies of community safety in Scotland

Sovereign State Strategies	Adaptive Strategies
Zero Tolerance Policing initiatives e.g. Operation Spotlight, Enhanced Policing Plan	Rise of the partnership approach and multiagency co-operation in community safety and crime prevention
Antisocial behaviour orders (ASBOs), dispersal orders and curfews on young people, e.g. Hamilton Curfew	Attempts to promote active citizenship in relation to crime prevention and social control, through, e.g. Neighbourhood Watch
Increased focus of centralised prioritysetting and auditing of services; also formation of Police Scotland	Youth justice and welfare, e.g. Children's Hearings system

similar form under the *new* Labour administration in London and the Scottish Nationalist Party government in Edinburgh.' As we can find in Table 4, punitive and control strategies of 'zero tolerance', curfew on young people, and ASB nest side by side in Scotland with a host of welfare as well as adaptive strategies such as Children's Hearings and multi-agency community safety partnerships. However, commentators argue that in the last 20 yrs, it is the adaptive strategies of prevention and partnership that has come to particular prominence in Scotland (Fyfe, 2010).

Another striking feature in the approaches to community safety in Scotland is the emphasis on social justice and welfare values rather than a narrow focus on crime reduction. As Henry (2009a: 159) argues:

The fact that the statutory duty for partnership working was tied to Community Planning in Scotland also reinforces the impression that the broader vision has a stronger foothold…Recent developments, particularly in relation to antisocial behaviour, may orient community safety more closely and explicitly around crime control but, for the moment at least, it is more accurate to think of crime prevention and community safety being nested within a wider patchwork of social justice strategies. Should this focus of the infrastructure be allowed to settle, develop and evolve then it is possible that as it institutionalises the thinking of practitioners within it over time we will witness the development of a yet more distinctive approach to crime prevention and community safety in Scotland.

Elsewhere, Henry (2009b: 106) advocates that the election of the SNP to the Holyrood might 'provide fertile ground for future divergence and the long-term entrenchment of social welfare values into community safety and partnership working in Scotland.' However, such a conclusion should be seen with a degree of caution. It is also important to see recent policy developments both to the north and south of the border in the field of ASB, crime and policing. For example, the creation of Police Scotland would appear as a step which challenges the equitable distribution of power between the police and local authorities in the field of community safety. Such an imbalance would also call into question the basic premise of community safety that the police do not have control on all the levers of crime (see Byrne and Peas, 2003; Pease, 2002). As Gilling (2001: 339) observes:

If one effect of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act is to enhance local accountability for crime control, then there is a danger that the external response (punitive sovereignty), currently the main preserve of central government, gets transferred to or shared by local agencies. In many ways, the spectacular rise in zero-tolerance policing can be seen in this light, with the police making a bid for re-legitimisation in order to gain public support by reclaiming the streets. It would be a disaster if local authorities found it necessary to go down the same road.

Moreover, as we shall see in this thesis, community safety initiatives in Scotland targeted at young people in general and the ethnic minority youths in particular call into question the Government's agenda of social justice (also see McAra, 2012). We will return to these issues in Chapter 8 and 9.

From the foregoing discussion it would appear, at least at the rhetorical level, that the Scottish Government has broadened the sphere of community safety from "enforcement" to address wider "social justice issues". However, we also noted contradictory developments in the field of community safety whereby the state has exercised its "sovereign" power and used a zero-tolerance approach to "control disorderly youths" such as the Hamilton Curfews. However, little research exists in Scotland to examine the implications of government's community safety policies and practices for local communities. Having established the national as well as the Glasgow city context of policy and practice in the field of community safety in this chapter, the thesis examines the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields, Glasgow. The next chapter provides an outline of the methods used to explore the issue in this research.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As Brewer (2000) argues, method and methodology cannot be separated. He goes on to suggest that methods are technical rules defining procedures of obtaining reliable and objective knowledge; while methodology is the broad theoretical and philosophical framework into which these procedural rules fit. The principal objective of this research was to gain an in-depth understanding of the implications of community safety initiatives for QoL of an ethnic minority community in Glasgow. Using a case study approach, the present research uncovered the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields. The present chapter explains the theoretical and practical considerations involved in devising and conducting this investigation.

The discussion in this chapter is organised in the following seven sections: section 4.2 describes the rationale of adopting a case study approach in this research. This is followed by - in section 4.3 - an account of the processes involved in the preparation stage before an active data collection can start. In section 4.4 we explain the rationale of using a mixed method design to collect data. The next two sections outline the detail of collecting primary and secondary data using qualitative and quantitative methods in this research. In section 4.7, we discuss the processing and analysis of data as well as presentation of findings. Finally, section 4.8 presents the overall conclusion of the chapter. In the following section we explain the rationale of using a case study approach in this research.

4.2 A case study approach

As Baxter and Jack (2008: 544) contend, 'case study is an approach to research that facilitates *exploration of a phenomenon within its context* using a variety of data sources. This ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood' (emphasis added; see method of triangulation below). However, case study arguably has remained one of most challenging approaches to social science research (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Bryman, 2008; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2009). As Flyvbjerg (2006: 219) argues, there are 'five common misunderstandings about case-study research: (a) theoretical knowledge is more valuable than practical knowledge; (b) one cannot generalize from a single case, therefore, the single-case study cannot contribute to scientific development; (c) the case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building; (d) the case study contains a bias toward verification; and (e) it is often difficult to summarize specific case studies.' He goes on to suggest:

Good social science is problem driven and not methodology driven in the sense that it employs those methods that for a given problematic, best help answer the research questions at hand. More often than not, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods will do the task best…The case study is a necessary and sufficient method for certain important research tasks in the social sciences, and it is a method that holds up well when compared to other methods in the gamut of social science research methodology (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 241-42).

Moreover, as commentators argue, generalisations are not the primary objective of undertaking a case study research; developing an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under investigation is. Furthermore, generalisations from cases are not statistical; they are analytical and based on reasoning (see Bryman, 2008; Johansson, 2003). In the following section we discuss the rationale of using a case study approach in this research.

4.2.1 Why a case study?

Drawing on the work of Yin, Baxter and Jack (2008: 545) maintain that 'a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.' In this section it is argued that case study was the most suitable approach to the present research. The reasons are as follows:

i) the principal research question in this study was *how is the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community*? Quite clearly, depth – not breath - was the prime consideration for answering such a complex question. A method of triangulation, where quantitative research was followed by an in-depth qualitative study, was adopted to approach the research questions; ii) the choice of the Pakistani Scottish community as the 'case' was deliberate; it was primarily based on the present researcher's interest in conducting research on a South Asian community in Scotland. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the South Asian community are the largest group among the non-White ethnic minority communities in Scotland. Within this group, the Pakistani Scottish community is the largest individual group. Therefore, the Pakistani Scottish community was selected – what Yin (2009) calls a *typical case* or what Bryman (2008) refers to as an *exemplifying case* - for this study. As Yin (2009: 48) describes, within this kind of case, 'the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situations.' Moreover, Bryman (2008: 56) argues that 'a case may be chosen because it exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member. The notion of exemplification implies that cases are often chosen not because they are extreme or unusual in some way but because either they epitomize a broader category of cases or they will provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered.'

Figure 15: Distribution of ethnic minority population in Glasgow by neighbourhoods

1. GREATER GOVAN	2. IBROX / KINGSTON	3. GREATER GORBALS	4. GOVANHILL	5. TORYGLEN	6. SHAWLANDS / STRATHBUNGO	7. LANGSIDE / BATTLEFIELD
8. KING'S PARK / MT. FLORIDA	9. CATHCART / SIMSHILL	10. CROFTFOOT	11. RIDDRIE / CRANHILL	12. DENNISTOWN	13. HAGHILL / CARNTYNE	14. BLAIRDARDIE
15. YOKER / SCOTSTOWN	16. EASTERHOUSE	17. RUCHAZIE / GARTHAMLOCK	18. TEMPLE / ANNIESLAND	19. KNIGHTSWOOD	20. CASTLEMILK	21. CARMUNNOCK
22. BLACKHILL / HOGGANFIELD	23. SIGHTHILL / ROYSTONHILL	24. SPRINGBURN	25. ROBROYSTON / MILLERSTON	26. BALORNOCK / BARMULLOCH	27. PARKHEAD / DALMARNOCK	28. CALTON / BRIDGETON
29. CITY CENTRE / MERCHANT CITY	30. HILLHEAD / WOODLANDS	31. YORKHILL / ANDERSTON	32. HYNDLAND / DOWANHILL	33. BROOMHILL / PARTICK W.	34. JORDANHILL / WHITEINCH	35. LAMBHILL / MILTON
36. N. MARYHILL / SUMMERSTON	37. KELVINDALE / KELVINSIDE	38. RUCHILL / POSSILPARK	39. MARYHILL ROAD CORRIDOR	40. DRUMCHAPEL	41. SPRINGBOIG / BARLANARK	42. BALLIESTON / GARROWHILL
43. NEWLANDS / CATHCART	44. POLLOK	45. PRIESTHILL / HOUSEHILLWOOD	46. S. NITSHILL / DARNLEY	47. POLLOKSHAWS / MANSEWOOD	48. ARDEN / CARNWADRIC	49. N. CARDONALD / PENILEE
50. CORKERHILL / N. POLLOK	51. CROOKSTON / S. CARDONALD	52. B'HOUSTON/CRAIGTON/MOSSPARK	53. POLLOKSHIELDS WEST	**54. POLLOKSHIELDS EAST**	55. MT. VERNON / E. SHETTLESTON	56. TOLLCROSS / W. SHETTLESTON

Source: Glasgow City Council, 2012

iii) As Johansson (2003: 2) contends, the 'case study should have a "case" which is the object of study. The "case" should be: a) a complex functioning unit; b) investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods; and c) be contemporary.' In relation to the second point, *context* was of prime importance as this research was designed to get a *bottom-up* view of community safety in Glasgow. The study was deliberately based in a neighbourhood where there was the highest proportion of ethnic minority community among all neighbourhoods in Glasgow (see Figure 15). As Wilson (2009: 1) argues:

Neighborhoods are the places where the everyday practice of life occurs. They are geographical units that are essential to people's lives—people connect these living environments to their identity and, thus, neighborhoods become personally meaningful…Essentially, neighborhoods create and form communities. Residents share the same experiences. They suffer or revel in the availability and quality of local housing, schools, jobs, businesses, health care, and…the effects of crime…Neighborhoods create the background for people's life stories. They leave lasting impressions on residents about what life is like and what social problems exist in a living community. Because neighborhoods play such an integral role in forming community and social networks, many studies analyze social problems in relation to the neighborhoods where they occur.

Thus the neighbourhood of East Pollokshields provided the *context* to study the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish residents.

Finally, a case study was preferred over other research approaches such as survey, history and experimental approach since the principal objective of this research was to uncover the lived experience of community safety of the study group in East Pollokshields. The following section outlines the methodological considerations of this research prior to data collection in the field.

4.3 Preparation for field data collection

Following the selection of the research topic, approach to the study, study locale and population, a major challenge was to address the ethical issues associated with the research before any data collection was possible. This research received the necessary clearance from the University Ethic Committee to conduct the fieldwork after addressing some ethical issues which we discuss below:

4.3.1 Ethical challenges to conduct the study

Lee (1993: 4) defined sensitive research as a 'research which potentially poses substantial threat to those who are or have been involved in it'. He also warned that sensitivity can affect almost every stages of the research process. This research was perceived as 'sensitive' by the University Ethics Committee and the gatekeepers in the local community alike for the following two reasons:

4.3.1.1 The research proposed to ask 'sensitive' questions

The research decided to ask participants certain personal information such as experience of victimisation, which may be regarded as 'sensitive' (see Brace, 2008). However, following the ethical guideline of the university, such questions were limited to adult respondents (above 17 years) only. Moreover, in the Participant Info for respondents, it was clearly mentioned that 'the participant will only need to answer to questions which s/he feels comfortable to answer'.

4.3.1.2 The research proposed to include children as participants

According to the ethical guideline of the University, children and young people under the age of 12 are considered 'vulnerable' and without sufficient maturity and understanding to provide an *informed consent*. However, for a wider perspective on the lived experiences of community safety, the input of young people living in East Pollokshields was necessary (see Nayak, 2003). As a result, the project decided to

include children and young people above the age of 12. Moreover, as suggested by the Education Services of the City Council, parental 'assent' was collected for every participating child who was in the age group 12-17 years. Furthermore, the present researcher produced his Enhanced Disclosure (Scotland) certificate on request prior to meeting the Pakistani Scottish young people in local community centres. The following section discusses how the present researcher negotiated issues related to his own background successfully in relation to the Pakistani Scottish participants.

4.3.2 Issues related to the author's positionality

Another major issue which needed to be addressed before access was granted to the study population in East Pollokshields was the present researcher's positionality in terms of his religion, gender and ethnic origin was fundamental. First, for cultural reasons discussed below, this researcher's gender created a barrier between himself and the Pakistani Scottish women in face-to-face interview. This barrier was overcome by adopting a questionnaire route (see Section 4.5.3 below). Second, the author's religious background as a Hindu was another obstacle in getting access to the Pakistani Scottish residents who were Muslims. This was mainly evident in the local mosques and Madrasas where some were unhappy with the presence of a nonMuslim (the author was asked why he was not joining the prayer and whether he was a Muslim). However, imams in these religious places made it clear to the local people about the reason why he was there. Last, but not the least, this researcher's ethnic origin as an Indian created an air of uneasiness among some local Pakistani Scottish people who were sceptical about the motive of my research. It was apparent that the perceptions of some Pakistani Scottish residents of East Pollokshields were shaped by the Pakistani media portrayal of the political relationship between the two countries of the sub-continent. However, gradually this barrier was overcome through talking to more people in the area and explaining the purpose as well as the importance of the study for the local Pakistani Scottish community.

In addition to these considerations, the study group possessed some unique attributes which influenced several aspects of this research process – the nature and size of the sample, the type of questions asked and methods of asking them. The following preparations were necessary before data collection could start.

4.3.3 Sampling

In order to uncover the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community, the present research adopted a mixed-method design where *triangulated sampling* (Liamputtong, 2009) techniques were employed. The decision to use more than one non-probability sampling technique was guided by the nature and purpose of the enquiry. At the same time field practicalities such as cultural issues of the study group, gatekeeper issues and logistic issues of the researcher influenced the decision of *how and whom to sample*. These practicalities are described below.

Valentine (1997) emphasises that choosing who to interview is often a theoretically motivated decision and so the aim in recruiting informants for interview is not to choose a representative sample, rather to select an illustrative one. She continues:

If you are studying fear of crime, you may anticipate that gender may be an important influence on people's perceptions on danger...you may also recognise that 'men' and 'women' are not homogenous social groups but that the identities man and woman are cut across by other identities such as such as age, class, ethnicity and so on, which may also have a bearing on perceptions of fear. Therefore, you may choose to interview men and women of different ages and from different ethnic backgrounds in an attempt to explore which processes are important in shaping their perceptions of crime.

The study group was classified in terms of their *age* (e.g. young people and elderly) and *sex* (male and female) before samples were drawn purposefully. The resultant age groups were as follows: i) young people: 12-24 years; ii) adult: 25-60 years; and iii) elderly: above 60 years. As Sandelowski (1995) maintains, when qualitative researchers decide to seek people out because of their age or sex or race, it is because they consider them good sources of information that will advance them toward an analytic goal. Thus a *demographic variable,* e.g. sex*,* becomes an *analytic variable* (original emphasis)*.* At this stage it was also planned that respondents will further be classified according to their socio-economic status while interpreting the findings. The objective was to examine the extent to which respondents' socio-economic status mediated in the perceptions and experiences of crime and ASB in the study area. However, as we shall see in chapter 7, the goal was only partly achieved due to insufficient data on the occupation of respondents.

Hence, a *stratified purposive sampling* was initially used to select informants from the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields. However, negotiation for participation of certain age group, e.g. young people aged 12-24 posed several challenges such as non-participation of two local secondary schools in the study. To overcome this, assistance of gatekeepers was sought to gain access to the young people in the local community centres. Burgess (1984) defines gatekeepers as those individuals (in an organisation) who have the power to grant access to people or situations for the purpose of the research. Gatekeepers in three community organisations of the area mediated in the initial contacts with youths of Asian origin. These contacts were used further to generate more young participants for this research (also see Section 4.5.2). The technique of drawing samples, thus, moved from *stratified purposive* sampling at a more general level to *snowball or chain* sampling (where one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third and so on) for specific groups. As the term implies, recruiting gains momentum or 'snowballs' through this method (Valentine, 1997). Atkinson and Flint (2001) argue that snowball sampling has proved to be useful for making inferences about 'hidden populations' such as young people, male unemployed and also people with criminal backgrounds. In addition to that, trust between the researcher and his/her subjects can be developed through this sampling method more easily than other methods of sampling since referrals are made by acquaintances or peers. Snowball sampling proved to be useful in getting young people's voice on the perceptions and experiences of safety in the community.

Finally, to gain access to the Pakistani Scottish adults (both male and female), advertisements were placed in the local housing office, community centres, mosques, Gurdwara (Sikh temple), library and the local community council seeking voluntary participation in this research. As Liamputtong (2009) argues, such *volunteer sampling*

is particularly useful approach where potential participants are dispersed throughout the community or difficult to contact directly. This approach of volunteer sampling yielded 7 participants who, in turn, suggested names and contact details of other potential participants. Following the identification of some research participants, a pilot study was undertaken. We discuss this below.

4.3.4 Pilot study

The importance of undertaking a pilot study cannot be over-emphasised. As Oppenheim (1992) observes, pilot work can produce some nasty surprises, but it is never dull. Janesick (1998: 42-43) writes:

Before devoting oneself to the arduous and significant time commitment of a qualitative study, it is good idea to do a pilot study. The pilot study allows the researcher to focus on particular areas that may have been unclear previously. Still further, the initial time frame allows the researcher to begin to develop and solidify rapport with participants as well as to establish effective communication patterns.

The intention behind carrying out a pilot study in East Pollokshields with some preliminary questions was to see 'how it goes'. Very soon, however, it was found that not many Pakistani Scottish residents were willing to take part in a face-to-face encounter. Even the presupposition of this researcher – that a person with a South Asian ethnic background will help in gaining the trust of the study group and facilitate access – proved wrong. Only 4 *interviews* were possible in this phase and all participants were adult males. No Pakistani Scottish women were available to take part in interviews during the pilot study. While discussing this issue with a female event manager in a community centre, the present researcher was told that no women in the community centre had consented to a face-to-face interview with a 'stranger' and 'male' researcher since it is a common practice in the Pakistani Scottish Muslim community that women (including girls) do not speak to an adult male stranger. Ruthven (2000) finds that religiously and culturally inspired social practices meant that to approach unrelated female Muslims, as a male researcher, would involve addressing powerful taboos. In similar vein, Quraishi (2002: 108) shares his experiences of researching Muslim women in Britain and in Pakistan:

Sensitivities of the matter were perceived to be equally relevant to both Pakistan and Britain. In fact, due to the close-knit community and adherence to traditionalist interpretations of Islamic law amongst the UK sample community, accessing female Muslims in the UK proved to be more difficult than in Karachi…it was felt that if the face-to-face interaction of interviewing were removed it would enable female Muslims to be included in the study.

In view of this cultural barrier, it was necessary to change the route of questioning from face-to-face interviewing to self-completion questionnaire with which the Pakistani Scottish women were comfortable. Questionnaires were prepared from the preliminary interview schedule and 6 women took part in it.

Some other lessons were also learnt in the pilot stage. For example, suggestions were made by the participating women that it will be easier for the Pakistani Scottish women to take part in the research if the questions are made bi-lingual (with Urdu translation). Amendments were made prior to the main phase of data collection which we discuss below.

4.4 Data collection

Morse (1998) observes that the stage of productive data collection is the most exciting phase of the whole research process. At the same time, however, she warns:

This stage tests the researcher's determination, persistence and perseverance. It takes the ability to withstand frustration and discouragement when pieces of the puzzle apparently do not fit (Morse, 1998: 74-75).

In the pilot phase it was evident that the face-to-face interview alone as a method of data collection was not sufficient to ensure participation of every section of the study group. The adoption of a mixed method design in this research was guided both by the nature of the study and field practicalities. The following section discuses the characteristics of multiple method research.

4.4.1 Mixed method design

As Baxter and Jack (2008: 554) purport:

A hallmark of case study research is the use of multiple data sources, a strategy which also enhances data credibility…Unique in comparison to other qualitative approaches, within case study research, investigators can collect and integrate quantitative survey data, which facilitates reaching a holistic understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

Mixed method researches have been defined in various ways (see Johnson et al. 2007; Greene, 2006; Morse and Niehaus, 2009). Morse and Niehaus (2009) define a mixed method design as a scientifically rigorous research guided by the inductive or deductive theoretical drive and comprised of a qualitative or quantitative *core component* with qualitative or quantitative *supplementary component(s).* They explain that the supplementary component is incomplete in itself or lacks some aspect of scientific rigor. Moreover, to be considered as a mixed method, ideally the supplemental component has to enhance description, understanding or explanation of the phenomenon under investigation. In view of the objective of exploring the lived experience of community safety, an in-depth qualitative study formed the core component of the present research. According to Fielding (2012: 124), 'mixed methods potentially offer depth of qualitative understanding with the reach of quantitative techniques'. Adoption of more than one method of data collection led to the process of *triangulation* which is a hallmark of the case study research. We define the process of triangulation below. **4.4.1.1 Triangulation in social research**

Denzin (1970: 301) defines triangulation as the 'use of multiple methods in the study of the same object.' The triangulation metaphor is from navigation and military strategy where it means the use of multiple reference points to locate an object's exact position (Jick, 1979). Similarly, the idea behind the use of triangulation is that by 'drawing data from sources that have very different potential threats to validity it is possible reduce the chances of reaching false conclusions' (Hammersley, 2008: 23). Denzin (1970: 301-310) also proposes four types of triangulation: i) *data triangulation* (by triangulating data sources, analyst can efficiently employ the same methods to maximum theoretical advantage); ii) *investigator triangulation* (multiple observers are

used to collect and interpret data); iii) *theoretical triangulation* (use of more than one theoretical position in interpreting data); and iv) m*ethodological triangulation* (use of more than one method for gathering data). Bryman (undated) suggested that the fourth one is the most common of the meanings of the term.

Furthermore, Denzin (1970) makes a distinction between *within-method* and *between-method* triangulation. The former involves the use of varieties of the same method to investigate a research issue; for example, a self-completion questionnaire might contain two contrasting scales to measure fear of crime. On the other hand, between-method triangulation is all about using contrasting research methods to investigate a topic, such as questionnaires and focus groups. The present research used the latter type of triangulation to explore the lived experience of community safety of the study group.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in this research to collect data in the following order: quantitative-qualitative-quantitative. We discuss the use of these two methods below.

4.5 Qualitative methods

Data was collected using various methods: i) interviews; ii) focus groups; iii) selfcompletion questionnaires; and iv) observation. These are discussed below:

4.5.1 Interviews

Interview was a key method of data collection in this study. As Bryman (2008) opines, the interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research. In similar vein, Sanger (1996: 60) sees it as the 'third leg of the *observation-interview-documentation* triptych of qualitative research' and the most significant of the three. Interviews are conversations with a purpose (Valentine, 1998) and the purpose is to capture the mundane details of everyday lives of the participant in their own words (Bryman, 2008). The advantage of this approach is that it allows respondents to raise issues that the interviewer may not have anticipated. The data generated through this can be rich, detailed and multi-layered and it is analysed using a textual approach, relying on words and meanings, rather than statistics (Valentine, 1998). However, interviews are not without their pitfalls. Critics commonly raise issues of researcher bias, social desirability bias, contamination, subjectivity, reliability, validity and generalisability of findings. It may be argued, however, that critiques fail to appreciate the aims and claims of intensive (qualitative) research (Hoggart et al. 2002).

The extent to which interviews do or do not have pre-determined questions leads to their being described as *structured, semi-structured* and *unstructured* interviews (Greig et al., 2007). Structured interviews are like interactive questionnaires where the researcher reads out set questions and records the responses. At the other end of the spectrum, an unstructured interview provides maximum scope to the ideas generated by the respondent and proceeds according to the topics that arise. In such interviews, the researcher takes the role of an informed prompter giving necessary guidance to keep the conversation on track, but not controlling the way they develop. In the middle

ground are semi-structured format of interviews which have questions or prompts covering set topics of interest, but within that framework there is a scope for the interviewee's own ideas to develop (Greig et al. 2007).

Figure 16: Interview participants
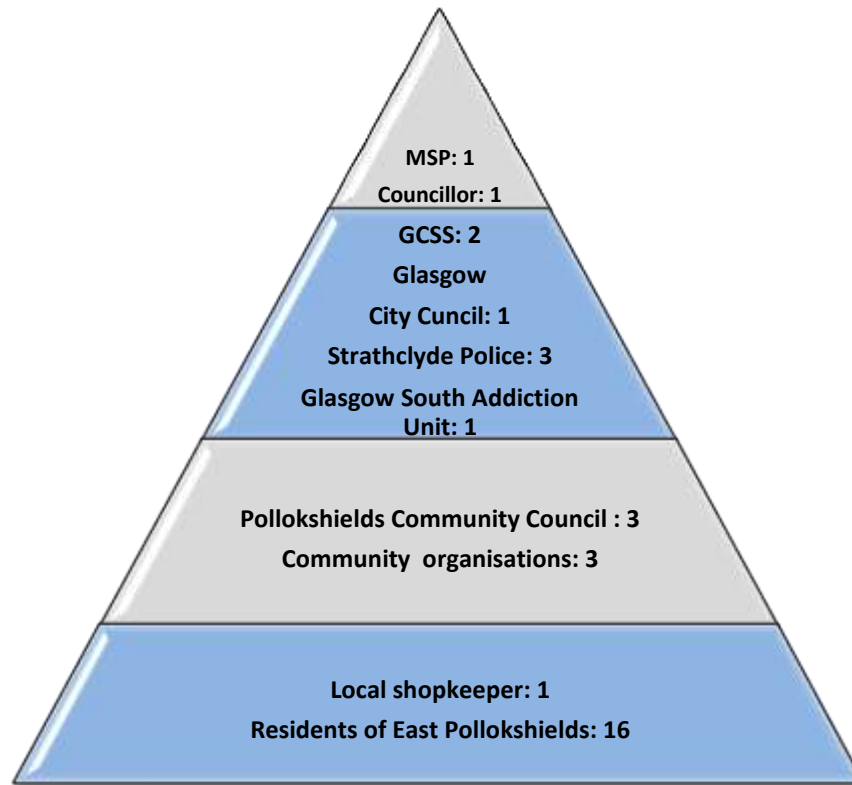
4.5.1.1 People interviewed

Overall, 32 respondents took part in a face-to-face interview. Respondents were identified at four broad levels: i) elected members of political parties: a MSP from Glasgow South and one of the three Councillors of Pollokshields; ii) officials of the Glasgow City Council, GCSS and Strathclyde Police; iii) representatives of local community organisations, such as members of the Pollokshields Community Council and an Imam of Masjid Noor (local mosque); and iv) the Pakistani Scottish community of East Pollokshields, including local shopkeepers (Figure 16). Most of the interviews were conducted in English. However, to overcome the language barrier, 5 interviews with the local residents were conducted in two other languages: *Hindi* and *Urdu.*

4.5.1.2 Interview schedule

Oppenheim (1992) emphasises that maintaining the fiction of an interesting conversation is an important task in preparing questions for an interview. Interview schedule for each of the above four groups in this research was unique but it followed some common structures such as introductory questions; follow-up questions; probing questions; and specifying questions (see Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The semi-structured format of the interview allowed the researcher to use more probing questions which returned a rich and personal account of people's experiences. Burgess

(1982) warns that it is important not to phrase questions which impose an answer (leading question) on the respondent. On the other hand, '*tell me about…* is an effective way of encouraging interviewees to talk about an issue in their own words' (Valentine, 1998: 120). Effort was made to ensure that the interview schedule does not have a leading question or questions with a social desirability bias (desire of respondents to present them in the best possible light). Many open ended questions were included in order to get an in-depth understanding of respondents' lived experience of community safety. Some questions were deliberately put in the interview schedule of the officials which, while provoking some controversy, produced interesting conversations (Valentine, 1998). Examples include questions on local people's perceptions such as 'police do not interact with us' in the interview schedule for the police officers (see Appendix II).

4.5.1.3 Recording and transcribing interviews

Being able to record interviews was crucial not only for the quality of the findings but also for the uninterrupted and desired running of the interviews. One of the reasons why researchers prefer recorded interviews is that 'relieved of any immediate need to edit the communication, the interviewer can listen to all that is said, observe all the non-verbal communications, and develop a person-to-person dynamic without the hindrance of constant reminders of ultimate purpose and role' (Sanger, 1996: 67). However, there are down sides as well to recording an interview. As Bryman (2008: 452) advised 'the use of a recorder may disconcert respondents, who become self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being preserved'. This was evident in two interviews conducted with officials and one of the local residents. Moreover, there was an issue with consenting to taped interviews and 4 of the 32 interviews were not taped because the respondents didn't want their interviews to be taped.

In addition to interviews, focus group was used in the qualitative part of this research to fully comprehend the 'lived experience' of community safety of the study group in East Pollokshields. However, there was one basic difference between the two methods applied in terms of their participants. While the semi-structured interviews were intended at all the Pakistani Scottish adults whoever consented to it; focus groups were targeted at young people (12-24 years) of the area. We discuss this below.

4.5.2 Focus Groups

It has been well rehearsed within the research literature that focus groups constitute a type of group interview where, amidst a relatively informal atmosphere, people are encouraged to discuss specific topics in order that underlying issues common to the lives of all participants, might be uncovered (Bloor et al. 2001). Participants are asked to engage in focus groups because they have something in *common* with each other and something which the researcher is interested in. Hence, the 'focus' aspect of the exercise is the premise upon which the collective meeting takes place (Parker and Tritter, 2006). Having said that, commentators also warn that focus group is not a panacea for every research needs and it should be used when it is appropriate and for

the purposes for which it was designed (Stewart et al. 2007). In the following section we discuss the rationale of using focus groups only for the Pakistani Scottish youths.

4.5.2.1 Why focus group with young people?

Bloor et al (2001: 11) suggest that focus group data can be used 'in an adversarial way, to contest or qualify earlier survey data' as part of triangulation. Use of focus group technique at a later stage of the fieldwork in this research is an example. Selfcompletion questionnaires (discussed below) as well as individual in-depth interviews identified anti-social behaviour and offences like speeding, vandalism, drug use and drug dealing by Pakistani Scottish young people as the major community safety issues in East Pollokshields. However, there was a possibility of *biased perceptions* among adults in the community towards young people (which indeed was mentioned by some respondents). To overcome this and to explore this finding in more detail, five focus groups with young people were conducted to get their perception and experiences of safety in the community (Table 5). Keeping in mind the sensitivity of the research topic, individual interviews could have been a choice. But it was not carried out for the following two reasons: a) the present researcher was not allowed by the gatekeepers in the local community centres to

Table 5: Details of focus groups conducted

Focus Group	Number of Participants	Gender	Venue	Duration of Focus Group (h. m. s)
FG 1	4	M	Madrasa Taleem-ul-Islam	56.43
FG 2	5	M	YCSA	1.51.35
FG 3	4	M	Madrasa Zia-ul-Quran	47.23
FG 4	4	M	YCSA	1.6.37
FG 5	3	F	YCSA	59.38
Total Participants			**20**	

conduct one-to-one interview with young people; and b) discussion on the involvement of young people in drug use and dealing as well as petty offences was thought to be relatively less threatening in a group situation than individual interview (see Kennedy et al. 2001; also Kitzinger, 2005).

4.5.2.2 Recruitment of participants

Hughes and DuMont (1993) say that focus groups are commonly conducted among a small non-representative sample of participants who share one or more characteristics that are of interest to the researcher. The selection of sample for focus group in this research was purposive and based on suitability and availability, rather than on representativeness. *Pre-established* groups with an interest on the research topic were targeted. Besides convenience, there were other reasons as well behind the selection of 'natural focus groups' (Conradson, 2005). Several writers (see e.g. Krueger, 1994) stress that in focus group participants must feel able talking to each other in a permissive and non-threatening environment. Pre-existing social groups rather than a

set of strangers was thus preferred to enhance mutual interaction and reduce level of mistrust to discuss local community safety issues. Participants from two local Madrasas (Islamic school) were recruited after conversation with the young people. However, there was an unavoidable gender bias (see Figure 17) and only the boys could be contacted. Imams in these two centres mediated in the selection of 8 youths for two focus groups. In addition, 12 young participants took part in focus

Figure 17: Gender bias of focus group participants

At the Madrasa Taleem-ul-Islam, the Imam whom I contaced for the participation of young people in my research, invited me to discuss the research with potential participants. Since announcements in mosque/Madrasa are generally made through loudspeakers, I could hear what the teacher was saying to his pupils. He first explained who I was and what my research was like and then asked his students to meet me if they are interested. However, the Imam also employed one *screening* procedure while announcing this: '*only boys'* will go! He repeated it thrice. It clearly represented a strong *cultural taboo* and position of women in general and girls in particular in the Pakistani Scottish Muslim community. As a result, I got only 'male' participants.

Source: Field diary

group at the YCSA and their recruitment was through the *questionnaire* route. Out of 31 young people contacted, 17 completed questionnaires. They were asked at the end of the form whether they will be willing to take part in a focus group discussion where one of their advisors will also be present as moderator. Only 5 out of 17 young people consented to participate in the focus group. After their group was over, these five young people were asked to provide contact details of their friends who may be willing to take part in such group discussion. This type of *snowballing* produced another focus group with four participants. For cultural reasons (mentioned earlier) it was very difficult to organise a focus group with the Pakistani Scottish girls attending YCSA. However, four girls agreed to take part and it was after three successive episodes of 'no show' that three of them eventually turned up on the day to participate in the discussion (see Table 5) above. All focus groups were recorded with prior consent of participants. These taped discussions were transcribed soon after each group was over.

4.5.3 Self-completion questionnaires

One of the major data collection instruments in social research is the survey questionnaire. Modes of data collection using a questionnaire, however, vary in the method of contacting respondents, in the vehicle of delivering the questionnaire, and in the way in which questions are administered (Bowling, 2005). Among them, selfcompletion questionnaire (also called self-administered questionnaire) is the most frequently used in research (Bourque and Fielder, 2003). Questionnaires involve lower cost in time and money; especially when the sample is geographically widespread (Bryman, 2008). Some of the biases associated with face-to-face interviews like interviewer bias (interviewer's opinion or prejudice that might influence the response)*,* social desirability bias can be avoided (Bowling, 2005). On the other hand, the disadvantages of self-completion questionnaires include lower response rate, partial or

incomplete answers, no facility of prompting and probing to answers given and lack of control (on the part of the researcher) over who completes the questionnaire. In spite of such limitations self-completion questionnaires were employed successfully in the present study. It may be noted that questionnaires are usually associated with quantitative studies involving large samples; they are not generally considered in a qualitative research. However, due to cultural reasons mentioned earlier in this chapter and some other practicalities discussed later, questionnaire route was adopted to ensure a wider participation of the local Pakistani

Scottish community in this study. Questions included in the self-completion questionnaires were kept almost similar to those in the interview schedule with many open-ended questions allowing participants to explain their perceptions and experiences in detail (see Appendix II for a selection of questionnaires).

4.5.3.1 Access and recruitment

The Pakistani Scottish women who took part in the self-completion questionnaires were contacted through 4 local community centres: Darnley Street Family Centre (DSFC), Nan McKay Hall, Pollokshields Community Centre (also hosting Pollokshields Development Agency) and the Hiddengardens. However, it transpired that no women from the DSFC were available for participation. After consultation with potential participants in each of the other three centres it was decided that women will complete the forms in the respective community centres and under the supervision of their group leaders. 40 questionnaires (both English and bilingual versions) were supplied to the group leaders in these centres on the day and it yielded 24 completed questions from 3 the community centres. In order to get more female participants, the head teachers of local schools (both primary and nursery) were contacted to facilitate the participation of mothers of schoolchildren in selfcompletion questionnaires. No primary schools were prepared to take part, while two nursery schools: Pollokshields Early Years Centre and Nithsdale Road Nursery consented to take part. After meeting with parents in these two schools, 50 questionnaires (45 in English and 5 bilingual; see Figure 18) were distributed. 35 completed questionnaires were returned.

Figure 18: Bilingual (English and Urdu) questions for parents

Thinking about the last 12 months, was there an instance when your child had been a victim of any incident or accident? Yes / No گزشتہ 21 ماہ کے بارے میں سوچ رہے ہیں، کوئی مثال کے طور پر جب آپ کے بچے کو کسی بھی واقعے یا حادثے کا شکار رہا تھا؟ جی ہاں / نہیں If yes, pl explain: _____ _____ : اگر ہاں ، تو پولسکی وضاحت				
Have your child ever been bullied by others? Yes / No جی ہاں / نہیں؟ dellub آپ کے بچے نے کبھی کیا گیا ہے دوسرے بچے کی طرف سے				
Overall, how safe is East Pollokshields for your child? ہے؟ sillihPklulbP مجموعی طور پر سوچ رہے ہیں، کس طرح محفوظ آپ کے بچے کے لئے مشرقی				
	Very safe	Fairly safe	Not sure	Bit unsafe	Very unsafe

Other participants who completed questionnaires were the local Pakistani Scottish shopkeepers. As we shall see in the following chapter, East Pollokshields is a busy and popular shopping destination in the south side Glasgow. As such, these shops and the people who run them play an important role in the local community. Perspective of the local shopkeepers on the impact of crime and anti-social behaviour in the area and especially on their business was clearly important for this study. Shopkeepers, however, were too busy to participate in a face-to-face interview which was initially intended. Of the 20 shops sampled for interview, only 1 interview could be undertaken with a shopkeeper. Other shopkeepers preferred to complete a questionnaire. Eventually, 12 questionnaires were returned. Finally, as discussed above, 17 young people at the YCSA took part in the self-completion questionnaires prior to their participation in focus groups. Overall in this research, 88 selfcompletion questionnaires were returned, while 140 respondents in total participated in the main phase of data collection (Table 6).

Table 6: Number of research participants by methods

Interviews	Focus Groups	Questionnaires	Total Participants
32	**20**	**88**	**140**

4.5.4 Observation techniques

Observation was used in this research as part of the mixed method design and to validate findings from other sources. For example, speeding and young people hanging about were identified by respondents as the major community safety issues in East Pollokshields. Observation was used to complement such findings with greater detail. The findings of observation were captured in photographs and as field notes. We discuss these below.

4.5.4.1 Field diary

Punch (2012) offers a distinction between field notes and field diary. She says:

Field notes describe what is happening in the field: the researcher's observations, descriptions of places, events, people and actions. Field notes also include reflections and analytical thoughts about what the observations may mean: emerging ideas, notes on themes and concepts, links to research questions and the wider literature. In contrast, a field diary records how the researcher feels about the research process: difficulties, issues surrounding coping in the field, relationships with participants and how these change over time (Punch, 2012: 90)

In this thesis, however, the term field diary is used to encompass any observations and experiences of the present researcher written during the fieldwork in East

Figure 19: Present researcher's concern of his own safety

Place: Maxwell Road, East Pollokshields; Date: 23/09/2010 (6-30 pm)

After the day's work in the field, I was returning home. Instead of the common route I take while coming back from Pollokshields, I took Maxwell Road to get to the Eglinton Toll. I spotted couple of guys standing close to their car with its engine on. As I come closer, I found them smoking while there are two others inside the car. Seeing me coming the two quickly got inside the car. It was a strong smell around the car. They also looked suspicious. I was worried about my own safety as I remembered one respondent saying that young people nowadays draw up in car and use it as clubhouse for smoking and dealing drug in the area. Am I in the wrong place at the wrong time?

Source: Field diary

Pollokshields. Figure 19 presents one such experience which induced a degree of apprehension concerning the researcher's own safety in the field.

4.5.4.2 Photograph

A photograph is worth a thousand words. As a record of life, photography has a long history in the social science (Hoggart et al, 2002). The photograph shown in Plate 1 represents a portion of the Pollokshields Housing Association flats on St. Andrews Drive, popularly known as the 'deck-access flats'. The most striking element

Plate 1: One of a series of broken windows in the deck access flats

captured in this picture is a broken glass window of a flat (there were 11 such broken windows over a stretch of 700 metre in these flats in November, 2011). This tells something about the youth problem in the area (see Chapter 5). In fact, a group of white teenagers approached this researcher while he was returning from the Nan McKay Hall (a community centre adjacent to these flats) and asked for some change

and cigarettes. In this research photographs were used to aid in the analysis of the lived experience of community safety in the area.

We are now going to discuss data collected using quantitative methods.

4.6 Quantitative methods

As discussed earlier, in this multi-method research both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. In this study quantitative methods were used as a supplemental component in order to enhance the description and understanding of the lived experience of community safety as revealed by the core qualitative research. Data was procured from a number of sources. These include the following:

4.6.1 Official statistics

Slattery (1986) argues that official statistics are a vital and very rich source of information for anyone interested in seriously analysing modern society. Official statistics were collected from various sources and used in the study as a part of the mixed-method approach and to triangulate between sources of data. These include offence records (monthly data for East Pollokshields for 10 years) from Strathclyde Police, data on drug addiction from the Glasgow South Addiction Unit and the Census of Scotland. Use of these statistics and the rationale for using them in this thesis are described below:

4.6.1.1 Police-recorded crime

As Fyfe (2010: 177) argues, police-recorded statistics 'largely reflects police practices and public propensity to report offences, yielding a partial and often distorted picture of the level and distribution of crime.' Despite being understood as "notoriously unreliable" (Croall, 2012), 'official' crime statistics have long been used for sociological or geographical analysis of crime of an area. Offence data for a period of 10 yrs (2001 to 2010) for East Pollokshields (Police Beat GE 70) was collected from Strathclyde Police. The data was supplied at the 'data zone' scale (see Chapter 5). Offence records at this scale allowed mapping of the spatial distribution of various crimes within the neighbourhood (see Chapter 6).

4.6.1.2 Drug addiction statistics

From individual interviews and focus groups it transpired that drug use and dealing was an important community safety issue in East Pollokshields. To support this finding, official statistics from two different sources were used: Strathclyde Police and the Glasgow (South) Addiction Team of NHS. Data from the police showed a steady growth in the possession and supply of drug in the neighbourhood from 2001 to 2010 (see Chapter 7). Moreover, the NHS provided the number of drug addiction cases referred to them for a period 2007-2011 and also the types of drugs used by the clients from this area. These data were processed and presented through charts and also used to interpret findings from interviews and focus groups (see Chapter 7).

4.6.1.3 Demographic data

The decennial Census is the most authoritative, comprehensive and detailed national survey in Britain (Slattery, 1986). Policy makers, private businesses, households, researchers, and many non-profit organizations have long been relying on an accurate census. Findings from the 2011 Census are still to be published. The last available Census 2001 was used to reveal the major socio-demographic characteristics of East Pollokshields. The Census data was complemented by data from the website of the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics and also by Annual Estimates of the Glasgow City Council.

4.6.2 Other secondary data

Other secondary data used in the project include recent media (newspaper and TV) reports on the issue of crime and anti-social behaviour in East Pollokshields; research reports, monographs and relevant publications of the Scottish Office, the Glasgow Community and Safety Services, the Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Police. These data provided useful background information on community safety in the study locale.

4.7 Data processing, analysis and presentation of findings

Adoption of a mixed-method design in this research resulted in the generation of a large corpus of raw data. The two sets of data - qualitative and quantitative – jointly contributed to the analysis and interpretation of the lived experience of community safety of the study group. For the convenience of discussion, however, processing and analysis of these two sets of data is described separately.

4.7.1 Processing and analysis of qualitative data

Creswell (2007) maintains that data collection, analysis and report writing are interconnected and often go on simultaneously in a qualitative project. In fact, data analysis in this research began in course of the fieldwork while transcribing the focus group and interview recordings. Two distinct stages in the analysis can be identified:

4.7.1.1 Coding and categorising data

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) an 'effective transcribing' involves not just writing down the interviews accurately, but also identifying *themes* and developing ideas relating to transcription. Ideas and themes were not pre-conceived; most of them emerged during the transcription process and were annotated. Many of these ideas or emerging themes were included into the interview schedule and explored in subsequent interviews and groups discussions. A more traditional approach to annotation and coding (with a highlighter pen on printed paper) was preferred against computer programs in order to familiarise with the data and continuously relate them to research questions. The initial ideas were grouped into *themes* of higher order what Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to as *categories*. For example, themes like safe roads, walkability for women, children and the elderly, young people hanging about, and speeding cars were grouped under the category of 'safety in the community'.

Figure 20: Part of a transcribed focus group

Q: What do the adult people need to do to make you feel better and safer in East Pollokshields?	Code/theme
YP1: Just trust us and listen to us.	lack of trust
YP 2: I think they need to tell young people that they are here for us. Sometimes the kids choose not to go to the adults because they don't want to listen.	support from adults
YP1: Exactly, kids don't go to the adults simply because they are scared. To be honest, I skip a lot from my mom because if I tell something to her she will tell dad like that and that spreads.	fear, parent-child mistrust, parenting issues
YP3: They just stereotype us. Adults should organise something to do for the kids and young people e.g. sports event where adults and kids can work together and get to know each other.	inter-generational intolerance, need for mutual understanding
YP2: And the adults do think that every young people do mess about; they treat kids not as an individual but as a group.	perception about kids
YP4: Yes, some adults think that kids can't get jobs after education. But we can do it if other adults do.	mis-trust, self-confidence
YP1: Yes, as simple as that.	support from peer

YP = Young person

A slightly different approach was taken while coding and analysing focus group data. Many writers (e.g. Parker and Tritter, 2006; Liamputtong, 2011) emphasise the need to analyse focus groups in terms of the interaction and group setting of the data.

Focus group recordings were transcribed in such a way so that response given by each participant can be identified and analysed in the context of group dynamics. Figure 20 represents a section of the transcribed and coded focus group. Moreover, a close inspection of the field notes refreshed memories about field experiences and helped further in the process of analysis. As Okely (1994: 32) writes:

Insights emerge also from the subconscious and from bodily memories, never penned on paper. There are serendipitous connections to be made, if the writer is open to them. Writing and analysis comprise a movement between the tangible and the intangible, between the cerebral and the sensual, between the visible and invisible. Interpretation moves from evidence to ideas and theory, then back again…The researcher is freed from a division of labour which splits fieldwork from analysis.

Qualitative data analysis was thus carried out as a continuous, iterative process (Dey, 1993).

4.7.2 Presentation of qualitative data

While presenting and discussing findings, a narrative approach was adopted to convey the lived experiences of the people expressed in their own language. The representation options adopted in this research include the following:

i) *Quotes*: Including quotes or descriptive example to illustrate relevant points bring the data to life. Either single or multiple quotes were used to demonstrate responses on a particular issue (Grbich, 2007). However, Bazeley (2009: 20) argues that 'reliance on presenting brief quoted segments as 'evidence' encourages superficial reporting of themes, whereas building an argument requires that conclusions are drawn from across the full range of available texts'. To avoid this, consolidated narratives highlighting the present researcher's own interpretations of a topic were used in addition to quotes. ii) *Graphic displays:* Bazeley (2009: 12) maintains that by displaying data, the researcher 'moves from describing to explaining, through a ladder of abstraction'. Matrices, models and charts were used in this thesis to show patterns and associations of themes and categories generated from the qualitative data.

4.7.3 Processing, analysis and presentation of quantitative data

Quantitative data used in this research were of varied character. They include a) datazone-level crime records; b) number of drug addiction cases (annual) referred from East Pollokshields; c) socio-demographic data such as population by age-group, gender, ethnic background and various SIMD statistics. These were processed for statistical analyses and graphical representation. However, as mentioned earlier, quantitative data were used primarily as an aid to the interpretation of qualitative data. For example, data zone-level monthly offence data were processed into *recorded crime rates* (number of recorded crime per 1000 population) and were mapped to show the spatial patterns of major offences in East Pollokshields. These maps helped in the interpretation of people's perceptions of crime and the fear of crime in the neighbourhood.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter brought forth an explicit explanation of the methods used in this research and also explained the rationale of employing these methods. It described numerous field practicalities and experiences that shaped this study of the lived experience of community safety in East Pollokshields. It was also demonstrated in the foregoing sections how practical issues were overcome during the fieldwork. Data generated through the investigation was rich and of manifold character. As part of the mixed-method research, the two types of data - qualitative and quantitative - were integrated to produce a 'cohesive and purposeful analysis' (Bazeley, 2009) where they complemented each other. Such integration is also the hallmark of a successful case study as Baxter and Jack (2008: 554) argue:

In case study, data from these multiple sources are…converged in the analysis process rather than handled individually…This convergence adds strength to the findings as the various strands of data are braided together to promote a greater understanding of the case.

In the following chapter, discussion is focussed on the contemporary geography of the study locale.

Chapter 5: Contemporary Geography of East Pollokshields

5.1 Introduction

A few researches exist on East Pollokshields – the home of Scotland's largest South Asian community. In the most recent study on the area Pacione (2011) focuses on the contemporary processes of the genesis, continuity and change in East Pollokshields: one of Britain's first garden suburbs. Though carried out from a different perspective, his study provides useful background information on the study locale. Among other relevant attempts, Waiton (2010) examines the forces behind the installation of CCTVs in the area as a youth crime prevention measure. In another attempt, Hopkins (2004) explores the experience of everyday racism of Pakistani community in East Pollokshields. However, there is no research to highlight contemporary development of the neighbourhood as Scotland's largest Pakistani community. Moreover, research on issues relating to deprivation, poverty and dereliction in this multi-ethnic inner-city neighbourhood of the modern city of Glasgow is non-existent. As we shall see in Chapters 7 and 8, contemporary environmental and socio-demographic characteristics of the area have largely shaped the lived experience of community safety of its residents. The discussion in this chapter will concentrate on the following five topics: i) evolution of East
Pollokshields as part of Scotland's first garden suburb; ii) contemporary growth of Pakistani Scottish enclave in East Pollokshields; iii) contemporary geography of poverty, deprivation and dereliction in this inner-city neighbourhood; iv) an overview of the level of crime and ASB problem in the area; and v) overall conclusion of the chapter. In the following section, we discuss the evolution of the study locale as part of Scotland's first garden suburb.

5.2 Evolution of East Pollokshields as part of Scotland's first garden suburb

This section provides a brief account of the evolution of East Pollokshields in order to understand the context for its present-day geography and social problems, crime included. Many features of the built environment such as the close-knit residential and

commercial area, tenement property and rectangular grid-street pattern that have evolved in East Pollokshields for almost two centuries have a bearing on its present day community safety issues (see Chapter 6 and 7). Since the mid-nineteenth century East and West Pollokshields have had parallel but distinctly different pattern of growth in terms of their built environment, economy, social and cultural characteristics. This process has given rise to two distinct landscapes on each side of the Shields Road. Pacione (2011: 39) observes that 'the east-west division entrenched in the original feu design plan for Pollokshields has shaped the socioeconomic development of the suburb to the present day.' By the end of the 19th Century, the extensive 'garden suburb' was well established with wide avenues of villas interspersed with maturing trees and gardens, open green spaces and public buildings' (Glasgow City Council, 2009: 5). In 1891, Pollokshields (both east and west) became part of the growing city of Glasgow. The present research is focussed on East Pollokshields which, due to its initial development plan, became a residential locus for ethnic minority communities.

Figure 21: East Pollokshields – the study locale

A: Location within Glasgow   B: Original feuing plan of Pollokshields in 1849
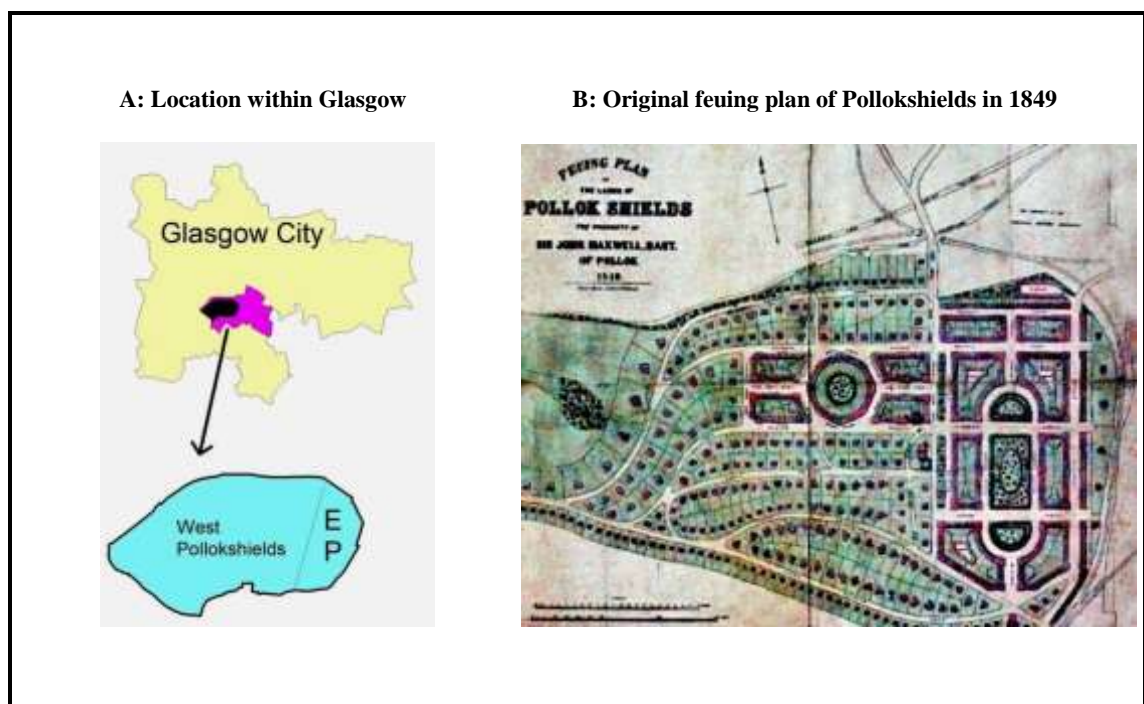
C: Satellite image of Pollokshields, 2013

Source: DRS, Glasgow City Council; Google Earth, 2013 (Image date: 2009). EP in 21 A stands for East Pollokshields.

East Pollokshields grew as a neighbourhood that is a mixture of housing and commerce. The area was developed as a grid street plan neighbourhood of large tenements and wide avenues (see Figure 21 B and C). 'The regular grid iron layout set out in the 19th Century, with its north-south orientation, is still very much a characteristic of the area and is reinforced by well defined building lines which enhance the perspective views of the streets…Wider streets, such as Albert Drive, Shields Road and Nithsdale Road are interwoven with relatively narrower streets and smaller green pockets to provide a strong sense of legibility and permeability in the area. Moreover, the railway embankment provides a green south-eastern edge to the area (Glasgow City Council, 2009). The principal land use in the area, as we shall see in the following chapter, is residential with commercial uses such as cafes, shops and restaurants confined to the ground floor of tenement blocks. Other uses such as schools, nurseries, and places of worship, a bowling green and a library are present within the neighbourhood.

Pacione (2011:38-39) contends that 'the final layout of the garden suburb was based on a strict division between the villas of West Pollokshields and the tenements of East Pollokshields, separated by Shields Road (see Figure 16 C above)…The tenements attracted the better-off working classes while a relaxation of feu restrictions allowed shops to be located on the ground floor of the tenements (Plate 2). Clearly, the east–west division entrenched in the original feu design plan for

74

Plate 2: Tenement with shops on ground floor (Kenmure St-Albert Drive crossing)

Pollokshields has shaped the socio-spatial development of the suburb to the present day'. East Pollokshields, during the second half of the last century, started attracting migrant population - primarily Asians – and by the end of the 20th century, the neighbourhood became the home of Scotland's largest Pakistani Scottish community. We discuss this contemporary evolution of the area below.

5.3 Growth of Pakistani Scottish enclave in East Pollokshields: 1951-2011

Research on the contemporary geography of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow are few and far between (see Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974; Srivastava, 1975; Bowes et al., 1990; Bailey et al. 1995; McGarrigle, 2010; Pacione, 2005 and 2011). Much of this research, however, have a broader focus on 'Asians' in Glasgow rather than Pakistanis which may partly be due to the unavailability of Census data on Pakistani ethnicity in Scotland before 1991 (see Bailey et al. 1995). On the other hand, a wide body of literature now exists on the dynamics of congregation and segregation of Asian immigrants in urban areas of Britain. Much has been debated over "choices" and "constraints" as the dominant factor behind ethnic concentration in inner-cities (for a summary of major works see Pacione, 2001 and McGarrigle, 2010). There is little point in extending the debate in the present chapter. This, instead, concentrates on the processes in the formation of the Pakistani Scottish enclave in East Pollokshields. As Pacione (2005: 153-54) maintains:

The spatial outcome of the processes of segregation and congregation is determined by the interplay of discrimination by the host society or charter group and the strength of internal cohesion of the minority. Three residential spatial outcomes may be identified - *colonies, enclaves and ghettos* .Colonies arise when the social distance between the minority and charter group is small and residential segregation is a temporary stage in the assimilation of the group into wider society. Some minority clusters persist over a longer term. Where the dominant factor is internal cohesion, the resultant residential areas may be termed enclaves; where external factors limit the possibilities for dispersal, the ethnic concentration is referred to as a ghetto. In practice, it is often difficult to determine the degree to which segregation is

voluntary or involuntary, and it is more realistic to regard enclave and ghetto as the poles of a continuum, rather than as discrete classifications.

The growth of Pakistani Scottish enclave in East Pollokshields over a period of six decades is discussed below. For the convenience of discussion, three phases are identified:

Phase I (1951-1971): Early growth

Research on the geography of settlement of the Pakistani community during this period relies mostly on the seminal study conducted by Kearsley and Srivastava (1974) on the Asian community in Glasgow. Drawing on this study, Pacione (2005: 143) observes:

In 1951 the main concentration of Asian households in Glasgow was in the Gorbals which was, at that time, an archetypal slum. Concentrations were also noted in other inner city slum areas in Garnethill and Maryhill to the north of the central business district. This spatial distribution reflected the social status and employment characteristics of the early Asian immigrants, most of whom were employed in low paying jobs in transportation, warehousing and restaurant trades. Easy access to work and to cheap rented accommodation ensured their concentration in the 'transition zone' around the CBD.

Immigration of Asian people to Glasgow continued almost unabated throughout the 1950s and it continued as such until the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act which imposed restrictions on migration into Britain. By 1961, as Pacione (2005: 145) suggests, 'the geography of Asian settlement in Glasgow revealed a number of new loci within the framework of the inner city. The primary "port-of-entry" nucleus of the Gorbals now extended into areas of newer tenement housing to the south in Govanhill and Pollokshields." As we can find in Table 7, Gorbals gradually lost its importance as the major nucleus of Asian settlement in the city. Srivastava (1975) contends that the main concentration of Indians moved from the Gorbals to the Park ward while the Pakistanis to the Pollokshields and Govanhill (also see Figure 22 below). The period between 1962 and 1971 saw more people of Asian origin coming to Glasgow. However, the significant difference of this period was that a majority of

Table 7: Change in Asian electors for Pollokshields ward in Glasgow: 1961-1971

Asian Electors in 5 Wards	1961	1971
Park	227	934
Pollokshields	100	576
Woodside	73	222
Govanhill	40	378
Gorbals	273	149

Source: Srivastava, 1975

the new arrivals were members of families whose heads had already secured entry into this country prior to the Immigration Act of 1962. Thus, subsequent growth **Figure 22: Movement of Asian households in Glasgow: 1950-1972**
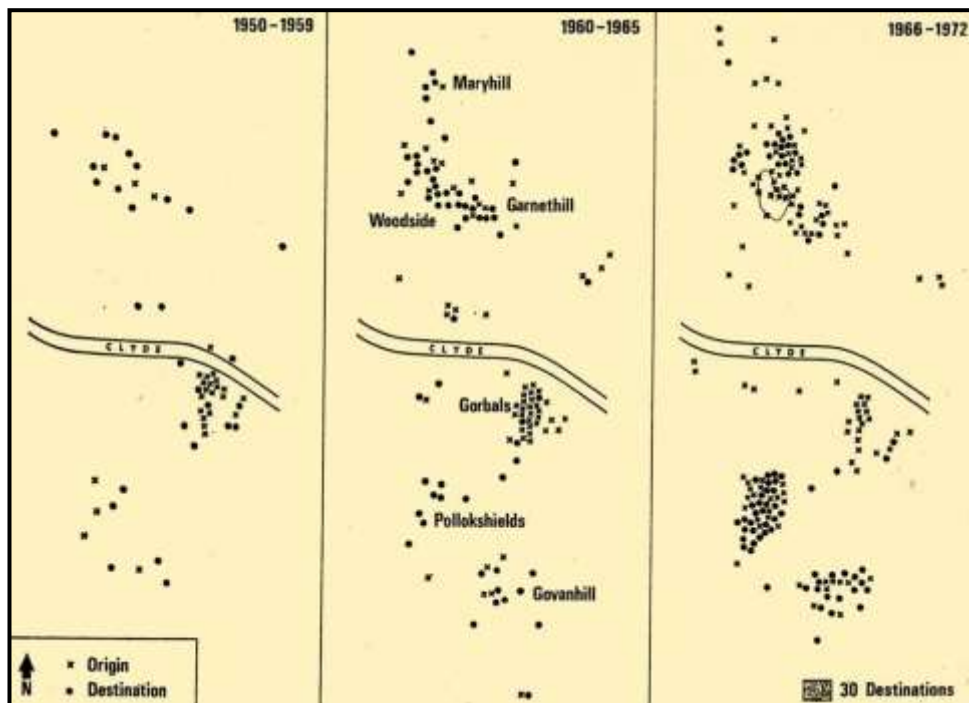
Source: Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974

in the number of Pakistani people in Glasgow was mainly attributed to family reunion. By 1971, as Pacione (2005: 145) finds, 'the initial colony of the Gorbals had been largely evacuated in part due to voluntary relocation and partly as a result of comprehensive redevelopment of the area by the local authority. To the south of the Gorbals a distinctive feature of the emerging pattern of ethnic settlement was the concentration of Asian households in Pollokshields East, an area of tenements and former industrial zones.'

Phase II (1971-1991): Consolidation

When asked by the present researcher what brought him and his families to East Pollokshields, an elderly respondent (male: 67) said:

> **I came to East Pollokshields in 1973; by that time many Pakistani families had already moved to this area. You know the Urdu proverb *Bed jall?* It means that every sheep in a herd follows exactly that ahead of it. Those coming behind don't really bother where they are going - be it through the forest or into the river. Growth of our community in Pollokshields was like that: every new Pakistani immigrant followed his predecessors.**

Another commonsensical explanation for this gregarious nature of living of the Pakistanis in East Pollokshields was provided by Srivastava (1975: 172-73) who argues:

The choice of the place immediately on arrival seems to be governed by the presence of the sponsor…It was necessary for the migrant to have some contact or direct sponsor in Britain who could arrange for his housing and employment, and in many cases contribute to his fare to Britain…This system of sponsorship thus clearly encourages the regional concentration of migrants.

In her recent research on the South Asian residential preferences in Glasgow, McGarrigle (2010: 93) finds that the core areas of minority ethnic settlement like East Pollokshields 'offered a number of positive features in attracting new households and

retaining well-established ones. Namely, the availability of tenement property that was at one time cheap to buy, the cultural, social and economic support networks that have developed in these areas over the last 30 years…and the areas' proximity to amenities and easy access to work, schools and community facilities.' High minority ethnic presence in the inner-city areas of Glasgow also reflects barriers these communities face in gaining access to high status, high cost housing and to council housing (MacEwen et al. 1994; cited in McGarrigle, 2010). On the other hand, tenement properties in East Pollokshields attracted Pakistani and other Asian migrants for their cost and suitability for large families. Research suggests that there is a preference amongst minority ethnic groups in Scotland to live in tenement properties due to their larger size (see Third et al. 1997; cited in McGarrigle, 2010). Many of the tenements in East Pollokshields are large and some of them have 6-9 rooms (Pacione, 2011). However, it should also be noted that many of these tenements are old; with a majority built between 1860 and 1900. Back in 1979, the then Glasgow District Council noted that tenements at the northern and eastern end of the area have deteriorated to marked extent (Glasgow District Council, 1979). However, Kearsley and Srivastava (1974: 121-22) observe:

The pattern of Asian housing, on both sides of the river, reflects nothing more than the occupance of a particular type of building; *the grey sandstone tenements*. These were built along the main routeways of the city especially in the years before 1880…Since this has traditionally been the sole type of housing available to Asians, in terms of *cost, location and vacancy*, it is scarcely surprising that there should be a high level of coincidence in their respective distributions (Emphasis added).

Research also suggests that it is important to understand the association of the Pakistani community with the old and decaying tenements in inner urban areas in terms of their low economic status. Using evidence provided by the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Dahya (1974: 112-13) argues:

It would be natural for immigrants, many of whom are in lower paid, unskilled employment, to seek the cheapest housing available. The cheapest housing available will tend to be the poorer housing in the centres of towns and cities. Many immigrants will therefore buy or rent old, decaying houses and live in them in over-crowded conditions.

Furthermore, recent research suggests that many Pakistani people in East Pollokshields could not afford to buy property outside the neighbourhood primarily due to economic reasons. As one Pakistani female respondent in Morrison's (2011: 99) research described:

Pollokshields has always been seen as East and West: the poor and the rich. I don't think I will ever be able to afford to live in the West. It's still a much divided community, not just geographically.

Figure 23: Forces behind the formation of Pakistani Scottish enclave in East Pollokshields

☐ Living with or close to the sponsor
☐ Low income leading to association with cheap and poor housing
☐ Proximity to friends, relatives and city centre
☐ Formation of an ecological base to realize economic goals
☐ Preservation of the way of life
☐ Language and cultural barrier outside the enclave

Based on empirical evidences from this research and past researches (see, Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974; Srivastava, 1975), principal forces behind the formation and sustenance of Pakistani enclave in East Pollokshields are presented in Figure 23. East Pollokshields also contains shops and commercial developments that were prohibited to the west of Shields Road. Albert Drive remains the main artery for East Pollokshields and contains most of the shops, usually food markets, Asian restaurants and takeaways, fruits, designer clothing, and commercial places like banks. As one Pakistani respondent (male, 73) described:

> **When I bought this shop (on Albert Drive) in 1976, there were only three of them owned by Asians. Now, you can see, the situation is completely opposite. *Goras* (Whites) have all sold their shops and left the area.**

East Pollokshields is also the location of *Eid* celebrations that occur every year when the Muslim community of Glasgow and beyond congregate to commemorate the end of holy month of *Ramadan*. Moreover, there are many shop signs in Urdu; the windows of boutiques are draped in *salwar kameez* (women's ethnic wear) and also have "women only" beauty salons. These (Muslim) cultural specialities have contributed immensely to the formation and sustenance of a dense Pakistani

Figure 24: Changing geography of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow: 1981-2001
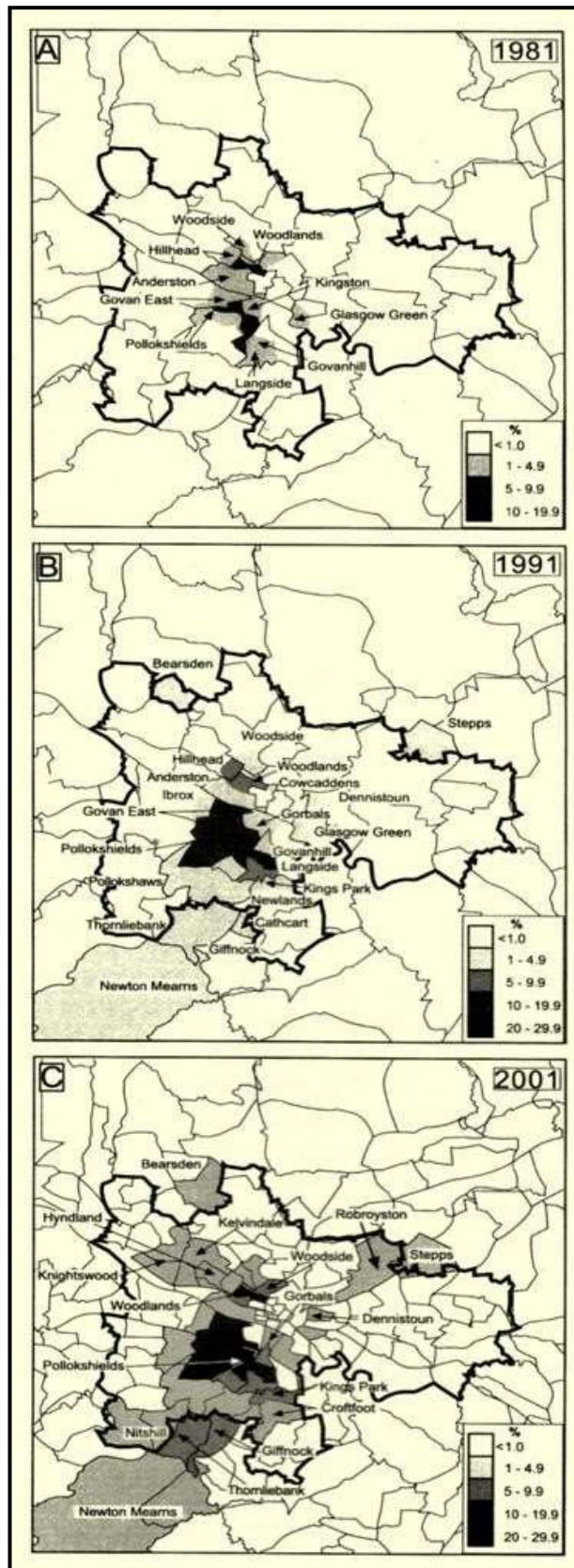
Source: Pacione, 2001

settlement in the area. It would also appear from the above discussion that cultural preferences and economic options have largely shaped the formation of Pakistani enclave in East Pollokshields.

Table 8: Changing ethnic composition of East Pollokshields

Ethnic Group	2001 Census		2010 Estimates		Non-white (2001)	Non-white (2010)
White Scottish British Irish	3105	50.81%	2703	43.52%		
Pakistani	2423	39.65%	2608	41.99%		
Indian	231	3.78%	215	3.46%		
Other White	120	1.96%	285	4.59%		
Other South Asian	98	1.60%	111	1.79%		
Other Ethnic Group	45	0.74%	150	2.42%		
Any Mixed Background	40	0.65%	40	0.64%	47.33%	51.89%
Chinese	31	0.51%	29	0.47%		
African and Caribbean	15	0.25%	67	1.07%		
Black Scottish or Other Black	3	0.05%	3	0.05%		
East Pollokshields Total	6111	100%	6211	100%		

Source: Glasgow City Council, 2012

Phase III (1991 -2011): Further development and diffusion

According to the 1991 Census, 60% of the population in East Pollokshields were White, while 33% were Pakistani (Hopkins, 2004). Subsequent years saw the Pakistani component growing further (see Figure 24 above). Based on 2001 Census results, Pacione (2005: 149) suggests a 'further intensification of Pakistani population in the traditional core ethnic enclave neighbourhoods on the south side of the river.' As we can see in Table 8, the Pakistani community formed 40 % of the resident population in East Pollokshields in 2001 with a pronounced concentration in the tenement properties to the East of Shields Road (see Figure 25).

Figure 25: Spatial distribution of Pakistani households in Pollokshields: 2001

Source: Pacione, 2011

In spite of a selective 'eth-class' out-migration and sub-urbanisation of the Pakistani families from the area, this intensification continued and a 2010 estimate placed Pakistani population at 42% of those residing in East Pollokshields. Empirical evidence from this study and past researches suggests that there has been a continuous

process of diffusion and sub-urbanisation of Pakistani population from East Pollokshields to comparatively prosperous areas of the city (see Bailey et al. 1995) such as Clarkston, Newton Mearns, Giffnock, Nitshill, Robroyston, Stepps as well as middle-class suburbs of Bearsden and Bishopbriggs (see Pacione, 2011). As this research has revealed, such out-migration of more successful Pakistani people from the area resulted in the impoverishment of role models for the local Pakistani children and young people.

Partly related to this high concentration of minority ethnic population and largely due to structural forces, East Pollokshields is one of those inner-city areas in Britain where deprivation, economic decline and social disintegration are paramount (see Harrison, 1992). We discuss this below.

5.4 Contemporary geography of poverty and deprivation As

Lawrence (1995: 9-10) observes:

Today, the only demographically buoyant element in the inner city is ethnic minority communities, who now form significant parts of inner city populations. Such groups have brought a degree of enterprise back into the inner city, though insufficient to compensate for the withdrawal of capital in the 1960s and 1970s…Whilst physical decay and social disintegration are constituent parts of what is considered the urban problem, one must not lose sight of the central importance of economic decline.

Table 9: The nature of inner-city problem

Economic decline and unemployment	Lies at the heart of the problem in inner-city areas; associated with the contracting industrial base due to recession in the UK economy, deindustrialisation and the rundown of traditional inner-city services and industries (e.g. warehousing and dock-related activities). There was a mismatch between the jobs available and the skills of the people living in these areas, exacerbated by lack of investment to counterbalance these losses.
Physical decay	Often considered as the most characteristic single feature of the inner citymanifested in poor quality houses built over a century ago and in need of repair. Environmental dereliction exacerbated by public-sector activity. Land has been cleared, and then left vacant for long period due to the stop-go nature of publicsector financing. This has affected the continuity of local authority development plans and cast a pall of 'planning blight' over large parts of the inner-city leaving them unattractive to the people and any new investment.
Social disadvantage	Characterised by higher concentration of poor, infirm and elderly people experiencing both individual and collective deprivations and lack of community spirit. School leavers are often without any qualification. Inner-cities are also associated with people with addiction problems and deviance.
Concentration of ethnic minorities	Minority ethnic communities tend to settle in parts of the inner city, leading to discrimination in job and housing markets and engendering community and racial tensions, particularly in times of economic hardship. Although ethnic minorities in inner cities are affected by the same kind of disadvantage experienced by other residents, as a visually and culturally distinct group they are open to discrimination and are easy targets for those seeking scapegoats for the city's economic decline.

Source: HMSO, 1977: 2-5; Pacione, 2009: 320-325

As we saw above, the Pakistani Scottish community has an established presence in East Pollokshields. This 'community of shop-keepers' (Ali, 2000) has also made the area a popular destination for Asian shoppers. However, this is only a part of the picture that this neighbourhood presents; East Pollokshields is also an area of

unemployment, poverty and physical decay with associated social dislocations like other inner-city areas of the country (see Table 9 above). This research has revealed that in addition to the high concentration of minority ethnic population, many problems presented in the table also characterise East Pollokshields. To trace these problems, we need to look back into the recent history of this neighbourhood spanning a period of five decades.

Both official statistics and findings in this research point towards a persistent nature of joblessness, poverty and deprivation in this neighbourhood. Based on evidences, the research argues that many of these problems are closely linked to the major changes in the economic structure of the area, especially the widespread deindustrialisation of the 1970s. According to the then Glasgow District Council (1979), in the 1970s, East Pollokshields had a wide ranging job opportunities in fields such as engineering, textiles, paper, printing and publishing, and other manufacturing industries. As an officer of the City Council (M: 50) described:

> **The industrial areas around Pollokshields were developed for largely historic industries: foundry, car repairs, gas works, light but dirty engineering. As the economics of residential development began to improve in the area the older uses were displaced to other areas or as businesses they became no longer viable. To the north (at Scotland Street) there was of course the long term plan for the M74 extension which meant businesses either chose to relocate to more secure areas such as Govan or Hillington. This change has taken place in many areas across Scotland and the deindustrialisation accelerated significantly during the years Margaret Thatcher was in power (May 1979 to Nov 1990) as large businesses - which small engineering companies often supplied - closed down.**

In similar vein, Kearsley and Srivastava (1974: 115) find, there was a massive concentration of Asian population in Pollokshields East which was 'an area of tenement buildings formerly associated with the Corporation Tramworks, the gas works and a variety of industrial activities at Port Eglinton, most of which have now disappeared.' Moreover, according to the Glasgow District Council (1979) during a three-year period of 1973-1976, East Pollokshields lost around 600 jobs (Table 10), especially from larger firms. The Council attributed to this 'loss of employment opportunities…to the current city wide trend' (Glasgow District Council, 1979: 33).

Table 10: Loss of industrial jobs in East Pollokshields – 1973 to 1976

Size of Firms	Number of Firms		Employees	
	1973	1976	1973	1976
1-5 employees	106	103	326	279
6-10 employees	23	22	182	174
11-50 employees	19	14	374	290
51 and above employees	11	9	1244	801

Source: Glasgow District Council, 1979

No research exists to show how these structural changes affected the economic and social lives of the Asian people and other residents of East Pollokshields who used to work in these industrial units both within the area and in other parts of the city of

Figure 26: Participation of Asians in economic activities

```
WORKERS/EMPLOYEES          NO.    GROCERS/SELF EMPLOYED  NO.

1.Transport (a) Bus                1.Retail Groceries     100
       Conductors/Drivers  1500    2.Big Groceries         10
           (b) S.M.T.       500    3.Wholesale Stores      25
2.Railways-(a) Underground          4.Petrol Stations       1
       drivers/conductors    10    5.Wines/Spirit Shops     4
           (b) Shed workers  12    6.Motor service,Garages,
           (c) Guards         2                      etc.
           (d) Van Porters   10    7.Bingo House            1
3.in Rubber Factories       100    8.Restaurants            6
4.Chemical industry          30    9.General Grocers        3
5.Brick factories            30
6.Building Industry          40
7.Slaughterhouses            10
8.Manual labour              15
9.Furniture - Joiners/
        carpenters           50
10.Tractor factories         30
11.Sweeping                  11
12.Blacksmiths, tool making
            in foundry       20
13.Press - Store Keeper       1
14.Gas Board                 30
15.Motor Mechanics           15
16.Electricians              12
17.Brewery                   20
18.Docks and Shipyards       30
19.Plumbers                  10
20.Pedlars and hawkers       40
21.Teachers                   7

Women - a)Stitching workers)
          clothing hosiers )figures
        b)Nursing           )unknown
        c)Teachers          )
        d)Selling Drapers   )
```

Source: Elahi, cited in Srivastava, 1975

Glasgow. Srivastava (1975: 296), in her PhD thesis on the Asian Community in Glasgow, observes that such a research was difficult particularly due to the 'unavailability of the employment data about Asian immigrants in Glasgow.' She, however, presented an estimated figure of Asian people employed at various sectors in 1967 (see Figure 26). As we can see, around 500 Asian men were in various industrial occupations. As Wilson (1987: 142) argues:

Urban minorities have been particularly vulnerable to the structural economic changes of the past two decades: the shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries, the increasing polarisation of the labour market into low-wage and high-wage sectors, innovations in technology, and the relocation of manufacturing industries out of the central cities.

Empirical evidence from this research suggests that a majority of the Asian migrants - who were primarily unskilled labourers - had lost their job during the 1970s. As an elderly respondent (male: 73) described:

Those who lost their job had to struggle hard to make their living. Initially, many Pakistani men sought to door-to-door vending of various items such as clothing and daily necessities.

Gradually some of them were able to open small corner shops in East Pollokshields. Thus, some people gradually recovered from the financial crisis through self-employment, but for many others, the situation never really improved.

Another respondent (male, 42: shopkeeper) mentioned:

I am a small shopkeeper; somehow I am making my living. Earlier it was a sale of 2000 pounds on a Sunday, now it's one third of that. Supermarkets have ruined our business.

In this context, it may be added that most of the Asian shops in East Pollokshields offer traditional Asian foods, outfits and jewellery. The shopkeeper indicated that cultural preference for these items is gradually decreasing within the local community, especially among newer generations. Another participant – who worked in a local cash-and-carry shop – revealed how he struggled in meeting both ends. He (male: 25) argued:

Many people in our community work in shops. But one does not get more than £600-£800 a month by working in a cash-and-carry shop or an Asian restaurant. Moreover, many of our families are large joint-families where three generations living under the same roof is quite common.

The respondent also suggested that poverty is a persistent problem in many Pakistani households of East Pollokshields.

Table 11 shows the spatial and temporal characteristics of poverty and multiple deprivation in East Pollokshields. As we find, housing deprivation remained a

Table 11: Persistent poverty and deprivation in East Pollokshields

Data zone	3207	3210	3211	3220	3222	3227	3236	3256
SIMD Housing	2004: <5%	> 20%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%
	2012: <5%	> 20%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%
SIMD Income	2004:15-20%	> 20%	10-15%	15-20%	10- 15%	> 20%	10-1 5%	<5%
	2012: > 20%	> 20%	> 20%	10-15%	> 20%	> 20%	> 20%	<5%
Percentage of Children in Poverty	2009: 28	11	26	40	35	41	35	55
	2010: 36	5	32	42	26	36	31	51
% of WAP who were Workless	2001: 21	6	18	22	22	24	21	47
	2007: 14	5	11	17	13	13	16	37

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013. WAP: Working age population.

constant concern over the past ten years with all the data zones, except one, were among the 5% most deprived in Scotland. Issues such as old properties, lack of maintenance, overcrowding and households without basic facilities remained serious concerns for many people in East Pollokshields.

Moreover, the proportion of children in poverty has remained high in the area. As we shall see in the following chapter, poverty amongst children was found to be statistically correlated with drug offences among others. From the above table we can also find that two data zones – 3220 and 3256 - were among the 15% most income deprived areas in Scotland in 2012. These figures suggest that like its culturally diverse population, East Pollokshields also presents a very mixed and contrasting socio-economic picture. As we shall see in Chapter 6 and 7, these spatial variations in the

socio-economic conditions in East Pollokshields have implications for the differential perceptions and experiences of crime and ASB in the neighbourhood. The discussion now turns to the level of crime and disorder problem in East Pollokshields.

5.5 Level of crime problem in East Pollokshields

In order to unfold the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish group in East Pollokshields, it was of fundamental importance that the nature and dimension of the crime problem in the neighbourhood is known. For a comprehensive assessment of the level of crime problem, three sources were consulted in this research: i) offence data recorded by the police; ii) recent media reports on crime incidents in the area, and iii) the local Pakistani Scottish residents. The findings from these sources differ markedly and the researcher was presented with a paradox of lower level of recorded crimes (compared to other parts of the city), higher level of concern in recent media reports regarding gang culture and antisocial behaviour in the area and a mixed perception of crime, the fear of crime, and ASB among respondents in East Pollokshields. Results of the first two sources are discussed below. The third and most important source of information on the nature and dimension of crime problem was the local Pakistani Scottish people. When interviewed, they presented their narratives of the day-to-day experiences of crime and disorder in the area. Their lived experience was the fundamental component of the present thesis (see Chapter 7 and 8). We now discuss the nature of crime problem in the area based on official statistics.

i) Official record on crime in East Pollokshields

For Strathclyde Police and GCSS, East Pollokshields was not a high crime area. According to the Community Safety Index of Priority 2010-11 produced by GCSS at the multi-member ward level in Glasgow (see Figure 27) Pollokshields was not a high priority area. As evident from the figure – where a value above 100 is to be read as crime level above the city average - Pollokshields fared reasonably well both in the 'very high priority crime and ASB issues' and 'public perception of safety' than overall Glasgow average. However, in the following figure it is easy to overlook that Pollokshields was 3rd in Glasgow in terms of housebreaking; 7th in terms of shoplifting, motor vehicle crime, hate crime and crime of indecency; as well as 8th in terms of fire in domestic buildings among 21 multi-member wards in the city. As

Figure 27: Position of Pollokshields in the community safety priority table

Glasgow Community Safety Index of Priority 2010/11 (Multi Member Wards)

Risk categories (Safe Theme Priority): OTHER, MEDIUM, HIGH, VERY HIGH

Themes and Outcome Indicators:

- **OTHER — Acquisitive crime:** Number of shoplifting crimes; Number of vehicle crimes; Number of housebreaking crimes
- **MEDIUM — Commercial sexual exploitation:** Number of prostitution offences
- **MEDIUM — Public perception of safety:** How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark? (%Unsafe); Overall, how satisfied are you with the service provided by Strathclyde Police (%unsatisfied); Do you have a fear of crime (%Yes); Thinking about the neighbourhood you live in, how would you rate it as a place to live (%very poor/poor)
- **HIGH — Hate Crime:** Number of homophobic incidents; Number of racist incidents
- **HIGH — Road Safety:** Number of fatal and serious road traffic collisions; Accident 0-65; Accident 0-15
- **VERY HIGH — Violence against women and children:** Number of crimes of indecency; Number of domestic abuse incidents
- **VERY HIGH — Violence:** Number of hospital assault admissions; Attacks on emergency service workers (Police Officers); Number of violent crimes
- **VERY HIGH — Home Safety:** Incidence of fires in domestic dwellings; Incidence of home fires resulting in casualties; Incidence of fire setting and fire related antisocial behaviour; Detection for the supply and possession with intent to supply controlled drugs
- **VERY HIGH — Antisocial behaviour:** In the past 12 months, have you been affected by antisocial behaviour (%Yes); Number of offences in relation to the possession of drugs; Recorded crimes of vandalism, malicious mischief etc; Reported incidence of antisocial behaviour
- **VERY HIGH — Alcohol and Drugs:** Number of drug and alcohol related hospital admissions; Number of persons reported for drinking in public

Wards (rows, top to bottom): Anderston/City; Calton; North East (Glasgow); Govan; Canal; East Centre; Hillhead; Maryhill/Kelvin; Southside Central; Drumchapel/Anniesland; Garscadden/Scotstounhill; Springburn; Greater Pollok; Baillieston; Craigton; Partick West; Langside; Linn; Shettleston; Newlands/Auldburn; Pollokshields

Legend:
- Red: > 50% over Glasgow Average
- Orange: 15-50% over Glasgow Average
- Yellow: 0-15% over Glasgow Average
- White: Below Glasgow Average

Source: GCSS, 2010; Pollokshields is in the far right column (bottom of the figure).

we shall see in Chapter 7, there was a danger that the priority list of the Police and GCSS misses these details by generalising Pollokshields as a low-crime area. We shall also see that such a failure to prioritise local community safety issues in East Pollokshields had implications for the allocation of community safety resources in the

area and, in turn, local people's confidence on these agencies. In terms of the temporal dimension of crime problem in East Pollokshields, data collected from Strathclyde Police for the period 2001-2010 shows that crime in the study locale escalated steadily since 2006 (Figure 28). In the following section, we discuss the other source on the level of crime and disorder problem in the area.

Figure 28: Trend of recorded crime in East Pollokshields: 2001-2010
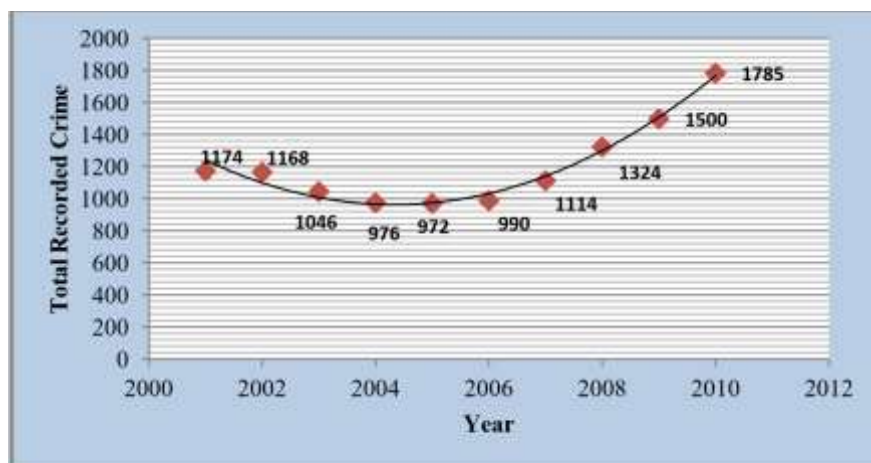
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010

ii) Newspaper reports on the crime problem in East Pollokshields

East Pollokshields came under extensive media coverage in 2004 due to the murder of a white teenager by three Asian youths. Most of the national and local media highlighted the growing problem of criminality among a section of Asian young people in the area (BBC News, 2004). The area received media interest once again in 2006 when the three men accused of murder got life imprisonment (The Independent, 2006). Moreover, spotlight was on East Pollokshields when the then MP of the area Mr Sarwar took the initiatives to install 6 CCTV cameras in East Pollokshields (Evening Times, 2007; see Chapter 7 for detail). In terms of a more recent newspaper reports on crime and anti-social behaviour in the area, the Herald Scotland reported on the 8th February, 2009 that a seemingly innocent snowball fight between young boys escalated out of control resulting in the beating up of three White boys by four armed Asian men. Furthermore, in 2010, Shaun Paul McNally, a 14 year schoolboy was beaten by a gang of Asian youths who also threatened to kill him by saying 'you are the next Kris Donald...we are going to murder you' (Daily Record, 2010). In the most recent incident of January, 2012, a 57 year old White Irish man was allegedly beaten to death by Asian thugs on Melville St outside his home in East Pollokshields (BBC News, 2012). An important aspect of these media reports is the constant portrayal of Asian (Pakistani) youths as 'criminal others' who need to be controlled. We shall see later in this thesis that such a negative media portrayal has affected the image of the area as a whole and of the Pakistani youths in particular. Finally, East Pollokshields got the media flashlights once again as racial tension revisited the area when members of the Scottish Defence League (SDL) entered the area in January, 2013 and again in March when the SDL was banned by the police (Herald Scotland, 2013; see Chapter 7 for detail).

From the above discussion it is apparent that there was a mis-match between the crime records provided by concerned agencies and the media coverage of community safety issues. A detailed research was necessary so that issues affecting the community safety of residents can be explored at greater depth. Furthermore, crime figures shown above relate only to those offences which are recorded by the police. Studies have shown that large number of crime experienced by ethnic minority communities goes unreported (see, for example, Bowling and Phillips, 2003). Of particular relevance to the study locale was the higher concentration of ethnic minority population and the fact that they have a low level of trust in the criminal justice system so that they do not want to report crimes (Chapter 8).

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the neighbourhood of East Pollokshields - one of Britain's earliest garden suburbs – has evolved in the past few decades to become a multi-cultural neighbourhood and the home of Scotland's largest Pakistani Scottish community. In this chapter, we have also discussed contemporary changes in the demographic and economic structure of the area resulting in persistent poverty and deprivation among a section of its population. It is true that the enterprising nature of a section of the Pakistani Scottish community has transformed the economic character of the neighbourhood through wholesale and retail trade. But this hides the persistence of poverty and deprivation among a large section of people in the neighbourhood - both white and non-white. As one member of the Pollokshields Community Council (female, 54) commented:

> **East Pollokshields has many people living in very poor housing condition - these magnificent facades hide very poor living conditions, hide a lot of very poor people, one parent families and, more importantly, tend to hind a lot of social problems!**

In the following chapter we discuss the spatial pattern of crime and ASB in East Pollokshields. It also explores the extent to which the geographical distribution of crime in the area reflects socio-economic, demographic and land use characteristics of the neighbourhood.

Chapter 6: Geographical Pattern of Crime in East Pollokshields

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that a once highly sought-after residential area of the south-side Glasgow, East Pollokshields has gradually experienced social and

economic deprivation. According to the past ten year's police records, crime in the neighbourhood is also on the rise. This chapter, through a series of crime maps, focuses on the geographical distribution of recorded offences in East Pollokshields. The spatial pattern of crime in the area - as these maps will show - was not random or regular; there was a definite tendency of clustering around certain locations and opportunities. As we shall see later in this thesis, such a spatial pattern of crime in East Pollokshields area was found to impact the lived experience of community safety of respondents in the area. The discussion in this chapter is organised under the following points: i) place-based theories in the analysis of crime; ii) geographical distribution of crime in East Pollokshields; iii) neighbourhood characteristics and the spatial variation of crime in the study locale; iv) social disorganisation theory and crime in East Pollokshields; v) crime pattern theory and crime in East Pollokshields; vi) reciprocal relationships with respect to crime between the neighbourhood and its surrounding areas; and vii) implications of the spatial pattern of crime for the lived experience of community safety of the study group. The following section outlines the major place-based theories of crime.

6.2 Place-based theories of crime

As Anselin et al. (2000: 213) observe, 'the new century brings with it growing interest in crime places. This interest spans theory from the perspective of understanding the etiology of crime, and practice from the perspective of developing effective criminal justice interventions to reduce crime.' In similar vein, Ratcliffe (2010: 5) maintains that the 'evolution of crime mapping has heralded a new era in spatial criminology, and a re-emergence of the importance of place as one of the cornerstones essential to an understanding of crime and criminality'. The new GIS capabilities that permit flexible measurements at various levels of spatial aggregation have facilitated many recent analyses of ecological features of crime (Anselin et al, 2000). Andresen (2006: 259) writes:

The spatial, or environmental/ecological, approaches to the theory of crime date back to the early nineteenth century... More modern work using a spatial perspective on crime has its roots in the work of Shaw (1929) and Shaw and Mackay (1942), as well as research that began in the late 1960s and early 1970s, culminating in the publication of Jeffery (1971) and Newman (1971). The point of departure for the research in this genre is that human behaviour is situated in place; therefore, the place in which crime occurs needs to be (at the very least) one of the dimensions of crime investigated—essentially, crime has a geography.

Commentators argue that crime is an unevenly distributed phenomenon. 'Whatever geographical scale is used, disparities emerge consistently, both in overall levels of crime and in specific categories of offence' (Davidson and Locke, 1992: 60). There are four dominant place-based theories which explain the variations of crime over space: social disorganization theory, routine activity approach, crime pattern theory and the rational choice perspective. Among these, the last three are also known as crime opportunity theories. In order to offer a meaningful explanation for the geographical distribution of crime in East Pollokshields, a brief discussion of these theories is necessary.

6.2.1 Social Disorganisation Theory

In their seminal work Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Shaw and McKay (1969) of the Chicago school proposed that structural factors of an area such as *low socio-economic structure, ethnic heterogeneity*, and *residential mobility* lead to the disruption of community social organization, which, in turn, account for variations in crime and delinquency (Sampson and Groves, 1989; see Figure 29). As Andresen (2010: 11) explains:

Social disorganisation is the inability of an area (neighbourhood) to establish social cohesion that can prevent crime. Social cohesion is a term used to describe a neighbourhood's ability to stand together, identify common interests, and carry out a (crime prevention) plan for the benefit of the community…Contemporary social disorganisation theory focuses on social deprivation, economic deprivation, and family disruption as well as ethnic heterogeneity and population turnover. Increases in any of these factors also increases crime. The mechanism is based on the premise that neighbourhoods that are unable to establish social cohesion are conductive to criminal activity because they are places with few legitimate opportunities and a high degree of anonymity. It results in abundance of illegitimate opportunities and a citizen population that is unable to identify outsiders – a prime candidate for criminal activity.

Fig 29: Casual model of social disorganisation and rates of crime & delinquency
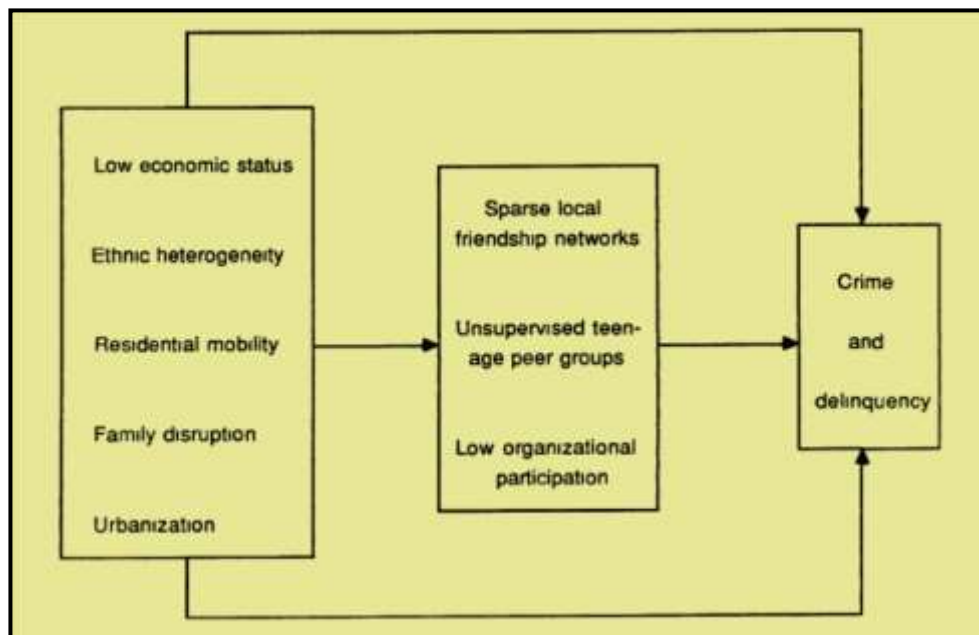
Source: Sampson and Groves, 1989

The first test of the social disorganisation theory was almost half-a-century later. In 1989, Sampson and Groves used British Crime Survey data to show that at the structural level high incidence of crime is explained well by the theory (Andresen et al. 2010). Their research created a renewed interest in the social disorganisation theory in explaining the ecological aspect of crime in urban areas. However, as Andresen (2010) maintains, in explaining the spatial dynamics of crime the theory is often used in conjunction with the routine activity approach which we discuss below.

6.2.2 Routine Activity Approach

The routine activity approach was first introduced by Cohen and Felson (1979) and later extended to crime pattern theory in Brantingham and Brantingham (1993). It differs from the social disorganisation theory in that the routine activity approach focuses on 'the actions of the individuals' rather than 'neighbourhood and its changing characteristics' (Andresen, 2010). In the original version of the theory, the proponents limited the analysis to 'direct contact predatory violations'. However, Felson (2000) later extended the sphere of routine activity approach to explain such other crimes as illegal drug sales, non-predatory fights and suicides.

The approach was employed by Cohen and Felson in an attempt to explain the paradox of increasing crime rates despite improved economic and social conditions in the post-World War II American cities. As Cohen and Felson (1979: 589) argue:

Structural changes in routine activity patterns can influence crime rates by affecting the convergence in space and time of the three minimal elements of direct-contact predatory violations: (1) motivated offenders, (2) suitable targets, and (3) the absence of capable guardians against a violation (see Figure 30). We further argue that the lack of any one of these elements is sufficient to prevent the successful completion of a direct-contact predatory crime, and that the convergence in time and space of suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians may even lead to large increases in crime rates without necessarily requiring any increase in the structural conditions that motivate individuals to engage in crime. That is, if the proportion of motivated offenders or even suitable targets were to remain stable in a community, changes in routine activities could nonetheless alter the likelihood of their convergence in space and time, thereby creating more opportunities for crimes to occur.

Figure 30: The chemistry of crime
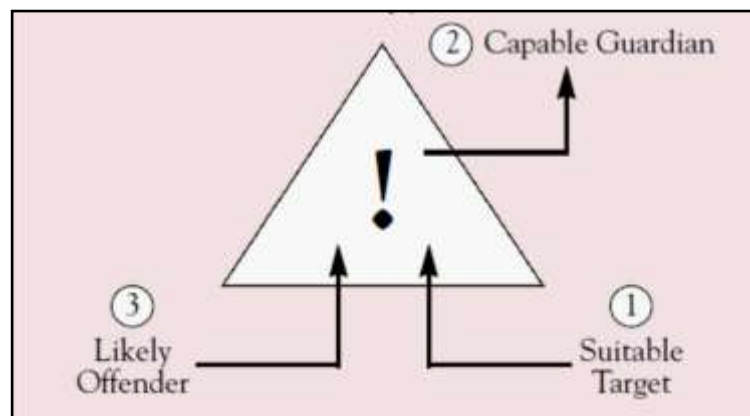
Source: Felson and Clarke, 1998

Proponents of this approach argue that the routine activity approach still offers the best explanation for the rise in burglary in the United States and Western Europe during the 1960s and 1970s. Cohen and Felson (1979) explained that far more homes in this period were left unguarded in the day as more women entered full-time paid work. They go on to suggest that as people spend more time among strangers and away from their own homes, their risk of personal and property victimization rises.

Thus, 'from its inception in the late 1970s, the routine activity approach has been both a micro and macro theory of how crime rates emerge. On a micro level, the theory states that ordinary crime emerges when a likely offender converges with a suitable

crime target in the absence of a capable guardian against crime. On a macro level, the theory states that certain features of larger society and larger community can make such convergences much more likely' (Felson, 2008: 70). The routine activity approach, in combination with the rational choice perspective, formed the conceptual foundations of situational crime prevention measures popularised in Britain by Ronald Clarke in the 1980s (see Felson and Clarke, 1998). We discuss the crime pattern theory below.

6.2.3 Crime Pattern Theory

According to Brantingham and Brantingham (1993: 264), 'crimes do not occur randomly or uniformly in time or space or society. Crimes are patterned; decisions to commit crimes are patterned; and the process of committing crime is patterned'. They also argued that 'crime is clustered; but the shape of clustering is greatly influenced by where people live within a city, how and why they travel or move about a city and how networks of people who know each other spend their time. There will be concentrations of overlapping activity nodes (i.e. where people travel to and from, e.g. home, school, shopping complex) and within those nodes some situations that become crime generators and some that are crime attractors' (Brantingham and Brantingham, 2008: 91). The concept of *crime generators* and *crime attractors* is fundamental to the crime pattern theory. Brantingham and Brantingham (2008: 89) define crime generators as particular nodal areas to which large numbers of people are attracted for reasons unrelated to criminal motivation. Examples are large shopping complex, sports stadium. Also gather in such locations are some potential offenders who exploit the opportunity presented to them even if committing crime wasn't their intent. Crime attractors, on the other hand, are 'particular places, areas, neighbourhoods which create well-known criminal opportunities to which intending criminal offenders are attracted'. Bars, drug markets, shopping malls or insecure parking areas provide such examples. These types of areas, thus, create a clustering of offences. Thus local crime patterns depend on how people interact with their physical environment, producing more crime opportunity or less. Felson and Clarke (1998) go on to state that pattern theory explains crime in terms of three major components: nodes, paths, and edges. Nodes not only can generate crime within, but also nearby. Again, offenders search for potential targets around their personal activity nodes and the paths among them (Figure 31). The paths people use in their routine activities are also places where they fall victim to crime. For this reason, the crime pattern theory emphasises the

Figure 31: Selective crime occurrence area for offender
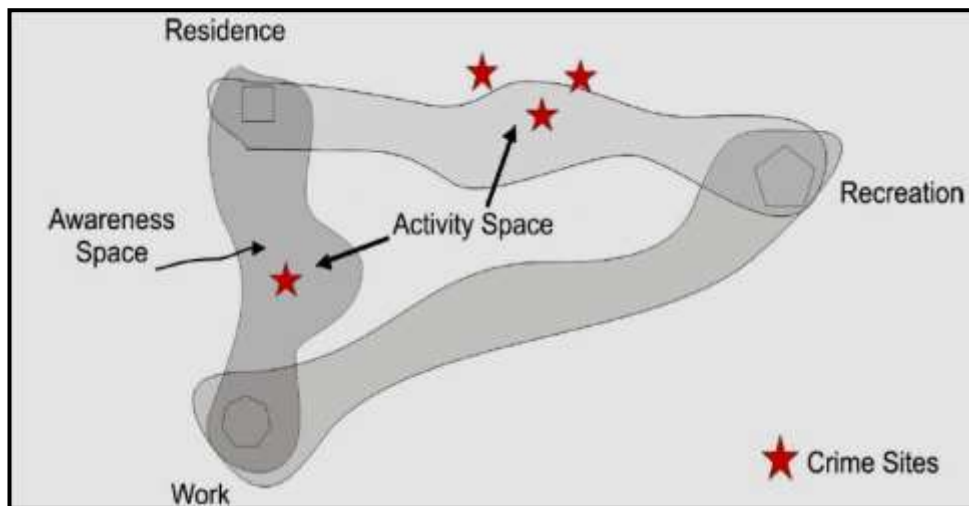
geographical distribution of crime and the daily rhythm of activity of people. Finally, edges are boundaries of areas, e.g. a highway separating two neighbourhoods. According to the proponents of this theory, some crimes are more likely to occur at the edges – such as racial attacks, mugging – because it is where the strangers meet. Pointing towards the role of land utilization in the patterning of urban crime, Brantinghams (1993: 22) contended that 'city planners and other decision makers use zoning, transportation planning and site review to shape travel paths, store locations, school locations, parks and special activity centres and consequently create crime generator locations and produce some of the actual pattern of crime'. Finally, we discuss the rational choice perspective of crime proposed by Clarke.

6.2.4 Rational Choice Perspective

'Rational choice theorising in criminology is really quite down to earth, trying to see the world from the offender's perspective. It seeks to understand how the offender makes crime choices, driven by a particular motive within a specific setting, which offers the opportunities to satisfy that motive. Rational choice theory has an image of the offender who thinks before he acts, even if only for a moment, taking into account some benefits and costs in committing the offence' (Felson and Clarke, 1998: 7; also see Clarke and Felson, 1993). Bouffard et al. (2000: 162) contend that the costs of criminal conduct may include 'the possibility and severity of discovery, capture, and legal sanctions; lost legitimate opportunities forsaken by criminal behaviour; and various informal costs such as social censure, loss of esteem and emotional support of the loved ones, and any loss of self-respect. The benefits include considerations such as perceived material gains of ill-gotten goods and any enhancement of respect that might accrue as a result of criminal behaviour' (also see Katzman, 1981). Andresen (2010) suggests that as per the rational choice perspective, a potential offender has to make four choices: i) whether or not to commit crime at all; ii) whether or not to select a particular target; iii) how frequently to offend; iv) whether or not to desist from crime. However, this set of choices is specific for each crime. Felson and Clarke (1998) explained that the reason for this specificity is that offences have such different purposes and are influenced by very different situational factors. For example, the environmental cues for burglary are different from that of vandalism or car theft

94

(Andresen, 2010). Felson and Clarke (1998) see this theory and research as closely linked to situational crime prevention, which is explicitly designed to reduce crime opportunities. 'This approach is directed at very specific crimes and seeks to modify the environment within which crime occurs, making crime more difficult, more risky, and less rewarding' (Andresen, 2010: 25).

From the above discussion of the three main opportunity theories of crime, it should be evident that they overlap in their assumptions and objectives. As Felson and Clarke (1998) maintain:

The three theories of crime opportunity can be put in order according to where they give most attention, ranging from the larger society (routine activities) to the local area (crime pattern theory) to the individual (rational choice). Together they tell us that the society and locality can change crime opportunity, while the individual offender makes decisions in response to these changes. Altering the volume of crime opportunities at any level will produce a change in criminal outcomes.

In view of the above, spatial variations in crime rate in East Pollokshields have been interpreted with the help of the Social Disorganisation Theory and the Crime Pattern Theory. The discussion below now centres on identifying pattern of crime in East Pollokshields.

6.3 Geographical distribution of crime in East Pollokshields

From the theoretical viewpoints outlined above it is evident that the act of crime is generally a rational choice by potential offender directly related to his/her convergence - in time and space - with suitable targets in the absence of capable guardian. Clearly, viewed in this way, crime has both a spatial and a temporal dimension. In this section, the spatial distribution of major offences in East Pollokshields will be presented through maps and any emerging pattern will be interpreted with reference to above theories of crime. First, however, a brief introduction to the role of crime maps in geographical research is offered, followed by the discussion on the ways in which crime events were mapped in the present research.

6.3.1 The role of crime maps

Crime mapping is the geographical exploration and visualisation of crime. It provides 'a cartography of the problem, an analytical chart to uncover the answers, and influences the development of theories that can provide a route map to the solution' (Ratcliffe, 2010: 19). Andresen et al. (2009) observe that modern crime mapping is an important component of crime analysis and criminal justice. 'The purpose of this mapping has been to convey information regarding the spatial distribution of crime at a variety of scales: neighbourhoods, counties, states, provinces, and nations. The importance of this spatial information is now generally accepted in both criminological research and practice' (Andresen et al, 2009: 31). Wilson and Smith (2008) thus contend that nowadays mapping is a routine procedure for police departments, emergency management agencies and numerous other security organisations. In this respect, advancements in computer-aided mapping and GIS are fundamental to recent analytical advances of place-based crime data. Ratcliffe (2010: 5) maintains that 'crime opportunities are neither uniformly nor randomly organized in space and time.

As a result, crime mappers can unlock these spatial patterns and strive for a better theoretical understanding of the role of geography and opportunity, as well as enabling practical crime prevention solutions that are tailored to specific places'. Crime mapping was undertaken in this research using data zone level offence records collected from the Strathclyde Police. These maps reveal the geographies of major crimes (and therefore victimisation) in East Pollokshields. The following section outlines the ways in which crime events are mapped.

6.3.2 Ways of mapping crime

Bowers and Hirschfield (1999) suggest that delineating high crime areas on maps is generally done in three ways: a) point distribution maps reveal the actual locations of individual crime incidents; b) shaded maps showing variations in some crime measures (e.g. crime rate) over territorial units such as police beats, data zones; and c) probability surface maps depicting boundaries or isolines delineating areas of high/low crime. Of these, the shaded maps – usually known as choropleth maps - are the most commonly employed since they allow for various socio-demographic variables to be associated with crime across spatial units such as neighbourhood. However, Andresen et al. (2009) argue that for mapping and in-depth analysis of individual crime incident, locational details (e.g. street number) are necessary. For such purposes, dot maps are ideal where each dot denotes either the location of one crime incident or number of incidents. For the present researcher, data were available from two sources: a) the Strathclyde Police and b) researcher's own interviews with residents in East Pollokshields who were victims of certain offenses. Due to confidentiality issue, street level crime records were not available from the police. The smallest geographical area on which the police could provide offence data for the neighbourhood was *data zone*. Data zones are statistical areas built up from 2001 Census output areas. Offence data from the Strathclyde Police were collected for 8 data zones of East Pollokshields. These data, when mapped, revealed a distinct locational pattern of crime in East Pollokshields. It can be emphasised that data zonelevel crime mapping and crime analysis at the neighbourhood scale carried out in this thesis was the first of its kind in Scotland. In the following chapter, we shall see the implications of the spatial pattern of crime in East Pollokshields for the lived experience of community safety of its residents and local crime reduction policy. We now discuss the two measures of crime used in the mapping exercise in this research.

6.3.3 Measures of crime used

Generally, three measures of crime are used to depict the spatial variations of crime: crime counts, crime rates and location quotient of offences (see, for example, Andresen, 2006 and 2009; Boggs, 1965; Brantingham and Brantingham, 1997; Harries, 1981). '*Crime counts* are a measure of the volume of criminal activity.

Though crime counts may be of interest for those investigating where crime 'takes place', they are in absolute terms and do not give any indication of why crime is high in some areas while low in other areas' (Andresen, 2006: 267). Harries (1981) contends that quite often it becomes essential to consider a denominator – to provide an adjustment for environmental risk or opportunity - to produce *crime rates*. Total

population is the most widely used denominator in this respect. However, crime rates calculated in this way are not without their limitations. As shown by Boggs (1965), changing the population at risk (using residential population versus the number of automobiles in an automotive theft crime rate, for example) may substantially change the pattern of crime. She argues:

Using crime-specific occurrence rates one can determine whether crime targets in certain areas are exploited at higher rates than targets in other neighbourhoods. Environmental opportunities for crime vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and … should be reflected in the occurrence rates. A valid rate should form a probability statement, and therefore should be based on the risk or target group appropriate for each specific crime category. The rate of residential burglary, for example, should be stated as the *number of residences* that were burglarized in relation to the number of residences that could have been burglarized, not the number of people residing in the area (Boggs, 1965: 899-900).

Extending Bogg's (1965) analysis of changing denominators in crime rates, Harries (1981) found that although different denominators may add additional information to an analysis, one needs to be cautious about an inappropriate application. Based on his studies of Oklahoma City, Harries concludes that 'the use of rather exotic (and perhaps expensive) denominators will not necessarily solve problems. Indeed, the inappropriate use of any alternative denominator to the traditional population base may result in patterns or interpretations more misleading than use of the population base itself' (Harries, 1981: 164). Considering these issues, crime rates were calculated in this research using total population as the denominator against average annual crime counts as numerator. The other measure used in this research is the *location quotient of crime* (LQC). In this thesis, location quotients were used to show the concentration of individual offences in East Pollokshields.

6.3.4 Spatial variations in crime

Recorded crime rates were computed for eight datazones in East Pollokshields and

Table 12: Recorded crime rates in East Pollokshields

Datazone	Annual Average Recorded Crime Counts (2001-2010)	Datazone Population (2010)	Recorded Crime Rates/000
3207	62.4	770	81.04
3210	37.3	895	41.68
3211	82.7	892	92.71
3220	84.8	804	105.47
3222	190.6	655	290.99
3227	208.3	1489	139.89
3236	147.2	840	175.24
3256	149.8	1191	125.78

Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

presented in Table 12. When these figures were mapped, they presented a distinct pattern in the geographical distribution of crime in East Pollokshields. The

Figure 32: Spatial distribution of crime in East Pollokshields
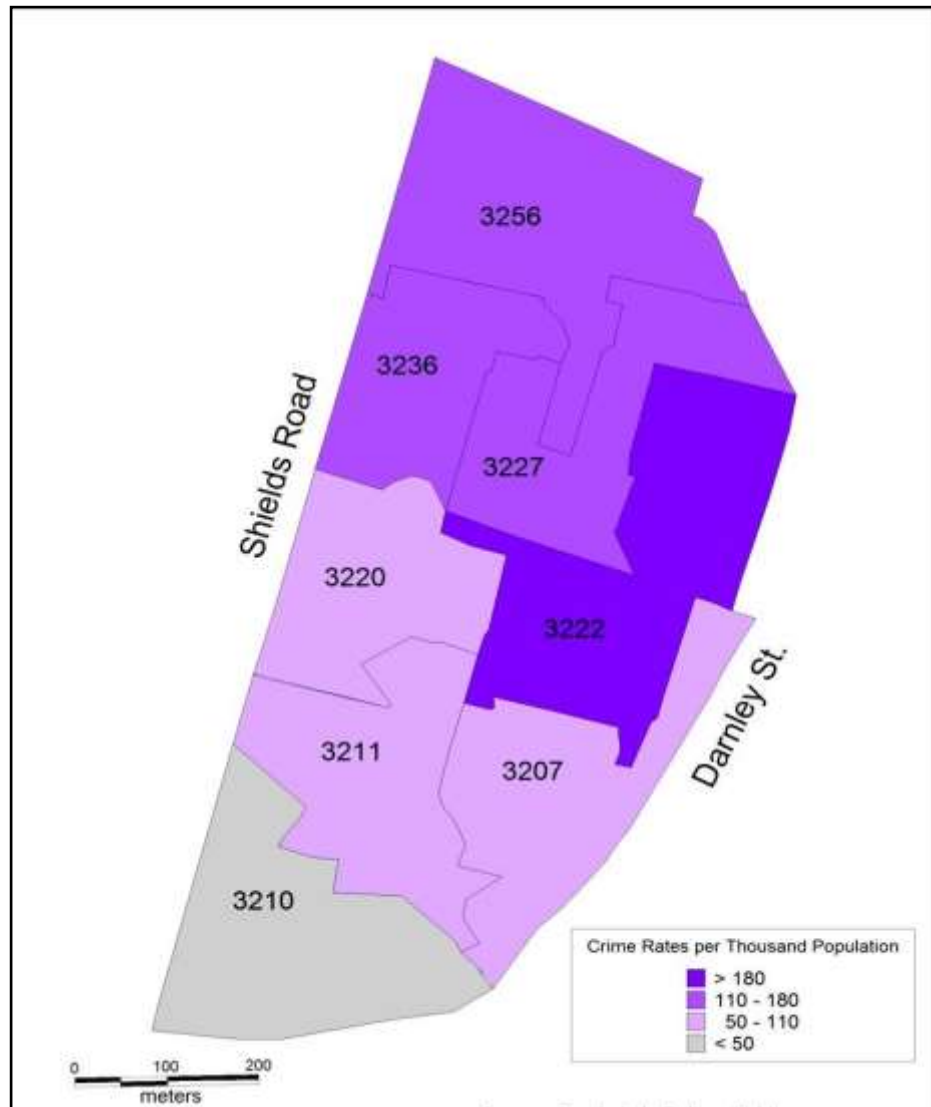
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

highest recorded crime rates were associated with the east and north of the neighbourhood while the southern part had the lowest recorded crime rate (Figure 32).

6.3.5 Distribution of individual offence by Location Quotient

Crime rate is the most commonly used measure to show variations in crime over space. But, as discussed above, it has problems particularly in relation to the choice and availability of a suitable denominator. Brantingham and Brantingham (1997) suggest that location quotient of crime (LQC) is a useful alternative measure. 'LQC offers an additional view on crime and potentially has value in understanding crime patterns. Counts and rates are not sufficient; volume dominates both. LQCs are relative measures of crimes that show how a specific area varies from general trends. Context is imbedded within LQCs' (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1997: 273). In fact, they argued, when used in conjunction with crime counts and rates, the LQC offers a way of understanding how one area is different from another for purposes of research and deployment of prevention and control resources. The Brantinghams went

98

on to state that LQC is a relative measure (unitless) and it identifies relative area speciality in offences. Thus LQC equal to 1.00 in an area (e.g. a data zone) for a specific crime, e.g. housebreaking means that the area has a proportional share of housebreaking similar to the larger comparison area (e.g. neighbourhood). Again, a value of 0.7 will indicate that the smaller area has 30% less concentration of housebreaking than the larger area. Similarly, LQC value of 2.50 means the smaller area is 250% above the average occurrence of housebreaking in the larger geographical unit. LQC values for seven different offences were computed (Table 13) using the following formula. For example, location quotient of housebreaking (HBLQC) is given by:

$$HBLQC = \frac{HB\ 3207 \div Total\ Crime\ Count\ 3207}{Total\ HB\ in\ East\ Pollokshields \div Total\ Crime\ Counts\ in\ East\ Pollokshields}$$

Table 13: Location quotients of major offences in East Pollokshields

Data zone	Location Quotient						
	Housebreaking	Theft	Vandalism/ Fireraising	Drug Possession and Supply	Motor Vehicle Crime	Driving Offences	Violence and Indecency Crime
3207	2.23	0.71	1.36	1.65	1.23	0.65	0.99
3210	1.28	1.36	2.64	0.38	1.68	0.30	0.78
3211	1.48	0.89	1.04	1.13	1.28	0.67	0.92
3220	0.88	0.90	1.99	0.44	0.74	0.43	1.16
3222	1.09	0.74	0.77	0.88	0.75	1.39	0.76
3227	0.83	1.72	0.63	1.23	1.13	1.16	0.89
3236	0.73	0.77	0.74	0.73	0.79	1.14	1.16
3256	0.61	0.69	0.91	1.22	1.07	0.98	1.31

Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

Values in the above table show a wide variation in the relative concentration of major crimes in the eight data zones of East Pollokshields. Using the above LQC values for individual offences, a series of maps were produced (Figure 33 to 38). Spatial concentration of six offences (except housebreaking) was shown using choropleth technique. The reason for excluding housebreaking is discussed later. Following Brantingham and Brantingham (1997) data zones with the highest and the lowest values for respective location quotients of crime (in bold) were marked as *Hot Spot Areas* and *Cold Spot Areas* respectively. Swartz (2000: 40) maintains that hotspots - the new "catchphrase" of crime research - are 'locations with high

Figure 33: Relative concentration of Vandalism/Fire-raising
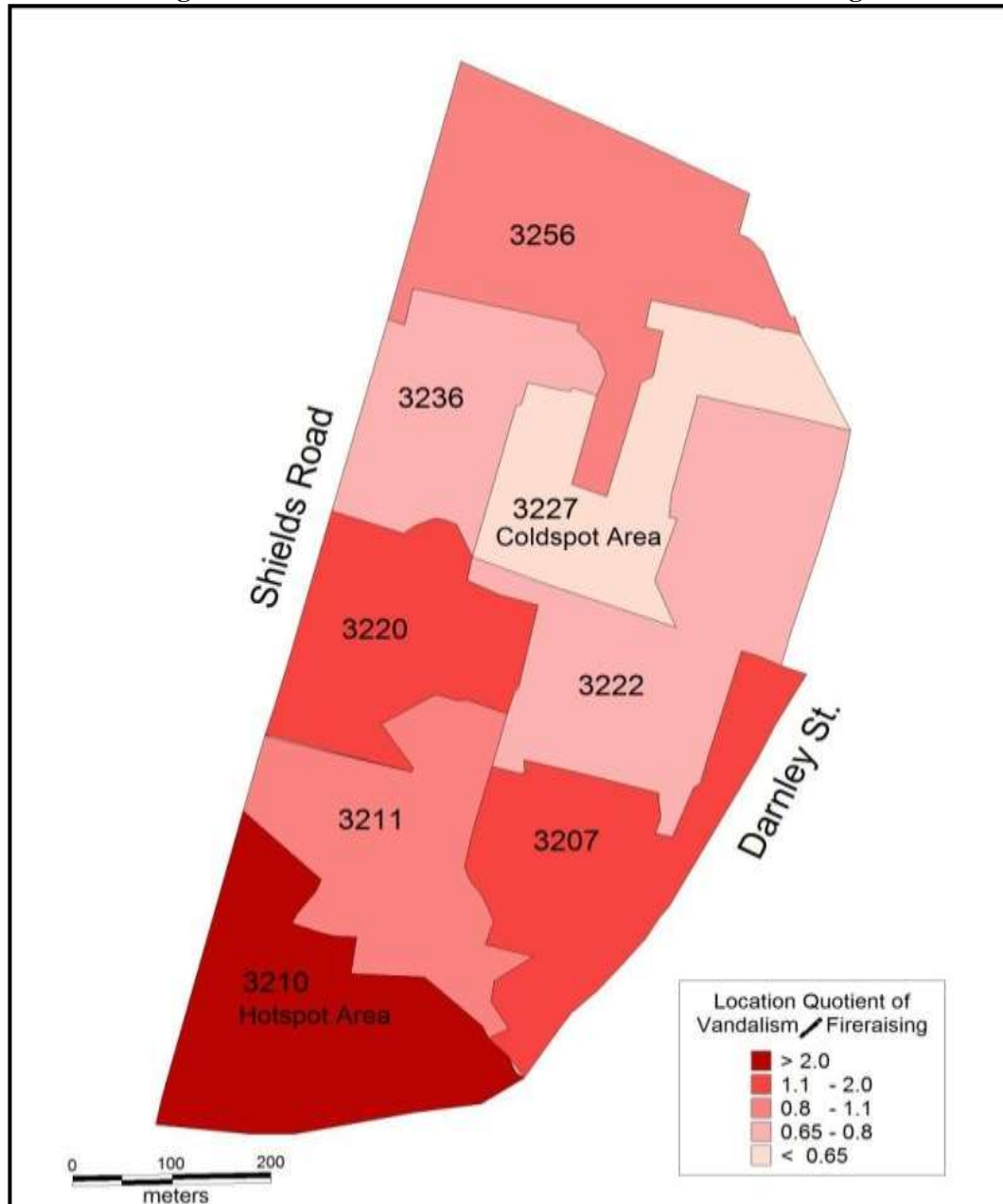
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

concentrations of criminal activity'. Cold spots are just the opposite from the viewpoint of crime incidence. Such identification of high and low crime areas was important from the prevention perspective. From the maps it is clear that there was a wide variation in the relative concentration of individual offences within the neighbourhood. It also produced some unexpected results which were otherwise

Figure 34: Relative concentration of Violence & Indecency Crime
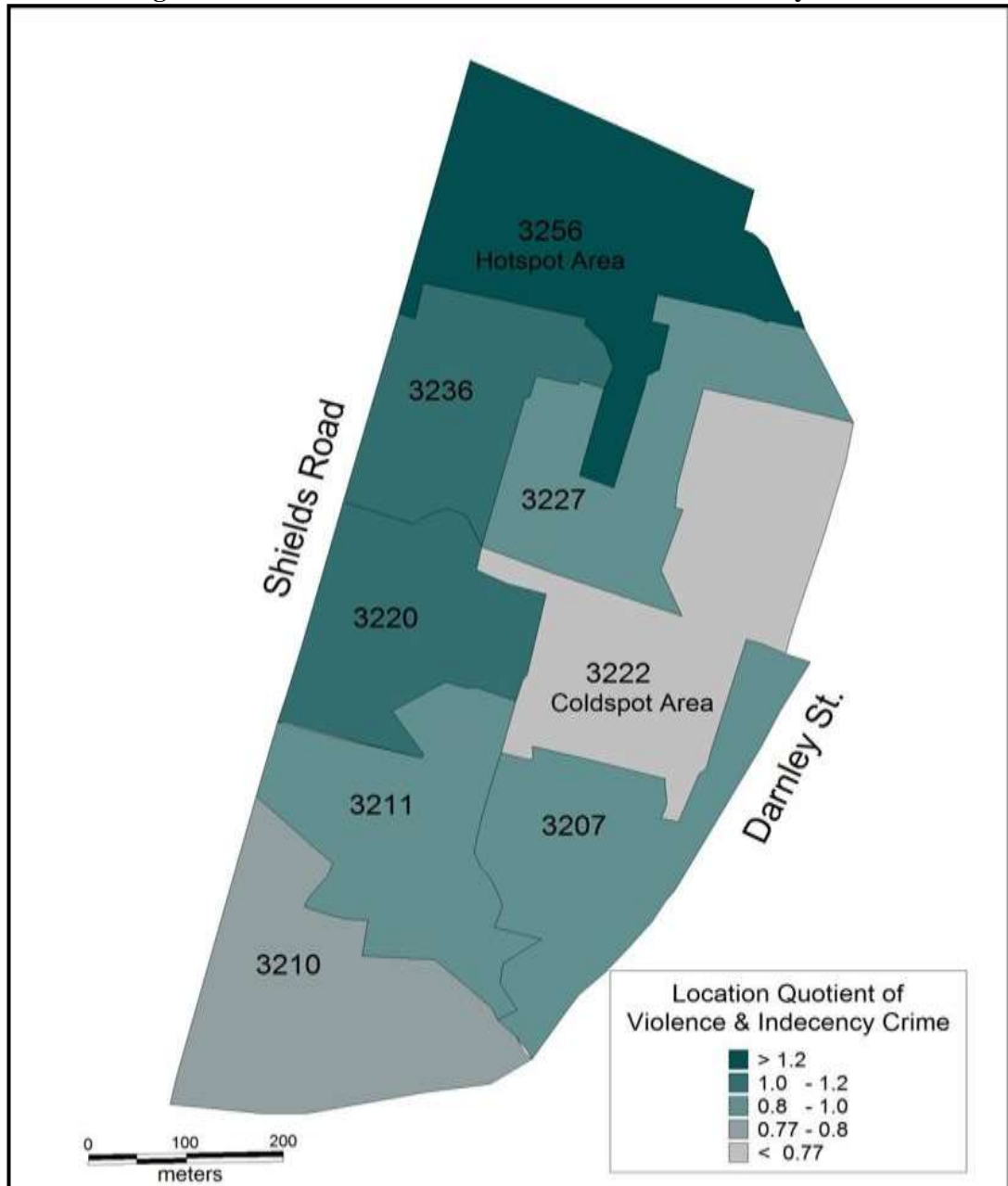
masked by crime rates. For example, data zone 3210 (which has the lowest crime rate) turned out to be the hotspot area for two offences: vandalism/fire-raising and motor vehicle crime. Such results helped better explaining the geographical distribution of individual crime in East Pollokshields. It is likely that data zone 3210, by virtue of its affluence (see Chapter 5) offers various opportunities (e.g. expensive cars) for property crimes such as motor vehicle crime. There was also a higher than average incidence of vandalism/fire-raising (a possible proxy for youth problems in the area) in this part of East Pollokshields. This may be attributed to the following factors: a) as per the 2001 Census, this data zone had the highest concentration of White people among all data zones in East Pollokshields. High level of reported vandalism/fire-raising may simply be due to a higher level of reporting contrary to non-White parts of the neighbourhood; b) for reason mentioned above, this data zone

Figure 35: Relative concentration of Drug Offences
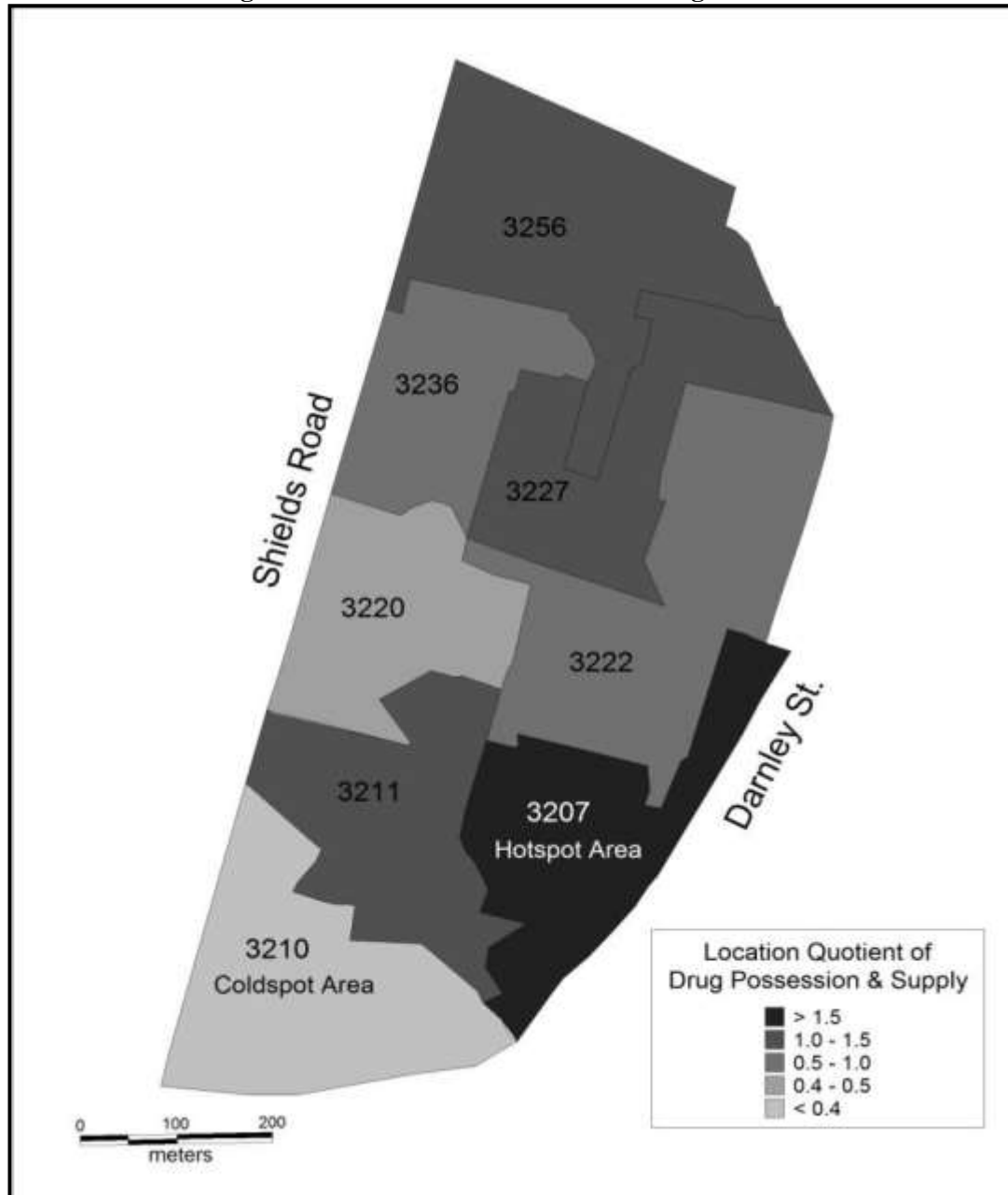
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

was also characterised by the location of pubs and liquor shops (the only ones in the entire neighbourhood; Asian-dominated parts of the neighbourhood did not have any liquor shops-possibly reflecting cultural preference). Young people who drink congregate in this part of Pollokshields and vandalism was a likely outcome in the surrounding area; c) even many Pakistani Scottish young people – who were otherwise not supposed to drink alcohol or smoke cannabis – found shelter in the backcourts and closes of buildings in this part of the neighbourhood so that they were not caught or identified by elder members of their community (see Chapter 7). Some

Figure 36: Relative concentration of Theft
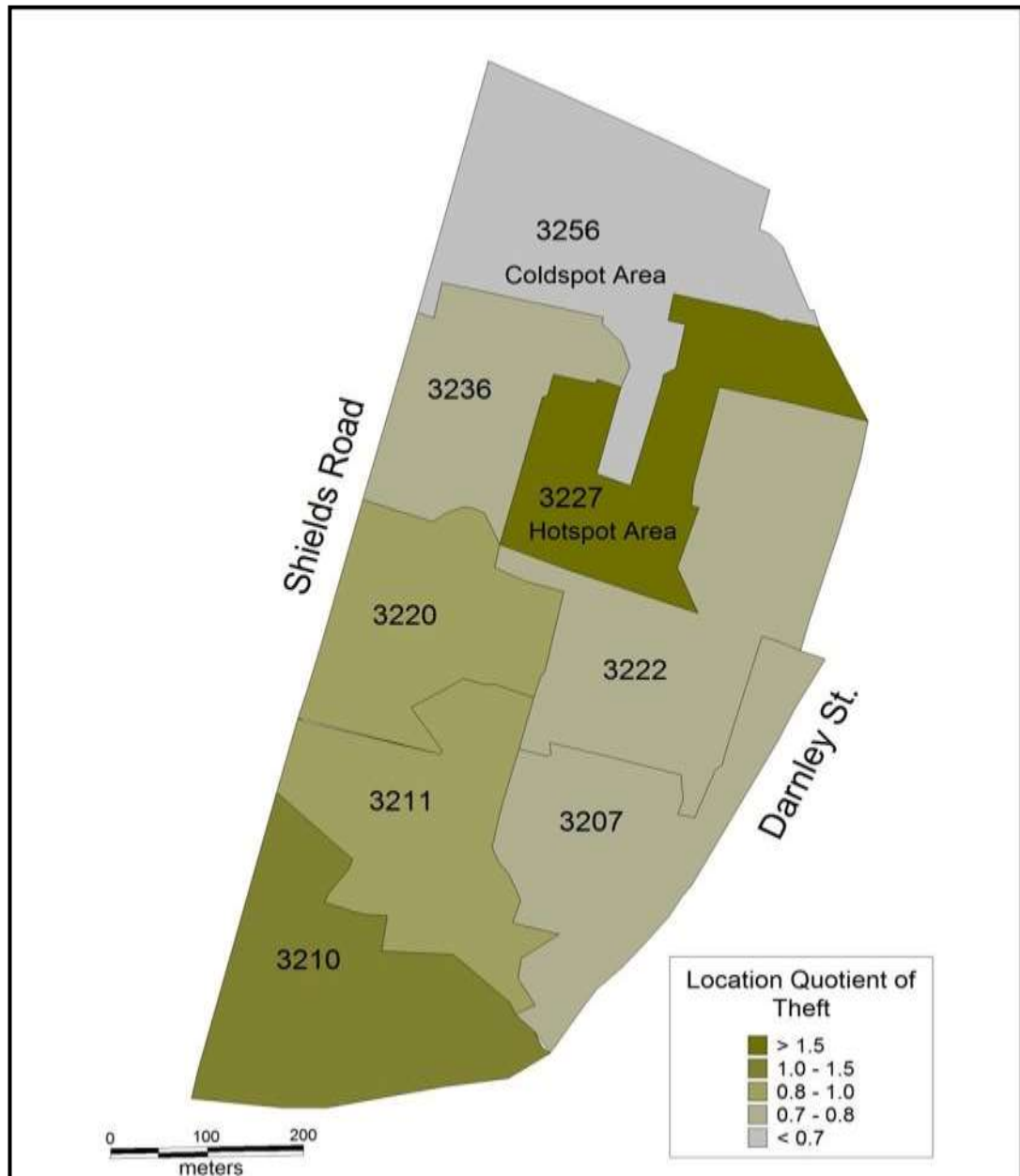
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

respondents complained to this researcher that they suspect that vandalism of their property is done by youths who drink or smoke in their close.

From these six figures it can also be found that the location of hotspot areas for other offences such as theft, driving offence and drug offences is in the eastern part of the neighbourhood: along Darnley Street-St. Andrews Drive. This could be attributed to various factors such as socio-demographic, land use characteristics, ease of access and escape using these roads and the railway lines that abut the eastern boundary of

Figure 37: Relative concentration of Motor Vehicle Crime
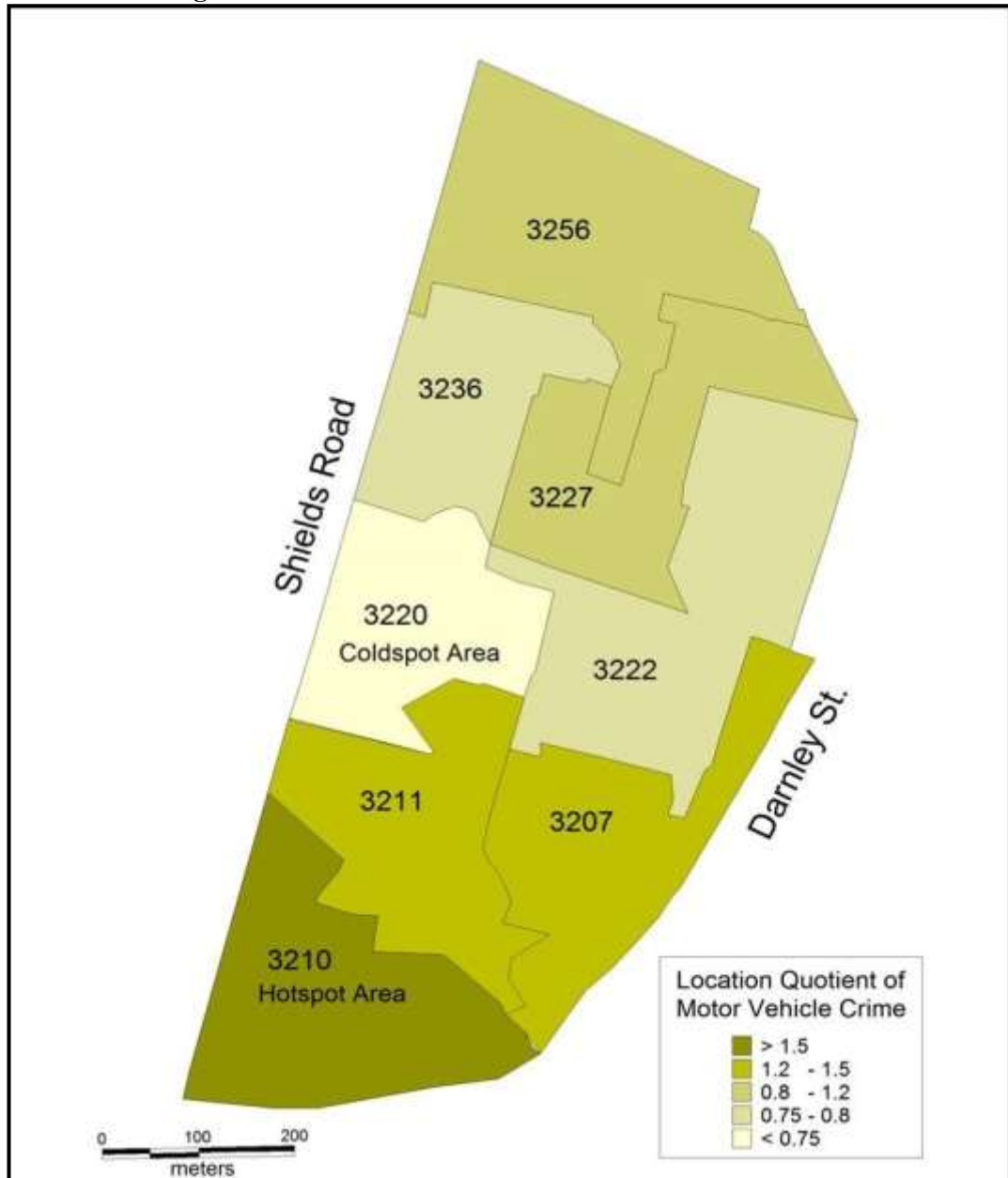
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

the neighbourhood. With respect to the routine activity theory, it can be argued that the above two roads are more used as access and escape route due to their quiet nature (lack of capable guardians against crime) compared to the busy Albert Drive. The latter, due to the concentration of cash-and-carry and takeaway shops, attracts people almost round the clock. This also means that there will be more property (e.g. cars) unattended along Darnley Street and St Andrews Drive offering more opportunities for committing theft (from car) and motor vehicle crimes along this route.

Figure 38: Relative concentration of Driving Offences
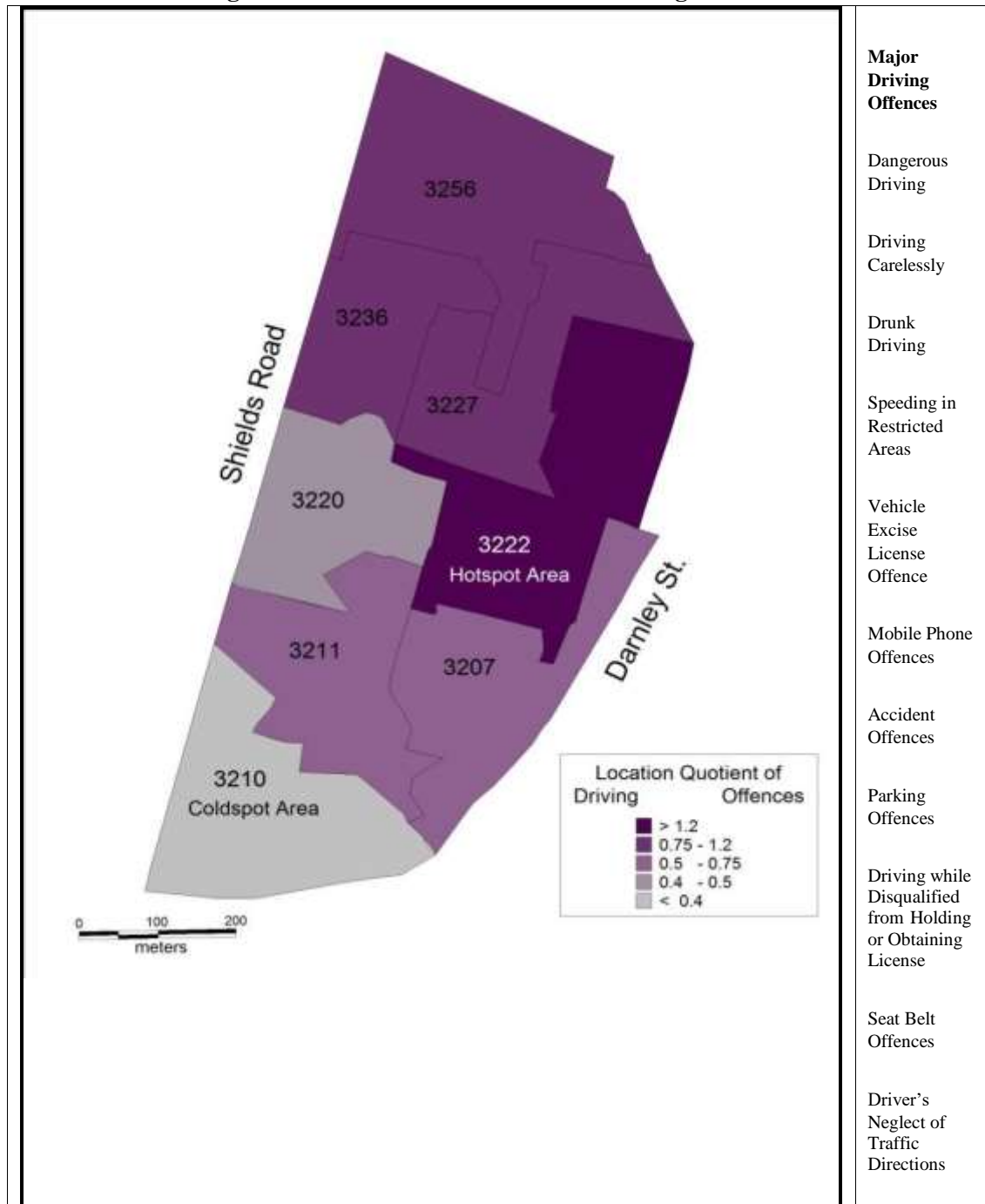
To show the relative concentration of housebreaking (HBLQC), the *Dasymetric mapping* technique was used instead of choropleth. Commentators (e.g. Bowers and Hirschfield, 1999; Poulsen and Kennedy, 2004) argue that since choropleth maps show the distribution across spatial units under the assumption of uniformity, they do pose some problems for certain offences. They suggest that Dasymetric maps can overcome this problem and the technique is particularly 'useful with crimes that have spatial patterns dictated by an underlying structure' (Poulsen and Kennedy, 2004:

247). By underlying structure, they mean land use features in an area. 'Dasymetric mapping refers to a process of disaggregating spatial data to a finer unit of analysis,

using additional (or ancillary) data to help refine locations of population or other phenomena. This disaggregation process results in areas of homogeneity that take into account (and more closely resemble) the actual phenomena being modelled, rather than areal units based on administrative or other arbitrary boundaries (Maantay et al. 2007: 77). To show the distribution of housebreaking in East Pollokshields, only the residential, mixed residential-commercial and commercial land parcels were used as underlying structures (Figure 39). Thus it avoided the generalisation that housebreaking is uniformly distributed within a data zone. Instead, it shows only those areas of the data zone where housebreaking can be possible excluding such areas as parks and playgrounds which are irrelevant to housebreaking. Figure 39 highlights the relative area speciality of housebreaking in the neighbourhood. It can be inferred from the map that concentration of housebreaking has gradually decreased from south-east to north-west. The location of housebreaking hotspot in

Figure 39: Dasymetric map of housebreaking in East Pollokshields
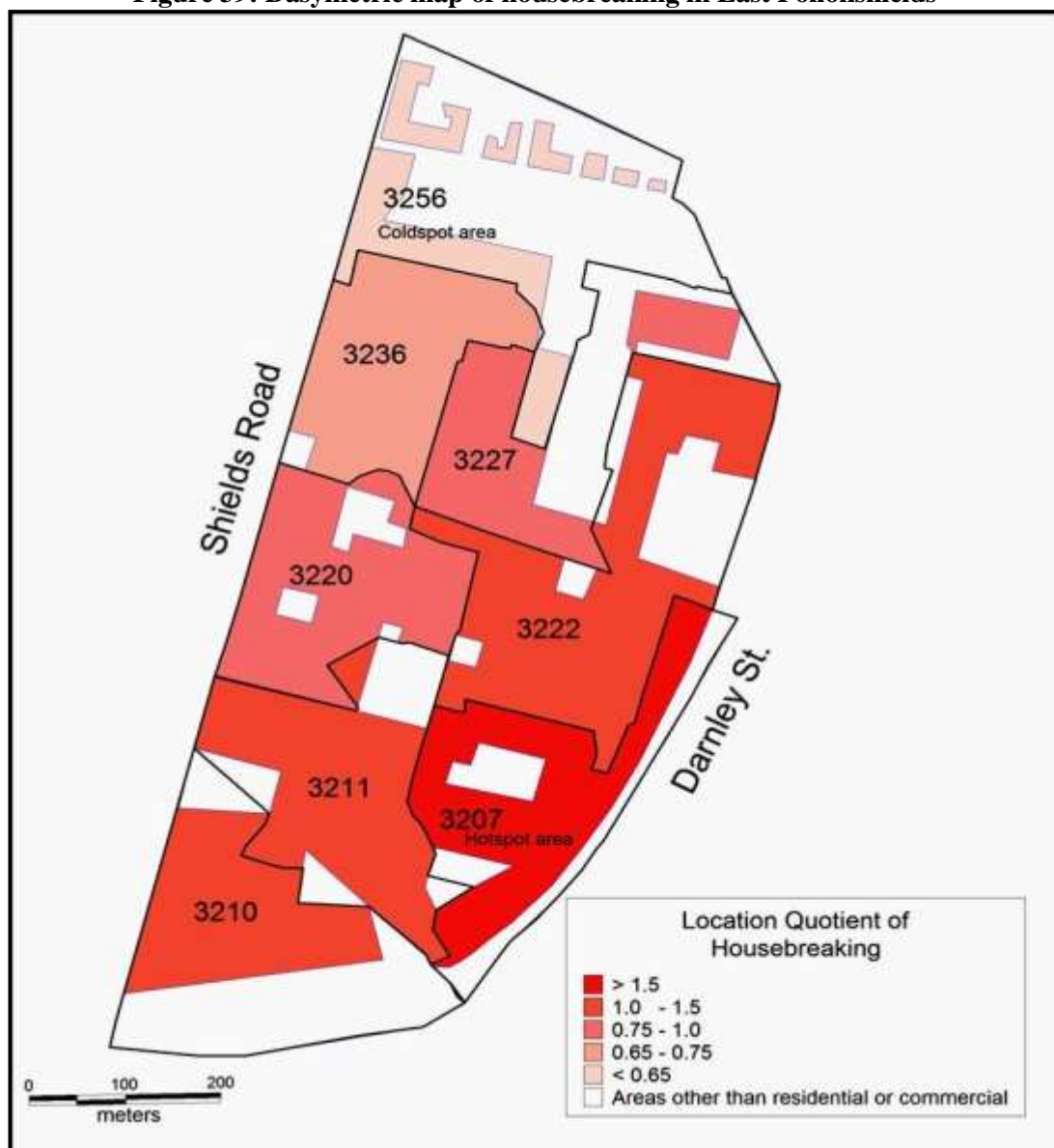
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

data zone 3207 may again be attributed to its close proximity to Darnley Street and railway lines which offer easy escape routes. Moreover, as we shall see later in this chapter (see Figure 40), there is a tree line in between the Darnley Street and the railway lines. This might provide additional facilities for escaping and hiding. Also evident in the above map are "white" areas such as schools, mosques, parks, gardens, railway corridor and green spaces which are irrelevant for housebreaking. Concentration of school, park, and playground in data zone 3256 (meaning more presence of capable guardians) may have contributed to making the area a housebreaking cols spot. This consideration of underlying land utilisations makes Dasymetric map useful in spatial analysis. Finally, one might ask why we don't use Dasymetric mapping to show other crimes as well. The reason is that the underlying structure is not relevant for all crimes. In this research, for example, Dasymetric map wasn't considered for vandalism/fire-raising or theft because these offences can be committed everywhere and can affect buildings and other properties such as cars, roadside furniture or play facilities in a park. In the following sections, we interpret spatial variations of crime in East Pollokshields with the help of two place-based theories of crime discussed earlier.

6.4 Neighbourhood characteristics and spatial variations of crime in East Pollokshields

The above section, through several maps, has revealed the geographical distribution of crime in East Pollokshields. Both overall crime rates and individual offences have shown that some parts of the neighbourhood experience more crimes than others. Explaining these subtle variations is important for community safety of residents in this neighbourhood. Swartz (2000) noted that despite efforts of crime researchers for almost two centuries to explain the spatial variations of crime, there is little agreement on what causes such variations. However, one of the most common approaches – since the time of Shaw and McKay – has been the ecological analysis of crime where neighbourhood characteristics, primarily in terms of social, economic and demographic variables, are related to crime rates. In such analyses, data are often subjected to statistical analysis to identify the significant variables that have an impact on crime rates. The remainder of this chapter will explore how far the spatial variations of crime in East Pollokshields at the data zone level can be explained in terms of two major place-based theories of crime - the social disorganisation theory and the crime pattern theory (we have seen earlier that the latter also incorporates the rational choice perspective and the routine activity approach).

This will be carried out using multivariate analysis of socio-demographic and land use variables of the neighbourhood. The general hypothesis behind the social disorganisation theory is that 'low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility and family disruption lead to community social disorganisation, which, in turn, increases crime and delinquency rates' (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 774). Variables used in this thesis to capture elements of social disorganisation in East Pollokshields are 1 through 12 in the following table (Table 14). On the other hand, variable 13 was used for its potential role in creating 'crime generators' and 'crime attractors' as described in the crime pattern theory.

6.4.1 Results of multivariate analysis

Multivariate analysis was used to examine the interrelationships among variables and to observe how they relate to rates of crime after taking other factors into account. Multiple correlation was preferred over bi-variate because the value of R (correlation co-efficient) or R^2 (co-efficient of determination) in the latter cannot fully explain the

Table 14: Descriptive statistics

Sl. No.	Variable	Maximum	Minimum	Mean	Standard deviation
	Socio-demographic Variables				
1	SIMD Rank	4062	197	1621.38	1099.22
2	% Never Worked and Long-term Unemployed (16-74)	22	7	18.38	4.96
3	% Children in Poverty	55	11	33.88	12.86
4	SIMD Education, Skill and Training Deprivation Rank	4631	956	1851.25	1216.37
5	SIMD Person in Overcrowded Households	53	12	38.75	12.77
6	Housing Deprivation Rank	3604	29	554.00	1235.91
7	% H'holds without car	59	23	39.12	11.13
8	% Lowest Social Grade	35	10	22.74	7.62
9	Ethnic heterogeneity	0.640	0.554	0.601	0.031
10	% Non-White	66	21	51.50	16.88
11	% New Migrants (last 12 months)	19	10	14.75	3.28
12	% Houses Owned	95	20	57.75	24.49
13	% Mixed and Commercial Land use	32	8	17.25	9.74
	Offence Variables				
1	Crime Rate/000 (all crime)	291	42	131.63	75.76
2	Housebreaking/000	9	2	5.03	2.19
3	Theft/000	17	2	5.70	4.82
4	Motor Vehicle Crime/000	18	5	9.23	4.47
5	Vandalism/Fire-raising/000	25	13	17.70	4.45
6	Violence and Indecency Crime/000	5	1	3.31	1.72
7	Drug Possession and Supply/000	6	0	2.58	1.70

Source: Scotland's Census, 2001; SNS, 2011; Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010.

variability in the dependent variable. Multiple regressions (ordinary least square) produced the following matrix (Table 15). Rates of individual offences such as violence and indecency crime (henceforth called violent crimes), housebreaking, theft, vandalism/fire-raising (called vandalism) were also included. However, driving offences (also called traffic offences) were not included in the multivariate analysis.

Of all crimes, driving offences emerged as the most dominant in number from East Pollokshields (68% of all crimes during 2009-10). While road safety issues are raised by many residents in the area who were interviewed - especially speeding along certain roads (see Chapter 7) - such a large number of offences categorised as driving offences by the police seemed too generalised. Moreover, many of the categories under such offences were misleading. For example, difference between *dangerous driving* and *driving carelessly* was not clear (see Figure 38).

The resulting correlation matrix produced several interesting results, many of which were unexpected (see Table 15 below). Overall, *statistically significant* relationships were found between crime rate and many of the variables representing the social disorganisation and crime pattern theories. When individual offences were considered, strength of this relationship is found to be higher for violent crimes (e.g. serious assault, robbery, rape, murder or attempt to murder) compared to rates of property crime such as housebreaking, theft and vandalism. This finding conforms to earlier findings of, e.g. Katzman (1981) and McCord et al. (2007). In his work with communities in Dallas, Katzman (1981: 122-23) finds:

> Violent crime rates are more highly correlated with neighbourhood social class than property crime rates…A large share of violent crimes is inflicted among relatives, friends, and acquaintances…the distance-decay gradient is steeper for violent crimes than for property crimes.

At this point, it is pertinent to explain the distinction between a *casual relationship* of two variables and the *statistical correlation* between the two. Old saying goes that correlation does not imply causation (Kenny, 1979). While the term correlation implies that statistical relationship exists between a set of variables, say, X and Y, it doesn't mean X causes Y or vice versa. Causation, on the other hand, essentially denotes a cause and effect relationship between the two variables under study. The following section discusses the extent to which the spatial variation in rates of crime in East Pollokshields can be explained with the help of the Social Disorganisation Theory.

6.5 Social disorganisation theory and crime rates in East Pollokshields

As we discussed earlier in this chapter, three structural variables of social disorganisation, which lead to crime, are i) low economic status; ii) ethnic heterogeneity; and iii) residential mobility. The role of these factors in explaining the spatial pattern of crime in East Pollokshields is discussed below.

6.5.1 Socio-economic status (SES) and crime rates

Sampson and Groves (1989: 780) find that SES has long been the mainstay in the ecological analysis of crime. Referring to the hypothesis presented by Shaw and McKay, these authors argued that communities lacking adequate money and resources suffer from poor organisational participation, lack of formal and informal control and supervision of local youth, thereby promoting crime. In this research, several variables were used to measure *low SES:* % households without car (proxy for income poverty), % never worked and long-term unemployed, SIMD rank, % children in poverty, SIMD education, skill and training deprivation rank, SIMD persons in overcrowded households and % of people who are in the lowest social

Table 15: Multiple correlation matrix

	Crime Rate/000	House-breaking/000	Theft/000	Motor Vehicle Crime/000	Vandalism/000	Violent Crime/000	Drug Offences/000	SMD Rank	% NWLU @	SMD POH $	% Children in Poverty (%)	Ethnic Heterogeneity (%)	% Non-White	% Lowest Social Grade	HD Rank +	% New Migrants	% Houses Owned	EST DR #	% HHolds without car	% MCL €
Crime Rate/000	1.000																			
House-breaking/000	.802*	1.000																		
Theft/000	.749*	.498	1.000																	
Motor Vehicle Crime/000	.911*	.761*	.827*	1.000																
Vandalism/000	.607**	.537***	.240	.288	1.000															
Violent Crime/000	.901*	.548***	.604**	.768*	.520	1.000														
Drug Offences/000	.849*	.791*	.720**	.957**	.235	.737*	1.000													
SMD Rank	-.437	-.201	-.266	-.426	-.198	-.683*	-.540*	1.000												
% NWLU @	.572**	.570**	.501**	.576**	.221	.611**	.652*		1.000											
SMD POH $	.486	.605**	.460	.521***	.127	.481	.653*			1.000										
% Children in Poverty	.396	.028	.359	.415	.166	.644*	.486				1.000									
Ethnic Heterogeneity (%)	.205	.319	-.053	-.071	.475	.229	-.088					1.000								
% Non-White	.516**	.500**	.598**	.487	.231	.477	.463						1.000							
% Lowest Social Grade	.452	.172	.049	.323	.398	.721*	.404							1.000						
HD Rank +	-.610**	-.707**	-.624*	-.673*	-.080	-.522**	-.755**								1.000					
% New Migrants	.229	.363	-.014	.451	-.131	.128	.535**									1.000				
% Houses Owned	-.356	-.085	-.157	-.316	-.064	-.623*	-.465										1.000			
ESTDR #	-.605	-.504**	-.412	-.649*	-.101	-.738*	-.765*											1.000		
% HHolds without car	.364	-.040	.401	.439	.005	.611**	.507**												1.000	
% MCL €	.811*	.645*	.959*	.875*	.231	.651*	.807**													1.000

@ Never worked and long-term unemployed; $ Persons in over-crowded household; # Education, skill and training deprivation rank; + Housing deprivation rank; € % Mixed and commercial land use.

* Significant < 5%; ** Significant < 10%. Only the required boxes filled. The most relevant boxes shaded.

grade. Many of these were found to be highly correlated with the rate of violent crimes. For example, value of R was 0.738 for SIMD education, skill and training deprivation rank; 0.721 for % lowest social grade; 0.644 for % children in poverty; 0.611 for % never worked and long-term unemployed people. Drug offences too had statistically significant relationship with SES (see Table 15). Thus violent crimes and drug offences in East Pollokshields were better explained by low SES than other offences. Slightly different picture was presented by the relationship between neighbourhood SES and property crimes. As we see in the above table, housebreaking, motor vehicle crime and theft had statistically significant relationships with fewer variables of low SES than the two offences described above. Most surprising was the consistently weak and insignificant relationship of vandalism with all the variables of SES (see Chapter 7).

In view of the mixed finding on the influence of low SES on rates of crime in East Pollokshields, it is worth asking the question: do low levels of SES cause high levels of crime and delinquency? In terms of the casual relationship between low SES and crime, Wright et al. (1999) argue that a causal relationship does not necessarily denote statistical correlation between the two variables in question. They point out to several empirical studies that found weak or nonexistent correlation between

'individuals' socioeconomic background and their self-reported delinquent behaviour'. This has created, as they maintain, a 'peculiar mismatch between theory and empirical research' (Wright et al, 1999: 176). As these authors conclude:

[Low] SES promoted delinquency by increasing individuals' alienation, financial strain, and aggression and by decreasing educational and occupational aspirations, whereas high SES promoted individuals' delinquency by increasing risk taking and social power and by decreasing conventional values. These findings suggest reconciliation between theory and data, and they underscore the conceptual importance of elucidating the full range of causal linkages between SES and delinquency (Wright et al. 1999: 176).

It may be argued that there was a casual relationship between low SES and some delinquency and crime in East Pollokshields. This is not to suggest, however, that every people with low SES in the neighbourhood commit crime (see Pacione, 2009). But it is argued that low SES, particularly poverty and deprivation, cause a string of social problems which includes crime (see multiple deprivation model in Chapter 2). As we saw in the previous chapter, many people living in East Pollokshields with such low SES, poverty and deprivation were also disadvantaged by their minority ethnic status. However, this research is not suggesting that potential offenders of low SES living in East Pollokshields commit crime in their own neighbourhood; they might do it elsewhere. In similar vein, it may be possible that potential offenders from other areas with low SES come and commit crimes in East Pollokshields (see Section 6.7 below). The journey to crime thesis suggests that for many crimes, offenders travel considerable distance from their place of residence. Such an explanation has been offered later in this chapter in view of the potential link between crime in East Pollokshields and the supply of offender from the surrounding neighbourhoods. We are now going to discuss crime rates in East Pollokshields with respect to another structural variable of the social disorganisation theory.

6.5.2 Ethnic heterogeneity and crime rates

Another contributing factor towards (community) social disorganisation in Shaw and McKay's theory is *ethnic heterogeneity*. As Sampson and Wilson (1995: 39) write, 'arguably the most important aspect of Shaw and McKay's research, however, was their demonstration that high rates of delinquency persisted in certain areas over many years, regardless of population turnover.' Social disorganisation theory considers ethnic heterogeneity to be accompanied by fear and mistrust, pushing residents into associations selected on the basis of personal criteria such as age, sex and ethnicity (Suttles, 1968; cited in Sampson and Groves, 1989). Sampson and Groves (1989: 781) also argue that 'ethnic heterogeneity will also increase delinquency by weakening…social organisation' – especially in terms of controlling disorderly peer groups. The uniqueness of East Pollokshields as a multi-cultural neighbourhood has already been discussed. Though there were two dominant ethnic groups (Pakistani Scottish and White Scottish), East Pollokshields was the home for many other ethnic communities (average ethnic heterogeneity = 0.601). In terms of social disorganisation theory, ethnic heterogeneity was used to measure the relationship with rates of crime. The theory proposes that ethnic heterogeneity will be positively correlated with rates of crime. However, for East Pollokshields, the statistical relationship between the two was found to be weak and insignificant. For example, R had the following values with respect to major crimes: housebreaking: 0.319; theft: - 0.053; motor vehicle crime: - 0.071; violent crimes: 0.229; drug offenses: - 0.088. The negative correlation of ethnic heterogeneity with many of the property offences may appear to be surprising but it conforms to findings of earlier research. Andresen (2006), for example, maintained that such a negative relationship may be attributed to factors such as under-reporting of offence among the ethnic minority groups and their high economic status. As we shall see in Chapter 8, at least the first factor was true to the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields.

As South and Messner (2000) argue, *race* is almost always included in the analysis of crime and delinquency, both as an individual-level control variable and larger community (ecological) context. Although criminality is often related to black people, Sampson (1987: 348) contends that 'there is nothing inherent in black culture that is conducive to crime. Rather, persistently high rates of black crime appear to stem from the structural linkages among unemployment, economic deprivation, and family disruption in urban black communities.' This finding has been supported by a more recent study by Sampson and Wilson (1995: 52) who suggest that there is a need to look beyond the "individualistic" analysis of the link between race and crime. They emphasise:

Our perspective views the link between race and crime through contextual lenses that highlight the very different ecological context in which blacks and whites reside – regardless of individual characteristics…We emphasize that crime rates among blacks nonetheless vary by ecological characteristics, just as they do for whites. Taken together, these facts suggest a powerful role for community context in explaining race and crime.

In this research, *% non-white people* living in East Pollokshields was also included in the statistical analysis as a measure of ethnic heterogeneity. It revealed that a

moderately positive and significant relationship exists between proportion of nonwhite people and three of the seven offence rates considered: crime rate: R = 0.516, p < 10%; housebreaking: R = 0.500, p < 10%; and theft: R = 0.598, p < 10%. The positive relationship between housebreaking and non-White people is not surprising. Strathclyde Police data and survey responses from the local people suggest that recently housebreaking in East Pollokshields had risen. Many of those affected are Asian Scottish households broken by Asian Scottish offenders who have the information about the wealth of the property and the absence of "capable guardian" in the household (see Chapter 7).

6.5.3 Residential mobility and crime rates

In Shaw and McKay's social disorganisation theory, residential mobility (also called residential instability or population turnover) is directly related to increased crime rates because it disrupts social relations of a community, increases anonymity among the residents (thereby decreasing guardianship and hence social control).

Commentators argue that, 'since assimilation of newcomers into the social fabric of local communities is necessarily a temporal process, residential mobility operates as a barrier to the development of extensive friendship networks, kinship bonds, and local associational ties' (Kasarda and Janowitz, cited in Sampson and Groves, 1989: 780). Residential mobility or instability in an area is measured both directly as the average residential length of stay in the neighbourhood or the proportion of households who moved into the area within the past few years and indirectly by considering the proportion of houses owned by residents (Boggess and Hipp, 2010).

The logic of including the proportion of home owners 'builds on the insight that homeowners are a particularly important source of neighbourhood stability and cohesion' which, in turn, has a negative effect on crime (Boggess and Hipp, 2010: 352). Citing an extensive body of research, these authors go on to suggest:

Owners tend to live longer in the neighbourhood as leaving the neighbourhood is easier for renters (Bolan 1997; Oh 2004). Home owners as a group also represent the tendency to express more attachment to the community… Indeed, studies have found that homeowners are less likely to move than renters (Barrett et al. 1994; Speare et al. 1975) and more likely to know their neighbours and be involved in social networks than renters (Blum and Kingston 1984; Campbell and Lee 1992). Studies have found that neighbourhoods with a greater proportion of homeowners have lower rates of burglary and violence (Hipp 2007b; Krivo and Peterson 1996; Roncek 1981; Smith et al. 2000) (Boggess and Hipp, 2010: 356).

Residential mobility in East Pollokshields was measured by i) *% new migrants into the area* in the last 12 months and ii) % of houses owned. Contrary to the assumptions of the social disorganisation theory, insignificant and even negative correlations of the former with rates of crime were found: R= 0.229: crime rate, 0.363: housebreaking, - 0.014: theft, 0.451: motor vehicle crime, - 0.131: vandalism and 0.128: violent crime (see Table 15). Drug offences were the only exception where moderately positive and statistically significant relationship was found: R = 0.535, p< 10%. These results, however, conform to earlier findings of Boggess and Hipp (2010: 352) who observe that 'although some studies have found a positive relationship between residential instability and crime rates in cross-sectional studies, it should also be noted that some

studies have failed to find this effect, or even found a negative effect'. They argued that the context in which this stability occurs should also be considered. They continue:

Thus, residential stability in an economically disadvantaged area may simply represent residents' financial inability to leave the area, rather than any increased sense of cohesion. Likewise, if racial/ethnic minorities are limited in their housing options due to various discriminating processes in the housing market, they may be constrained to a neighbourhood for these reasons rather than community cohesiveness (Boggess and Hipp, 2010: 352; also see MacEwen et al. 1994; cited in McGarrigle, 2010).

This is highly relevant to the present research in terms of the concentration of Pakistani Scottish people in East Pollokshields which can largely be attributed to socio-economic conditions of the residents (see Chapter 5). As Pacione (2005) contends, the patterns of ethnic residential segregation and congregation in Glasgow are explained not only by ethnic identity, but also by more general social divisions based on income, wealth or class (also see McGarrigle, 2010; Morrison, 2011). Pacione (2005: 156) goes on to suggest that 'the interlacing of ethnicity and class
(ethclass) in Glasgow is evident in …two inner city ethnic enclaves (North and East Pollokshields and Woodside-Woodlands) and two suburban areas (Bishopbriggs and Bearsden)…The socio-economic differences between ethnic core areas and suburbs are revealed in differential rates of unemployment, in the percentage of households without a car, and percentage of household heads in the highest socio-economic groupings'.

Thus consistently high and prolonged congregation of Asian Scottish population in East Pollokshields can be interpreted in terms to their financial inability to move out of the area. However, this has contributed to the residential stability of the Asian Scottish community in East Pollokshields along with other factors such as culture and community cohesion. The resulting stability may have affected the above statistical relationships between crime rates and the proportion of new migrants into the area. As we saw in the previous chapter, new waves of Asian immigrants in East Pollokshields may have found a strong cultural and moral support during early years of immigrant life in this country.

With respect to the impact of residential instability on anonymity and lack of cohesion in a neighbourhood as envisaged by the social disorganisation theorists, it can be suggested that such a transient character of the area foster illicit supply and possession of drugs. In fact, the Pakistani Scottish residents of East Pollokshields who were interviewed in this study told the researcher that those who supply drugs in the area were 'outsiders'. Furthermore, Mcvie and Norris (2006: 6) - in their study of youth delinquency and drug use in Edinburgh – find that 'increased cannabis use is associated with areas characterised by a younger, more transient population which is somewhat supportive of theories around social disorganisation'.

The other measure of residential mobility used in the statistical analysis was the proportion of houses owned in East Pollokshields. Consistent with the findings of Boggess and Hipp (2010) and expectations under the social disorganisation theory, a

statistically negative correlation was revealed (Table 15). However, none of the relationships except the violent crime was significant (R= 0.623, p<5%) and this again resonates with Boggess and Hipp's findings that residentially stable communities were more protective against violence. We are now going to discuss the extent to which spatial variations in crime in East Pollokshields can be explained by the crime pattern theory.

6.6 Crime pattern theory and spatial variations of crime in East Pollokshields

The above discussion has shown that variation in crime rates in East Pollokshields can partly be explained by the theory of social disorganisation. The variable used in the statistical analysis as an indicator of the crime pattern theory was % of mixed and commercial land use in East Pollokshields. Research suggests that non-residential land use promotes certain types of crime. In her doctoral thesis, for example, Hayslett-McCall (2002) finds positive impact of non-residential land utilisation on robbery. The results of statistical analysis carried out in this research will now be discussed.

6.6.1 Land use and crime rates

McCord et al. (2007) purports that pattern of land utilization is an integral part of the fabric of a neighbourhood. It shapes the quality of life for residents and contributes to local reputations, house market values as well as the local crime pattern. As HayslettMcCall (2002: iii) contends:

Routine activity theory suggests that neighbourhood-level activity patterns influence crime rates, and that the convergence of three elements in space and time—a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian—result in increased likelihood of criminal events. Opportunities for crime increase when neighbourhood land-use patterns are conducive to crime. Criminogenic land-uses include intermixed patterns of residential, commercial, industrial, and vacant lands within neighbourhoods, as well as the presence of particular establishments, such as shopping mall.

However, there is no consensus on whether mixed land use pattern such as a combination of residential and non-residential (e.g. commercial) land uses promotes safety in the neighbourhood. There are two major and contradictory perspectives on this. While Jacobs (1961) advocates that a mixed land use will deter crime, Taylor et al (1995) argue that an area with a mixture of residential and non-residential land use shows signs of incivilities and also breed crime. In her influential work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* Jacobs (1961) emphasises the positive aspects of organically developed mixed use neighbourhoods in generating conventional street activity with the associated social control benefits of ''eyes on the street'' (Browning et al, 2010). However, based on Taylor's (1988) model of *territorial functioning*, Taylor and his colleagues (1995: 122) conclude:

Non-residential land uses on a residential block impair resident-based control…for two reasons. First, every address on the block without an occupied dwelling unit represents a "hole" in the resident-based fabric that adjoins a stretch of sidewalk for which no resident will take responsibility…Besides removing residents who could contribute to the web of informal social control, non-residential land uses also draw outsiders to a block. Although their presence in the block may be legitimate, it alters the ratio of outsiders to regulars on a block…and reduces residents' willingness to attempt informal social control.

Figure 40: Pattern of land utilization in East Pollokshields
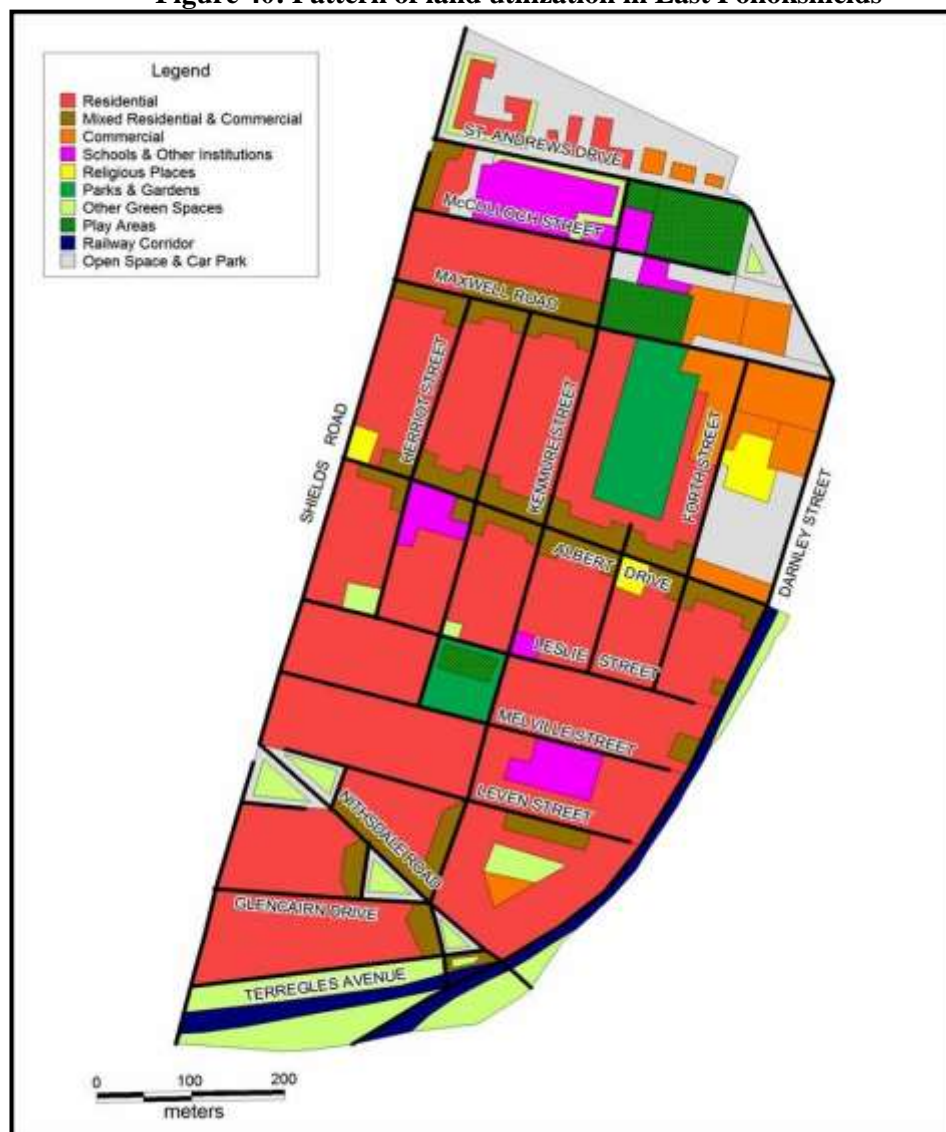
Source: Fieldwork

Based on their research in Philadelphia and Baltimore, these authors go on to suggest that deterioration, incivilities and crime should be more prevalent on such blocks. If we consider the presence of commercial and other non-residential land uses within a residential area (such as East Pollokshields, see Figure 40) from the perspective of the opportunity theories of crime (rational choice, routine activities and crime pattern), such a mixture of land utilisation simply add to the convergence of people including both the potential offenders and victims. In East Pollokshields - of all the variables used in the statistical analysis - *% mixed residential-commercial and commercial* land was found to have the strongest and statistically significant relationship with crime variables except vandalism. For example, R values were as follows: overall crime rate: 0.811; theft: 0.959; motor vehicle crime: 0.875; and drug offenses: 0.807 (see Table 15 for other variables). In fact, variations in property crime were better explained statistically by this variable than violent crimes and this is consistent with past findings. In their study of the Island of Montreal, for example, Savoie et al. (2006: 30) observe that 'the differences in land use and housing characteristics were greater in the case of property offences than violent offences. The proportion of commercial zoning

116

was greater in neighbourhoods with higher property crime rates than in other neighbourhoods'. If we compare the land use map of the neighbourhood with the location quotient maps of theft, housebreaking, vandalism, violent crimes and motor vehicle crime (Figure 33 to 38 above), it will be evident that hotspot areas for these offences were in data zones which have larger proportion of non-residential land uses and more commercial or mixed land uses (those along the eastern boundary) than other data zones. As we shall see in the following chapter, certain types of land use in East Pollokshields were identified by the residents as *criminogenic* (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993).

Findings in this research, however, do not disprove Jacobs' thesis on the usefulness of informal social control (by many eyes on the street) through mixed land utilization. In their study of the link between commercial and residential density and violent crime in urban neighbourhoods, Browning et al. (2010: 2) finds 'evidence of a curvilinear association' between the two which is consistent with Jacobs' expectations. They explained that 'at low levels, increasing commercial and residential density is positively associated with homicide and aggravated assault. Beyond a threshold, however, increasing commercial and residential density serves to reduce the likelihood of both outcomes. In contrast, the association between commercial and residential density and robbery rates is positive and linear' (Browning et al. 2010: 2). So, their finding is mixed in terms of the positive and negative association between the two variables in question. From the positive association of commercial and mixed land use with crime rates (both violent and property crimes) in East Pollokshields it could not be confirmed whether commercial density in the neighbourhood is below the threshold mentioned by Browning and his colleagues. Moreover answering this question lay beyond the scope of the present investigation.

From the foregoing discussion on the association between neighbourhood sociodemographic and land use characteristics and the rates of crime it is clear that levers of crime in East Pollokshields do not lie solely within the boundary of the neighbourhood. Particularly to explain the variations in property crimes in the area, a wider perspective was necessary. Explanation was sought in the reciprocal relationship between East Pollokshields and its surrounding neighbourhoods in terms of poverty, deprivation and crime. We discuss this below.

6.7 Crime in East Pollokshields: The reciprocal relationship between the neighbourhood and its surrounding areas

Ratcliffe (2010: 7) contends that 'research that ignores the reality that crime problems and socio-demographic characteristics from one area can influence the volume of crime in another area can run afoul of the problem of independence'. According to Katzman (1981: 132), 'while a neighbourhood's local demographic composition provides a good statistical explanation of violent crime; property crime is better understood in terms of the demographic composition of the surrounding neighbourhoods.' In terms of differences in criminal mobility, Katzman (1981) also argues that offenders of property crime travel greater distances than those committing violent crimes. Therefore, the socio-economic characteristics of the surrounding

neighbourhoods are expected to have more impact on local property crimes (Swartz, 2000). Katzman (1981: 127) also proposes that his argument might appear to 'contradict the criminal rationality hypothesis because the local poor would appear to have cheaper access to local property than the poorer surrounding neighbourhoods. However, there are several hidden costs of committing property crimes in someone's own neighbourhood. These are: i) psychological cost of violating norms against the calculated victimization of friends and neighbours; ii) there will be 'less moral restraint against victimizing strangers' and iii) the offender is more likely to be recognized on the home turf' (also see Turner, 1969; cited in Rengert). In this context, it is necessary to offer a brief description of the *journey to crime* concept proposed by Rengert (1992).

6.71. The journey to crime

According to Rengert (1992), the basic assumption behind the journey to crime thesis is that crime is a source of livelihood for a criminal and that most criminals travel from their home to a suitable crime site to commit a crime. He suggests:

The journey to crime can be conceptualised as three distinct phases. First is the origin point (usually home) and the directional orientation the criminal travels with respect to an anchor point…The second phase is that of traversing (or bridging) space. The objective is to locate a search space by passing over areas…not considered useful for criminal purposes. When a useful community or region is identified, the third phase of the journey begins. This is the active search phase which continues until a likely site is identified (Rengert, 1992: 109).

Drawing on past researches, Rengert (1992) purports that drug sale locations are important "anchor points" for drug-dependent property criminals rather than the home of such criminals. He also argues that criminals often attempt to minimise the distance (to crime) by committing crime on the way to a drug-sale point. As we shall see in the following chapter, Pollokshields Library used to be the drug sale/distribution point (until the racket was busted) while dealers used to come from areas such as Giffnock and Paisley Road West to do their business (Chapter 7).

Rengert (1992: 114) also contends that journey to crime of a criminal ends when a 'suitable crime site has been chosen subjectively'. For a residential burglar, he argues, search time of a suitable target is inversely related to his/her urgency of the need for money.

In the following section we examine the implications of poverty and deprivation in the surrounding areas of East Pollokshields for crime in the neighbourhood.

6.7.2 Poverty and deprivation in the surrounding areas of East Pollokshields

Earlier in this chapter we saw that the rates of crime against property such as housebreaking, motor vehicle crime, theft and vandalism/fire-raising was not fully explained by the socio-economic status of the local people in East Pollokshields. As a result, explanation was sought in the socio-economic conditions of the surrounding data zones, particularly those to east and north of East Pollokshields. Another finding which prompted the present researcher to look beyond the boundary of East

Pollokshields and especially to the east is the location of hotspot areas in the neighbourhood. All of these were located in a semi-circular pattern along the Darnley Street-St Andrews Drive on the eastern boundary of the neighbourhood (see Figure

Table 16: Multiple deprivation in East Pollokshields and the neighbouring data zones

Area/Data zone	SIMD Rank (2009)	% Households without car (2001)	% Income deprived (2009-10)	Housing deprivation rank (2009)
East Pollokshields (average)	1621	39	33	554
3186	4589	16	14	3105
3187	3456	40	17	598
3192	1007	67	22	3
3200	1214	68	30	34
3232	109	70	45	212
3234	4164	17	12	4835
3274	201	84	42	71
3286	822	68	32	491
3303	1218	41	17	731

Source: Scottish Census, 2001 and Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2012

33 to 38). It was thus assumed – according to the research findings of Katzman – that data zones, particularly to the east, north-east and south-east may provide some clue to the crime against property in East Pollokshields. Socio-demographic data of the surrounding data zones were collected from the Scottish Census of Population, 2001 and Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (2012). These data strongly suggest that data zones to the east, north-east and north-west of the study area, especially 3232, 3274 and 3286 were poorer than most data zones of the neighbourhood in terms of income poverty, housing, and multiple deprivation (see Table 16 above). Particularly, data zones 3232 and 3274 were among the 5% most deprived (2009) data zones in Scotland (Figure 41 below). This finding throws some light on the concentration of property crimes to the east of the neighbourhood. This is in stark contrast to data zones on the west of the study area (3186 and 3234) which were less deprived than

Figure 41: Multiple deprivation in East Pollokshields and its neighbouring data zones
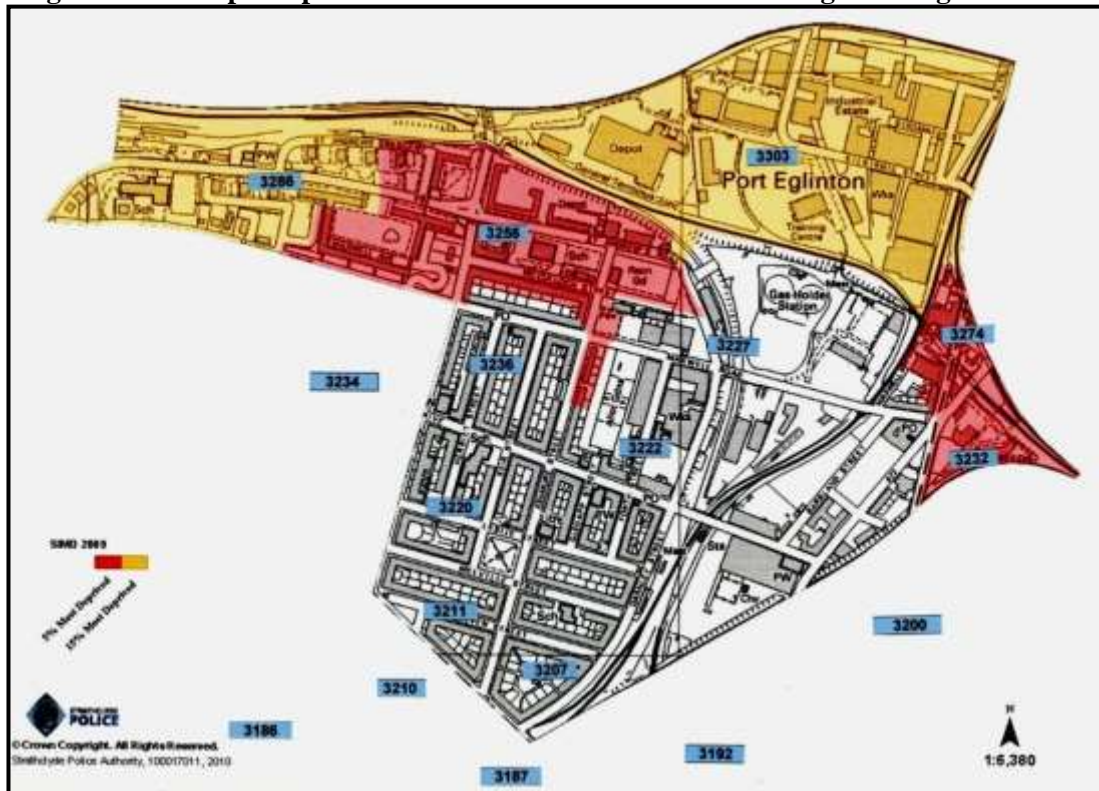
Source: Strathclyde Police, 2010

data zones in East Pollokshields. In similar vein, this can probably be related to the lower incidence of crime in data zones 3210, 3211 and 3220 (see Table 12).

The above finding suggests that data zones to the east of the neighbourhood are probable sources of offenders who commit property crimes in East Pollokshields. In fact, some respondents did mention that those who commit robbery or housebreaking in East Pollokshields – they suspect - come from the Kingston area (north and northeast of East Pollokshields) and escape by crossing the railway lines. It can be argued that any crime prevention and community safety measure should recognise and understand the reciprocal relationship that exists between an area and its surrounding areas (Swartz, 2000). Crime is a behaviour; it's an event which is not limited to a particular territorial unit and its boundary. Crime always spills over (Hakim and Rengert, 1981). In the final section we conclude the discussion by suggesting the implications of the spatial pattern of crime in East Pollokshields for community safety of its residents.

6.8 Concluding discussion

The discussion in this chapter has centred on mapping and analysing the geographical characteristics of crime in East Pollokshields. It was found that, like any other neighbourhood, crime had a distinct spatial pattern which was closely linked to the social, demographic and environmental attributes of the neighbourhood. The chapter,

through mapping the geographies of crime in East Pollokshields, contributed to our understanding of the lived experience of community safety of its residents in the following way:

i)   It emerged from the mapping exercise that some parts of the neighbourhood had more than average concentration of certain crimes. Therefore, people residing in these areas were more victimised than others. In Chapter 7, we examine whether this difference in the occurrence of crime was reflected in the perceptions of crime problem among people residing in different parts of the neighbourhood.

ii)   Areas with high concentration of violent crimes were different from those with higher concentration of crimes against property. Therefore, prevention measures targeted at these various offences must consider the micro-level characteristics of place. iii) In addition to the knowledge of the dynamics of crime hotspot areas, it is also necessary, from the community safety perspective, to explore the "sheltering qualities" of coldspot areas in the neighbourhood (Swartz, 2000). Especially, what made them less suitable or attractive for offenders of certain crimes is a critical question for community safety measures in hotspot areas.

iv) Such neighbourhood-level statistical and mapping exercise helped identifying the most important variables affecting crime. Modifying these variables can deter crime indirectly as Swartz (2000: 43-44) notes:

Instead of focussing directly on criminal activity, these initiatives could address the social and physical conditions that contribute to criminal activity. These could include improving neighbourhood social ties and social control through the formation of block associations, providing after-school and evening activities for unsupervised teenagers, and providing job counselling, training, or both in poor areas.

Micro-level mapping and analysis of crime can also offer important real-world solutions to police officials and policymakers (Swartz, 2000; also see Davidson and Locke, 1992). As Ratcliffe (2010: 6-7) stresses:

The importance of identifying patterns as a precursor to effective crime prevention has been identified by practitioners who recognize the inherent ability of crime mapping to identify patterns and hotspots…Prevention requires criminal justice agencies to be proactive rather than reactive, and proactivity requires the ability to predict crime hotspots and concentrations. Prediction is rarely possible from individual events, thus there is a direct link between prevention and patterns of criminality, in the form "prevention *requires* proactivity *requires* predictability *requires* patterns".

In conclusion, discussion of the spatial pattern of crime in East Pollokshields presented in this chapter was based on statistical evidence collected from the police.

Though 'official' crime statistics have long been used for the sociological or geographical analysis crime in an area, research constantly warns us about its limitations. Slattery (1986: 14), for example, suggests:

Never accept any statistics on face value. They are like people; they often change once you get to know them better.

In terms of crime statistics, for example, the dark figures of crime (the unreported majority) are never represented in the offence data. Hence, the official crime data will always be an understatement of the actual crime problem of an area (see Croall, 2012; Fyfe, 2010; also Chapter 4). As we shall see in Chapter 8, this was particularly the case of the ethnic minority community in East Pollokshields who did not feel confident with the police to report crimes. Commentators, thus, argue that official crime statistics should be used with caution and as a complementary to other sources of data. As Coleman and Moynihan (1996: 142) suggest:

Aggregate statistics remain the favoured medium for talking about 'the crime problem'; and some progress has been made in identifying broad patterns and trends. But knowledge of crime data teaches us not to take the claims of the politicians about law and order at face value…Data from official statistics, self-report studies and victimisation surveys need to be complemented by special research studies, including those which offer the distinctive contribution of more qualitative approaches.

Thus, the geographical pattern of crime presented in this chapter was only a part of the findings on the lived experience of community safety of the study group. The evidence presented in this chapter was complemented by "subjective" evidence of the lived experience of crime and community safety of the study group. As Kitchin and Williams (2010: 36) argue:

Simply producing maps showing the distribution of crime and neighbourhood characteristics provides a rather incomplete picture. Furthermore…the quantitative approach has been criticized by those who feel that a qualitative perspective is also needed to better comprehend the social and psychological factors associated with perceptions of safety and the fear of crime.

This subjective evidence was the fundamental part of the present research to which the discussion will now turn.

Chapter 7: The Lived Experience of Community Safety of the Pakistani Scottish Community in East Pollokshields

7.1 Introduction

As we saw in Chapter 5, offence records and media reports suggest that crime in East Pollokshields has escalated in the past ten years. We have also noticed that Pollokshields was among the first ten wards in the city of Glasgow in terms of housebreaking, shoplifting, motor vehicle crime, hate crime and traffic offences (see Figure 27). Quite clearly, these evidences provide some information on the level of

crime problem in East Pollokshields. However, these statistics fail to illuminate the lived experience of crime, ASB of the local residents in general and ethnic minority communities in particular. These statistics are also unable to tell us the implications of these experiences for QoL of the study population. As Kinsey and Anderson (1992: 62) argue, 'the problem of crime demands more than an analysis of "objective" patterns of risk and rates of crime. Similarly we should not rely solely upon legal definitions of what constitutes a "serious" offence. Much depends upon wider questions of the physical, social and economic vulnerability of the victims of crime. It is essential to recognise that the experience of victimisation both compounds and is compounded by different levels of experience. In various ways, even "petty" crime intrudes upon everyday life in a manner which, for many, substantially reduces the quality of life.' In order to explain the lived experience of community safety, the present research thus relied on the analysis of *subjective* evidence: narratives of the perceptions and experiences of safety (or the lack of it) of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields.

The discussion on the lived experience of community safety of the respondents is organised into two parts: in part I (discussed in this chapter) our objectives are to discuss the following: i) perceptions of community safety among the study population, ii) the importance of community safety in QoL of the study group; iii) community safety issues and concerns of respondents, iv) the lived experience of the study group in terms of these issues, and v) the impact of the lived experience of community safety on QoL of the Pakistani Scottish community. It was found in this study that these facets of the lived experience of community safety of the study group were also mediated through their perceptions of the role played by governments and other agencies in dealing with their community safety concerns. This key perspective together with the role of the local community in community safety initiatives forms the central concern of part II and is discussed in the following chapter. We are now going to discuss the perceptions of community safety of the study group.

7.2 Perceptions of community safety

This research has found that a majority of respondents (72 out of 110) were already aware of the term community safety; though younger people came across with the term more often than the adults and elderly people of the community. As revealed by young respondents (12-24 yrs), this prior knowledge was primarily due to several courses on personal safety taught in their school. In similar vein, many Pakistani Scottish parents who participated in the study, heard about community safety through their children. A few respondents (3) reported that they were made aware of the term through their participation in police-community meetings. In terms of explaining the term community safety, however, most respondents struggled. The following are some examples of what community safety implied to participants who were able to describe it:

It's about being safe, not only for you, but also for others - family, friends (male: 38). **That you can safely walk within the area, especially at night time, without fear of people around you** (male, 59: self-employed).

Community safety is about feeling yourself safe physically, mentally and emotionally. It's not only for yourself, but also for your family where you live (female, 32: selfemployed).

These descriptions of community safety resonate with the COSLA definition of community safety that it's about "protecting people's right to live in confidence and without fear for their own or other people's safety" (see Chapter 2). It is within this context, that the following section discusses the importance of community safety in QoL of the Pakistani Scottish group.

7.3 Importance of community safety in QoL

There was no previous research on QoL of the ethnic minority communities in Scotland. It was necessary, therefore, to explore the perceptions of QoL of the study group before examining the importance of community safety in their life quality. No existing criteria of identifying components of QoL of Pakistani Scottish community were available. To fill this vacuum, the present researcher asked the following questions to respondents in this research:

i) have you heard about QoL?

ii) if yes, how will you describe it?

iii)   what are the five most important elements of a good QoL? Please order them from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important (see Appendix II).

Surprisingly, only 53 of the 110 respondents (48%) confirmed that they heard the term QoL prior to this research. Among these 53 participants, however, some struggled to describe it. As one gentleman (56: professional) admitted:

> **I know about it, but it's very difficult to explain.**

26 respondents were able to explain what the term implies to them. For many of these respondents, QoL is a bundle of important aspects in life. For example, one lady (32: self-employed) described:

> **I would say it is basic needs. Like shelter, clothes, food and also I would say children's upbringing. For that you need education, recreational facilities. I think all these things combined make what you call quality of life.**

One young person (male, 21: unemployed) stressed:

> **I think its money; you should have enough money to meet all your needs.**

Another woman (54: professional) defined QoL as:

> **Enough money to subsist plus enough for entertainment; health to enjoy the above; living accommodation plus environment free from noise and nuisance.**

In the above descriptions, a larger perspective of QoL – meeting both basic and higher needs in life was highlighted. Moreover, in the last description of QoL, living in a neighbourhood 'free from noise and nuisance' was particularly relevant from the perspective of community safety and its importance in people's QoL.

The 53 respondents, who were able to describe what QoL meant to them, also provided a list of five elements which they think to be important for a good QoL. The most relevant finding is the high importance respondents placed on *safety and protection from crime.* Overall, 32 (out of 53) respondents included 'safety' as one of five most important elements in their QoL, preceded by family and friends (39), religion (37) and government services (34). Among other important criteria was job (28), good health (22), language and culture (17), local shopping facility (11), local sport/recreation facility (4), and money (1). Women (17) and young respondents (8) were more likely to include 'safety' as a criterion of life quality than the adults or elderly respondents (7).

In view of the principal research objective, the chapter now describes the key issues that affected the respondents' community safety and life quality in East Pollokshields.

7.4 Community safety issues in East Pollokshields

As discussed in Chapter 1 and 2, community safety is not only about safety from crime and ASB, but from dangers of other harms that affect people's quality of life negatively (see Byrne and Pease, 2003; also Crawford, 2007). This multi-faceted nature of community safety was echoed in the community safety concerns and priorities identified by respondents in this research. There was also a wide variation in community safety concerns of the study group in terms of age and sex. For example, where many women found young people hanging about in groups as 'threatening', a majority of youths in the community did not see it as a problem at all. The summary results of the issues affecting community safety of the Pakistani Scottish people in East Pollokshields are presented in Table 17 below. Clearly, issues identified by local residents ranged from violent crimes, e.g. assault to minor disorder such as hanging about on the street. As we can see, ASB by young people,

Table 17: Community safety issues in East Pollokshields

Issues			Number of respondents identifying it as a 'major problem'
Anti-social Behaviour (ASB)	ASB by young people	Territoriality, gangs & graffiti	41
		Teenagers hanging about	67
		Vandalism	59
	Fly-tipping, litter and rubbish		65
	Drinking and rowdy behaviour in the public		14

Crime	Racial abuse & harassment	45
	Domestic violence*	11
	People using and dealing drugs	26
	Housebreaking	55
Danger of other harms	Speeding vehicles and unsafe roads	78
	Fire in domestic buildings	29
	Indiscriminate use of fireworks	16

Source: Fieldwork. N =110; *N = 45

road safety, housebreaking and fly-tipping, litter and rubbish emerged as the major community safety concerns of the local Pakistani Scottish people. It should be noted, however, that these issues were what the local Pakistani Scottish community *perceived* as affecting their community safety and QoL. Another notable point in the above table is the total number of respondents (N) associated with domestic violence. In this study, only adult women (above 17 years: 45 in total) were asked about their perceptions and experiences of domestic violence in the area. As mentioned by female respondents in the pilot study, there was little point asking adult Pakistani Scottish male about this issue. When the perceived seriousness of these issues were compared with crime figures recorded by the police (see Chapter 5), clear differences emerged. This was, however, not unexpected in view of the *perception gap* people may have (see below) with respect to the seriousness of crime and disorder in an area. The following section unfolds the lived experience of community safety of the study group in East Pollokshields with respect to the community safety issues identified by respondents.

7.5 The lived experience of community safety of the study group

As Smith (1989: 279) contends, 'crime is not only a problem for those who experience it directly. The prospect as much as the "reality" of crime is ever-present in major cities, and this alone is sufficient to impair the quality of life of individuals and communities.' These two groups of people, i.e. those with and without direct experience of victimisation, can still hold similar perception about the crime problem and fear of crime and ASB in an area. Moreover, residents' perception about crime can be significantly different from the recorded crime. This "perception gap" between what people "think" about the level of crime problem in an area and the "actual" level of crime is common in every society (see, for example, Duffy, et al. 2008; Pelser et al, 2004). Pelser et al. (2004) suggest that the perception of crime of a person can be influenced by the following factors: i) personal experience of victimisation; ii) media reports on the local and national crime events; and iii) word of mouth reports of crime incidents. Based on empirical evidence from this research, we can also add to this list

people's confidence in government and other agencies who deal with crime. Commentators also argue that these influences are also mediated through *individual characteristics* such as age, sex and socio-economic status which ultimately shape people's perception of safety in an area. Smith (1989) finds, for example, that women and the elderly (two ostensibly low-risk groups) are more fearful than adult men or young people who actually have more probability of victimisation.

As discussed in Chapter 4, respondents were classified according to their individual characteristics such as age and sex. In order to group the participants according to their socio-economic conditions, all the respondents were asked question about their occupation (see Appendix II). However, 44 (out of 110) participants did not answer the question. As a result of this incomplete data on occupations, the implication of respondents' socio-economic status for perceptions and experiences of community safety were unclear. Table 18 presents the summary results of the individual characteristics of respondents. The lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields is discussed below under the

Table 18: Individual characteristics of the Pakistani Scottish respondents

Age Group		Sex		Occupations	
Young people (12-24 years)	37	Male	51	Student	21
				Unemployed/housewife	11
Adult (25-60 years)	54	Female	59	Business/Selfemployed	19
Elderly (> 60 years)	19			Professional	6
				Others*	9
				No answer	44
Total		**110**			

* include chef (3), driver (1), cash-and-carry employee (4) and volunteer (1).

following three broad categories: i) anti-social behaviour; ii) crime; and iii) danger of other harms.

7.5.1 Anti-social Behaviour

As we saw in Chapter 2, anti-social or disorderly behaviour can take many forms, and as Skogan (1990) argued, can both be "physical disorder" (e.g. litter and rubbish, ill-maintained buildings) and "social disorder" (e.g. vandalism, graffiti). According to respondents in this research, disorderly behaviours of various kinds, particularly by young people were issues for their perceived safety and QoL in East Pollokshields. Respondents also revealed that some ASBs such as fly-tipping, litter and rubbish were not, however, limited to youths and were general problems in the area. We discuss these community safety issues below.

7.5.1.1 Anti-social Behaviour by Young People

Among the issues raised by adult respondents (25-60 years), ASB by young people was the most important. In fact, for a section of the Pakistani Scottish community (mainly first generation immigrants), community safety was equated with addressing ASB of young people. On the other hand, for a majority of the young people it was a "minor problem" (19 of 37) in East Pollokshields. This difference in the perceptions of ASB by young people between adults and Pakistani Scottish youths themselves can partly be attributed to an *inter-generational intolerance* within this community (see Chapter 8). To explore this divergent opinion on the level of ASB problem in the neighbourhood in more detail, a map of ASB incidents prepared by Strathclyde Police was consulted (see Figure 42 below). The map shows that ASB in East Pollokshields were more concentrated at the heart of the neighbourhood from where it decreased gradually towards the margins more or less in a concentric zone pattern. According to respondents, a high concentration of ASB incidents around the Albert Drive can be attributed to the agglomeration of Asian food shops which, among others, attract large number of young people to the area. Another ASB zone with similar high incidents is found adjacent to the Maxwell Square Park which was a popular destination for the children and young people in East Pollokshields. Respondents in this research have also mentioned that this portion of the neighbourhood has traditionally been an ASB hotspot and a territory primarily controlled by the Pakistani Scottish young people (see below). Moreover, a moderate concentration of ASB incidents is associated with McCulloch Street council housing block, as well as sport and shopping facilities in that part of the neighbourhood.

According to respondents, this area had been a White youth's territory where the Pakistani Scottish youths are scared to venture (discussed below).The discussion below now centres on three strands of ASB identified by respondents: a) territoriality, gang culture & graffiti; b) teenagers hanging about; and c) vandalism.

Figure 42: ASB incidents and youth territories in East Pollokshields

Source: Strathclyde Police, 2010 and Fieldwork.
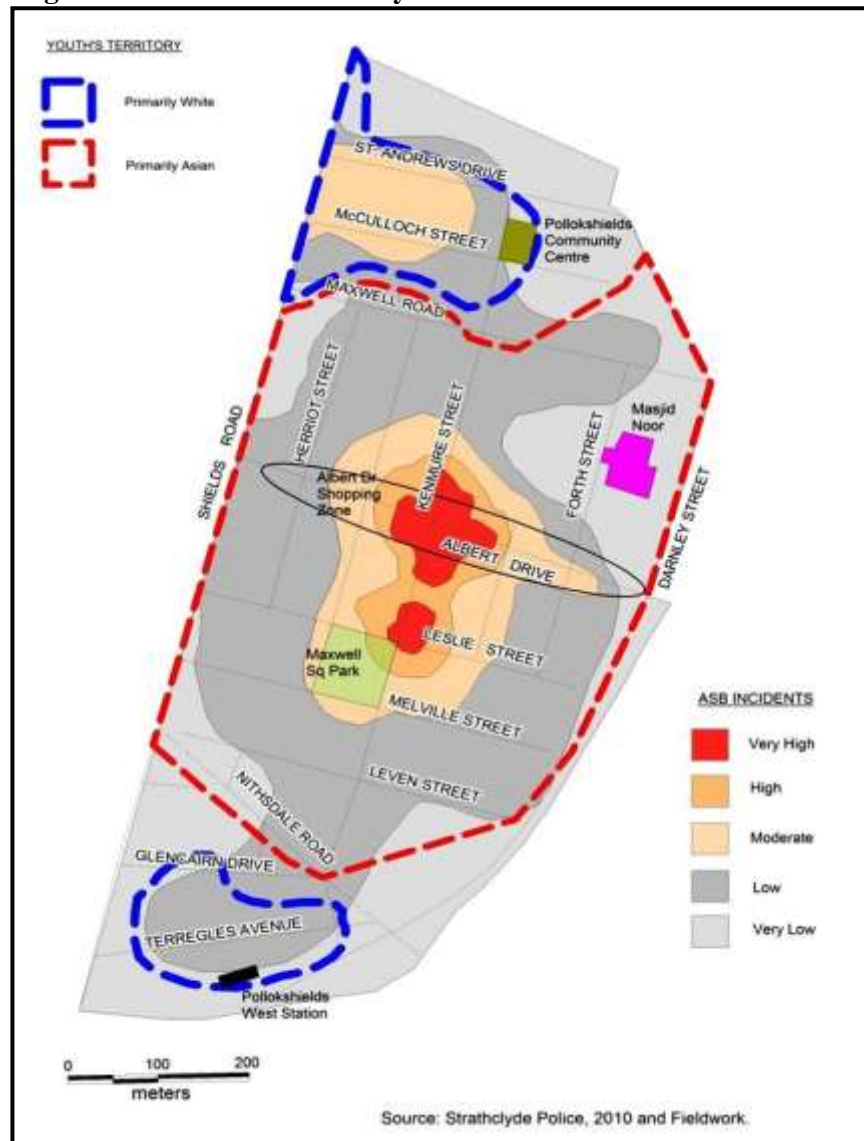
a) Territoriality, gangs & graffiti

Kintrea et al. (2008: 4) define territoriality as 'a social system through which control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others'. In their study of six cities in Britain (including Glasgow), these authors found that territorial behaviour among young people remains widespread in the disadvantaged areas of British cities such as Glasgow. Their research reveals:

Territoriality was important in the lives of many young people, although it manifested itself in various forms, ranging from young people who socialised on the streets, through groups with a stronger territorial affiliation, some of whom identified themselves as a gang, to more highly organised, criminally oriented territorial gangs (Kintrea et al. 2008: 5).

In the context of Glasgow, these authors also argued that territoriality offered "recreational violence", apparently in view of the few opportunities for legitimate excitement (Kintrea et al. 2008). As we saw in the previous two chapters, East Pollokshields and its surrounding areas have some of the most deprived pockets in Scotland. This research has found that within the small neighbourhood of East

Pollokshields, territorial control over space by young people of both White and Asian origin was paramount (see Figure 42 above). As suggested by respondents, some of these youths were associated with gangs.

The perceptions of gang culture in the neighbourhood among adult respondents, however, was mixed. Some people did not perceive the existence and impact of gangs in East Pollokshields; they rather considered it to be "group of young people" who sometimes do "stupid things". As one lady (46: professional) argued:

> **Not really known any gang as such. It's generally a big group of young people standing at the corner of the street or sometimes running around and getting into fights. It intimidates you; but when you walk past them they may not even look at you. They are busy doing their own stuff. So, it's just the perception.**

On the other hand, some respondents saw gang culture in East Pollokshields as a *historical* problem, though its intensity may have lessened a bit. As one elderly respondent (male, 67: professional) described:

> **You know many of these Asian youths have gangs operating in definite areas: Pollokshields, Giffnock, and Paisley Road West. And they often have fights whenever they go to other gangs' territory. East Pollokshields has mostly Asian gangs.**

Most young respondents, however, did not admit the existence of gangs in East Pollokshields. As one teenager (male, 17: student) argued:

> **They are just friends like group of friends in other areas. But they aren't intimidating or won't say anything unless you say something and they react back. They are just group, not a gang.**

When asked to differentiate between a "group" and a "gang", the young person replied:

> **Look, it depends. If you find that a group of kids are happy, chatting about or playing a ball while walking past you, you will know that's a group and not gang. But their body language, speed of walking will change and they will look suspicious or swear at people whenever in a gang.**

It should be noted that we need to be careful before branding a group of young people as a gang. Sanders (2005) argue that young people of this age do move in groups simply because of such factors as belonging to the same school, sharing similar interest and residential proximity. He goes on to suggest:

Complementing these similarities were other activities such as school, youth clubs, other youthoriented programmes that served as social glue, naturally binding young people together in small groups. In this regard, the young people were similar to Parker's (1974: 64) 'Boys', described as a '*network of lads who have grown up together and seen around together in various combinations…a loose knit social group'* (Sanders, 2005: 147. Emphasis added).

Sanders also argued that there is another and perhaps more practical reason as to why they 'hang out' with their friends. This is for their *self-protection.* The basic premise behind an enhanced sense of protection when in a group is that of "safety in numbers", where friends are used as "back-up" in the event of danger (Sanders, 2005: 149; also see McAra and McVie, 2005). This is more so when there are territorial control over

areas and facilities in the neighbourhood among youth groups (see Webster, 1995 and 1997). In this context, none of the Pakistani Scottish young respondents disagreed about the existence of territoriality of both White and Asian youths in the neighbourhood. One young man (21: unemployed) explained:

> **There is a street called McCulloch Street in Pollokshields. That's a White gang's territory and White youths do hang about in that area. Some of these kids are known gangsters in Glasgow and some even in Scotland. Unlike the Asian gangs - who are mostly young guys in groups - the White gangs are far more organised and are dangerous. And then the murder of a White Scottish boy by three Pakistani youths in 2004 created clash between the Asian and the White youths in the area.**

Plate 3: White youths in their 'territory' (near Pollokshields Community Centre)

As one of his peer (male, 17: student) admitted, there are incidents of fights whenever members of these two groups intrude into other's territory:

> **If you go to the McCulloch Street area you will find predominantly White youths - that's their territory** (see Plate 3 above). **There will be fights if Asian group go there. On the other hand it's all Asian area around Square Park and Kenmure Street**.

These responses reveal how territoriality inhibits young people's movement and social life within their own neighbourhood while and also endangering their safety (see Nicholson, 2010; also McMillan and Robertson, 2011 for a study on Glasgow's east end). Respondents in this research mentioned that the McCulloch Street has traditionally been a council housing area with predominantly White population. A relatively recent development in the area is the introduction of people from Eastern European countries into these properties. Four Pakistani Scottish young people complained that they had *issues* with these newly-arrived White youths in the area.

For the young people, one way of demonstrating their territorial control over space within the neighbourhood is through *graffiti* (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974). Also called

Figure 43: Locations of graffiti in East Pollokshields
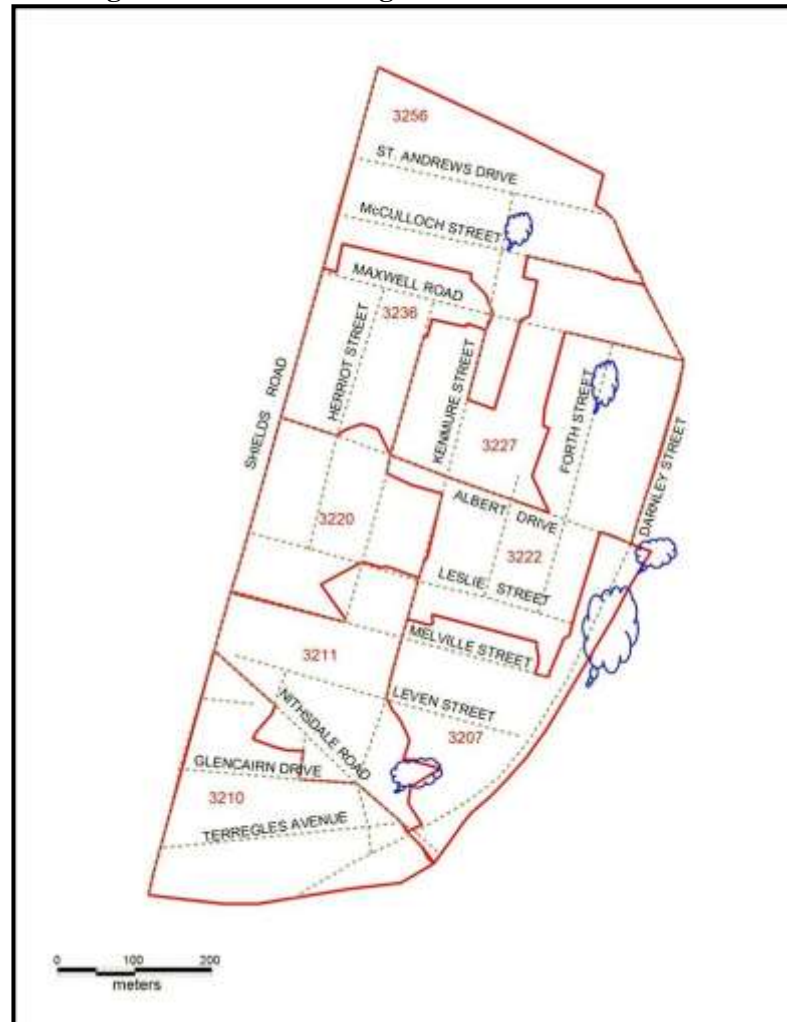
tagging, the word graffiti means "little scratchings" and it comes from the Italian *graffiare*, which means 'to scratch' (Alonso, 1998: 2). Some authors argue that graffiti is more of an 'art' and a manifestation of 'youth culture' (see, for example, Coffield, 1991). However, both in USA and in the UK, contemporary graffiti has been considered as an anti-social or even criminal behaviour. In Scotland, for example, it's regarded as an ASB where the Anti-social Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act, 2004 considers graffiti as 'defacement of a relevant surface and as detrimental to the amenity of the locality or offensive' (Scottish Executive, 2004: 34). As this research has found, East Pollokshields was not a graffiti-ridden area. In fact, these were highly localised features in the neighbourhood and were noticed in five places. From north to south, these are located around: i) Pollokshields Community Centre, ii) Forth Street, iii) Tramway on the Albert Drive, iv) East Pollokshields railway station, and v) East Pollokshields Quad (see Figure 43 above). Local Pakistani

Scottish adults were mostly unfazed by this youth phenomenon and told the researcher that they were not 'bothered' by graffiti or the graffiti artist. However, for some Asian youths it was a *threat* reaffirming territorial control of the white youths (discussed above) over the play facilities around the Community Centre. In the **Plate 4: Graffiti in East Pollokshields**

Tagging: play court of the Pollokshields Community Centre

Graffiti and political slogan: Forth Street

top picture of Plate 4, we can see the *tagging* of a name 'Jack'. On the other hand, as we find in the bottom photograph, graffiti at the Forth Street (Pakistani Scottish enclave with mosque and commerce area) is a political one and may be interpreted as a protest against the military action (of US and others, including Britain) in Pakistan's neighbouring country. Overall, as this research has found, most of the respondents agreed that whatever be the motive behind drawing these, graffiti creates a sense of threat for some people and annoyance for others. In the following section we discuss another major community safety in East Pollokshields.

b) Young people hanging about

61% respondents in this research considered groups of young people hanging about as a 'major problem' in East Pollokshields. At the same time, however, many others in the community did not see it as a problem. This difference in the perceptions of young people hanging about as a problem is nicely summarised by one male respondent (56: professional):

> In my opinion, the perception about this as a problem varies from person to person. Some people see this, start feeling this as a problem; others don't see or just ignore it. Personally, it's not a problem for me, but if it creates concerns for my own safety or other people's safety, it's a problem.

For women and elderly people in the community, for example, this was frightening and a bothersome issue affecting personal safety and quality of life. As one elderly lady (68: self employed) complained:

> Quite threatening. Because of my age and their body language, I always try to avoid doing eye contact.

In similar vein, an elderly male (67) respondent described:

> More threatening than real; unless you are a young male.

Thus we find that age was a factor influencing the perception of this as a problem. The lady in the above quote also told the researcher that most of the time she cross over to opposite side of the road whenever she finds a group of young people on the street. Young people hanging about in groups either on the street or in parks also created fear amongst younger children. In many instances, the word of mouth reports of similar incidents helped in the construction of children's fear. One woman (36: housewife) told the researcher:

> My younger one feels unsafe to go out in case he gets bullied by older boys in the park. He heard about experiences of other children being bullied by older boys.

Adult male members in the community, however, were annoyed rather than being fearful about groups of young people in public places. As one gentleman (33) complained:

> It creates problems for other young children and provokes other children to join in and do daft things.

The young people themselves, however, did not see it as a problem. Some teenagers told the researcher that they do move in groups, but they don't do anything intimidating; it's a problem with other people's *perception*. One boy (16: student) argued:

> Yes, we do (hang about); but look how many people (are there) in this area. East Pollokshields is a small area and people from other areas also come here. Being a small area you get to see so many young people up in the streets or in the Square Park area. And if you move two blocks, you get to see the same group of people again.

As pointed out by another young respondent (male, 20: driver), some people get intimidated by seeing groups of young people around because:

> The young people are so many in East Pollokshields and doing so many things, other people looking at them or walking past always feel suspicious about the group. They may get scared because they don't know what these young people are doing or going to do.

Many people in the community – irrespective of their age, sex and ethnic background – thought that young people in East Pollokshields hang about in the street primarily because they have not much to do. As one respondent (male, 36) commented:

> **Young people need something to do; you know. More facilities should be offered to young people so that they don't need to hang about outside. But generally they don't say or do something towards people.**

While appreciating the lack of local facilities for youths, some respondents linked this behaviour of the young people to cultural factors of not drinking alcohol in the Asian Muslim community. As one male participant (47: professional) responded candidly:

> **My answer is that it has got two sides: in general it's a problem for young people almost everywhere in Glasgow. Young kids hang about if there are not enough things for them to do - that's general. But there is another dimension to it in East Pollokshields. I have noticed that the Asian young men who hung around are little bit older than I would expect. I would say it's a real problem. But I won't exaggerate it too much; from my personal observations and experiences, I think it's at a low level. I do think that there may be cultural factors behind these older Asian youths hanging about and messing around.**

A female respondent (54: self-employed), however, argued:

> **But surely that is allowed! It is also their community. They should be allowed to socialise together as long as they don't harm anyone. And they are generally harmless.**

As Goodey (2001) contends, large numbers of unemployed young Pakistani (Muslim) males become highly visible in certain urban locations in Britain and their very presence can appear threatening to both local Asian and white populations who may request that the police intervene to move these young people on. On the contrary, as we saw above, young people often move in groups for their own safety (see Kintrea et al. 2008). We now discuss the third and final strand of the ASB by young people in the neighbourhood.

c) Vandalism

Understood broadly as a 'wilful damage to public and private property', vandalism is the 'most visible form of juvenile crime' (Muncie, 1984: 67). It's a broad term and can include damages to property in various ways. In the Scottish context, section 52 of the Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995 states:

Any person who, without reasonable excuse, wilfully or recklessly destroys or damages any property belonging to another shall be guilty of the offence of vandalism. There must be either a deliberate intention to damage the property or an act so reckless as to show utter disregard for the consequences [Police-Information, web resource].

Plate 5: Vandalised shop on Albert Drive

In this research, 59 respondents identified vandalism and other deliberate damage to property as a major problem and threat to their property. Respondents who experienced vandalism in the past 2 yrs complained that Albert Drive was a potential generator of such petty offences due to high concentration of take-away shops along the corridor. As one gentleman (52) explained:

> **One of the major issues revolves around a strip of take-away shops on the Albert Drive. This attracts a huge number of youths and other people. So groups of young people gather around these take-away shops. In fact they have nothing else to do in this area; there are no sport facilities in Pollokshields. So they tend to congregate do a lot of vandal stuff. We have got our window broken 7 times!**

Quite clearly, the potential role of the take-away shops along the drive and lack of youth facilities behind vandalism in the area is highlighted. Sanders (2005) argues that there is an established relationship between vandalism, young people and play.

According to Cohen (cited in Sanders, 2005: 107), there can be six different reasons 'why people vandalise: acquisitive, tactical, ideological, vindictive, play and malicious'. His research revealed that the young people who vandalised did this because they were 'bored' and thought breaking, smashing and destroying things might be fun (Sanders, 2005; see Chapter 6).

As reported by participants, shops on the Albert Drive were also vandalised (see Plate 5 above). The owner of the vandalised shop shown in the picture told the researcher

that he became tired of seeing such incidences in the area. In fact, soon after the vandal damage (during fieldwork), the shop was closed and then sold. Furthermore, for many respondents living in the Albert Drive area, vandalism and damaging of car were commonplace as we see one lady (32: self-employed) complaining:

> **I parked the car at night near my close and next morning I found handle of its front door smashed and its left mirror broken and the cover is missing. It's a real problem in this area. Then my family friends told me not to park the car on the front like the Albert Drive. Because, night-time teenagers drive like mad and also there are a lot of takeaway shops along the Drive. These shops remain open till late. Now I try my best to park my car in the side streets**.

The *criminogenic* nature of the concentration of Asian take-away shops along the Drive was again evident in the above response (see Chapter 6). Experience of properties being vandalised was not limited to the Drive. Two respondents who live in Nithsdale Road and Glencairn Drive to the south of the neighbourhood (vandalism hotspot area according to police records) told the researcher:

> **My front door was kicked in by drunks I suspect. Broken tiles in reception area** (male, 50: unemployed).

> **My back window was broken by vandals. You know, these people have air guns and they use that to break windows** (male, 66: professional).

These two participants also mentioned that the liquor shop and pub in the area may have contributed to such vandal damages to their properties (see Chapter 6). In the following section we discuss the third largest community safety issue for the Pakistani Scottish people in East Pollokshields.

7.5.1.2 Fly-tipping, litter and rubbish

Research suggests that popular impressions of an area derive from the highly visible signs of what people regard as disorderly and disreputable in the community (see Skogan, 1990). As we saw in Chapter 3, one of the three agendas of GCSS in ensuring community safety is "cleaner" Glasgow. They advocate that 'promoting positive behaviour by improving the appearance of communities' will go long way to make people feel "better" and "safer" (GCSS, 2011: 14). Earlier research commissioned by the Glasgow Community Planning Partnership (GCPP) has shown that almost half of the total respondents in East Pollokshields saw fly-tipping, dumping and littering as problem or serious problem for the area (Figure 44 below). 65 out of 110 respondents in this research identified litter, rubbish and related environmental degradation as a major issue in East Pollokshields. This experience is shared by many residents irrespective of their age, sex and ethnicity. For example, one resident (male, 42: shopkeeper) complained:

> **25 years back or so, this area was so beautiful, clean - mostly the Whites used to stay here. But as soon as the minority people started pouring in, all the open spaces, clean streets disappeared.**

Figure 44: Local people's perceptions of cleanliness in East Pollokshields
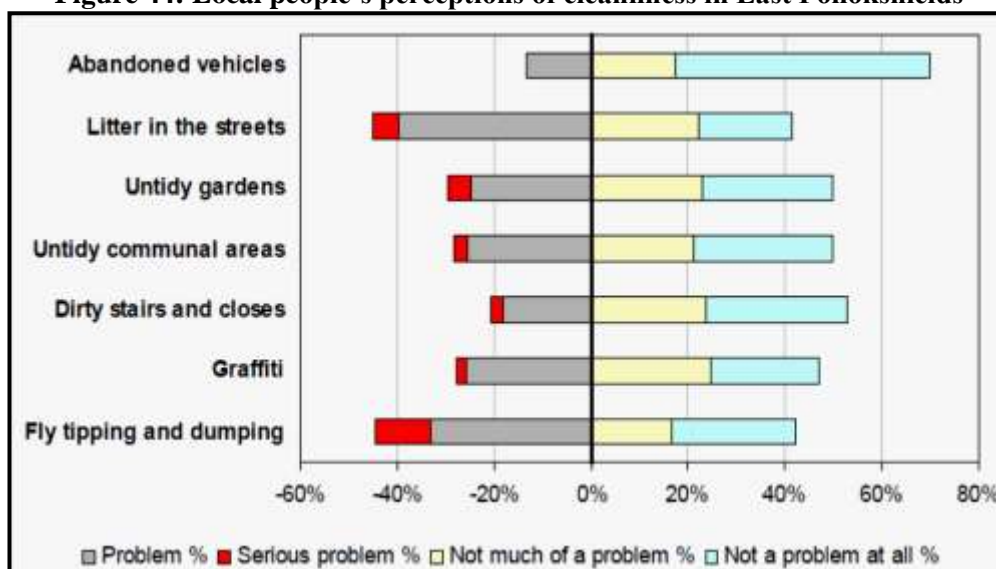
Source: GCPP, 2008

This research has also found that cleanliness in East Pollokshields varied from one part of the neighbourhood to another. In general, respondents reported that litter and rubbish problem escalates as one approach the centre and north-east from the south. As one member of the Pollokshields Community Council (female, 63) commented:

> **The street where I live it's a minor problem even though I often pick one or two wee things off the street and bin them. But it can be almost slum-like as you approach the heart of Albert Drive .The other day I found a broken vodka bottle right on the pavement and it's dangerous. There are some days when you are depressed looking at it but I try to rise above it.**

On the other hand, people living in and around Albert Drive and Maxwell Road had more annoying experience. As one lady (30: housewife) complained:

> **There are so many take-away shops here on the Albert Drive and people throw foodstuff all over the road** (see Plate 6). **By next morning, it starts smelling - health and hygiene problem. Often, people throw rubbish and food stuffs on the streets at night and by 5 am in the morning, seagulls start fighting for it. It's so noisy that you can't sleep.**

As some respondents pointed out, however, such a lack of cleanliness was also partly related to irregular and ineffective cleaning of the area by the City Council staff (see Chapter 8). As one lady (54: self-employed) summarised:

> **It's due to the lack of public education particularly among children/young people about disposal of litter; lack of respect for the area by outsiders; lack of competence by the Council cleansing dept.**

Plate 6: Over-spilled bin (with tagging): Albert Drive

The lady in the above quote also complained that many people in East Pollokshields are not aware of the Conservation Area[4] status of East Pollokshields. She also argued that it contributes to the lack of pride among residents about the area (see Chapter 9). Some respondents also felt that the Council overlooks the issue since the area is East Pollokshields and not West End (see Chapter 8).

7.5.1.3 Drinking and rowdy behaviour in the public

Respondents in this research revealed that it is a common belief among Asian Muslims that drinking alcohol is forbidden in Islam. As a majority of the elderly Pakistani Scottish residents suggested, they still stick to this belief and do not drink.

---

4 A conservation area is defined as 'an area of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance' (www.glasgow.gov.uk).

However, some members in the community stressed that things have changed and that younger generations were not following this religious prescription of not drinking, albeit secretly, such as drinking in the backcourt, in someone's close and in the park. As one woman (29: housewife) complained:

> **Teenagers from our community smoke and drink inside my close. Every evening, and during the weekends in particular, you will find cans of beer and other stuffs lying around. That tells you the story.**

139

In fact, 12 respondents argued that the cultural factor of 'no alcohol' amongst the Muslims in the area have actually forced some young Asian Muslims to drink in a hiding place. As one male respondent (47: professional) described:

> I certainly have seen the young Asian guys drinking in the park or in the backcourt. When I was in a rented flat around xxxxxxx, the close door was an open door and sometimes young Asian guys would come in and sit in the backcourt and drink there. But, they were asked to leave and they did leave. They also drank in the xxxxxxx Street flat which had the same open door close. But in general we asked them politely to leave and they left. But definitely drinking and may be because of the cultural factor of 'no alcohol' they choose the close or backcourt or darker areas in the Square Park to drink.

This is not to suggest, however, that public drinking was an 'Asian' affair in East Pollokshields. Some respondents experienced scary and rowdy behaviour in public places by drunks, both whites and Asians. As one young female respondent (22: volunteer) complained:

> I was harassed and chased by a drunk in the street. Then we were new in Pollokshields and I was coming back from a local cash-and-carry with my mother and it was quite dark outside. Then one drunken guy started shouting and chasing us. We were really scared that night and had to run. My mom who is very old had to run as well and that was really difficult for her.

Offence data from Strathclyde Police shows that drinking in the public has actually risen in the past 10 years (see Figure 45). One respondent (male, 47: professional) considered public drinking as a part of the wider youth problem in East

Figure 45: Trend of public drinking in East Pollokshields
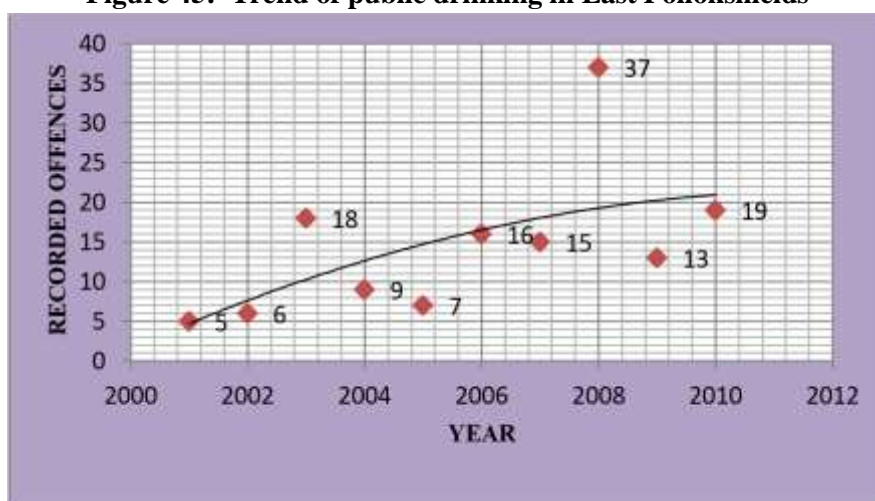
Source: Strathclyde Police data from 2001 to 2010

Pollokshields. He shared his experience as follows:

> I felt threatened while returning home in the evening and it was around the Maxwell Square Park which is close to my street. There were a number of Asian young guys and one of them quickly came to me and started behaving aggressively. He was drunk. However, his friends pulled him away and apologised. That was an incident when I felt youth problem in the area.

Overall, as this research has found, 14 participants mentioned drinking and rowdy behaviour in the public as a major problem, while 27 respondents considered it as a minor issue in the area.

From the foregoing discussion, we find that anti-social or disorderly behaviour of various kinds affected the perceptions of safety of residents. We shall discuss the implications of these experiences for QoL of respondents later in this chapter. The following section centres on the major crimes identified by the respondents.

7.5.2 Crime

In addition to the lived experiences of ASBs, the Pakistani Scottish residents of East Pollokshields reported a number of crimes as affecting their community safety in the area. These are as follows:

7.5.2.1 Racial abuse and harassment

As we saw in Chapter 5, racial and homophobic incidents were high in Pollokshields and the area was the 7th among 21 multi-member wards of the city in term of hate crimes (GCSS, 2010). Figure 46 also portrays a gradually increasing trend of racially aggravated threat or harassment (see Appendix I) in the area. Although a majority of the elderly and adult women respondents saw racial abuse and harassment as a moderate or minor problem in the area, young people in the Pakistani Scottish community identified these as a fairly big problem and quite common experience. One young woman (22: professional) complained:

When I go out alone, the White youths start calling name and that's really annoying.

Figure 46: Trend of racially aggravated conduct/harassment
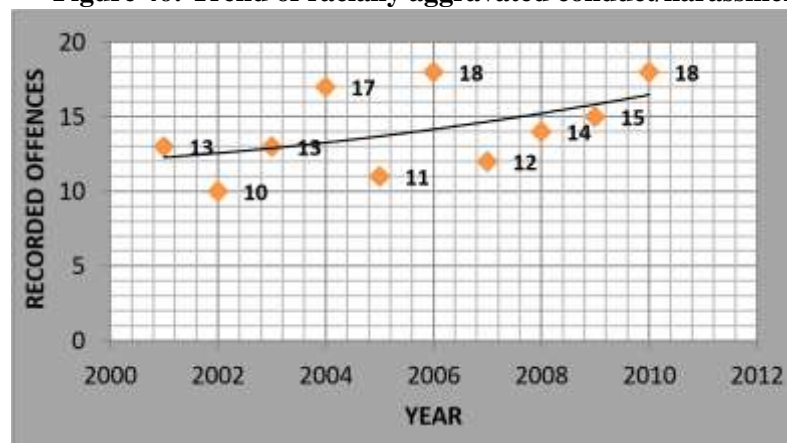
Source: Strathclyde Police from 2001 to 2010

For many others, name-calling like 'Paki' was commonplace. As one respondent (male, 17: student) complained:

I was abused verbally on the street; someone called me *Paki*.

Scottish studies have shown that Pakistani people 'were more likely to have experienced abusive comments and obscene gestures (which might have had a racial motive) – and to have experienced more of them – than other ethnic minority groups' (Ditton, 1999: 316; also see Hopkins, 2004). Referring to recent figures on the racially aggravated behaviour and harassment in Scotland, Croall and Frondigoun (2010) observe that 50% of victims were of Asian origin and a majority Pakistani. Drawing on recent studies in Britain, these authors argue:

These figures say little about how people experience these incidents. For example, verbal harassment may seem relatively trivial, but, when repeated, can have profound effect on a person's quality of life…Respondents in Chahal and Julienne's (1999) study in Glasgow, Belfast, Cardiff and London reported that incidents were too numerous to remember, confirmed in a later study in Glasgow and Edinburgh (Frondigoun et al, 2007). To some young Asians, a perceived increase in incidents after 9/11 and 7/7 permeated their general feelings of safety (Croall and Frondigoun, 2010: 119-20).

Moreover, Webster (1995) argues that in a multi-racial context, offending and racial harassment often tends to be associated. Regarding fights between the Asian and white youths, he goes on to state that 'racial harassment seems to be part of a continuum of antisocial aggression and cannot be understood outside of this context of generalised antisocial behaviour…The issue is one of how to separate "racially motivated behaviours" from "just fighting" or incidental abuse' (Webster,1995: 64).

In fact, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, fights between white and the Asian youths over territorial control (e.g. over sport facilities in the McCulloch Street area) is a case in point. Focus groups with Pakistani Scottish young people also revealed that racial fights were not limited to the boundary of East Pollokshields; rather it was a widespread phenomenon. Some respondents – who were students of the Shawlands Academy – highlighted that they often experience racial abuse and fights in and around the school. This finding is also supported by past research. With respect to the murder of a Pakistani boy in Shawlands, Croall and Frondigoun (2010: 120) write:

Racism was…downplayed following the death from stabbing of Imran Khan in Shawlands in February 1998, despite a history of racial tension in a local secondary school.

Some teenagers mentioned in the focus group discussion that racial harassments and fights have made them tougher unlike Asian kids in other parts of the city. One of them (male: 19) commented:

If I were born and brought up outside Pollokshields, I would have been a totally different person. Growing up in Pollokshields makes you tough. I was talking to my friend over phone in the West End and a white guy passing by called me 'Shielder'.

We have also noticed in Chapter 5 that some recent incidents in the area which got media coverage have heightened the racial tension among the indigenous white and the non-white (predominantly Pakistani Scottish) residents. In the most recent incident, far-right street protest group Scottish Defence League (SDL) introduced

Plate 7: Police handling the SDL protest and UAF counter-protest in East Pollokshields

Photo: Herald Scotland, 20/01/13

fresh racial tension in the area when a group of them entered the area last January (see Plate 7). The Herald Scotland (20/01/13) reported:

Mounted police, helicopters and scores of officers were deployed in Pollokshields, home to Scotland's largest Asian community, despite a maximum of 10 members of the Scottish Defence League (SDL) turning up. The SDL group had wanted to lay a wreath near the spot where William McKeeney was murdered last January. The SDL also protested outside the High Court in Edinburgh late last year when Asif Rehman and Adel Ishaq, both 20, were jailed for 16 years for the murder of the Donegal man. The racial element of the charges against the pair was dropped during the trial…It is understood Mr McKeeney's girlfriend, who witnessed the attack, and friends and relatives were horrified at attempts by the extremist group to associate themselves with the tragedy. Today, a counter protest by up to 100 members of the United Against Fascism (UAF) also gathered in Pollokshields and had to be kept apart from the SDL by lines of police. Locals also described how today's episode led to Muslim women having to be escorted through the streets by police officers, and other people were denied entry to their homes while police attempted to keep the groups apart.

The present researcher also witnessed huge police presence around the Maxwell Sq Park in the following week to deal with anticipated return visit of SDL to the area. While talking about the incident, one lady (43) complained:

> **They are trying to defame the Muslim community in Pollokshields. Nobody in the community supported last year's murder; still they are trying to vitiate the relationship between the white people and us.**

We now discuss one salient, yet largely neglected community safety issue within Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields.

7.5.2.2 Domestic violence

Empirical evidence from this research suggests that the issue of domestic violence remained confined to the four walls of households due to its sensitivity. Most people

in the community prefer not to report it for shame and fear of being stigmatised in the community and larger society. A total of 45 women were asked whether they have experienced domestic violence since the age of seventeen. 23 did not answer the question; 5 out of the remaining 22 female respondents admitted to have experienced such issue. Some mentioned that they didn't have the direct experience of it, but pointed out that they were aware it is an issue in East Pollokshields. Before we discuss the lived experience of female respondents on this issue, it is useful to offer a definition of domestic violence.

Mirrlees-Black (1999: 1) contends that the 'term *domestic violence* can encompass a wide range of experiences…Clearly, the wider the definition of domestic relationships, the higher is the estimate of domestic violence. The narrowest definition restricts domestic violence to that between people currently living together as couples, and often only as heterosexual couples.' UNICEF (2006: 2) offers the following definition of the term:

Domestic violence or intimate partner violence is a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviours including physical, sexual and psychological attacks, as well as economic coercion used by adults or adolescents against their current or former intimate partners.

Quite clearly, from the above definition, such experiences can have far reaching impact on the safety and quality of life of a woman, both in home and outside. Moreover, the WHO definition of domestic violence against women suggests that it is not necessary that such act of violence is conducted behind closed door all the time. WHO (2005: 93) defines domestic violence against women as 'any act or omission by a family member (most often a current or former husband or partner), regardless of the physical location where the act takes place, which negatively effects wellbeing, physical or psychological integrity, freedom, or right to full development of a woman.'

According to female respondents, domestic abuse and violence was one of the important issues affecting their safety and quality of life. These respondents were also concerned with the fact that such experiences of abuse and violence, in addition to women, were also affecting the children in the Pakistani Scottish family. As one lady (32: self-employed) described:

> **For this area, every second house has the husband-wife problems. In *every one in two houses, yes, in every alternate Asian household in East Pollokshields women face domestic abuse problem*. That affects women a lot, and also children in the family. The things they see in their house have got to reflect in their own behaviour. And seeing these things in the home, they become mentally disturbed quite a lot. And when they are disturbed, it's very easy to go down the wrong path - bad company, drugs and so on. The irony is there is no one to take them out of this mental crisis** [Original emphasis].

The lady also mentioned that unfortunately, not many people in the community want to bring it to the fore and still fewer talk about it. However, she stressed that domestic violence has direct implications for the safety and quality of life of Pakistani Scottish women and young people in the family (see Chapter 9). In the following section, we discuss another major community safety issue affecting the young people in East Pollokshields.

7.4.2.3 People using and dealing drugs

Strathclyde Police records for the period 2001-2110 show an overall increasing trend of drug offences in East Pollokshields (Table 19). Evidence from this research, however, suggests that the number of recorded offences in the following table doesn't reveal the actual volume of drug use and dealing problem in the area. As

Table 19: Trend of recorded Drug Offences (using and dealing) in East Pollokshields

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Number of offences	21	27	21	14	21	25	15	49	32	34

Source: : Strathclyde Police data 2001- 2010

one officer (male: 44) of Glasgow South Addiction Unit (GSAU) commented:

> **Actually it's very difficult to measure. Part of that is because you don't know how much potential is hiding and that's why it is difficult for us. When you look at the surface level, you find there is not much of an issue in East Pollokshields compared to other areas of Glasgow South such as Gorbals, Castlemilk or Govan. So, on the surface it doesn't look so bad. But, from the work experience of the Youth Community Support Agency (YCSA), we have found that there is quite a large number underneath.**

However, in the view of one youth support worker at the YCSA (male: 49) the drug problem in East Pollokshields was somewhat inflated by the concerned agency:

> **The drug issue isn't any bigger among the Asian youths than the alcohol in the wider Scottish community. The problem is that most Asians are Muslim and the Quran says 'you are going to hell if you drink alcohol'. So these young people don't generally drink. What they do is smoke some non-problem or social drugs like the Cannabis or at the extreme Blues which is Diazepam** (Figure 47 below). **So young kids in Pollokshields are just seen smoking weeds or taking Blues in a way the kids in West End wouldn't think twice before drinking half a dozen cans of beer! These kids are not like crazy drug users; they just see this way to mess about.**

As this research has found, the Pakistani Scottish community, particularly the adults and the elderly people, were not very comfortable talking about drug problem. This researcher received typical 'not seen' or 'no answer' from 52 respondents. As the research revealed, this *denial* among a section of the community of the existence and seriousness of drug problem in East Pollokshields has aggravated the issue (see Chapter 8 for a detail discussion of this issue). However, 31% of those replied, mentioned that drug dealing and use is prevalent in the community and especially amongst the children and young people who are mostly involved in such offences.

For example, one male respondent (42) said:

> **At least 20% of the minority ethnic youths in Pollokshields are involved in drug-dealing.**

Figure 47: Primary drugs used in East Pollokshields
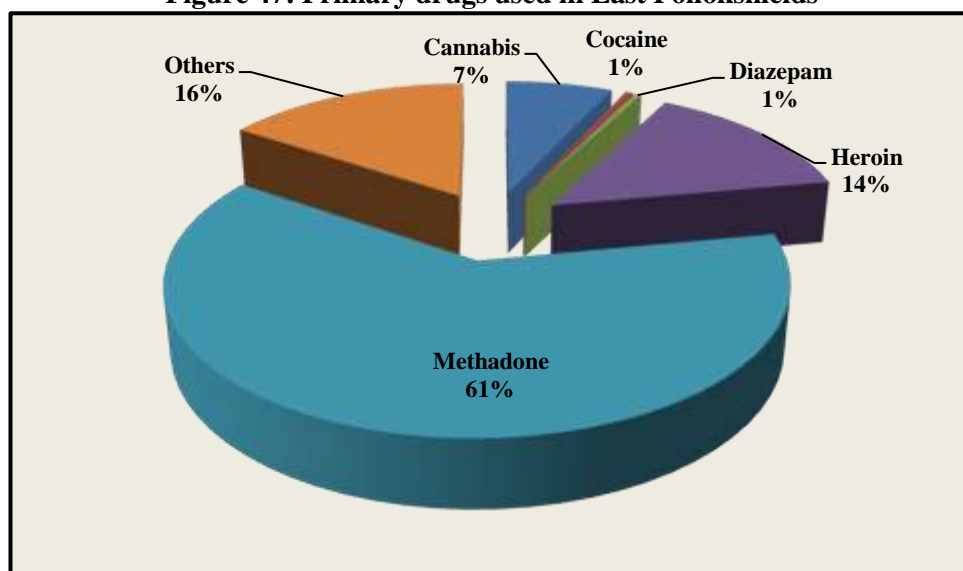
Contrary to the view of elderly and adults, a majority of the Pakistani Scottish youths mentioned that drug use and dealing was a serious problem for their community safety in East Pollokshields. *Making easy money* and *unemployment* were cited as the major contributing factors behind Pakistani Scottish young people getting involved in dealing drugs. As one young resident (male, 23: unemployed) argued:

> **If somebody known to you makes a lot of money by doing this, you are also going to do it. Moreover, you see if the people are unemployed and if they need money what should they do? They have to do stuff like this.**

When asked to confirm whether these youths are into dealing drug as a source of income, the unemployed young person replied:

> **Yes, you get easy money by dealing drugs; because it's really hard to get job nowadays.**

The above response reveals the ever increasing problem of *joblessness* among lowskilled minority ethnic men living in the inner-city areas. As we saw in Chapter 5, 34% children in the study area were in poverty (with the highest rate being 55% in one data zone), while 39 % of the households were without car (the highest rate being 59%). A positive statistical correlation was also noted between low socioeconomic status and drug offences (see Chapter 6). Taylor (in Anderson et al. 1994: xiii) argues that 'unknown numbers of young people and young adults in the most benighted parts of our cities see the only opportunity for an income, and for access to the continuing excitements of the consumer society, as being the illegitimate economy of property crime and drugs trade.'

In addition to the lure of easy money, both young people and adults considered *peer pressure, wrong role model* and *boredom* due to *lack of sports facilities* as the drivers of drug use and dealing amongst the youngsters. As one lad (15: student) explained:

> **I think still a lot of drugs being used in Pollokshields. If you ask certain people where you can get it (drugs) they will point you to the right direction and you get it easily. And you see if there are lot of young people doing it in an area, they set bad examples for the kids. Kids will**

learn and try to think that it's ok becoming drug dealers. That's probably the reason why drug problem has grown like this in Pollokshields. Again the young people have nothing to do here and whatever is there is not advertised properly. So people easily get bored and if you meet other people who also have nothing to do you can do stuff like that (drugs) easily and if you see stuff around you it's really hard to miss it.

Eleven respondents thought that the religious factor of "no alcohol" may have pushed these Muslim youths into drugs. One member of the East Pollokshields Quad Committee (female: 44) argued:

> **It might have something to do with alcohol being prohibited. I mean if you can't get a legal help from alcohol, you get something illegal. I think it's just a problem all over and not just East Pollokshields. However much education you provide, some people will still try drugs at some point**.

Several members (23) of the Pakistani Scottish community, however, argued that most of the drug dealers are not local; they come from outside and use local children and other networks to sell and distribute. One elderly respondent (male, 66: professional) described:

> **Drug dealers come from other areas like Springburn, Dumbarton, Castlemilk and they supply it to the children. I tell you, drug dealing used be here 7 yrs back** (Pollokshields Library).

In response to the surprise of the present researcher, he confirmed:

> **Pollokshields Library used to be the meeting point for the dealers. They used to supply it to the children coming to the library, and from these children drug used to go to the Asian young people. We had to struggle a lot to stop it. These youths threatened us a lot, even attacked my home - broke my window. They also broke glass a lot in this library, you know. But we didn't give in and God helped us. Finally, on one occasion, the drug dealers were caught red-handed; Police came with helicopters and five-six vans. Yes, we did it.**

That the Pollokshields Library had been a venue of distributing drugs by dealers was a key finding in this research. This research has also revealed that nowadays cars, closes and backcourts were favoured venues to deal and use drugs in East Pollokshields. As one girl (15: student) confirmed:

> **They don't smoke it in public, but they do it in cars or inside the close. That's how it goes.**

In fact, the present researcher himself witnessed such dealing several times while returning from the area in the evening (see Chapter 4).

Finally, the impact of drug dealing and use on other crimes can be significant.

Though there is no firm evidence of a causal relationship between drug use and committing crime, previous research has established that there is a hierarchy of criminal activity among drug abusers, with drug dealing as the preferred means of support, followed by property crimes and, infrequently, violent acts (Harrison, 1992). As Harrison and Gfroerer (1992) suggest, the possible explanation for the correlation between drug use and crime, particularly property crime, is the *economic motivation* due to the high cost of illicit drugs (also see Rengert, 1992). For some respondents,

drug problem in East Pollokshields was related to housebreaking which we discuss next.

7.5.2.4 Housebreaking

Housebreaking is one of those few crimes in East Pollokshields for which public perception matches official statistics. Many Pakistani Scottish respondents thought that housebreaking has risen recently in the area and it's a major concern for their community safety. Police records for the period 2001-10 show that following a steady decline in the number of houses broken into in the neighbourhood, housebreaking has started to escalate again (see Figure 48 below). One female respondent (54: self-employed), whose house was broken into and then set on fire (see below), explained this temporal variation of housebreaking in East Pollokshields as follows:

> **It used to be bigger problem earlier due to drug-related theft; then it went down. I think it may be on the rise again because of recession and an element of organised crime.**

Figure 48: Trend of Housebreaking in East Pollokshields
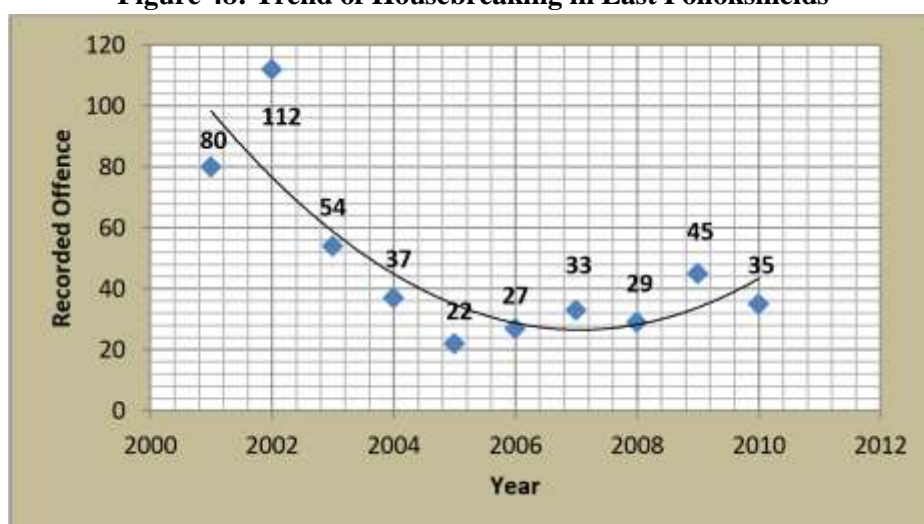
Source: Strathclyde Police from 2001 to 2010

Asian respondents almost unanimously told the researcher that households in the area were being broken into especially during some occasions in the family and when all members have gone outside for party or dinner. Many also suspected that it was people of their own community who pass the information of someone's prolonged absence in the household to the potential offender (see Chapter 8). As an elderly man (72) described:

> **There is a lot of housebreaking here. See, it is summer now and women in the (Asian) family would go out for some work or occasion, for example, wedding or even going to a local park. Then these young people, since they know many people of our community, they call and inform their mates about the absence of certain people in the house. Thus information is passed onto the offender and houses are broken into when it's empty.**

In similar vein, another respondent (male, 56: professional) stressed:

> **T**his all happens internally, you know, within the community- friends and relatives- they know who have money and gold etc. So they tip-off their own friends...Because they know when the festival, ceremony or some occasions are ...and when the house is vacant.

The role of familiarity between offenders and their targets underlying many residential burglaries and theft from houses have been suggested by earlier studies.

Boggs (1965: 907), for example, finds that such 'familiarity with the neighbourhood may precipitate illegitimate entry into other people's houses for purposes of theft. The kinds of knowledge useful to burglars – knowing when the premises are occupied and unoccupied, how to get in and out of the buildings without detection... are more readily known or more easily obtained about their own neighbourhoods than other areas.' However, what Boggs suggests is that offenders of such property crime belong to the same neighbourhood. This research couldn't prove or disprove whether the people who broke into houses in East Pollokshields also lived there due to non-availability of data from the police. However, in the previous chapter the present researcher argued that a weaker relationship between neighbourhood socioeconomic status and rates of property crimes in East Pollokshields may mean that offenders of are from surrounding areas which are more deprived. This explanation has been proposed by the proponents of the "journey to crime" thesis (see Chapter 6). As far as responses from the Asian residents are concerned, there was clear evidence that some local Asian people worked as *informers* for offenders who broke into Asian houses in the neighbourhood.

In addition to the financial loss, the experiences of the Asian respondents whose houses were broken into ranged from disappointment and stress to trauma (see Table 20 below). For example, a woman (43: self-employed) was disappointed when she became a victim of housebreaking. As she described:

> We were broken into here in April last year…every bit of jewellery that I had was taken. So, that was the disappointment as we have been affected by housebreaking. After that we had to change locks and we also installed a burglar alarm.

The above account reveals multiple facets of the lived experience of crime of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields. The respondents also described their community safety concerns with respect to the danger of other harms in the area. We discuss this below.

7.5.3 Danger of other Harms

In addition to crime and ASB, the Pakistani Scottish respondents of East Pollokshields also identified dangers of other harms as affecting their community safety and QoL. Two issues were highlighted: i) risk posed by unsafe roads in the area; and ii) harms caused by fire in domestic buildings. We discuss the lived experience of respondents with respect to these two issues below.

7.5.3.1 Speeding Vehicle and Unsafe Roads

Unsafe roads and speeding vehicles were identified as a major community safety issue by most number of the Pakistani Scottish respondents (see Table 17). One lady (49) summarised it as follows:

Road safety in this area is generally poor with lot of small kids, sometimes unsupervised. Lot of big cars and not enough speed restrictions and monitoring.

As we saw in Chapter 5, traffic offences constitute the single largest reported offence from East Pollokshields. As the following figure shows, driving offences also have a high escalating trend in the past few years (see Figure 49). Empirical evidence from this research suggests that respondents' sense of unsafety was mostly due to speeding along certain roads of this densely populated area. It was also found that women and elderly people in the community perceived speeding more as a problem than either adults or young people in East Pollokshields. One officer of the Strathclyde Police (male: 44) commented:

Regarding speeding, one of the issues is perceived speed. So, up in Pollokshields because the streets are wide, open streets where you can see the junctions clearly, people race along. There is high number of people who got *performance exhaustion* cars which might sound as 100 miles/hr, but they may be doing just 30-40 miles/hr in reality. It's because of the racket of the car that this sound effect is produced. We do monitor speed regularly and prepare our plan.

Figure 49: Trend of Traffic Offences
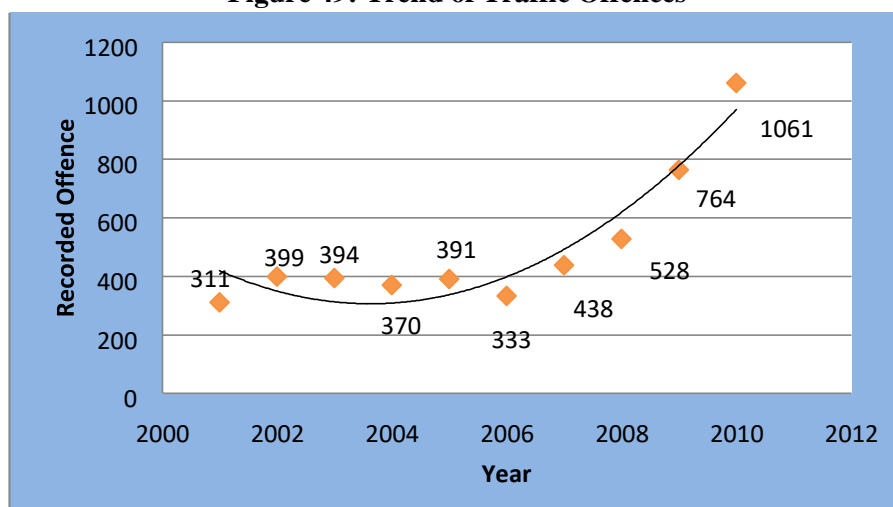
Source: Strathclyde Police from 2001 to 2010

On the other hand, there were people who actually saw young drivers zooming up frequently on certain streets. Parents were particularly worried about the safety of their children. One female respondent (33: housewife) complained:

Group of young people, they often drive over the limit. I don't feel safe allowing my children to go out alone on the road.

In addition to women and elderly respondents, the negative impact of speeding on road safety was also described by some Pakistani Scottish youths. In view of the compactness of the area and lots of (Asian) young children, speeding appeared dangerous to many young people. One of them (male, 21) described:

Many people in Pollokshields have got fancy cars and they drive up and down the streets with tremendous speed and show-off. But speeding is really dangerous here because Pollokshields has got lots of kids and they run about the streets. Moreover some of these streets have schools

and speeding can be really dangerous. But people, particularly Asian guys, they don't bother and drive their cars with as much speed as they can.

According to respondents in this research, traffic and speeding were dangerous particularly for children in three school zones: on Albert Drive (around Pollokshields Primary School), McCulloch Street (at Glendale Primary School) and on Kenmure Street (near Pollokshields Early Years Centre). As one lady (45: housewife) complained:

> **I live in McCulloch Street, just across from the Glendale Primary School. The traffic there before and after school is just shocking. I have nearly been knocked down a few times with my kids.**

As described by parents in the area, despite several road safety measures installed in McCulloch Street, it remained unsafe for children (see Chapter 9). Moreover, 34 respondents described certain crossings, e.g. Keir Street at Albert Drive as accidentprone area (see Plate 8). On the other hand, 11 respondents told the researcher that **Plate 8: School crossing patroller on Albert Drive**

lot many children in East Pollokshields are found to cross the road without the supervision of an adult. The present researcher himself had witnessed several instances where young children in the age group 5-9 cross the road unsupervised and without using a pelican crossing. It would appear from these evidences that there was a lack of awareness on road safety of children among some parents in the area. Speeding vehicles and unsafe roads appeared more of an issue in East Pollokshields in view of the compact nature of the area and presence of a large number of unsupervised children in the streets.

7.5.3.2 Fire in Domestic Buildings

As we saw in Chapter 5, Pollokshields was the 8th in terms of fire in domestic buildings among 21 multi-member wards in the city (GCSS, 2010). According to respondents in this research, fire in domestic buildings as well as other properties was a moderate problem in terms of occurrence. However, they also mentioned that such fires pose a high risk of harm for residents in the area. Some respondents also linked such fires

with a wider ASB issue in the area. For example, an officer of GCSS (female: 35) complained:

> I remember from last year's stats that East Pollokshields have a higher rate of, what we call secondary fires. Examples are setting fireworks in bins, under the cars and also inside its exhausts and that kind of thing.

Two residents shared their experience of fires in their own buildings. One gentleman (59: self-employed) described:

> I experienced fire in my building twice: first in my Pollokshaws Road flat and recently here (Melville Street)...In the last incident, probably someone threw cigarette end under the perambulator which was standing near the stairs in the ground floor and set fire on it. I woke up due to burning smell and when I opened my door, it was smoke all around. We had to call fire brigade at 3 am in the night, they came and resolved it.

In a more violent incident, the flat of a woman (54: self-employed) was broken into and then set on fire. The lady complained:

> My house was broken into and our whole building was set alight - very traumatic experience... I could not enter my flat for 9 months until it was repaired.

It should be noted that the flat affected by arson in the above quote is located in data zone 3210 which was also a vandalism and fire-raising hotspot area (see Chapter 6, Figure 35). Recently, fire in a tenement flat on Albert Drive injured several people while some other were rescued by the fire-fighters (The Glasgow South and Eastwood Extra, 25/09/2012). The newspaper also reported that there were recent cases where 'bins and rubbish being set on fire'. As mentioned by respondents, it remained unclear to what extent fires in domestic buildings were malicious fires or 'fire-raisings'. However, the foregoing discussion clearly shows that incidences of fire in domestic buildings in East Pollokshields had dangerous implications for the safety of its residents.

7.5.3.3 Unorganised or indiscriminate use of Fireworks

The last, but not the least, of all community safety issues raised by the Pakistani Scottish residents in East Pollokshields was the inappropriate use of fireworks. Though lots of fireworks displays are now organised in Scotland on occasions and celebrations almost year round, their use is particularly notable among the Asian communities during *Diwali* and *Eid*. Fireworks are part and parcel of the Hindu festival Diwali (also called the *festival of light*). Moreover, Asian Muslims celebrate their greatest festival Eid with fireworks. According to respondents, an organised fireworks is a treat to watch for many people. However, the same can be frightening for others, particularly for the elderly people and younger children in the locality. Moreover, indiscriminate use or misuse of fireworks may be upsetting and even dangerous for some people. As one lady (48) said:

> I find them very frightening and for all reasons this is frightening for the children as well.

For others, fireworks in the area often create nuisance as it continues until late. One gentleman (30) complained:

> **Every year, in November when the Diwali and Eid is here, fireworks are set-off and it continues till it is very late, which is unacceptable.**

Some respondents (29) also complained that young people misuse firecrackers: they set alight rubbish bins, letter box and also set them off in people's garage which is horrible. As one shopkeeper (male, 42) complained:

> **During the Eid last year, teenagers kept fireworks in my letter box and damaged it**.

From the above responses it is found that certain use of fireworks particularly by the young people in East Pollokshields were annoying and frightening at the same time for many residents.

The above detailed account of the lived experience of community safety of the study group provides a basis for the discussion of the implications of these diverse experiences for the overall QoL of respondents.

7.6 Impact of the lived experience of community safety on QoL

One objective of this study was to examine the extent to which the lived experience of community safety of respondents affected their QoL (see Chapter 1). Drawing on the above discussion, this section outlines the implication of these diverse experiences for QoL of respondents. This is discussed under the following two heads: i) reactions to crime and ASB incidents; and ii) respondent's adaptations to community safety issues in the neighbourhood.

7.6.1 Reactions to crime and ASB

In the present research, the Pakistani Scottish residents of East Pollokshields talked about various reactions to crime and ASB they experienced, both directly and indirectly. For the victims, a majority of these reactions were offence specific. For example, racial abuse was annoyance for most victims; while the common reaction to housebreaking was stress which was related to the financial loss and invasion into

Table 20: Common reactions to crime and ASB incidents

Crime and ASB	Reaction	Comment	Respondent characteristics
Arson	Trauma	My house was broken into and the whole building was set alight - very traumatic experience.	Adult, selfemployed female
Housebreaking and theft	Stress	My house has been broken into several times…my livelihood, my privacy is at stake...it gives me lots of stress.	Adult, unemployed male
	Disappointment	We were broken into here in April last year…every bit of jewellery that I had was taken. So, that was the disappointment as we have been affected by housebreaking. After that we had to change locks and we also installed a burglar alarm.	Adult, professional female

Indiscriminate use of fireworks	Annoyance	Every year, in November when the Diwali and Eid is here, fireworks are set-off and it continues till it is very late, which is unacceptable.	Young, selfemployed male
	Fear	I find them very frightening and for all reasons this is frightening for the children as well.	Adult, housewife
Racial abuse	Annoyance	When I go out alone, the White youths start calling name and that's very annoying.	Young, professional female
Vandalism	Anger	We have got our window broken 7 times! And part of the reason that my window is broken so many times is that I would not let people do it and walk away. So I chase them.	Adult, professional male
	Annoyance	I parked the car at night near my close and next morning I found handle of its front door smashed and its left mirror broken and the cover is missing. It's a real problem in this area.	Young, selfemployed female
	Annoyance	My front door was kicked in by drunks I suspect. Broken tiles in reception area.	Middle-aged, unemployed male
Young people hanging about	Threat	Quite threatening. Because of my age and their body language, I always try to avoid doing eye contact.	Elderly, selfemployed female
Speeding	Worry	Cars charging up and down the streets; only a matter of time before a pedestrian is killed.	Adult, professional male

Source: Fieldwork

victim's privacy (see Table 20). Moreover, victims reported that often they experienced more than one reaction to a single incident of crime. For example, an incident of housebreaking made some victims stressed, and saddened as well as angry. Quite clearly, these reactions were emotional expressions and none of the respondents could actually recall which reaction they experienced just after or during the incident. However, participants were able to indicate which of their reactions was the strongest. As we saw above, an offence often had different reactions to different people. For example, indiscriminate use of fireworks was threatening to some people but only an annoyance for others. In addition to the seriousness of the offence, this difference can be attributed to individual characteristics such as age, sex and socioeconomic status of the victim. A hierarchical pattern emerged from the analysis, with the impact increasing from petty offences to more violent crimes and also from young victims to the elderly. For elderly victims, impact of crime, ASB or other danger of harms was more severe (e.g. stressful, threatening) than younger victims. This is not surprising since earlier studies have shown that the perceived and actual vulnerability of older people is higher due to their physical frailty and unequal access to safety (see Kinsey and Anderson, 1992). Moreover, the female respondents were more saddened after victimisation than Asian male respondents. This finding was uniform for offences like vandalism and car theft. Consistent with earlier research findings (see, for example, Carvalho and Lewis, 2003), a common reaction of male members in the community to the experience of crime and ASB was annoyance.

From the foregoing discussion it would appear that age and sex of respondents mediated in the perceptions and experiences of community safety issues. Based on

available information of the occupational status it was found that the socio-economic background did not have a notable impact on the respondents' perceptions and experiences of community safety issues. For example, vandalism, racial abuse or litter and rubbish were identified as important community safety issues by residents irrespective of their occupational status, while annoyance was the common reaction to these issues. However, due to insufficient data on the occupational status, no claim is being made that the socio-economic background did not mediate in the lived experience of community safety and its impact on the respondents' QoL. Limited research on the topic suggests that residents living in the low SES communities are more fearful compared to those residing in high and middle SES areas (Kitchen and Williams, 2010) while people living in low-SES areas also tend to report higher perceptions of neighbourhood crime (Wilson et al. 2004).

Based on available information in this study, it was found that the financial implications of some crime were greater for those people with low socio-economic status. This was evident in victim's adaptations to the crime incident and his/her capability to adopt security measures to deter further victimisation. For example, financial implications of housebreaking were found to be greater for those people with low socio-economic status. Kinsey and Anderson (1992) contend that the consequence of housebreaking for those people who cannot afford insurance can be increased debt and other related problems. One male respondent (59) who experienced housebreaking repeatedly in the past few years told the researcher:

> **My house has been broken into several times…my livelihood, my privacy is at stake...it gives me lots of stress.**

The respondent also mentioned that he was not in a paid employment. As a result, he was stressed due to the monetary loss resulted in these repeated incidents of housebreaking (see Section 7.6.2.1 below). In the following section we discuss respondents' adaptations to crime, ASB and other dangers in East Pollokshields.

7.6.2 Respondents' adaptations to crime, ASB and other dangers

The Scottish Government acknowledges that the effects of crime curtail social activities of its people through unwillingness to leave homes and to engage in community activities, leading to less resilient and supportive communities (http://www.scotland.gov.uk). This research has found that many Pakistani Scottish respondents became victims of crime, ASB and other harms (Table 21). Moreover, there were others who experienced crime and ASB in the locality indirectly, such as

Table 21: Experiences of victimisation in the past two years

Type	Number
Houses broken into	6
Things stolen (house/car/shop/person)	11
Properties vandalised (house/car)	16
Racially abused/harassed (including harassment by police)	12
Houses/properties set on fire	4
Been victim of domestic violence	5

Bullied in school/other public places	8
Knocked down by car	2
Total	**64**

Source: Fieldwork; N=110

through witnessing an incident or hearing about it. Still others feared about becoming a victim of crime or other harms and it was an important factor impacting their QoL. Research suggests that experiences of being a victim of crime or simply the fear of it cause behavioural changes and numerous adjustments in people's daily life. As Kinsey and Anderson (1992: 58) contend:

It does not appear that people exaggerate the extent of local crime or even the likelihood of their own victimisation. Indeed, most people do not think that they are likely to become victims of crime. Nonetheless, they still think that crime is a problem, still worry about it, and still feel unsafe.

As this research has revealed, many people in the community - both with and without an experience of victimisation - adopted precautionary behaviour to secure their person and property every day. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) contend that urban dwellers habitually do simple, routine things to find security (also see Innes, 2004). Adaptations of the Pakistani Scottish respondents to crime, ASB and other dangers of harm are discussed below under the following two heads: i) target hardening; and ii) restricted outdoor activities.

7.6.2.1 Target hardening

As the central idea behind physical or situational crime prevention (see Chapter 1), target hardening strategies seek to reduce the opportunity for crime by increasing the risks and decreasing the rewards of committing crime (Clarke, 1997). In addition to some situational crime prevention measures taken by the concerned agencies (discussed in the following chapter), respondents were found to adopt various target hardening measures to protect their person and property. These include measures to protect: a) home, b) shop, and c) person and are discussed below:

a) Home

In view of the high incidence of housebreaking in East Pollokshields, many (29) respondents mentioned that they had installed extra locks while some others have also fitted burglar alarm to their homes. Though only 6 participants had the experience of their houses being broken into in the past 24 months (see Table 21 above), 17 people mentioned that they have a burglar alarm installed. As one lady (45) replied:

> **You see, my building doesn't have a secured front door. So, you may guess, anybody can come in. That's why I have installed a burglar alarm in my flat.**

In their Scottish study, Clark and Leven (2002: 58) find that 'in relation to housebreaking, ethnic minority victims were more likely to say that they had had lasting emotional effects and that the incident had affected their behaviour in some way. Impact on behaviour was, however, expressed in the positive sense of increased caution in relation to using security devices.' However, as the research has found, arranging these protective measures was related to the socio-economic condition of

local residents (see above). The reason why one respondent experienced repeated incidents of housebreaking may partly be attributed to his unemployment and inability to install a burglar alarm and a more secured door. In this context, Rengert (1992: 115) argues:

Addition of a burglar alarm…begs the question whether alarm systems deter criminals or merely displace crime spatially on to unalarmed homes…If alarm displaces burglary spatially, then there are serious questions concerning their usefulness, especially if they contribute to spatial injustice by focussing crime on households and communities which may not be able to afford high cost of burglar alarms. In this case, income transfer is taking place where unalarmed homes are bearing a disproportionate share of the cost of burglary.

As we discussed in Chapter 2, community safety thus engenders the 'social division of safety' where one people's safety comes at the cost of the other. In the following section, we discuss target hardening measures adopted by shopkeepers in the area. **b) Shop**

As Harrison (1992) argues, crime reduces the profitability of local shops and businesses, increasing their insurance premiums and often making them uninsurable. None of the 12 shop-owners, who took part in this research, was aware that Pollokshields ranked third in the city in terms of shoplifting offences (see Chapter 5). None of them experienced shoplifting in the past two years; but 4 shopkeepers mentioned that they had had such incidents in the past 5 years. These shopkeepers were also apprehensive about other threats such as vandalism and young people hanging about in front of the shop. To protect their business, they installed various target hardening measures in their shops (Figure 50). Among these, burglar alarm and CCTV were the most common protection measures. It was also found that the

Figure 50: Security arrangements in shops
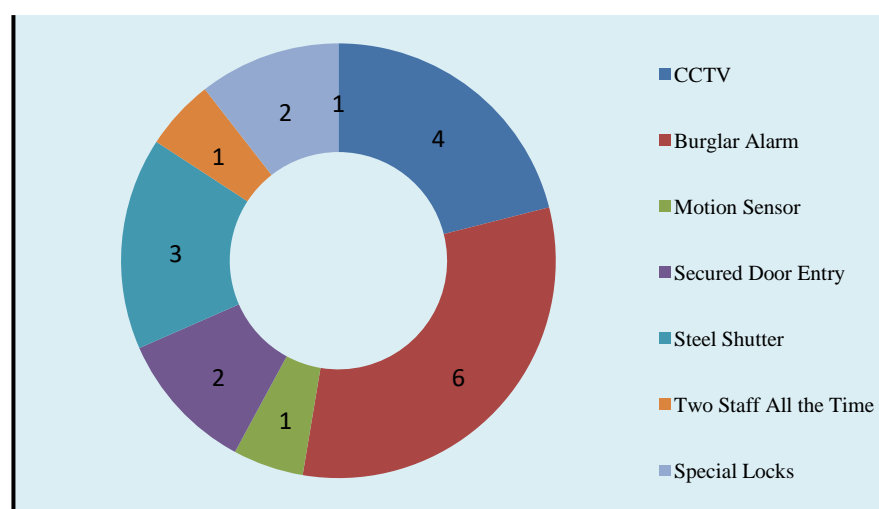
Source: Fieldwork. Figures show number of shops with such measures.

shopkeepers were particularly happy with the CCTV as a crime-deterrent measure. We now discuss the measures adopted by respondents to protect themselves against possible harms caused by crime or other dangers.

c) Person

As Savona (1993: 104) maintains:

It is possible to note every day how people's behaviour is modified by the existence of crime; how much freedom they deny themselves due to cautiousness and how many restrictions they impose upon themselves because of fear! People go out less often in the evening, accept the "necessary" company of other people … and make many sacrifices, great and small, which have a deep impact on the quality of their lives.

Many respondents, in particular females, mentioned that they were fearful about going out alone and especially after dark. What they feared most is the attack from a stranger while some reported their apprehension about unsafe roads. The measures for self-protection employed by women ranged from mobile phone to attack alarm. As one lady (40) said:

I carry attack alarm whenever I go out alone after dark.

For one respondent (male, 42: shopkeeper), the best way to protect oneself from mugging in the streets when alone is to minimise the perceived reward for the potential mugger. He described what his elderly mother does when she is out alone after dark. The man described:

They (the muggers) also know that Asian ladies have gold. That's why my mom doesn't wear these when she goes out; that's not safe.

These examples indicate some of the ways in which the local residents protect themselves and their property from various threats posed by crime, ASB and other dangers. In addition, as we shall see below, many respondents impose restrictions in their movement outside their homes.

7.6.2.2 Restricted outdoor activities

Research suggests that women are more likely to restrict their movement outside the home after dark than men (see Kinsey and Anderson, 1992; Moller, 2005). In their Scottish study, Kinsey and Anderson (1992: 62) find that 'women were four times more likely than men to avoid going out alone because of the risk of crime. When they did go out, they were also four times as likely to make sure they had a companion'. On this gender difference, Moller, (2005: 311) suggests:

Women tend to be more influenced by their immediate surroundings in processing risk perception while men are more influenced by their empowerment status. Women "ecologise" fear and risk; environmental factors provide powerful signals for women…Men tend to underplay risk; they personalise risk and fear based on their own status as young, old, educated, newcomers etc.

Moreover, Skogan and Maxfield (1981) opine that people try to minimise the risk of victimisation outside their home by two ways: i) they limit their exposure to risk, and ii) even if they are exposed, they adopt tactics to reduce their chances of being victimised. Respondents' adaptations include:

a) Not going out alone after dark

A majority of the Asian women and girls who took part in the study belong to this group. As Skogan and Maxfield (1981) purport, one reaction to crime is to stay at home. Since generally people feel safest at home, it is the place to which they can withdraw in time of stress. For some women, a decision to stay locked in after dark was based on their direct experience of threats. As one female respondent (32: self employed) stated:

> Some teenagers were standing at the street corner and I can't tell you, but they were shouting at me and using abusive words. I was scared and quickly got into my close. I was stressed and after that incident, I avoid, especially in winter nights, to go out.

Another respondent, an elderly lady (68: self employed) defended her decision of not going out alone after dark by saying:

> I am living here for almost 30 yrs; I have never had a single issue. But it's also true that I never go out alone at night. Never, except when I drive. Because I don't feel confident being out after dark. The thing is, if you want to ask for trouble, you are in trouble. I don't want to be in any unnecessary trouble.

Kinsey and Anderson (1992: 62) argue that for some people, then, the possibility of crime can become persistent intrusion, first undermining and then re-ordering the routines of everyday life…People's experiences of the problem of crime both intensify and are intensified by problems which may have nothing to do with crime itself – problems which may range from an inadequate bus service or poor street lighting to the social isolation of the elderly, or the simple feeling of yet another problem in an already difficult world.' In the following section we shall see how certain parts of the neighbourhood were avoided by some residents due to fear of crime and other dangers.

b) Avoiding certain areas and streets in the neighbourhood

This was another rational choice for those who wanted to minimise the risk of becoming a victim. As this research has revealed, many Asian women avoided some streets and areas in the neighbourhood to protect them from any potential danger. As a woman (37) told the researcher:

> I avoid going to Shields Road, also Maxwell Square Park after dark because people hang about and do strange things.

In addition to the female members in the community, young male respondents also avoided certain areas in East Pollokshields for their safety. As we saw earlier in this chapter, Pakistani Scottish young males did not feel safe going to the McCulloch Street area which they perceived as the White youth's territory. We have also related this avoidance behaviour to wider issues of territoriality and gang culture in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, most mothers were fearful about allowing their child alone on to the street in East Pollokshields. Using *Popsicle Index* (see Chapter 2), this research measured QoL in the neighbourhood based on the issue of safety. The suggestion in the index is that QoL in a neighbourhood is proportional to the % of people who believe

that their child will be able to 'leave home, go to the nearest place to buy a Popsicle or other snack and return home alone safely'(Fitts, 2001). As evident from Figure 51, Popsicle Index for East Pollokshields was 54% on a scale of 0-100 which implies that the neighbourhood was not very safe for younger children. Moreover,

Figure 51: Parents' perception of safety of their children in East Pollokshields

Q: Do you believe that your child (aged 5-11) can leave home, go to the nearest place to buy a Popsicle or other snack and return home alone safely?	
Believe	Don't believe
19 (54%)	16 (46%)

N=35

according to the Popsicle Index, the local QoL was moderate. Fitts (*ibid*) argued that Popsicle Index is of value since it is based on gut level feelings of the local people who have intimate knowledge of a neighbourhood, rather than "facts and figures". In the following section we discuss the overall conclusion of this chapter.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that community safety was a fundamental element in the life quality of the Pakistani Scottish group. Respondents identified many issues as affecting their community safety issues in the neighbourhood such as ASB, unsafe roads, drug use and dealing, racial abuse and harassment, housebreaking and litter and rubbish. Anti-social behaviour in East Pollokshields took many forms: teenagers hanging about, territoriality, gang culture and graffiti, vandalism, litter, rubbish and fly-tipping, and drinking and rowdy behaviour in the public. However, a majority of respondents were concerned about teenagers hanging about, litter, rubbish and flytipping as well as vandalism particularly due to the 'visible' nature of these disorders. Innes (2004: 336) - in his analysis of the various ways people 'interpret criminal and disorderly incidents', and 'how these inflect the construction of collective perceptions of criminogenic risk' – introduced the concept of 'signal crimes'. He argues:

Some crime and disorder incidents matter more than others to people in terms of shaping their risk perceptions. This is because some crimes and some disorders (but not other ostensibly similar incidents) are especially 'visible' to people and are interpreted by them as 'warning signals' about the risky people, places and events that they either do, or might, encounter in their lives (Innes, 2004: 336).

This research has revealed that the perceptions of community safety varied significantly according to age and sex of the participants. To a section of respondents (14%), community safety was equated with controlling anti-social behaviour by youths in the area. A majority of this sub-group – primarily elderly males in the community -

were also critical about local Asian youths who were considered as a threat to the safety of the entire community.

In addition to ASB, many became victims of crime such as housebreaking, racial abuse and harassment in the past two years. Still others witnessed such incidents or became apprehensive about these after hearing from others. Empirical evidence also suggests that domestic violence was a serious community safety issue affecting the Pakistani Scottish women in East Pollokshields. However, due to the sensitivity of the issue, it largely remained confined to the four walls of the households.

This research also revealed that the lived experience of community safety in East Pollokshields greatly influenced QoL of respondents. Experiences of victimisation affected the life quality of the study group making them annoyed, shocked or sad. For example, one respondent described how incidents of repeated housebreaking jeopardised his privacy, livelihood and put him under stress. Moreover, the fear of crime restricted resident's movement outside their home as they avoided certain parts of the neighbourhood at certain periods of the day. Pakistani Scottish women and young people had the poorest perceptions of community safety in East Pollokshields. Many of these two groups found East Pollokshields or certain areas of the neighbourhood as unsafe. On the other hand, for a majority of the adult and elderly male members in the community, East Pollokshields was one of the safer places in Glasgow.

Finally, Savona (1993) argues that the perceptions of safety are directly related to people's confidence in the capacity of governments and local agencies to manage crime and ASB. The author goes on to suggest that this confidence reduces anxiety of the local people and also makes them feel *included* and informed about the processes of crime reduction in the community. She continues: 'improving confidence in the agencies charged with crime and disorder reduction will have a greater impact on resident's perceptions of crime' (Savona, 1993: 104). To complement the above discussion of the residents' lived experience of community safety, in the following chapter we focus on the role of governments and other agencies as well as the local community in bringing about community safety in East Pollokshields.

Chapter 8: Community Safety of the Pakistani Scottish Community: The Role of Stakeholders

8.1 Introduction

Drawing on the lived experiences of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish people in East Pollokshields discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter unpacks the role of governments, other agencies and the local community as stakeholders in the community safety partnership. As we saw in Chapter 1, the basic premise of community safety initiatives is that governments and other responsible agencies must engage with the local community to ensure that the voice of the community is heard in the local decision making. However, as we shall see, such partnership work remained at the rhetorical level in East Pollokshields as there was no co-ordinated effort to engage with the local community to solve their community safety problems. Moreover, as this research has found, there was a wide gap between the community safety priorities of the local community and those of the government and other agencies. With reference to the concept of *responsibilisation* (Garland, 1996), the present chapter reveals that the government and the local authority have shifted the responsibility of community safety onto the shoulders of the local community without providing the necessary resources to enable the task (see Chapter 2). Moreover, as this research argues, a section of the Pakistani Scottish community has assigned the blame of undermining community safety in the area to some local youths for their alleged involvement in ASB and criminal activities. This has resulted in a situation where some Pakistani Scottish youths find themselves *doubly excluded* – first from the local community safety initiatives where their voices remained unheard; and second from a section their own community which sees them as *deviated* from their (Islamic) path. As a result, the safety of the entire community is affected.

The approach to discussion in this chapter is deliberately critical. Here perspectives of both the local community and concerned agencies in the co-production of community safety in East Pollokshields have been presented. The discussion is organised under

the following three points: i) the role played by stakeholders in community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community; ii) a critique of the effectiveness of local community safety partnership in East Pollokshields; and iii) concluding discussion.

8.2 The role played by stakeholders in ameliorating community safety issues in East Pollokshields

The first duty of government is to protect the lives and property of all citizens, and thus by definition, reduce the citizen's likelihood of becoming a victim of crime. (Editorial, Police, vol. Xxxi, no. 4, April 1999) (Walklate, 2006: 169).

When asked 'who do you think has the responsibility of community safety in East Pollokshields', respondents listed many stakeholders (Table 22). However, a majority (97 of 110) considered that Strathclyde Police have the principal responsibility to make communities safer in Glasgow, followed by the City Council (56) and GCSS (37). Some respondents (21) also stressed that the local community must also make effort for community safety in East Pollokshields.

Table 22: Community safety in East Pollokshields: list of stakeholders

Stakeholders identified by the Pakistani Scottish community	
Government	Strathclyde Police (now Police Scotland)
Other Agencies	A. Glasgow City Council (GCC)
	B. Glasgow Community and Safety Services (GCSS)
Local Community	A. Community Organisations
	i) Youth Community Support Agency (YCSA) ii)
	Masjid Noor (Mosque)
	B. Pakistani Scottish Community

As we saw in the first two chapters, it's a statutory responsibility for governments and local authority organisations to be involved in community safety partnerships with local communities. However, studies have shown that except for a few exceptions, the goal of multi-agency partnership endeavour in community safety in Britain has remained largely at the rhetorical level (see Audit Commission, 1999;
Crawford, 1997, 1998, 2007; Evans, 2002; Hope, 2005; Hughes and Edwards, 2002; Hughes, 2006, 2007; Skinns, 2003). In this chapter we critically discuss the role played by various agencies and the local community in community safety initiatives in East Pollokshields. In the following section, we discuss the role of Strathclyde Police in making local communities safer in East Pollokshields.

8.2.1 Strathclyde Police

Most respondents (89%) in this research considered the police as primarily responsible for making communities safer in Glasgow. As we shall see below, a mixed picture of satisfaction and dis-satisfaction on the role of Strathclyde Police in local community safety initiatives emerged from the narratives of participants. Their lived experience of local policing is discussed below under the following two heads:
a) community policing in East Pollokshields; and b) Strathclyde Police-Pakistani Scottish youth relationship.

a) Community policing in East Pollokshields

Community policing…is at the heart of the Government's commitment to strengthening operational policing in our communities. The Scottish Government believes that communities should have a clear understanding of the level of policing they have a right to expect, how that is being delivered, and how their views are taken into account…Community policing directly contributes to the outcomes we seek in relation to people living their lives free of crime and in having strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others (Scottish Government, 2009: 1).

In view of this government rhetoric, the present section examines the ground realities of community policing in Scotland's biggest city Glasgow. Commentators argue that community policing is an ambiguous phrase (Mackenzie and Henry, 2009). The present research uses the following definition of community policing proposed by Trojanowicz et al. (2002: 311):

Community policing is both a philosophy and an organisational strategy that allows the police and community residents to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, reduce fear of crime, and improve neighbourhood conditions.

Community policing was introduced into Strathclyde Police in the early 1980's. According to Strathclyde Police (undated), community policing model of the force is based on three key principles of: i) *visibility, ii) public reassurance,* and *iii) problem solving*; yet is flexible enough to address the diverse needs of communities. However, as we shall see below, many residents of East Pollokshields appeared to believe that the police have failed to perform their role. We discuss these three strands of community policing below.

i) Visibility

Parks et al. (1999: 486) suggest that 'one theme of community policing is encouraging officers to spend more time with the people in the community. Making people *feel* safe has become as important as making them safe; invariably this entails being visible, responsive, and physically present.' The then Chief Constable and the proponent of the Spotlight Initiative (see Chapter 3) of Strathclyde Police John Orr (1998: 116) contends:

There must be a firm commitment to maximising officer presence on the street, with the dual intention of providing reassurance to the public, thus reducing fear of crime and — a threat to the criminal — increasing fear of detection.

The present researcher asked respondents how often they saw community police officers patrolling the locality. The results are presented in Table 23. It can be found that there was wide variation in the perceived visibility of community police officers amongst respondents. According to an officer of the Strathclyde Police (male: 37), this difference can be attributed to a number of factors such as limited

Table 23: How often do community police officers visit East Pollokshields?

Every day	Often (4-5 days/week)	Sometimes (once or twice/week)	Occasionally (once or twice /month)	Don't know
0	0	68	23	19

number of police officers compared to areas they cover, officers patrolling only selective streets/areas in the neighbourhood and at a certain time of the day, and the circumstances of the observer in terms of his/her presence or absence in the area where the officers patrol. Some residents, particularly elderly Asian men, were found to be satisfied with the visibility of police officers. As one of them (male: 66) said:

> **They are doing a good work; they come regularly and visit the area**.

One possible reason why the elderly people spotted the community police officers on a regular basis is their non-involvement in any paid employment since it allows them to spend much more time in the neighbourhood than the young people or the adults. As we see in the above table, many disagreed. As a member of the East Pollokshields Quad Committee (female: 44) argued:

> **You don't see them that often; do you? Again, you don't see them in large numbers. When they are out, they are very good; but you don't see them often**.

In this context, it may be added that past studies from Scotland suggest that local residents did not find officers patrolling their beat often. Both ethnic minority and white respondents in Clark and Leven's (2002) study, for example, believed that the police were not spending enough time patrolling the streets. Some young respondents in this research (11 out of 37) complained that police officers seem to be frequent during festival or some events rather than all round the year. They also pointed out that most officers cover only selective streets in the area. As a teenager (male: 17) complained:

> **There should be more police officers in the streets all-round the year and not just during big events like Eid. And also they should patrol the side streets in Pollokshields along with the main streets.**

While in the area, the present researcher himself has found that officers patrol only the major streets of the area such as Albert Drive, Kenmure Street and Maxwell Road. Another reason why officers appear infrequent to residents is their using a car to patrol the area rather than walking it. As Orr (1998: 112) observes 'the car, "the steel box", provided a physical barrier to community interaction.' The respondents in this research stressed that they want their community police officers patrolling on foot to allow them interacting with the local people. Such interaction, as the local people believe, is a key element of the public reassurance strategy to which we turn next.

ii) Public reassurance

As we saw in Chapter 3, Public Reassurance Policing in Scotland seeks to increase people's confidence in policing through improving their quality of life and reducing crime and disorder in communities (ACPOS, 2007). However, as this research has found, community police officers have largely failed to provide public reassurance to members of ethnic minority communities in East Pollokshields. Only 14 respondents

(out of 110), mostly the first generation elders, were happy with the support role provided by Strathclyde Police. For example, one male respondent (59) described:

Police are doing their job; they do a lot for the area. They go to the community centres, mosque and seek co-operation of the community (like distributing these leaflets). Moreover, they give message in local newspaper, e.g. in terms of the recent threat that '…you will be the next Kris Donald'…the police warned that whoever does this will be put in prison for 90 years.

Figure 52: The appeal of Strathclyde Police to Glasgow's Muslim community on housebreaking in the community (with Urdu version)
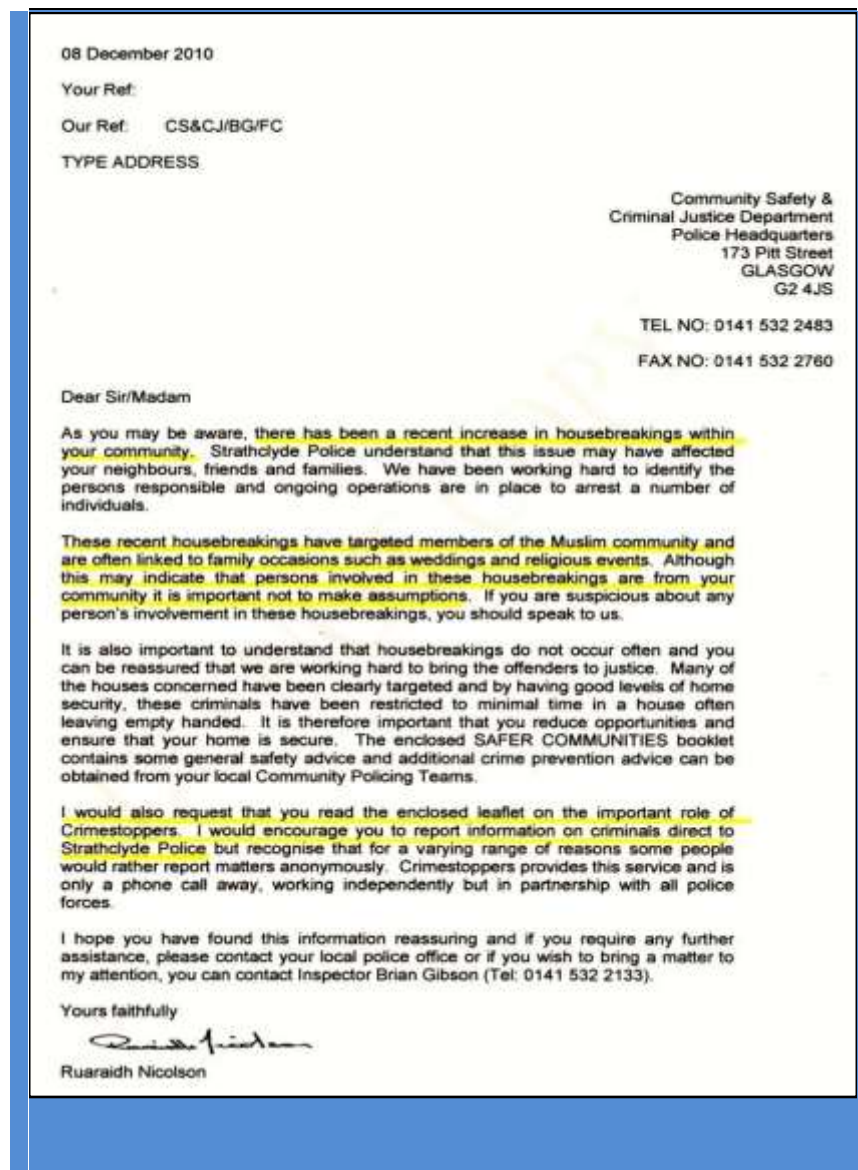
Source: Strathclyde Police

The distribution of leaflets in the above quote refers to Strathclyde Police's appeal to the Asian community on the recent increase in housebreaking where Asian households are being targeted. This particular leaflet (see Figure 52 above) was delivered to the Muslim community of Glasgow at a public meeting organised by the police at the Central Mosque, Glasgow. It should be noted, however, that venue of the meeting was few miles away from the neighbourhood and where only a few people from East Pollokshields attend. Respondents argued that public reassurance from the police depends on how officers interact with the residents and communicate their messages *locally*. Some participants (12) complained that community police officers were not friendly and often did not respond to local residents' communication. As one gentleman (56) complained:

> **There should be more openness between the police officers and the local people. Community police officers who are patrolling an area *are supposed to be friend of the community*. But, on one occasion when I said 'hello' to the officers, they didn't reciprocate or ask me 'how are you doing?' The Police should do more such interaction with the local community they are serving** [Original emphasis].

This sends out a strong message to the Strathclyde Police on their role in the community and resonates with the image of a patrolling officer painted by Banton. He wrote:

The policemen on patrol is primarily a 'peace officer' rather than a 'law officer'…operating within the moral consensus of the community (Banton, 1964: 127, 7).

An officer of Strathclyde Police admitted this fault and stressed the need of more communication between his officers and the local ethnic minority people of East Pollokshields rather than the routine 'stop-and-search questions'. He (male: 44) commented:

> **We must encourage people talking to each other to know each other's views, experiences and that kind of thing. That's the key for my officers as well who are out there and *it not just what's your name and what's your date of birth? Beyond that talk to people, give a smile and that breaks down all the barriers*** [Emphasis added].

Female respondents told the researcher that the community police officers did not interact with them. As one girl (13) complained:

> **They are not open; they do not talk to us.**

We shall see below that this lack of interaction was also related to cultural factors such as language skills of the community. Moreover, one member of the Pollokshields Community Council (female: 44) accused the community police officers of misleading the residents with incomplete information and offence data:

> **I would say they are not presenting the right picture to the community in terms of crime figures etc. I tell you why. I attended a community council meeting where representative of the Strathclyde Police. The officer was giving out crime statistics and my friend xxx's flat has just been broken into and set fire. So I asked 'what about the burglary and arson?' Then the officer said, oh, that's a serious crime; we are giving general offence statistics…So they were just slightly *misleading the residents*. I thought they were trying to *make things better than it was*. That's not fair; they *got to be honest with the community*** [Emphasis added].

Commenting on the ineffective role of community police officers in East Pollokshields, another member of the Community Council complained that the senior officers did not listen to the concerns raised by them. He (male: 62) complained:

> **We do have an issue with the way the community police officers interact with us; not the individual officers, but the supervisors tend not to listen what we are talking about. At each monthly meeting of the PCC up to two police constables will attend, present a review of crime statistics and answer questions on issues of concern. While their attendance is welcome the PCC is somewhat *frustrated* as these are low-level cops who, although with the best intentions, do not have the power to present the statistics in a meaningful way. On many occasions we have communicated with their managers for extended information or the occasional presence of a more senior officer. These efforts have come to naught.**

These experiences raise serious questions about the role and effectiveness of Strathclyde Police in providing reassurance to the residents of East Pollokshields. We now look into the third principle of community policing in terms of the experience of the Pakistani Scottish people in the neighbourhood. **iii) Problem solving:**

Another dimension of an effective community policing is the problem-solving approach taken by officers present in the community. In addition to the above two components, this is something which helps to build trust of residents in the service provided by the police. In this section, the lived experience of local residents will be examined with respect to the role of Strathclyde Police in responding to the reported offences.

Crime reporting and its outcome

Research suggests that members of minority ethnic communities are less likely to report crime to the police than other ethnic groups (see Clancy et al., 2001; Jansson, 2006). As this research has found, out of 64 incidents of crime and ASB described by respondents (see Table 21 above) only 17 (27%) were reported to Strathclyde Police. The Audit Commission (2003) maintains that the likelihood that victims or witnesses will report a crime varies significantly according to the type of crime involved. Vandalism, hooliganism or harassment is significantly less likely to be reported than violent crimes. This research has revealed that housebreaking, shoplifting and arson were reported more than racial abuse and harassment, and vandalism. As it transpired from the study, monetary loss due to victimisation was an important consideration behind the decision of the Pakistani Scottish victims to report a crime or not. When asked about the reason of not reporting a crime, respondents cited the following reasons: i) no evidence, ii) police won't/can't do anything iii) not serious enough, iv) male members in the family didn't want to report, and v) to avoid hassle (Figure 53). The respondents' decision not to report crime was greatly influenced by their past experiences of reporting where the police *couldn't do anything* due to *lack of evidence*. As one lady (30) described:

Nothing happened last time when reported vandalism. Police couldn't do anything. No evidence!

Figure 53: Reasons of not reporting a crime incident
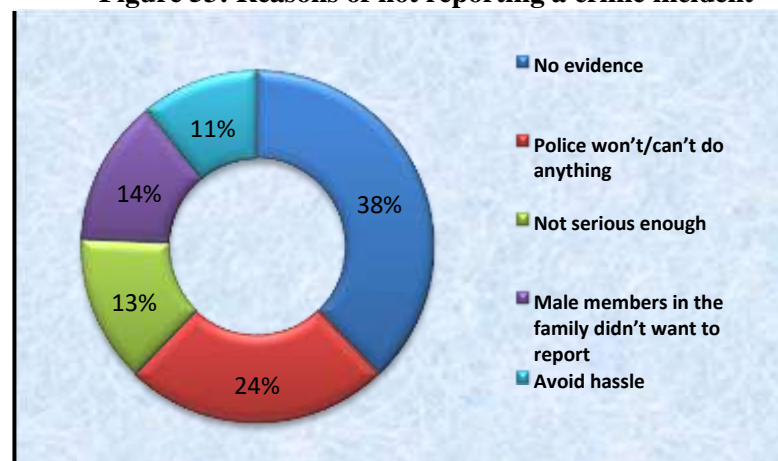
Source: Fieldwork. N=45 (adult women)

One important finding in this regard was the experience of the Pakistani Scottish women. Even though they felt strongly about an incident and thought of reporting it, they couldn't do so because male members or the head of the family didn't want to take on the *burden* of reporting. This reveals some wider social issues involving the

subordinate position of women in these families as well as the lack of fluency in English among many Asian women. 14 of the 17 respondents who reported crime were not satisfied with the time police took to arrive. One respondent (male: 42) who called the police for an incident of a serious assault, complained:

> **They don't come when you need it, you know. Last month, the boy next door was attacked; his fingers were chopped with a sword and fell on the ground. Even then, they took 40 minutes to arrive.**

One officer of the Strathclyde Police (male: 37), while appreciating the frustration of the complainers, maintained that very often the (police) force's priority and a complainer's priority do not match:

> **In terms of late arrival, again we are a public service that works on intelligence basis. Well, someone calling the police is allocated priority 1-5; priority 1 call, e.g. housebreaking, will be answered within, I will say, couple of minutes. When it goes down the scale the response time goes up accordingly. I mean community policing is all about policing at a different pace. Vast majority of issues up in Pollokshields are kind of neighbourhood disputes, youth issues that can be dealt with a different pace. In many cases, the complainer is offended. But this person is never really communicated the challenges we face and how our system works; I mean how we work out our priority. So that's the communication blockage there which we need to address.**

In addition to the delay in attending their call, 90% of the complainers were unhappy with the *outcome* of their complaints. One shopkeeper (female, 48) complained:

> **They took a statement and that's all. Nothing comes out of the complaint.**

Moreover, the female respondent (54) whose house was broken into and set fire was very unhappy with the way police handled her complaint, stating:

> **They investigated; but never given feedback about the progress. I didn't find the police supportive at all.**

The above discussion shows that respondents were generally unhappy with the way police dealt with their complaints whenever they reported crime. A majority of the victims, however, preferred not to report the incident to the police for various reasons including their belief that the police would not be of help.

As it transpired, the Pakistani Scottish people of East Pollokshields didn't find the police useful in solving their community safety problems. However, there was wide variation across age groups. For a majority of the elderly respondents, for example, police did their best to solve community safety issues. One of them (male: 67) commented:

> **The police, they are doing their best, you know. If you don't commit a crime, there is no reason that police is going to offend you or go after you.**

However, this assessment of the police was the exception; many people had a

Figure 54: Respondents' satisfaction with Strathclyde Police
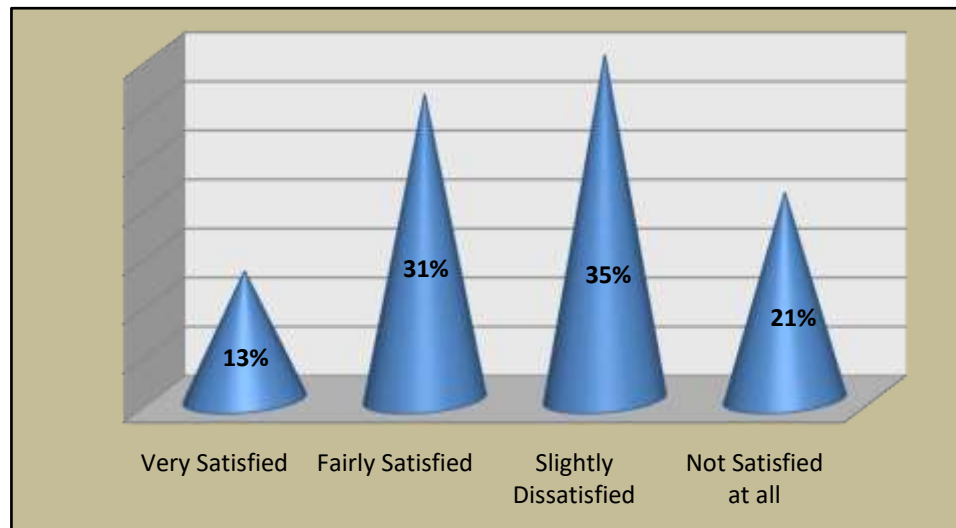
N= 110

different experience. One gentleman (42), for example, complained:

> I don't think police has done enough or doing enough to ensure community safety in the area. My house was broken into last year; nothing happened. I know many of my friends who live in different parts of Glasgow and have similar experiences. Police can't trace the offenders. This makes me think that the police are here for stopping kids and issuing tickets for speeding or double-parking; not for protecting people from serious crimes. Issuing tickets etc can be done by a layman, you don't need a policeman. The police should do more than these things.

Overall, as the research has found, only 44% respondents were found to be satisfied with the police in dealing with crime and ASB in East Pollokshields (see Figure 54 above). In general, it was found that the first generation Pakistani Scottish men and women were more satisfied with the role of police in the local community safety initiatives. On the other hand, conforming to earlier research findings (see, for example, Frondigoun et al. 2007), a majority of the young people (29 of 37) – particularly male - were very much dissatisfied with the treatment at the hand of the police. These youths were critical about policing and focus group discussions with them revealed that they had an entirely different perception about the police compared to the elderly people in the family and the community. Studies have shown that the relationship between the Pakistani young people and the police in Britain has been troublesome and often dictated along racial lines (see Bowling and Phillips, 2003 below). We will now discuss the relationship between the police and the Pakistani Scottish youths in East Pollokshields.

b) Strathclyde Police-Pakistani Scottish youth relationship

An extensive body of research, both in the US and UK, suggests that race has been a key predictor of people's attitudes towards policing. In their US study, for example, Weitzer and Tuch (1999: 494) find that the 'Blacks are more inclined than Whites to express unfavourable views about policing and to report that they have personally experienced or observed police wrongdoing.' Commentators also argue that such perceptions of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) community about the police is a part of a wider perception about the criminal justice system. The research of

171

MacDonald et al. (2007: 2578-2580) in Cincinnati, Ohio reveals that coloured people have stronger perceptions that they are treated unfairly by the police 'compared to white residents with similar individual attributes (e.g., SES, age, marital status, gender etc.), neighbourhood perceptions (e.g., disorder, fear of crime, etc.), and living in the same neighbourhoods.' These authors also found that younger individuals are significantly more likely than older respondents to think that the police engage in racially biased practices.

In the context of Britain, Bowling and Phillips (2003: 549) argue:

In common with experiences in many parts of the world, the relationship between the British police and minority ethnic communities has not been a happy one. Today's controversy about the abuse of police power, the failure to investigate crimes against people from minority ethnic communities properly and the view that the police are unresponsive and unaccountable to the communities they serve, echoes this long and troubled history.

In a recent research on community safety of the ethnic minorities undertaken for the Aberdeenshire Community Planning Partnership, Spicker et al. (2004: 15) report that the ethnic minority residents identified discriminating action by the police as 'part of the problem'. Moreover, Frondigoun et al.'s (2007) study of minority ethnic youths in Edinburgh and Greater Glasgow revealed that young respondents criticised police for "over policing" and "poor communication" (also see Chapter 1). As found in this study, Pakistani Scottish youths in East Pollokshields had some serious reservations about their community police officers. Two areas of concern are discussed below:

i) Stop-and-search experience:

As Bowling and Phillips (2003) maintain, the use of stop-and-search powers by the police is one of the most debated issues in the relationship between the police and minority ethnic communities. These authors noted that research findings consistently suggest that people from BME communities are far more likely to be stopped and searched by the police compared to the white people (also see Croall and Frondigoun, 2010). Referring to the Ministry of Justice figures for Britain, the Guardian reported (17/06/2010) that the number of black and Asian people stopped and searched by the police has increased by more than 70% over the past five years. Of the 37 Pakistani Scottish young people participating in this research, 16 (all male) mentioned that they were stopped and searched by the police on 1 or more occasions. A majority of these youths (13) were annoyed with the way they were treated by the police and many thought they were stopped for no reason. As one young person (male, 20) complained:

> **I have been stopped *several times*. Once during the Eid I was walking down the street and the police appeared from blues and they just asked me to stop. They *started swearing at me and dragged me to the wall* and searched. They didn't find anything, *but never said sorry*** [Emphasis added].

As Croall and Frondigoun (2010: 122) report, 'a number of Scottish studies have found that young people are concerned about harassment and over-policing and that Asian young men in particular feel that they are stopped more often than white youths and report experiences of cultural insensitivity.' Moreover, many youths in this study (24

of 37) thought that the police were heavy-handed with them only because of their religion. One of them (male, 16) argued:

> **They hassled me only because I am a Muslim**.

Even the Pakistani Scottish girls - who didn't have the direct experience of stop-andsearch - thought that their peers were being *ill-treated* by police. They stressed that such ill-treatment was simply because the police were targeting *young people of a particular religion*. Commentators argue that the Muslims throughout Britain have experienced much more racialised policing and discrimination after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 (see, for example, Frondigoun et al., 2007; Lewis, 2007; Spalek, 2005; Spicker, et al., 2004; also Chapter 1). In most cases the young people who were stopped and searched by the police in East Pollokshields complained that the police never told them *why* they were being stopped. These experiences of the local Muslim youths made them believe that they were being discriminated primarily due to their religion or ethnic background. When informed about such a perception among the Muslim youths, one officer of Strathclyde Police (male, 44) admitted:

> **Sometimes, it's difficult because you are seen to be targeting only a particular section of the community…Ultimately we would be targeting a certain part of the community just by virtue of the fact that 4 or 5 main players are from the Muslim community**.

He also admitted that community police officers have to make more effort to win the confidence of these young people. We now discuss another area of concern in the relationship between the police and ethnic minority youths in the area.

ii) Discriminating and offensive behaviour by the police

A majority of the young respondents (21 of 37) believed that police officers interacted with them rather rudely without any provocation. One young man (21) complained:

> **Many of the White officers shout at Asian kids and swear at them. That's one of the major problems why these kids get frustrated with the police. Sometimes the police target us and label us as problems. They should be more respectful about the community they serve.**

Some young respondents also told the researcher that many community police officers were *racist* and that they target Asian kids only due to racism. As a boy (male, 15) commented:

> **They stop us simply because they are racist. They also shout at us and abuse us.**

These respondents also provided examples of *age discrimination* and rude behaviour by the police. In the focus group discussions, Pakistani Scottish girls complained that the police discriminate between young people and adults in their community. As a girl (15) argued:

> **They discriminate between young and older Asian people in the community. The *adults also do many bad things*, but the police seem to pick the kids all the time. I think the police don't touch the adults because they may argue or swear back. They only target the young people**.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that Strathclyde Police appeared ineffective in addressing community safety issues of the Pakistani Scottish residents in East

Pollokshields and insensitive as well as discriminating to the local Muslim youths. We now turn our attention to other organisations which were identified by respondents as stakeholders in local community safety initiatives. First of all, we discuss the role of the Glasgow City Council in local community safety initiatives.

8.2.2 The Glasgow City Council (GCC)

In this section, the role played by the Council in local community safety initiatives will be discussed with reference to four areas of intervention: a) providing necessary street and amenity lights to address the fear of crime, b) taking necessary actions for road safety, c) improving the physical appearance of East Pollokshields, d) providing resources for a proposed Civic Hub or Community Campus. These are discussed below.

a) Improving street and amenity lighting

Many residents, especially women, stressed the need for better street and amenity lighting in East Pollokshields to improve their perceptions of safety. Farrington and Welsh (2002: v) summarise the basic premise of the impact of improved street lighting on crime as follows:

There are two main theories of why improved street lighting may cause a reduction in crime. The first suggests that improved lighting leads to increased surveillance of potential offenders (both by improving visibility and by increasing the number of people on the street) and hence to the deterrence of potential offenders. The second suggests that improved lighting signals increased community investment in the area and that the area is improving, leading to increased community pride, community cohesiveness and informal social control. The first theory predicts decreases in crime especially during the hours of darkness, while the second theory predicts decreases in crime during both day-time and night-time.

Based on their review of several studies from both sides of the Atlantic, they concluded that 'improved lighting should be included as one element of a situational crime reduction programme. It is an inclusive intervention benefiting the whole of a neighbourhood and leads to an increase in perceived public safety. Improved street lighting is associated with greater use of public space and neighbourhood streets by law abiding citizens. Especially if well targeted to a high-crime area, improved street lighting can be a feasible, inexpensive and effective method of reducing crime' (Farrington and Welsh, 2002: vi).

Figure 55: Streets and amenities where lighting should be improved
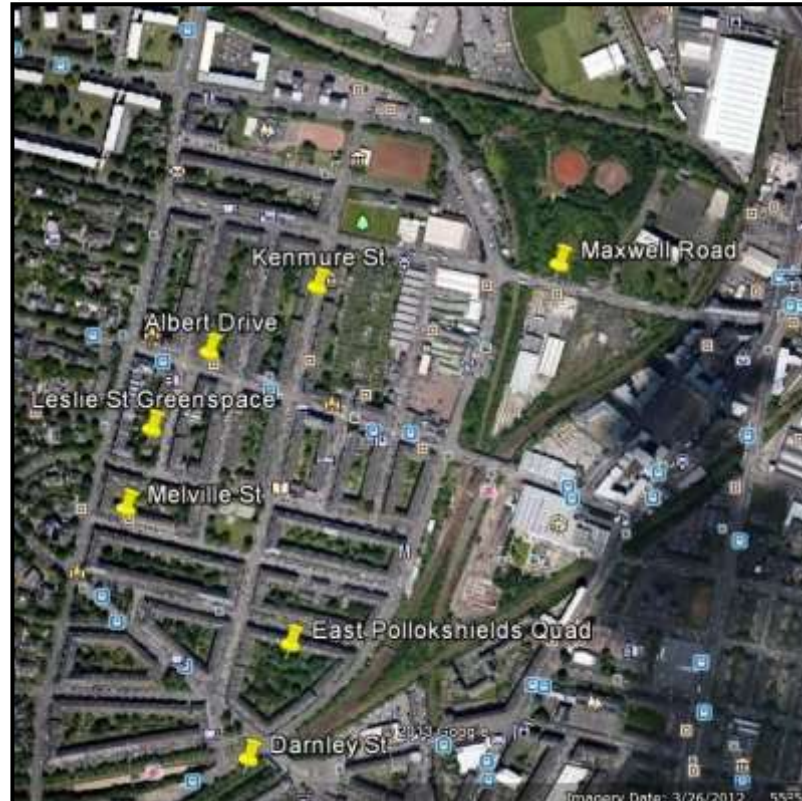
Source: Google Earth, 2013

Female respondents in this research emphasised that the Council should put more lights on Maxwell Road, Kenmure Street, and Darnley Street and also along side streets such as Leslie St and Melville St. As a woman (35) complained:

> **You see, many small streets in this area do not have sufficient light. You don't feel safe walking with your kids after dark.**

Participants also complained about insufficient light in many public places and facilities like the East Pollokshields Quad, small green spaces such as Leslie Street Greenspace and also at the bus stops along Albert Drive (see Figure 55 above). That the area was neglected in terms of lighting by the City Council was reinforced by members of the community policing team. An officer of Strathclyde Police (male, 44) stressed:

> **I think lighting is something that needs to be improved; it has been talked for number of yrs. So that's the kind of sense of wellbeing, e.g. improved lighting can really help the community. For me it's about a small amount of investment that's going to give the biggest dividend. Say for example, Kenmure St is very busy street, but lighting is poor, the gardens are frequently overgrown and there is no natural surveillance because of the hedges and all.**
> **It wouldn't take that much.**

As evident in the above quote, despite the need of improved lighting the Council has overlooked the problem for years. This researcher tried to contact members of the Land and Environmental Services of the Council regarding lighting issues in the area but his request for a meeting was passed on to 3 different officers with eventually no one available to meet.

175

b) Road safety initiatives

This is the only area where some residents (23%) were satisfied with what the

Plate 9: Roundabout and divider: Albert Drive at Herriot Street

Council had done. These include: i) speed bumps along Kenmure Street and McCulloch Street; ii) narrowed carriageway along a section of McCulloch Street; and iii) roundabouts along Albert Drive. The latter also has traffic divider and other instructions marked along it (see Plate 9). However, some others (29%) have expressed concerns that such measures have simply displaced the speeding issue to other streets of the area. As one respondent (male, 59) identified:

> **There are still problems in certain streets, especially the school areas. The Council will wait for an accident before installing speed devices. Crazy!**

Difficulties faced by pedestrians at the crossing of Nithsdale Road and Kenmure St had been raised by many people living locally. Respondents described this junction as an accident-prone area since many people struggle to cross this five-point junction in the absence of a traffic light. However, the Council seemed to be turning a blind eye to the issue as one member of the Pollokshields Community Council (female, 67) maintained:

> **Various suggestions for differing approaches to traffic and pedestrian management had been discussed at the Community Council, and sub-groups formed to take the matter forward, but nothing ever seemed to result. I wrote to the Director of Land & Environmental Services of the Council to ask if a traffic light could be introduced or at least double yellow lines could be painted round all the corners of the roads that abut that busy junction.**

The lady continued:

> **I was told that the Council don't see the prospect of traffic lights or double yellow lines on the grounds of cost. I was also told that such a process would probably take about nine months and, of course, time means money. I was also told that if a wide-ranging road policy was being considered in the locale then this junction would be included in that. So, here we are**

> **some years on, no progress made. The crossing is of particular nuisance to pram pushers and wheel chair and mobility car users**.

This proves that what people in the community really need appear to have little bearing on what the Council wants. We now move on to discuss the role played by GCC in enhancing people's QoL by improving the environmental quality of the area.

c) Improving the physical appearance of the area

We saw in the previous chapter that litter, rubbish and fly-tipping were major concerns in East Pollokshields. Respondents in this research, while acknowledging the responsibility of residents in keeping the area clean, also questioned the role played by GCC. As one lady (54) commented:

> **It's due to the lack of public education particularly among children/young people about disposal of litter; lack of respect for the area by outsiders; and lack of competence by the Council Cleansing Department**.

Moreover, the lady in the above quote accused GCC for, what she termed *chronic institutional racism,* and also complained that there has been considerable erosion to the Council services in East Pollokshields over the past few years. In similar vein, another respondent (male, 50) felt that the Council overlooks the issue of cleanliness since the area was East Pollokshields and not Glasgow's West End. He complained:

> **You see, it is racism. Since East Pollokshields is a predominantly Asian area, litter and rubbish on streets don't get picked. If this were Hyndland it would have been a different picture.**

One of the three Councillors for Pollokshields (male, 27) observed that the problem was becoming worse day by day. He pointed out:

> **I think litter and rubbish is a huge issue in Pollokshields East. It revolves around a lot of things, e.g. rubbish collection. I get lot of complaints from the residents that they don't have wheelie bins because the Council maintains small steel bins in the back courts of the tenement. Then there is a lack of street cleaners like the council workers cleaning the streets and emptying bins regularly despite the fact that there quite a lot of shops in the area.**

An officer of GCC (male, 50) appreciated the local sentiments and stressed the need for better services by the Council's Cleansing Department. He said:

> **It's up to the individuals to take responsibility. But, it also depends on how frequently the bins are cleaned and we have had issues in many town centres. So, perhaps there needs to be an improvement in the cleaning regime as well. May be garbage needs to be uplifted first in the morning and then in the afternoon as well.**

An employee of GCC (male, 43) who cleans the area revealed:

> **The Council should deploy more cleaners to East Pollokshields. I am the only man working in the area. You see, some streets in East Pollokshields don't have sufficient bins. I suggested to my officers to provide more staff and resources, but it had no effect.**

Plate 10: 2.85 acre derelict land in between the Albert Drive and Maxwell Road

In addition to the problem related to cleanliness, there were some derelict sites in East Pollokshields. These are former industrial-commercial sites and neglected by the Council for many years (Plate 10 above). As one officer of the Strathclyde Police (male, 44) remarked:

> **There are sites in Pollokshields which can be developed and there is a huge competition between whether it will be for building homes or leisure space. It's the investment of infrastructure that would make the biggest improvement for the area.**

However, the Council is yet to regenerate these sites and improve the physical image of the area. A member of the Pollokshields Community Council (male, 62) complained:

> **We can't get these things done unless the City Council decides that this is going to happen. The City Council has an agenda and our community we may have completely different agenda and there are lots of disjoints between the City Council plans and what the local community thinks.**

As respondents mentioned, several sites in the area needed immediate attention and improvement to stop further deterioration from ASB and to convert these into useful public places for the community. Finally, we discuss the progress with respect to a proposed civic hub in East Pollokshields.

Table 24: Mind the gap! Required and the existing play/recreation facilities in East Pollokshields

Types of Facilities	Required Standard (ha)	Existing Provision (ha)
Amenity open space	1.0	0.64
Children's play areas	1.6	0
Recreation areas	2.42	0.5
Toddler's play areas	5.26	0.1
Total	**10.28**	**1.24 (12%)**

Source: Glasgow District Council, 1979

d) The Proposed Civic Hub

As we saw in the previous chapter, most of the respondents linked youth problems and ASB with the lack of youth facilities in East Pollokshields. In fact, such concerns among members in the community can be traced back to the 1970s when the then District Council of Glasgow recognised that East Pollokshields lacked amenity open spaces and children's play areas (see Table 24 above). Nothing seemed to have improved over the past 4 decades except play facilities attached to the Glendale Primary School. In 2007, the former Councillor of Pollokshields Irfan Rabbani took the initiative for a recreational, sports and community facility at the McCulloch Street site. As a present Councillor (male, 27) explained:

> **I have spoken to an officer of the Development and Regeneration Services of the Glasgow City Council several times and he said about the plans for the area. He spoke about the formation of a Civic Hub at the McCulloch St centre where there would be new Glendale school, new health centre and social work building, new community centre and sports and recreational facilities. The Scottish government awarded money for the school, the health services given money for the health centre; so it's really what we relied on is Council to put in money for the project.**

Unfortunately, as he continued:

> **Almost five years now, nothing has been done. It's a real sticking point and concern in the community that nothing has happened. And the place is a *mess* because there is astro-turf *pitch that has fallen apart* and what is there at the moment is all rubbish. Then you have that *red pitch* which is *unsuitable* to play football because it may *injure people*. I think that's a real frustration for a lot of youths in the area. I would say there is a lack of facilities for, I would say, may be *teenage boys*. Obviously we have got Maxwell Park and there are play equipments; but that may be more *suitable for the younger children*. For the age group of say 15-20, that sports centre would have been great. Nothing came over** [Emphasis added].

Quite clearly, the above comment proves the genuine need for play facilities in the community. It also underlines the point that the implementation of the project solely depends on the Council. When contacted by this researcher, the officer of the Council (male, 50) referred to in the above quote commented:

> **It seemed to be a proposal which would address the whole lot of concerns - it closes off a street which is recognised for accidents statistics; redeveloping an existing single-storey school into a two-storey school. We also discussed this with the Health Board who identified the need for a community health facility. So it seemed sensible rather than going for a planning study to actually work on the problem. What happened in the meantime, however, as we all know the world has changed. The funding for the Community Campus has been extremely challenging obviously due to the cuts in the public sector. So, in many ways the plan for the community campus, if you like to have my opinion, is not abandoned, it's rather parked for the time being.**

When enquired about the timescale envisaged for the project, he stated:

> **The Scottish Government had offered the Council about half the cost of developing that. The Health Board have approved around 2.3 million which had to be spent for the health part of it. But, unfortunately the Council - as I understand - doesn't have access to the balance of the funding to make it happen. So far as planner's perspective and the community's perspective, it makes sense. You close off a street, create green space and multi-game surface where kids play in floodlights until 10 pm - so its problem really solved.**

But it's just the financial factor unfortunately.

We shall see later in the chapter how respondents revealed reasons other than economic behind the delay in materialising this project. As some local Asian respondents complained, this was an example of the Council's institutional racism and neglect of community interest in East Pollokshields. One of the present Councillors (male, 27) emphasised that Pollokshields had a *strong case* for such a community facility and accused the Council for not prioritizing the case in the name of financial reasons. He argued:

> **The Council is saying it's a financial issue. But the Scottish Govt has given so much money for the new school; NHS has given money for the health facilities and the social work side; so it's the Council who need to put money on the other things like the building and particularly the sports facilities. My argument is that there is a real need in that community; I mean when we have seen in other communities that they have facilities why not in East Pollokshields where there is a real need. And because of the demographics of Pollokshields where there are lots of young children, young Asian people and also got lot of issues with the youths; so you have a real case there. Pollokshields doesn't have a new school; so that's where the Council should put the money in; the social work building is falling apart, the recreational facility is rubbish - so you see a real need. But there is priority and Pollokshields should be up in the priority list. Because even when we look at the social deprivation issues, Pollokshields East always comes up in terms of poverty issues, housing issues and I think that makes the case even more.**

As we can see, this community facility was a necessity to address many deprivation problems in East Pollokshields. Moreover, as this research has revealed, this was the only area where every other agency was blaming the Council for their *prolonged and silent neglect.* As an officer of GCSS (male, 59) said:

> **I am still pushing for it – either from within GCSS or outwith GCSS. I am the spokesman for that Youth Centre. It has to happen; otherwise the children can't be kept involved.**

Figure 56: Satisfaction of respondents with the Glasgow City Council
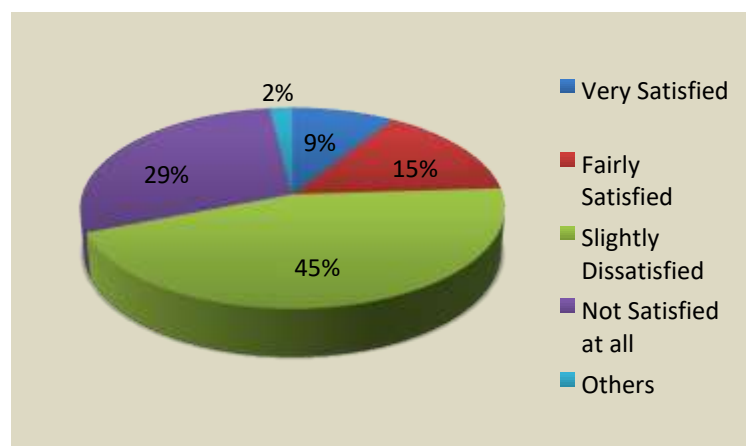
N=110. Others include 'Not sure' and no answer.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear why the majority of Pakistani Scottish residents in East Pollokshields were dissatisfied with the Council in terms of the Council's role in community safety and wellbeing of the residents of East

Pollokshields. Overall, this research has found that almost three-fourths of Pakistani Scottish respondents were dissatisfied with the Glasgow City Council in solving community safety problems (see Figure 56).

As we saw in Chapter 3, GCSS has the responsibility to deal with ASB and low-level offences in the city of Glasgow. We now discuss the role of GCSS in the community safety of local communities in East Pollokshields

8.2.3. Glasgow Community and Safety Services (GCSS)

GCSS as an organisation was unheard of to the majority (68 of 110) of respondents in East Pollokshields. Even among those who heard about the organisation prior to this research, only a few were aware of the role GCSS play in the city and in their neighbourhood. Commenting on this perception gap, an officer of GCSS (female, 35) said:

> **To a degree I would say it's an information gap. But we link closely with the local Community Councils for any information what we want to go out. However, we need to understand that the Community Councils are not always representative of the whole community. Though some key members of the community may be present in the council, many people often be in and out and it's the responsibility of the Community Councils to disseminate information.**

On the other hand, members of the Pollokshields Community Council (PCC) were extremely critical about the role played by GCSS in dealing with community safety issues in East Pollokshields. One member (male, 62) grumbled:

> **Pollokshields Community Council has issues working with the GCSS. We see GCSS as a particularly *opaque* organisation *out of step with local residents.* We don't believe that as an organisation GCSS is effective and we are frustrated with them. We have expressed our concern at the highest level about their inability to tackle issues they have been given. We**
>
> **simply don't understand how they spend 21 million pounds every year! They certainly *don't* spend it *here in Pollokshields,* and we have expressed this… It's a complete mystery.**
> *Whatever their agenda is, it's not driven by what the community actually wants.* **Their organisation is extremely poor. It is very unusual for the same GCSS representative to appear more than once; each new representative seems to have been assigned recently and *has no history of our concerns*. They will always speak about projects, intelligence-led things bla bla bla that have *little relevance to us* [Emphasis added].**

The above comment clearly shows the frustration and annoyance of some of the residents in East Pollokshields over the disconnectedness of GCSS from the local concerns. Local people's perception of no existing community safety initiatives run by GCSS was supported by an officer of the organisation itself. The officer (male, 59) confirmed:

> **Apart from the day-to-day issues that we need to attend, there is no such ongoing project in Pollokshields. So, it's true that there is no project as such in Pollokshields from us.**

The officer, however, stressed that the current economic climate was behind the withdrawal of some community safety initiatives which were previously carried out in East Pollokshields. Two such initiatives were mentioned by the officer: i) Operation Revive; and ii) mobile sports facilities for young people. These two are discussed briefly here.

i) *Operation Revive* was a 6-week programme organised in 2009 to tackle youth problems and ASB in East Pollokshields. It was a project based on the principle of prevention-diversion. As the officer puts it:

> **When I joined this office, I started to raise the issue of youth problems in East Pollokshields with my managers and he was also very serious about it. Then we made a programme in 2009 – it was quite extensive and interesting programme where we brought all the expertise and resources around and it ran for 6 weeks. Lot of children with *criminal background* came to our attention.**

When asked how the children were identified, he explained:

> **We got the information from various intelligence levels. We contacted almost 40 children for this programme. We spoke to them, given home visits and talked to their parents and asked whether they are willing to take part. Out of that, finally, 10 children were selected. Behind the programme, our idea was prevention and diversion, i.e. how we can prevent ASB by young people and how we can divert their energy to better use.**

The officer continued:

> **We organised a series of workshops on various issues, e.g. gang culture, outdoor adventure, health and safety, enemy and revenge etc. After all these workshops we started to talk about how we can take it further. We assessed them on where they suit best. Eventually, we secured three boys and given them placement for three months. One was in our department, another was in Glasgow South East Regeneration Agency and the other boy was interested in car sale and so we put him into one of the garages. But none of them were really up to it - they were not regularly attending. However, we tried our best. Unfortunately it didn't pay any dividend.**

The present researcher asked the officer whether he could tell the possible reasons behind the failure of such project. He answered:

> **I don't know really. This morning I was asking the person who interviewed those boys for placement and he said that most of them came from *single-parent families* and families with *criminal background* as well. Then obviously if they are *low achievers in schools*, they don't attend the school regularly. So they will mess about and go down the wrong path.**

The officer was concerned about the failure of the project, but was careful to transfer the responsibility of this failure to the deviant Pakistani Scottish youths and their problem families rather than the inability of GCSS to link the programme with mainstream service provisions such as youth groups in community organisations. Another initiative taken by GCSS in East Pollokshields was mobile sport facilities which we discuss below. *ii) Mobile sport facilities*

In essence, these were youth engagement gadgets provided to areas which lack sport facilities for the young people. These services are based on the premise that providing sport and leisure opportunities might keep the youths from ASB and offending. However, as an officer (female, 35) of GCSS pointed out, it was a finite resource and could not be limited to a particular neighbourhood. Thus the mobile facility was rotated among various neighbourhoods in the city. Another officer (male, 59) explained how GCSS used to take it to East Pollokshields:

> **We used to take a 40ft lorry to Pollokshields and it was fitted with every modern gadgets and consoles for the children and young people. We used to park it in three different places: a) in**

front of the Pollokshields Community Centre, b) Masjid Noor car park and c) in front of the Madrasa Taleem-ul-Islam at Nithsdale Road. But, due to the cut back, we are unable to take it to Pollokshields now. Earlier we used to provide this service three days a week, but it's now only on Thursdays and Fridays. Thursday evening we are in Arden and Govanhill because the Govanhill area has got lots of issues these days and it's a hot spot. On Friday we take the truck to Castlemilk and Ibrox complex. I know there is a demand for this service in Pollokshields, but we can't do it due to lack of fund.

As this research has revealed, GCSS did not have a current plan to deal with local people's concern about ASB and low-level offences like teenagers hanging about, vandalism, litter and fly-tipping in East Pollokshields. However, the officer pointed out that GCSS do control seven CCTVs in the area (see Figure 57). We now discuss this situational measure of crime reduction and its usefulness in dealing with community safety issues in East Pollokshields.

Figure 57: Locations of CCTVs in East Pollokshields
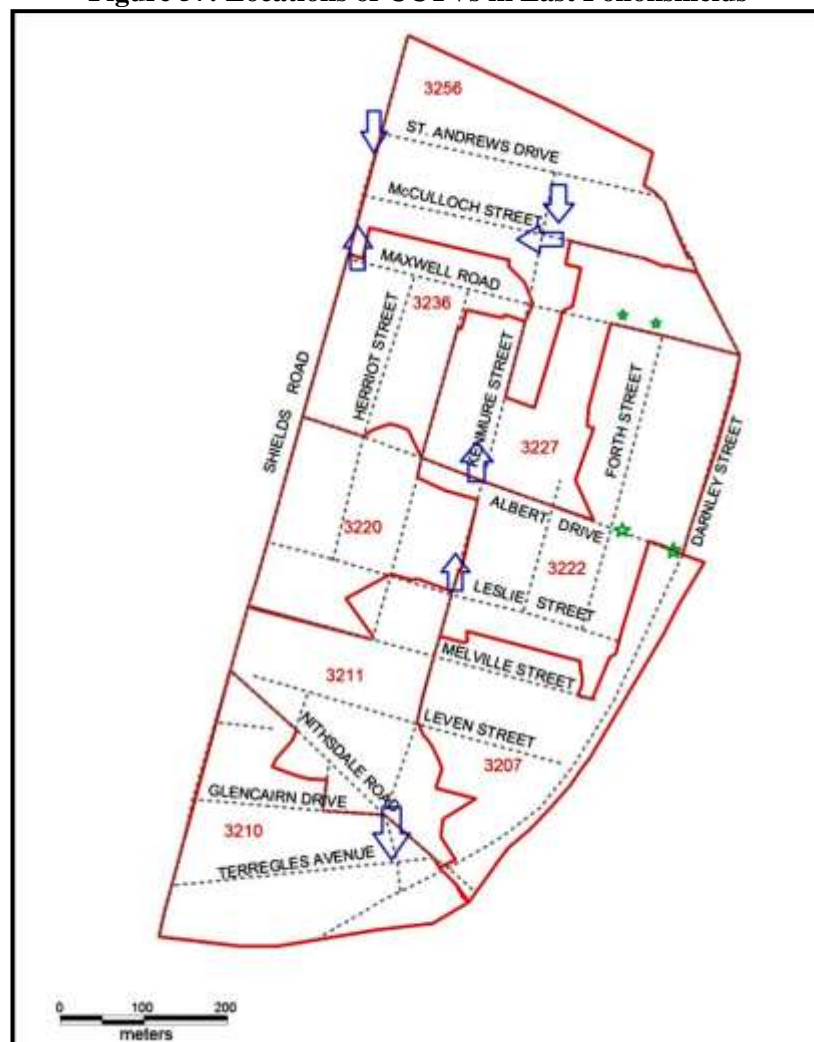
Arrows point to the direction of CCTV cameras

8.2.3.1 CCTV cameras in East Pollokshields

There were 11 public space CCTV cameras in the locality – 7 operated by GCSS (blue arrows) and 4 by private firms (green stars in Figure 57). With the exception of shopkeepers who valued the cameras, a few respondents were actually convinced that

these CCTVs were useful in reducing crime. Many residents were *sceptical* about the motive of installing these cameras and their actual use by the police. As one male respondent (59) asked:

> **GCSS have a huge bank of cameras the motives of which are unknown to me. Do the police use CCTV images in this area?**

Some respondents also questioned the *utility* of these cameras in the context of the *poor quality of footage*. One member of the Pollokshields Community Council (male, 62) shared his experience:

> **I had a particular issue and I phoned the CCTV control centre and asked them to record a particular event. When I asked the police later about the images, they said we can't use them. The quality of the image is too poor or the lighting is too poor, usually takes place during night-time and so on. So *what's the point*?**

Plate 11: CCTV on Kenmure Street at Leslie Street – misdirected?

Others complained about the *static* nature of these cameras as well as wrong directions (Plate 11) in which they were placed. They argued that it made the cameras less useful. As pointed out by one respondent, the CCTV shown in the above plate was *misdirected*. It was pointing towards the junction of Albert Drive and Kenmure Street (where there was another CCTV; see Figure 58) instead of the north-eastern part of the Maxwell Square Park which was an antisocial behaviour hotspot. The *cage* around the camera in the above photograph itself confirms the problem of ASB in the area and the need to protect the camera from vandalism. This research has found that GCSS were not unaware of the importance of this spot. As an officer of the GCSS (male, 59) commented:

> **There is one place in Pollokshields, you might know, near the Pollokshields Library that has had continuous issues. There is a small park next to it - Maxwell Square Park - and the youths gather at the corner of that and in front of a shop called Pollokshields Mini Market** (to which the camera is mounted) **and there have been incidences in front of that. There have been incidences in the close of neighbouring houses as well - drinking and whatever the young people may do in groups.**

In spite of this, as the respondent complained, the camera at that spot is pointing to the exactly opposite direction of what was needed. This would appear to support the views of local people who were sceptical about the motive of the GCSS and other agencies that are responsible for providing crime and disorder reduction services. In fact, an officer of the Strathclyde Police (male, 44) appreciated the disappointment of local people in terms of the static nature of these cameras. He maintained:

> **Although there are lots of CCTV installed that *didn't help* to alleviate people's concerns about crime. These cameras perhaps *failed to gain the community's confidence* because they *can only point one way*! I have once suggested the GCSS to move the camera a bit so that the people can see the camera moving and working instead of something fixed. That would make them *feel wee bit safer* as well** [Emphasis added].

In this context, it may be added that past studies have raised concerns over the motive of installing CCTV cameras as well as their usefulness of in deterring crime in cities (see, for example, Armitage, 2002; Ditton, 2000; Fyfe and Bannister, 1998; Helms, 2003, 2008; Welsh and Farrington, 2003; Waiton, 2010). Moreover, national newspapers presented reports of the Metropolitan Police admitting that 'for every 1,000 cameras in London, less than one crime is solved per year' (Telegraph, 2009). Furthermore, in his research on Glasgow's City centre, Ditton (2000) found that CCTV didn't make people feel safer in the streets of Glasgow and the Glaswegians prefer natural over electronic surveillance.

In similar vein, some respondents in East Pollokshields expressed their discomfort with the very presence of CCTV cameras in the locality. Moreover, Waiton (2010) observes that the local police officers were not convinced that CCTV was the most useful way to deal with youth problems when these cameras were installed in 2006 under the initiatives of the then MP Mr Sarwar. He also argues that the installation of cameras in East Pollokshields was for political reasons and 'something of an overreaction' (Waiton, 2010: 73).

In the following section, we discuss the role of local community organisations and the Pakistani Scottish residents of East Pollokshields in bringing about community safety in the area.

8.2.4 Community Organisations

Community organisations have a key role in the local delivery of community safety initiatives undertaken by concerned agencies. According to Connexions (2002: 7), these organisations 'bring added value to society and fulfil a role that is distinct from both the State and the market. They enable individuals to contribute to public life and in the development of their communities…and contribute to the Government's aim of boosting active citizenship.' As this research has found, governments and other

agencies use local organisations both as a source of community intelligence and for delivering services including dissemination of information to the residents. In this research, respondents identified two community organisations for their potential role in addressing local community safety issues: i) YCSA; and ii) Masjid Noor (the local Mosque). We discuss their role below.

i) Youth Community Support Agency (YCSA)

Of all community organisations contributing towards community safety in the area, YCSA was found to be the most 'useful' by many respondents (67%). Founded in 1995, and formerly known as Youth Counselling Support Agency, YCSA is a charitable organisation providing a host of services to young people from a diverse community. According to a youth support worker, though the catchment area of YCSA was the whole City of Glasgow, the main focus of its service was on Pollokshields. It provides the necessary support and advice to those youths who had past records of deviant behaviour (Figure 58).

Figure 58: Services offered at YCSA

Source: YCSA (Leaflet)

As mentioned by a support worker (male, 49), a majority of the young people came to YCSA because of ASB in school, community or at home. He explained:

> **School, Social Work, Parents and Friends are the major avenues of referrals. Majority of the cases are referred to us from the school. After receiving the referrals we categorise them according to priority: 1 is where the young person or someone is in danger; 2 somebody is going to be in danger and 3 is where there is a problem but no immediate harm is being done to anyone. Then we start dealing with category 1 case instantly.**

During focus group discussions, young respondents revealed that YCSA was the only place where they could go during their spare time. As a boy (14) commented:

> **There should be more places like YCSA. There can be other groups like our Tuesday group and other people can join it.**

Many others (13 of 20), who were referred to YCSA due to drug and related ASB problems, found that the service changed their life. As one young person (male, 16) admitted:

> **To be honest I would be different guy if YCSA were not there. I would have messed about like many people of my age group. Before coming to YCSA we didn't listen to anyone; we did whatever we wanted. Advisors here for the first time told us that what we are doing is not right and we should listen to them.**

The organisation also supports those youths who, despite past records of criminality, want to enter paid employment. Young respondents appreciated the value of YCSA in helping them securing a job. As one of them (male, 17) mentioned:

> **It's like speaking to the right people; if you speak to someone like xxxxx at the YCSA for support, you got a better picture and maybe better chances to get a job.**

Despite its success and popularity, however, YCSA was experiencing many obstacles as one youth support worker (male, 49) complained:

> **Funding is the major issue. But apart from funding we need to address other issues as well. We have to work really hard to overcome local attitudes because the way we operated historically people think it's just the bad kids who go to YCSA. So it's about teaching people. The other problem we have is that we are too successful. We can't cope with all the kids coming to us which is a shame that's where the funding issue comes. If we can get more funding we could take more staff, provide new services. For example many people who come for young person's support, we are unable to provide services to all because we don't have enough resources.**

To combat these difficulties, the organisation was considering avenues through which it can generate its own funds such as participating in national events and community fund raising.

We now discuss the role of Masjid Noor in addressing quality of life and community safety issues of the Pakistani Scottish people of East Pollokshields.

ii) The Mosque

According to Asim (2011), mosques are central to a Muslim community. A majority of the Asian Scottish people and all the Pakistani Scottish people living in East Pollokshields were Muslim. As this research has found, religion and mosque played an important role in the life of many of these people, especially the elderly Pakistani Scottish male. However, the role played by Masjid Noor and Madrasas (Quranic schools which also offer daily prayer service) in promoting community safety was questionable. It transpired from this study that members who controlled the day-today running in the mosque were constrained by their narrow vision. As a result, they limited the services offered by the mosque to daily prayers and providing lessons from

the Quran. Most of the committee members of Masjid Noor in East Pollokshields were first generation Pakistani Scottish males who were not ready to extend the sphere of their service to address wider issues affecting the community. Conforming to earlier studies (see Asim, 2011; Bolagnani, 2007), this research has found that the local Muslim youths did not find the mosque attractive and a place where they can find a sense of safety. One young person (male, 21) commented:

> **Being Muslim, some young people go to the mosque but that's a *peaceful time-pass*; there is nothing for the young people there** [Emphasis added].

In his study of the British-born Muslim youths, Asim (2011: 12) finds that 'young Muslims who have grown up in the UK argue that mosque committee members follow a dictatorial style of leadership, talking down to them because they are younger, and expecting a "hear and obey" reverence with no respect for them in return.' The author goes on to state that the topics of Friday prayer (ajan) and address (sermon) have little or no relevance to the current affairs of young British Muslims.

Similar concern was raised in Bolagnani's (2007: 362) recent study of the Pakistani British young males in Bradford. One of her respondents complained about the detachment of the preaching in the mosque from local issues:

You will find it surprising, *they don't mention about drugs and what is going on in the community* and everything…They will give a speech on what is happening in Israel, Palestine and places like that, but they *don't address the community, the problems facing the community* [Emphasis added].

Studies have also shown that the Black or African-American churches in the USA have an important contribution towards social control among the non-white Americans (Johnson et al. 2000). In similar vein, McGarrell et al. (1999) contend that churches have been involved in many different types of crime prevention, intervention and correction programs. Many of these faith-based organisations have been working on breaking the drug-crime nexus. Research on the involvement of Islamic faith-based organisations on such services is rare (see Asim, 2011 below). Based on evidence from East Pollokshields, it can be argued that such outreach activities are rarely conducted by mosques and madrasas. As an Imam (male, 37) of Masjid Noor revealed:

> **All our services are Islamically oriented. We also offer learning sessions for the children in mosque and we encourage so that they come to mosques regularly, do prayers and attend the discussions we have. We don't have any structured activities in terms of issues in the local community and any collective service with the police or GCSS.**

When asked about the possibility of the mosque and its Imams to be involved in dealing with youth problems in the neighbourhood, the Imam regretted:

> **This question was also raised by YCSA couple of years back regarding some issues with our boys and they asked me why we are not doing something. I do agree that we aren't doing enough, but unfortunately we don't have these kinds of services within our structure. The problem is it doesn't depend on individual imam's desire, it depends on the heads of the organisation and how our services are structured. And generally whenever the police or other agencies want mosque to do certain thing they let the mosque know through letters. All these letters are read by the elder members and we the younger Imams don't even get to know**

certain things. So, it's very easy to say that the mosque is not doing this or that, but it's difficult from our perspectives.

4 respondents in this research also complained that the mosque did not co-operate with the work of other agencies in regard to community safety. For example, the mosque refused to provide a parking space for the mobile sports facilities provided briefly by GCSS in East Pollokshields. As one gentleman (56) complained:

Unfortunately we don't have much parking space in East Pollokshields to park that lorry. Masjid Noor had space (see Plate 14 in Chapter 9), **but they didn't agree to provide.**

An officer from the Glasgow South Addiction Unit (male: 44) complained that their initiative for adopting a community approach (involving YCSA, local schools, mosques and the local Gurdwara) to drug issue in East Pollokshields couldn't make headway due to non-cooperation of the elder members of the mosque. He revealed:

We managed to get a young Imam of the local mosque in our committee, but he had to leave because the elder members of the mosque wanted him to come back! That is quite unfortunate because he was quite young Imam and very much forward thinking and was providing us with a broad overview of where the problem is but only to be told by his elders that it wasn't the right thing to do. It was probably too sensitive an issue and the Imam had to withdraw from our committee.

As McLoughlin (2005) argues, many imams and mosque committee members are first generation migrants who do not always have the competence in English or sufficient understanding of British society to perform such functions adequately. The Imam of Masjid Noor maintained that a majority of these elderly members were not aware that community safety initiatives were being undertaken by mosques in other countries, such as drug rehabilitation clinics attached to mosques in Egypt (Asim, 2011). However, he suggested that government agencies should provide the mosque with funding so that some new posts of imams can be created to look after wider community (safety) issues in addition to the day-to-day activities of the mosque.

This research also revealed that the local Pakistani Scottish community adopted a two-pronged strategy to deal with community safety issues in East Pollokshields. We discuss this below.

8.2.5 The role played by the Pakistani Scottish community in local community safety initiatives

In Chapter 7 we saw that a majority of the elderly respondents considered ASB by Pakistani Scottish youths as a challenge to community safety in the area. As this research has revealed, there was a simultaneous tendency among a section of these community elders to deny the existence of certain problems among these youths.

Quite clearly, a problem cannot be solved until its existence is recognised and worked at. As a MSP (male, 26) argued:

Our community - South Asian community- is in complete denial that the problem exists. Mothers and fathers are up and down the country; don't want to know what their kids doing, don't believe there is a drug problem, don't believe there is an alcohol problem…elder members - they just tend to bury their heads under the sun and try to believe that our kids

don't do this, it's all done by the White people. Rubbish! Our young people are incredibly involved in it and some of our brothers (Asian Muslims) are biggest drug-dealers in the Southside Glasgow. So, there has to a stop at this deniability and there has to be recognition that the problem exists. Because whether you have a disease or mental illness, the first thing which is important is that you admit the problem. That is missing at the moment.

We have already seen how the mosque in East Pollokshields withdrew from a partnership approach to deal with drug problems in the community. Moreover, in terms of the engaging local Muslim youths in positive activities, a contradictory role is played by religious leaders. On the one hand they complained about the young people as 'not attending' the mosque; on the other hand they discouraged these youths from coming to the mosque and take part in group sessions and activities. As an Imam of the mosque (male, 37) confirmed:

> **The kids with behaviour problem need some special attention because they are sort of *deviated from the Islamic path*. When they come in the normal groups, it creates a problem since they are kind of overactive. They are also very irregular and come to the mosque in phases. So to some extent we have a limitation in taking these boys with other normal boys in these classes. It's a matter of reputation for the mosque and the elder members of the mosque disapprove them** [Emphasis added].

The above comment indicates that elder members and religious leaders in the community find themselves in a more comfortable position by blaming and scapegoating the Pakistani Scottish youths for their deviance than working towards resolving these problems.

Moreover, this research has revealed that a generation gap between the Asian elders and the third-generation youths has resulted in an increasing intolerance of one section of the community for the other. As an officer of Strathclyde Police (male: 44) commented:

> **The difficulty for the Police is that a lot of the complaints, frequently they can be justified, but it's due to the *intolerance of one part of the community*. It also *transcends racial boundaries*. What I am looking at is the intolerance of the older towards the younger people and the other way round. The young people, they don't have the tolerance for the older people in the area** [Emphasis added].

Intolerance towards the younger generation becomes evident from the following comment of an elderly respondent (male, 67):

> **They are fxxxxxx lazy guys, you know. They should be taken away and put in jail. They have got all the facilities, fancy cars everything. The only thing that they don't have is the discipline - they don't want to obey the law. They could go clubs, parks or playgrounds. But they hang about, gather together at the corner of the street, probably cursing or swearing at others, you know. Those idiots, you know, they get money so easily in this country; either they sell drugs, break houses or their parents are very rich to give them easy money. Today's youngsters, you see, they have more facilities than we had in our times. They have football or other ball pitches; they have game stations, internets, computers and everything which we wouldn't have dreamed about in our times. But, they are still not happy with that. You see, if these children are still hanging about and doing stupid things when they have so many facilities, I can only parade down to their mental issues.**

The above quote represents the perceptions of many of the first generation Asian people about the current (mainly third) generation. Asian youths, on the other hand, took the opposite and often critical view on the earlier generations. One young person (male: 21) complained:

> Many adults in our community are rude and don't have compassion for the young generation. I remember when I was a kid, I was taught to show respect to elders and I have done that. But many times I found that adults double the age of mine swearing at me. I used to ignore and walk past. Nowadays, only some young people show respect to the elders and many would swear back if they are treated in this way.

For many of these young people, the family and the community constantly deny the support and encouragement which these youngsters needed. As one teenager (male, 14) complained, there were very few elders in East Pollokshields to encourage the kids for a brighter future. He argued:

> We need more people to understand young people. The adults should listen to us and trust us; because some adults think that kids can't get jobs after education. But we can do it if other adults do.

Asian youths were also of the opinion that many of their peers had no higher aspirations in life because a few from earlier generations could offer guidance or act as a role model. As a Pakistani teenager (17) complained:

> See, many of the people who are older than us they haven't got jobs and just mess about or probably end up working in cash-and-carry. You don't get anything talking to these people.

It was also mentioned by young respondents that many of their friends do not want to be like their fathers who ended up working all day in a cash-and-carry or Asian restaurants or being a driver (also see Hopkins, 2004). Fulat (cited in Lewis, 2007: 33) painfully describes the plight of this sub-group of Asian Muslim community in Britain:

The problems faced by Muslim youth are similar to their non-Muslim peers: drugs, mental health, relationships, careers, jobs training and sexuality. For the Muslim community, most of these issues are considered taboo or are largely ignored, making the problems more acute for young Muslims. Any recognition of these issues is largely in the form of chastisement and judgmentalism. In addition, the identity and lifestyle conflicts experienced my many Muslims…may mean that *far from providing any support, the family or community are the source of the problem* [Emphasis added].

The above discussion has examined the role and varying effectiveness of the Government, concerned agencies as well as the local community in making communities safer in East Pollokshields. In the following section we discuss the extent to which these stakeholders worked as partners for a common goal.

8.3 Effectiveness of the community safety partnership in East Pollokshields

As this research has revealed, there were several disjoints in the community safety partnership (CSP) working in East Pollokshields. Two of these were of particular relevance to the community safety of the Pakistani Scottish residents: i) failure to engage with the local community and ii) crisis over accountability. We discuss these in the following.

8.3.1 Failure to engage with the local community

Local community safety partnerships *must* establish close connections with the communities, neighbourhoods and vulnerable people that they represent…to sustain a focus on *what matters*…Engagement of hard-to-reach groups needs greatest impetus, especially *black and minority ethnic groups*, anti-homophobia groups, *women* who are vulnerable to *domestic violence*, and young crime victims'(Audit Commission, 2002: 27-29; emphasis added).

Commenting on the basic premise of a partnership approach to community safety Evans (2002: 12) observes that there is an 'expectation that local residents will work closely with the police and other professionals involved in crime control; sharing their experiences, imparting intelligence and participating in the structures which have been set up in local areas.' However, past researches have shown only a limited involvement of 'community' in the CSPs in practice (see Coleman et al. 2002; Edwards, 2002; Foster, 2002; Hughes, 2007; Skinns, 2003). Hughes (2007: 73), for example, argued that 'community engagement, never mind leadership, of local crime control and safety strategies remains at best *rhetorical* in nature and is certainly a trend that continues to be restricted largely to the level of formal consultation in community safety work.' In a Scottish context, Scottish Community Safety Network (2012) maintains that even though community engagement is a priority for almost all CSPs, there is poor understanding of the difference between consultation and genuine engagement.

As this research has found, there was little engagement of the concerned agencies with the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields. Two dimensions of this issue were noted in this research: a) concerned agencies failed to represent community safety concerns and interests of the whole community; and b) the local Pakistani Scottish community – due to various reasons – did not engage effectively in local community safety initiatives. We discuss these two dimensions of a poor community engagement below.

a) Partial representation of community interest

This can simultaneously be seen as a cause and effect of the low level of engagement of the Pakistani Scottish community in the local community safety partnership.

Commentators have argued that many CSPs fail to recognise a truly representative community voice since they engage only with certain sections of the community. As Crawford (1998b: 244) suggests:

There is little acknowledgement of *intra-communal conflict.* Communities are assumed to be largely homogenous entities with easily discernible needs and objectives…In practice, this often results in the acceptance of the views of the *most powerful or well organised interests* within a given community. This raises the questions: with whom are community safety partnerships to be forged? Who represents a community's interests? The empirical reality of communities is that they are not the Utopias of egalitarianism, which some communitarians might wish, *but are hierarchical formations, structured upon lines of power relations*…The moral voice of a community may come to be dominated by *unrepresentative elites* within communities. 'In the name of the community' can become an instrumental totem on the back of which the exclusion of *undesirables* is legitimised [Emphasis added].

Elsewhere Crawford (1998a) observes that youth representation is lacking in many community safety partnerships.

This research has found that concerned agencies failed to engage with every section of the Pakistani Scottish community such as young people, women, adults and the elderly. Young respondents in this study, for example, complained that agencies like Strathclyde Police only tapped into a particular section of the community – elderly people and community leaders as well as some vocal White people - for consultation regarding community safety initiatives, but ignored them. They also complained that the police were heavy-handed with Asian youths in the area partly due to the intelligence they gather from their contacts with elder members in the community.

As Webster (1997: 68) argues, the rapport with the community elders is 'designed to elicit support and crime intelligence from the parent culture mobilized so as to reassert discipline and control over uncontrollable elements who are alienated, excluded and unemployed. Tacit police-community co-operation is meant to solve an alleged crime-control problem for the police whilst solving cultural and religiouscontrol problems for elders and community leaders arising from conflicts within Asian, and particularly Pakistani Muslim communities.'

An officer of Strathclyde Police (male, 37) admitted their engagement with local community leaders and argued:

> **We have a group called Community Advisors – it's pretty much a group of lay people. They are generally senior members in the community and who are respected in the community.**
> **They hold specialism, whether it's cultural or religious, basically across the diversity strands. They are there (in the community) as a resource so that if something happens they can be called upon for guidance. Sometimes and in case of the Asian community, cultural information is very important in dealing with the cases.**

However, this rapport of the police with Asian elders raises some important questions: i) who were representing the community safety interest of the Asian community? ii) were the police actually aware of the diverse needs and issues faced by Asian Muslim youths in the area? Young respondents in this research complained that none of the agencies – police, the Council or GCSS – have ever felt the need to consult with youths in the area on local community safety issues. Moreover, persistent projection of this group as a problem for the safety of the entire community by a section of the community, concerned agencies and the media also emphasised the need to control ASB and criminality among Asian youths. In so doing, as this study has found, wider social justice issues such as reducing poverty amongst children, providing training, employment and leisure opportunities in this inner-city neighbourhood have been pushed down in the priority list of community safety initiatives (see below).

Moreover, there was little engagement of concerned agencies with Pakistani Scottish women in the community. Language and cultural barrier also contributed to this problem where GCC, Strathclyde Police and GCSS failed to listen to and work on the community safety concerns faced by a section of these women. As we saw earlier in this chapter female participants complained that the police did not engage with them. Five women – who became victim of domestic violence – complained that they were not aware of any initiative to address their serious concern. Empirical evidence from this research would suggest that the concerned agencies failed to break the cultural barrier between them and the Pakistani Scottish women and address their community

safety issues. We are now going to discuss another dimension of this ineffective community engagement in the local community safety partnership in East Pollokshields.

b) Low level of engagement of the Pakistani Scottish community

As this research has found, the level of engagement of the Pakistani Scottish community in community safety initiatives was low. According to respondents, the following 2 factors appeared to contribute to the poor engagement of the study group in a joint approach to community safety in East Pollokshields: i) poor images of the police and other agencies; and ii) language and cultural barrier. These are discussed below:

i) Poor images of the police and other agencies

As we saw earlier in this chapter, the image of the police among a majority of the respondents was negative. As the first generation Pakistani Scottish respondents described, such an image was shaped in part by the experience and perception of police in their 'home country'. Many of these elderly people revealed that the image of police in Pakistan is that the police are 'corrupted and heavy-handed'. As this research has found, this perception was also shared by many of the later generation respondents even though they were born and brought up in Scotland. Thus while the experience of the first generation Asians regarding policing in Scotland was far better than those in the sub-continent, trusting the police in solving issues within the community was perceived by these residents as a step too far.

Moreover, some respondents (45 of 110) complained that racial discrimination was deeply rooted in the functioning of the police and the City Council in Glasgow. For them, it was more of an *institutional* nature than personal prejudice. From the perspective of the current research, an important finding was that of the development of a *self-distanced* mindset of the local Asian community in the face of a prolonged experience of racial harassment and discrimination. While the respondents could not provide any evidence for their claims of being racially harassed or discriminated, they stressed that these were facts in practice (also see Croall and Frondigoun, 2010; Hopkins, 2004). According to the Asian people in East Pollokshields, such experiences have created a mentality of 'do it yourself' among these people - be it engaging in a self-employment (e.g. business) in the face of 'blocked' employment opportunities (see Metcalf et al. 1996) or trusting the police and seeking their intervention when someone in the family or community becomes a victim of crime. As Evans (2002: 13) contends:

Without trust people are suspicious of the intentions of others and withdraw from cooperation and collective action to…the pursuit of self-interest…There is ample evidence that 'experts' have often misunderstood or stereotyped 'problem communities', and in turn that the general population has withdrawn trust in professional judgements.

Respondents in this research revealed that when it comes to working jointly with the police and other agencies in the community safety partnerships, many Pakistani Scottish people back off. Moreover, as we saw earlier in this chapter, many young

people as well as adults perceived the police as discriminating in terms of stopping and searching kids. All these experiences contribute to their low level of engagement in community safety partnerships. An officer of Strathclyde Police (male, 44) admitted that it was a challenge for them and that the police have to make more effort to change their own image among members of ethnic minority communities. As he said:

> **I think there is always going to be barrier there... People will have a view of what services they are going to get from the Police perhaps from the experiences they have in other countries. Yes, we got to sell ourselves; but it's difficult at times when people have prejudice of pre-conceived ideas on what we do and we are corrupt or corruptible kind of thing. Yes, it's up to us to sell ourselves and to challenge stereotypes.**

We now discuss the role played by language and cultural barrier in the low level of engagement of the Pakistani Scottish community.

ii) Language and cultural barrier

Language was identified by many respondents in this research, especially the first generation Asian women, as a major barrier to engaging in community safety initiatives. Many of these women did not interact with White officers (both the police and other agencies) simply because they were not confident in speaking English. As an officer of Strathclyde Police (male: 44) commented:

> **Certainly language is a barrier. You could go with stereotypes anyone who speaks a different language. Someone who was speaking perfectly fluently a moment ago certainly realise that it's no longer a friendly conversation; the person is going to be in trouble… Also there is a real difficulty for female officers as well as (Asian) women who find it awkward talking to a male officer. Yes, there are challenges; but I don't think it's anything insurmountable. It's about finding a way how we can communicate effectively that the person feels comfortable.**

However, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, not all members of the community policing team tried to find alternative avenues to speak to Asian female members in East Pollokshields. Indeed many female respondents complained that the police did not speak to them. It appeared that the police *generalise* all Asian females as having issues speaking in English which was actually not. As this research has found, a majority of the second and third generation Asian women speak English.

A combination of all these factors contributed to the low level of engagement of the Pakistani Scottish people of East Pollokshields in the joint activities with concerned agencies to ameliorate local community safety issues. Another major disjoint in the local community safety partnership was a crisis over accountability among partners. We discuss this below.

8.3.2 Crisis over accountability

According to the Audit Commission (1999), one of the major criticisms levelled at partnership working has been the lack of accountability of community safety agencies for their actions. The Commission (1999: 3) also finds:

No single agency has clear responsibility for community safety. As a result, accountability for ensuring the best use is made of the public money spent on promoting community safety is *unclear*.

In similar vein, Crawford (1998: 219) noted that 'joint and negotiated decisions tie the parties into the corporate policy and outcomes but often fails to identify lines of responsibility. Institutional complexity further obscures who is accountable to whom and for what'. Moreover, in partnerships there is 'the problem of many hands' where so many people contribute that 'no one contribution can be identified; and if no one person can be held accountable after the event, then *no one needs to behave responsibly beforehand'* (Rhodes, 1996: 663; emphasis added). Empirical evidence suggests that this appears to be the case of East Pollokshields. The lack of accountability among concerned agencies may be illustrated with respect to insufficient youth facilities in the area.

Lack of youth facilities was identified by most of the respondents as an issue affecting the QoL of local youths. We have already seen how the proposed Community Campus at the McCulloch Street site had failed to make headway. However, none of the agencies was prepared to take responsibility for the failure. The following comments highlight the practice of *blaming others* for the failure of partnership working. As the local Councillor (male, 27) commented:

> **At the 2007 election, the Labour Councillor one of his commitments in the election leaflet was for a recreational, sports and community facility at the McCulloch Street site. But nothing has been done. And, I think I need to be political in that the Labour Councillor of Pollokshields** (2007-2012) **who was in charge to take it forward failed to make it. I thought that is going to go somewhere, but nothing seemed to progress. I mean I could have taken it forward, then thought it's his piece of work and he is going to do it.**

In similar vein, one MSP (male, 26) complained:

> **I have been hearing about youth centre or a cultural centre or something for the young people in East Pollokshields for the best part of last 10 yrs. And the fact of the matter is that the local Council and successive government are not working together. Too many interests: who is going to control that, what organisation will be in charge and all come in the way. Because if the young people have something to do rather than just hanging about in the streets or driving speed cars what's the problem in that?**

While lack of funding may be a factor in the non-realisation of the project, it was equally clear from the above quote that there were other forces preventing the materialisation of the Community Campus in the area.

Survey findings suggest that government's intention to shift the responsibility of community safety onto the shoulders of the local community was successful in East Pollokshields. The local community was left with the responsibility of their own community safety without the money and power to achieve it. Earlier in this chapter, we saw the real frustration expressed by members of the local community council over this lack of power. In this context, it is useful to quote Crawford (1998b: 244) at some length:

The danger is that community safety, in this new discourse, becomes the responsibility of the community, with little consideration given to the place occupied by a community within a wider political economy and how this may sustain crime or undermine efforts at community crime prevention. The lack of any significant redistribution of resources by government into poorer communities will only serve to exacerbate this. Responsibility, in this context, not only carries the burden of cost but also is accompanied by the weight of blame for failure…Communities that allow themselves to 'tip' into urban

decline by failing to show that 'someone cares' - following the imagery and language of the 'broken windows' thesis - are perceived as having only themselves to blame. As such, the authors of disorder — rowdy youths, squeegee merchants, beggars, vagrants and so on - are identified as the architects of neighbourhood change and economic decline, rather than as its victims.

This perfectly describes the situation in East Pollokshields where Pakistani Scottish youths were identified as a community safety *issue* which needs to be *fixed.* Recently, as commentators argue, Asian young people (primarily Pakistani youths) have been made the new *urban folk devils* (see Cohen, 2002; Goodey, 2001) of Britain for their involvement in anti-social behaviour, drug offences and some organised crimes. As this research has found, such stereotyping of the Asian young people in East Pollokshields is an example of scapegoating these youths and denying wider social inequalities such as poverty, multiple deprivation, low educational achievement and joblessness that affected these youths.

In the following section we conclude the discussion and present some thoughts on future directions.

8.4 Concluding Discussion

This chapter has shown that respondents' perceptions of community safety in East Pollokshields was directly related to initiatives undertaken by governments and concerned agencies. Existing community safety initiatives in the locality were considered as ineffective by many respondents. For example, CCTVs in the area failed to gain the community's confidence as many residents were sceptical about the monitoring and use of footage by the police. Overall, a majority of respondents thought that the neighbourhood was deprived in terms of allocation of necessary community safety resources. Furthermore, ethnic minority respondents in this research complained that the community police officers failed to provide public reassurance by not interacting with them. Respondents were also dissatisfied with the community police officers who appeared to be discriminating and over-reacting with local Muslim youths.

This chapter has also revealed that the local community safety partnership was unsuccessful due to ineffective engagement of stakeholders. Some respondents felt that the police, the Council and other agencies have neglected community safety concerns of Pakistani Scottish youths and women by prioritising the interest of a few elderly Pakistani Scottish males and vocal white people of the neighbourhood. Persistent projection of the young people as a problem for the safety of the entire community by a section of the community, concerned agencies and the media also emphasised the need to control ASB and criminality among local youths. In so doing, wider social justice issues such as reducing poverty amongst children, providing training, employment and leisure opportunities in this inner-city neighbourhood have been pushed down in the priority list. Put briefly, community safety policy and practice in East Pollokshields have resulted in the *criminalisation of social policy* (see Chapter 2; also Crawford, 1998a, 1999; Croall, 2005; Knepper, 2007; Rodger, 2008). Social deficiencies in East Pollokshields were not viewed by concerned agencies as a failure

of governments and as important issues in themselves, but rather were related to their criminogenic qualities.

Commentators argue that under the New Labour governments (1997-2011) in Britain the problem of youth crime remained at the heart of the community safety policy framework. As France et al. (2012: 2) noted, the neo-liberal policy of youth justice 'has individualised intolerance by decoupling youth crime from its social context.' The major change in the criminal and juvenile justice system under this neo-liberal policy framework has been 'broadly characterized as placing less emphasis on the social contexts of crime and measures of state protection and more on prescriptions of individual/family/community responsibility and accountability' (Muncie, 2005: 37). Commentators also argue that for a proper understanding of youth crime, we need to move beyond the explanations of youth offending provided by "social psychological models" and instead look into the 'structural relationships' between youth crime and other factors such as 'social exclusion, poverty and social inequality' (France et al. 2012:8; also see Chapter 2).

As we saw in Chapter 5, poverty and deprivation were persistent problems in the inner-city neighbourhood of East Pollokshields. Respondents also suggested that the persistent nature of poverty, deprivation and criminal behaviour in some Pakistani Scottish families in East Pollokshields is attributed to a vicious circle of the low educational achievement, poor role models, low aspirations and joblessness. As Kingdon and Cassen (2010: 403) noted, there is a history of 'concern about underachievement in England and about its ethnic dimensions. Part of this concern stems from the well-documented implications of low achievement at school for later outcomes, such as low labour productivity, poor employment chances, low wages and anti-social behaviour.' Some Asian residents of East Pollokshields see an increasing number of children entering this cycle. As one respondent (male, 59) revealed:

> **Many Pakistani children from the area do not complete their schools due to various reasons and are persistently under-achiever in education. Many of these children are into delinquency.**

In similar vein, one young person (male, 17) described:

> **Many of these people (who offended and had been to prison) have changed; when they come out of the jail they are a totally different person. But some people haven't changed much. You know it's like a generational problem; we are going to change our behaviour when we will reach our mid-twenties. As soon as we are about 21 and have our own car and stuff, we will move out of this area. That's what people do because they will move their houses, go abroad (Pakistan), and get married and all. Then the people younger than us will continue to do what we are doing now.**

Two points in the above quote are notable. First, change of circumstances, such as moving to Pakistan or a sub-urban area of the city and getting married might help some Pakistani Scottish youths to grow out of crime. However, Mawby and Batta (1981; cited in Goodey, 2001:433) forewarned that 'if young Asians were faced with low educational and employment prospects over a long period of time, in combination with a rise in the number of young Asians in the population, then an increase in this group's

offending could be predicted.' This warning takes us to the second point in the young person's quote presented above.

According to respondents, some second generation Pakistani Scottish men had criminal careers. Some youths of the next generation followed their predecessors despite the fact that there was a high level of inter-generational intolerance. Like many other deprived inner-city areas, Asian families where children did well in school with parents caring about the future of their children left East Pollokshields. One Pakistani lady (32) said:

> **The other problem for Pollokshields is that the children who did well in school and university, they have moved out of this area. So, for the kids in Pollokshields, there is no mentoring process and no real role models to follow.**

As a result, some of these youths in East Pollokshields found their role models only in such deviant males of their earlier generations. As Foster (1990: 109) contends, 'although the youngsters did not strongly identify with adult culture and operated for the most part independently of adults, their attitudes and experience tended to reinforce parental patterns. This was not simply a matter of "cultural transmission", but the result of independent experiences, which tended to replicate those of the parent generation. The boy's attitude towards education, crime, and street life differed little from those of their parents.'

In conclusion, this research recognises that many underlying causes of crime and ASB in the area were structural. It also argues that without addressing the root causes of social inequalities, the goal of community safety and wellbeing of local communities cannot be achieved. The Scottish Government and the Glasgow City Council must take initiatives to arrest educational failure among Pakistani Scottish children and provide them with training and employment opportunities locally. Moreover, all stakeholders of community safety – including the local community – need to work together for an enhanced community safety and better QoL for Pakistani Scottish people and other residents of East Pollokshields. Finally, elder members in the community must take responsibility of addressing the roots of some salient, yet neglected community safety issues such as domestic violence and drugs in the community. The final chapter will present the overall conclusion of this research and also offer suggestions for future intervention on the part of the Government, local authority organisations and the community for enhanced community safety and better quality of life of the residents in East Pollokshields.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Recommendations

This thesis has been concerned with the lived experience of community safety of an ethnic minority community in Glasgow. It also examined the implications of this experience for QoL of the study group: the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields. In this chapter, we recapitulate the salient findings of the present research and go on to offer the key policy recommendations. Finally, directions for future research in the field of community safety in Scotland are suggested.

9.1 Key findings

In view of the key objectives of the present research, this section re-iterates the salient findings as follows:

a)   The first objective of this research was to examine the importance of community safety in QoL of the Pakistani Scottish community. The study revealed that community safety was a fundamental element in the life quality of the study group. Women and young respondents were more likely to include 'safety' as a criterion of life quality than adult males and elderly respondents.

b)   In view of the second objective of this study, the present research appraised the nature of crime and disorder problem in East Pollokshields. Three sources were consulted: i) offence data recorded by the police; ii) recent newspaper reports, and iii) the local people who were directly affected by crime, anti-social behaviour (ASB) and the fear of crime. Findings from these sources differed markedly and the researcher was presented with a paradox of low level of recorded crime (compared to other parts of the city), a higher level of concern in recent media reports regarding gang culture and anti-social behaviour in the area, and a mixed perception of crime, disorder, and the fear of crime among the residents in East Pollokshields. Empirical evidence suggests that respondents' perceptions of the level of crime problem in East Pollokshields took a middle-ground: it was higher than what official statistics suggest, while lower than that reported recently in the media. It appeared that the overall perceptions of the local residents about crime and disorder in the study locale were mediated through their day-to-day experiences in the area as well as the media portrayal of local and national crime events.

c)   The third objective of the study was to reveal and interpret the spatial pattern of crime in the neighbourhood. Empirical evidence suggests that there was a distinct geographical pattern of crime and ASB in the neighbourhood. Crime and ASB

incidents showed a definite tendency to cluster around certain locations and opportunities. For example, the distribution of vandalism was often associated with the concentration of food shops along Albert Drive and the presence of a liquor shop on Nithsdale Road. Moreover, areas which encouraged the congregation of young people such as Maxwell Square Park and Albert Drive – also emerged as the ASB hotspots. Furthermore, violent crimes such as assaults were more concentrated around McCulloch Street – an area that has been the most deprived area of the neighbourhood for the past two decades. This geographical pattern of crime and ASB also impacted the lived experience of community safety of the residents through differential experiences of victimisation in various parts of the neighbourhood.

d)   The next key objective of the research was to identify the major community safety issues affecting the study group in East Pollokshields. It was found that ASB, road safety, housebreaking, racial abuse and harassment, drug and fire in domestic buildings were key community safety concerns in the study locale. ASB in the area took many forms; but youth problems, and litter, rubbish and fly-tipping were fundamental issues faced by respondents. The local residents were also concerned about the recent increase in housebreaking and some respondents also linked this rise to the current economic climate and drug offences. It transpired from this research that the local community's concerns for community safety were not limited to crime and disorder; these also include the danger of other harms such as those posed by fire in domestic buildings and speeding vehicles. Moreover, speeding vehicles and unsafe roads were principal worries of the respondents irrespective of their individual characteristics such as age and sex.

e)   The fifth and the principal objective of the study was to uncover the lived experience of community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community and to examine the implications of this experience for QoL of this group. This research has shown that community safety was an integral part of QoL of the Pakistani Scottish group. Respondents identified many issues as affecting their community safety issues in the neighbourhood such as ASB, unsafe roads, drug use and dealing, racial abuse and harassment, housebreaking and litter and rubbish. Anti-social behaviour in East Pollokshields took many forms: teenagers hanging about, territoriality, gang culture and graffiti, vandalism, litter, rubbish and fly-tipping, and drinking and rowdy behaviour in the public. However, a majority of respondents were concerned about teenagers hanging about, litter, rubbish and fly-tipping as well as vandalism. This research has revealed that the perceptions of community safety varied significantly according to age and sex of participants. To a section of respondents (14%), community safety was equated with controlling anti-social behaviour by youths in the area. A majority of this sub-group – primarily elderly males in the community - were also critical about local Asian youths who were considered as a threat to the safety of the entire community. However, other respondents (34%) attributed this view to an increasing level of intolerance among elder members in the community towards the young people and also a denial of the failure of the former to address the roots of ASB problem.

In addition to ASB, many became victims of crime such as housebreaking, racial abuse and harassment in the past two years. Still others witnessed such incidents or became apprehensive about these after hearing from others. Empirical evidence also suggests that domestic violence was a serious community safety issue affecting the Pakistani Scottish women in East Pollokshields. However, due to the sensitivity of the issue, it largely remained confined to the four walls of the households.

Respondents' perceptions of community safety in East Pollokshields was also directly related to initiatives undertaken by governments and concerned agencies. Empirical evidence suggests that road safety measures such as roundabouts along Albert Drive or speed bumps along Kenmure Street have failed to address the principal road safety concern, i.e. speeding along these roads. Moreover, CCTVs in the area failed to gain the community's confidence as many residents were sceptical about the monitoring and use of footage by the police. Respondents also demanded more police officers on the beat to provide better community assurance. Overall, there was a perception among a majority of the respondents that the neighbourhood was deprived in terms of allocation of necessary community safety resources.

Finally, day-to-day experiences of crime, ASB and danger of other harms impacted QoL of the local residents in myriad ways and limited their movement within the neighbourhood. Experiences of victimisation affected the life quality of the study group making them annoyed, shocked or sad. For example, one respondent described how incidents of repeated housebreaking jeopardised his privacy, livelihood and put him under stress. Moreover, the fear of crime restricted resident's movement outside their home as they avoided certain parts of the neighbourhood at certain periods of the day. Pakistani Scottish women and young people had the poorest perceptions of community safety in East Pollokshields. Many of these two groups found East Pollokshields or certain areas of the neighbourhood as unsafe. On the other hand, for a majority of the adult and elderly male members in the community, East Pollokshields was one of the safer places in Glasgow.

f)   According to its sixth objective, the present research critically analysed the role of governments and other agencies in addressing community safety issues of the local community. Empirical evidence suggests that there was a wide gap between the community safety priorities of the local community and those of the concerned agencies. Some respondents also felt that the police, the Council and other agencies have only partially represented the community safety concerns of the local community. Persistent projection of the young people as a problem for the safety of the entire community by a section of the community, concerned agencies and the media also emphasised the need to control ASB and criminality among local youths. In so doing, wider social justice issues such as reducing poverty amongst children, providing training, employment and leisure opportunities have been marginalised.

The research has also revealed that the engagement of concerned agencies with the Pakistani Scottish community in the local community safety partnership was ineffective. It appeared that governments and the local authority organisations have shifted the responsibility of community safety onto the shoulders of the local

community in East Pollokshields without providing the necessary resources to enable the task. GCSS - the principal agency in making communities safer in Glasgow - appeared out of step with the local community. Moreover, the Strathclyde Police-Pakistani Scottish community relationship was also fraught with tension. Empirical evidence suggests that the lack of trust between the two increased recently due to escalated stop-and-searches of local Muslim youths by the police.

In conclusion, this research predicts that over-policing of the Pakistani Scottish youths is likely to hinder future participation of the community in local community safety initiatives. Empirical evidence suggests that the alliance of Strathclyde Police with some of the first generation Pakistani Scottish people in East Pollokshields is likely to fail. Based on his research in Bradford, Webster (1997) maintains that such a joint 'control strategy' is counter-productive. He writes:

Asian young people as a whole come to feel racialised and criminalised by the police, as the 'rough' and 'respectable' split only succeeds in 'painting them all with the same brush' which, in turn, backfires on the police as the parent culture withdraws its support for police actions, as these are increasingly perceived as the police 'picking on' their young people (Webster, 1997:68).

Some elderly respondents criticised the police for their heavy-handed treatment of the Muslim youths in East Pollokshields. As one Muslim religious teacher (male, 65) complained:

> **Crime has gone-up with the help of police; they are making the youngsters do the crime by their offensive behaviour. Sometimes they are too heavy-handed on our kids.**

The present research foresees more problems for the police and other agencies since there were signs that some of the trusted first generation Asians were backing off from a joint venture - primarily with the police - due to 'rude' behaviour of the latter with Pakistani Scottish youths.

The following section outlines some key recommendations for enhanced community safety and better quality of life of the Pakistani Scottish and other residents in East Pollokshields. These recommendations, according to Henry (2009a), are based on the following assumptions that: i) community safety is broader in scope than crime prevention; ii) it is of interest to a broad range of agencies, organisations and community members; and iii) is nested within, and subordinate to, a wider social agenda.

9.2 Recommendations

The social bricks and mortar of civil society…are the major bulwarks against crime. Good jobs with a discernible future, housing estates of which tenants can be proud, community facilities which enhance a sense of cohesion and belonging, a reduction in unfair income inequalities, all create a society which is more cohesive and less criminogenic (Jock Young, 1994; cited in Prior, 2005: 364).

This research recognises that many levers of the issues affecting community safety of ethnic minorities in East Pollokshields lay in social inequalities. It also understands that the realisation of the goal of community safety in East Pollokshields was difficult since many of its problems were deep rooted and complex. Empirical evidence

suggests that child poverty and joblessness remained pressing problems in East Pollokshields. Addressing these problems is necessary for an enhanced community safety of the local community. However, for community safety to be a 'social good', it is also important to consider the reciprocal relationship that exists between East Pollokshields and its surrounding areas in terms of poverty, multiple deprivation and crime (see Chapter 6). This reciprocal relationship is crucial for community safety of all the residents in East Pollokshields. Moreover, in addition to the Pakistani Scottish community, poverty alleviation measures must also incorporate other ethnic groups living in East Pollokshields. Thus, initiatives for enhanced community safety of the Pakistani Scottish community in East Pollokshields will need to address a range of factors well beyond the community and the boundary of the neighbourhood.

This research recommends a pragmatic approach where both structural reforms and area-based policies are meaningfully combined to address some of the underlying causes that adversely affect community safety and wellbeing of local residents. It suggests that steps taken in the following two broad directions could be effective for enhanced community safety in East Pollokshields: 1) immediate practical measures; and 2) long-term measures (Table 25). These are discussed below:

Table 25: Recommendations for community safety in East Pollokshields

1. Immediate practical measures	A. Improving the physical fabric of the neighbourhood i) Improved street and amenity lighting ii) Improved street furniture iii) Enhanced road safety measures iv) Improved play facilities
2. Long-term measures	A. Bringing social justice and empowerment to young people and women i) Arresting failure in education ii) Providing training and job opportunities iii) Stopping gender-based prejudice and domestic violence B. Ensuring effective engagement of stakeholders in community safety partnership i) Improved local engagement of GCSS and Strathclyde Police ii) Inclusion of young people in community safety initiatives iii) A more responsible Pakistani Scottish men and mosque iv) Culturally-sensitive agency intervention.

1. Immediate practical measures

The first group of recommendations are related to making East Pollokshields a cleaner, attractive and safer place. This research suggests that the concerned agencies should consider these measures on an urgent basis so as to enhance the perceptions of safety of local residents. These include the following:

A) Improving the physical fabric of the neighbourhood

This research argues that East Pollokshields needs a facelift to improve its image from an unclean area with old, unrepaired houses, derelict and overgrown sites both to outsiders and to the local residents. This research also argues that such an endeavour will pay dividends in creating a safer community. In view of the major community safety issues identified in this research, the following 3 initiatives are recommended:

i) **Improved street and amenity lighting**

As we saw in Chapter 8, lighting in parts of East Pollokshields needs improvement to increase the perceived safety among residents. Both *street* and *amenity lights* are recommended:

a)   *Street lighting* should be improved along Kenmure Street, eastern part of Maxwell Road, Melville Street and Leslie Street, among others (see Figure 47 in Chapter 8). Research suggests that improved street lighting is effective in reducing crime and fear of crime (see, for example, Farrington and Welsh, 2002).

b)   Among *amenity lights*, the most important is providing lighting facility at the East Pollokshields Quad. To realise its full potential as a public place, provision of light is a must in this reclaimed area which was an ASB hotspot (see www.readysteadygrowpollokshields.org.uk). Moreover, existing lighting provision should be improved at the Maxwell (Square) Park, play-court and the ground adjacent to Pollokshields Community Centre and bust stops along the Albert Drive. Improved lighting in these public places will help decreasing people's fear of crime after the dark.

ii) **Improved street furniture**

Street furniture adds attraction and meaning to sidewalks which, as Jacobs (1961) says, are most vital organs of the main public places of a city. She also argues that pedestrians in a mixed-use street (apartments with shops on the ground floor) contribute to the safety through 'eyes on the street'. The need for improved street furniture in East Pollokshields was identified as early as in 1982:

Shops occur on the ground floor of tenements in Albert Drive and Nithsdale Road, creating visual interest and variety while generating pedestrian activity so creating focal points. Improvement and coordination of shop frontages should be encouraged, while consideration should be given to upgrading the pavement surface and introducing improved street furniture (Glasgow District Council, 1982: 28).

According to respondents, however, East Pollokshields only have had deteriorating streetscapes since then. No concerted effort was taken on the part of the Council to

Plate 12: Impact of introducing furniture in Maxwell Square Park

improve street furniture except the very recent introduction of a few re-cycling bins. This research argues that an improved streetscape through the provision modern street furniture on Albert Drive, Maxwell Road as well as at the intersection of Kenmure Street and Nithsdale Road would draw more pedestrians to these streets. As more people spend time and socialise in the streets, it will improve natural surveillance and informal social control in these public spaces. The present research recommends that pavements along the shopping streets of the area such as Albert Drive, Maxwell Road should also be improved. Moreover, provision of benches and litter bins is recommended along Albert Drive and Kenmure Street so that pedestrians can sit, take rest, have food, and socialise. The benches recently introduced in the Maxwell Square Park (Plate 12 above) facilitated in the informal social control by attracting members of various age groups to spend time in the park. It could be a model for Albert Drive and Kenmure Street. **iii) Enhanced road safety measures**

Despite some measures taken by the Council along certain streets, road safety remained a top priority for respondents (see Chapter 7). The following measure is suggested:

Pedestrianisation

Pedestrianisation gives absolute priority to the pedestrians, thereby enhancing their sense of safety (see, for example, Baker Associates, 2010; Wooller et al, 2012). Partial (part of certain street) and temporary pedestrianisation (certain period of the day) of the McCulloch Street is recommended. Though the street has the maximum number of road safety measures installed in any street of East Pollokshields (see Figure 59), it remained the least safe road of the area. To improve the safety of children of Glendale Primary School, the McCulloch Street carriageway was

Figure 59: Road safety measures on McCulloch Street

Image Source: Google Earth, 2013 (Image date: 2009)

narrowed (we can see the full width of the street at the south-eastern corner of the image) and was intersected by pedestrian crossing at three points. These measures, however, largely failed to prevent car-schoolchildren conflicts and the resulting worry of parents and schoolchildren alike (see Chapter 7). Despite restrictions such as zig-zag and yellow lines, often these rules are broken (see above image). The solution to this problem is pedestrianisation of the street to the left of Kenmure Street (Figure 59). Cars of residents of the street can easily be accommodated on the same street to the right of Kenmure Street. To save the cost of re-construction while still serving the purpose, blocking of traffic along the street (placing no-entry sign both at Kenmure Street and Shields Road entrance) from 8 am to 5 pm (temporary pedestrianisation) can be considered.

iv) Improved play facilities

East Pollokshields is a localised example of the lack of sport and recreational facilities particularly for the teenagers (see Chapter 8). There was a concern among the local residents about its possible impact on growing ASB among this age group. Moreover, an officer of Strathclyde Police (White, male: 44) argued:

> **There is no provision for the youths in the area. While there is not an over-provision, there are *plenty* of things for the older people of the community. You can also argue that the older section of the community, they have the *means* to choose things they like and they can afford to buy that. On the other hand, for the youths the provision is what it's there. Frequently what provided *is not what they ask for*. The facilities in the area - they quickly become the domain of one particular age-group of the community. There is no integration of the different ages and that kind of perpetuates the remoteness of certain parts** [Emphasis added].

Providing sport facilities for young people was identified by a majority of respondents (83%) in this research as the most *desirable* approach to take them off the street, alleys, close, backcourts and darker areas of the park. Some respondents, however, pointed out the danger in considering the provision of sport and leisure facilities as the *magic*

207

bullet for solving youth problems in the neighbourhood. As Sport England (1999: 7-8) suggests:

The causes of crime…among young people are complex and multi-dimensional. It would be naive to think, and unrealistic to claim, that sport alone can reduce the levels of youth crime in society. However, experiential evidence exists to show that sport can have an indirect impact on reducing juvenile crime by providing challenge, adventure, and giving meaning and a sense of purpose to young people's lives where previously there was a vacuum.

Moreover, Frondigoun et al. (2007) found a correlation between poor access to sports facilities, the amount of time spent hanging around on the streets and the frequency with which they are "pulled up" by the police. A football pitch on a currently vacant land is recommended for the young people in the area:

Football pitch

It is recommended that grass cover or Astroturf be provided on the barren and unused ground (see Plate 13) - kept for the Community Campus behind Pollokshields

Plate 13: Unplayable ground - waiting for a facelift?

Community Centre - to make it a useful football ground. Football, while providing the young people with the opportunity to expend their energy, could also act as a community glue factor. In fact, the ground has been waiting to become a football pitch since 1982 as we see below:

Within East Pollokshields there is only one area of ground which could be developed for this use (play area) and this is located east of Glendale Primary School between St Andrews Road and McCulloch Street. The site … may now be developed for recreation purposes with the provision of a football pitch and landscaped areas through the use of resources from the M.S.C. funded Parks Project' 80 (Glasgow District Council, 1982: 22).

In the past three decades, however, East Pollokshields has not received a football pitch on the site. We are now going to discuss the third major set of recommendations which

relates to an effective engagement of stakeholders in the local community safety initiatives.

In addition to these immediate measures, this research recommends the following long-term measures for enhanced community safety and improved QoL of residents:

2. Long-term measures A) Bringing social justice and empowerment to young people and women

This research has revealed that young people and women were marginalised groups in the local community (see Chapter 7 and 8). These two groups were also found to be excluded from the community safety landscape in East Pollokshields. This research recommends the following *culturally sensitive* and *locally tuned* measures for their social justice and empowerment:

i) Arresting failure in education

We saw in Chapter 8 that many Pakistani Scottish children and young people leave school with little or no qualifications. On a national scale, Pakistani children are among the lowest achievers (ACEVO, 2012). Research suggests that 'inequalities of attainment in GCSE examinations place African-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils in a disadvantaged position in the youth education, labour, and training markets, and increase the likelihood of social and economic exclusion in later life' (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; 27). To prevent this educational failure and subsequent diminished life chances of these young people it is recommended that the Education Services of the Glasgow City Council must look into the experience of Pakistani Scottish and other minority students when they are in school. As some respondents emphasised, it is necessary that the school administration as well as the Education Services monitor experiences of bullying, racial abuse and assault of Pakistani Scottish children in local secondary schools, especially in Shawlands Academy which has a history of racial tension (see Chapter 7). Particular attention is to be given to pupils from disadvantaged families and from families with criminal background.

ii) Providing training and job opportunities

We saw earlier that a growing number of Pakistani Scottish youths were not interested in having a career in the family businesses. Government, through local agencies and voluntary organisations, must provide opportunities for vocational training and training of skills relevant for jobs such as those in the IT sector or other fields preferred by the young people. Involving the voluntary sector is particularly relevant under the present economic climate. Successful Asian people in Scotland such as politicians, doctors and lawyers can be approached by community organisations to promote such endeavour. Local community organisations such as YCSA can be used for providing the venue as well as expertise necessary for training. However, creation of a local *job club* is recommended since there is no Jobcentre plus in Pollokshields. In the job club local youth leaders and successful young people could encourage youths – of all ethnic backgrounds - who are 'not in education, employment or training' (NEET) how to work on their potentials, how to

improve their skills, apply for jobs, and more importantly how to improve their confidence and ambition in life (Bailey, 2005; also see www.catch-22.org.uk). The provision of education, training and job opportunities will go a long way empowering these sections of the Pakistani Scottish community. **iii) Stopping gender-based prejudice and domestic violence**

Evidence from this research suggests that domestic violence in some Pakistani Scottish families was not dealt with by concerned agencies or the community. The common explanation provided is non-reporting of such 'private' incidents by the Pakistani Scottish women. For example, an officer of the Strathclyde Police (male: 44) argued:

> **There are challenges of domestic violence which are not dealt with. One chap, he slapped his wife on her head in the street. But this is Scotland and it's just not acceptable is domestic violence or any other form of violence. It's quite a tight line sometimes to explain what is acceptable and what unacceptable behaviour is because everything goes through greases. But it's important that the community makes effort.**

However, based on empirical evidence, this research argues that the Pakistani Scottish women were not willing to report domestic violence and seek help from concerned agencies due to cultural reasons. As another officer of the same police force (male; 26) explained:

> **Domestic violence has gone up; but they remain mostly within the confines of the household...not reported obviously due to culture, fear of being stigmatised in the society.**

Empirical evidence suggests that domestic violence has been a neglected area in the local community safety landscape. Moreover, female respondents revealed in this research argued that the problem was very sensitive, deep rooted and embedded in some cultural practices of members in the community. They also suggested that Pakistani female members had subordinate positions in their family and the community.

For community safety of the Pakistani Scottish women, this research recommends that the police, the Council and GCSS need to come forward and find a culturally sensitive way so that these women can feel confident about reporting their experiences of domestic violence. Involving voluntary women's organisations to assist victims of domestic violence might help in this endeavour. Concerned agencies must also encourage voluntary organisations to work alongside local community organisations to raise awareness of these women about the issue. Political participation of the Pakistani Scottish women may help bringing this issue to the wider public debate.

B. Effective engagement of stakeholders in community safety

We saw in the previous chapter that the local community safety partnership between concerned agencies and the Pakistani Scottish community was ineffective. This research recommends that all the stakeholders of community safety in East Pollokshields - governments, Council, Strathclyde Police, GCSS, community organisations and the (Pakistani) community itself – must engage effectively for

enhanced community safety of the residents in East Pollokshields. The following four measures are suggested:

i) Improved local engagement of Strathclyde Police and GCSS

According to Sir Robert Peel (quoted in Kelling and Coles, 1996: vii), the ideal role of the police is that 'the police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare'. However, empirical evidence suggests that there is a need for an improved relationship between the Pakistani Scottish community and the Strathclyde Police. This research suggests that the police need to come forward first to improve its trust to members in the community. If they show that they do not discriminate on the basis of colour and religion, but care for every member in the community, the Pakistani Scottish community will reciprocate. This research also suggests that the Strathclyde Police can improve its public image in East Pollokshields if they start an outreach centre either at Pollokshields Library (where there used to be a mini police station in 2001; see Evening Times, 22/08/01) or at Southside Housing Association where members of the public can interact and raise local issues with the officers on duty. Such community outreach initiative – at least once in a month – will provide some dividends. The police should, as the local MSP said, come from behind their desk and go to the beat more often. Based on the empirical evidence, this research also recommends that while on the beat, the community police officers must interact with the local Pakistani Scottish people since communication is the key in building trust.

In similar vein, the GCSS - who appeared to be 'out of step' with the local community – must involve itself in community safety initiatives locally. For example, they can come to East Pollokshields and move the CCTV cameras on a regular basis so that it creates a sense of safety in local people's mind. Moreover, empirical evidence suggests that GCSS controls community wardens service in

Glasgow. As Fyfe (2010: 194) argues, these wardens could act 'as a link between the community and other agencies, particularly local authority departments; working with vulnerable groups, such as young people and the elderly; and tackling environmental issues by reporting incidents of graffiti and vandalism and organising local clean-ups'. East Pollokshields urgently needs these services. GCSS, therefore, must take initiatives in these directions.

ii) Inclusion of young people in community safety initiatives

In a letter to the City Council on priorities in Pollokshields, Pollokshields Community Council (2009: 3) demanded that 'we need better working arrangements between local youth agencies, Culture and Sport Glasgow's Youth Services and Glasgow Community Safety Services to take a longer term strategic view to address the needs of young people. We need long term committed support from the Area Committee to fund activities for our young people and the organisations that support them.' To arrest

further exclusion of local Pakistani Scottish youths from the community safety landscape, this research recommends the following:

Youth engagement

In addition to the provision of youth and recreation facilities discussed above, the local youths need to be engaged actively in community safety initiatives so that they can realise that they are being valued and their voices are being heard by the

Figure 60: Examples of involving young people in community safety initiatives

Milton Keynes Council recruited artists to help local children to design a mural for a play area that was often vandalised. The children painted the mural themselves and subsequent vandalism rates fell to zero for five years. Also, young villagers attended a meeting on youth facilities and, with the aid of a facilitator, persuaded everyone that a skateboard park would be a greater asset to young people than a proposed youth club. The Council subsequently drew in £20,000 of external regeneration grant to top up local funding for the project. Initial worries about the skateboard park have been faced and overcome. The project is strongly supported by the young villagers, the police, the parish council and Milton Keynes Council.

Telford & Wrekin Council helped a local youth club to paint a 65 foot mural on a boundary wall between the club and a school, with the aim of reducing vandalism. The children designed and painted the wall and the council provided the equipment. There has been virtually no subsequent graffiti or criminal damage because the children feel strong ownership for their work and see the wall as 'theirs'.

Source: Audit Commission, 2002

concerned agencies. Examples of how children and young people can be involved in creative activities to prevent common ASBs like vandalism and graffiti are provided in Figure 60. It is recommended that help is sought by the Council and GCSS from the artist community who organise regular exhibitions in the Tramway (Albert Drive) to engage with local children in painting. The key should be giving young people an authority in what they do. This will create interest amongst some of the young people and help them stay away from ASB.

iii) A more responsible Pakistani Scottish men and mosques

As discussed in the previous chapter, members of the Pakistani Scottish community have to take more responsibility for enhanced community safety and better quality of life in East Pollokshields. Empirical evidence suggests that some Pakistani Scottish youths were involved in ASB and petty crime because their fathers failed to provide supervision and care to the children and women in the family. In terms of parenting, in particular, Pakistani Scottish fathers need to take more responsibility. As pointed out by respondents in this research, the role of proper parenting in the upbringing of a child cannot be stressed enough.

Plate 14: Large (60m x 80m approx) underused space behind Masjid Noor

Moreover, the management in local mosques – again controlled by Pakistani Scottish men - must consider the avenues through which they can attract more children and young people to the mosque through organising events and activities suitable for the young people. The largest mosque in East Pollokshields – Masjid Noor – needs to utilise its resources properly for the wellbeing of the community. It is recommended that the mosque should volunteer the open space attached to it (Plate 14) for organising youth events and activities such as parking of a mobile sport facility provided by GCSS which the mosque previously refused. The management of the mosque must also learn from other countries about the outreach activities carried out by mosques in addition to their normal religious preaching. Giving more decisionmaking powers to new generation Imams could be a step forward in realising the wider potential of mosques in the service of the Muslim community.

iv) Culturally-sensitive agency intervention in community safety issues

In the context of pursuing the community safety agenda in ethnically mixed areas, Prior (2008) observed that the stereotypical view of Asian communities was inward looking and 'self-regulating'. The author went on suggest:

Asian communities largely dealt with problems of crime and disorder through their own resources, such as extended family and kinship networks and traditional religious and community organisations. Little, however, appeared to be known about how such community self-regulation operated in practice, in particular, the kinds of problems that were dealt with through 'internal' community mechanisms and, therefore, the kinds of problems that might be left unresolved; and the methods through which problems were acted upon (Prior, 2008: 12).

However, as we saw in the previous chapter, far from being supportive, family and community often created and sustained many problems. Community safety issues within the Pakistani Scottish community, such as drug-use and drug-dealing among

youths remained unresolved. This research suggests the following area which needs careful agency intervention:

Community Health (Drugs) Camp

Health Camp was a project undertaken by Bailey (2005) in Kensington and Chelsea for awareness generation and rehabilitation of youths who use drugs. The rationale for using a "pseudo name" of the project was that 'young people do not want to have anything to do with a service called DRUGS…they will not have it. The word drug is a label; young people have enough problems with labels' (Bailey, 2005: 36). On the basis of empirical evidence here it is suggested that a service model could prove to be helpful in East Pollokshields. For example, a weekly outreach programme can be organised by the Glasgow South Addiction Unit of NHS in the Pollokshields Health Shop. It is recommended that the Addiction Unit involve local community organisations like YCSA and Pollokshields Community Centre to run such a camp where the young people are given information and advice on healthy life choices and awareness about drugs.

9.3 Future research

Based on the foundations of this study, several areas can be explored by future researchers. These might focus on the local community in general and/or ethnic minority communities in particular. The following four areas are suggested:

i)   the lived experience of community safety of local communities in the city of Glasgow;

ii)   community safety policies and practices of Glasgow Community Safety Services (GCSS) is another potential area of research. The organisation was first of its kind in the UK. Its contribution towards making people safer in Glasgow is an area worth exploring;

iii)   since the Local Government (Scotland) Act 2003, community safety partnerships in Scotland are nested within the wider framework of community planning. However, no research has explored the extent to which community safety partnerships – as part of the community planning partnership - have been successful in addressing community safety and wider social justice issues in Scotland. This can be another potential area of research; and

iv)   research is needed to examine the implications of the recent police reform in Scotland for local community safety initiatives.

Research into these areas will add to our understanding of how community safety initiatives in Scotland contribute to the wellbeing of people in local communities.

Appendix I: Definition of Selected Crimes and Offences

Crime and Offence

The Oxford Dictionary defines crime as 'an action or omission which constitutes an offence and is punishable by law' (http://oxforddictionaries.com).

Contraventions of Scottish criminal law are divided for statistical purposes into crimes and offences. "Crime" is *generally* used for the more serious criminal acts; the less serious termed "offences", although the term "offence" may also be used in relation to serious breaches of criminal law. The distinction is made only for working purposes and the "seriousness" of the offence is *generally* related to the maximum sentence that can be imposed (www.scotland.gov.uk).

For example, Strathclyde Police (now Police Scotland) uses the term *crime* for assault and robbery; but considers speeding, drinking in public places as *offences*.

Driving/Traffic Offences

The Collins (English) Dictionary defines traffic offences as 'a violation of traffic regulations, such as breaking the speed limit' (http://www.collinsdictionary.com). However, many different offences are included by Strathclyde Police under this term, such as driving carelessly, drunk driving, seat belt offences and mobile phone offences (www.strathclyde.police.uk/crimestats/crime_definitions).

Drug Possession and Supply

Drug possession implies the unlawful possession of a controlled drug with intent to use or supply to other person (http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/d_to_g/drug_offences/). Drug supply includes illegal importation, production, manufacture or cultivation of drugs (www.strathclyde.police.uk/crimestats/crime_definitions).

Hate Crime

According to the UK Government, a hate crime is committed 'when someone does something against the law to another person because of hate or because they are afraid of difference. For example, a person may carry out a crime because of someone's race, religion or belief, gender identity, sexual orientation or disability' (www.gov.uk).

Housebreaking

The Collins (English) Dictionary defines the act of entering a building as a trespasser for an unlawful purpose. Assimilated with burglary, 1968 (only in England and Wales; http://www.collinsdictionary.com). According to Strathclyde Police, "housebreaking" includes the following: i) theft by housebreaking; ii) housebreaking with intent to steal; and iii) attempted housebreaking with intent to enter and steal (www.strathclyde.police.uk/crimestats/crime_definitions).

Motor Vehicle Crime

Strathclyde Police considers motor vehicle crime as a 'theft by opening lock-fast place (OLP) from a motor vehicle, OLP with intent to steal from a motor vehicle, attempted OLP with intent to steal from a motor vehicle, theft of motor vehicle and contents including taking and driving away, theft from a motor vehicle and attempted theft of a motor vehicle' (www.strathclyde.police.uk/crimestats/crime_definitions).

Racially Aggravated Conduct/Harassment

The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) define a racial incident as: "Any incident in which it appears to the reporting or investigating officer that the complaint involves an element of racial motivation; or any incident which includes an allegation of racial motivation made by any person." For an offence to be considered 'racially aggravated', there should be the existence of "racial hostility at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so" **or** "that the offence was motivated wholly or partly by racial hostility" http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ERORecords/HO/421/2/P2/REU/RACE.HTM.

Theft

According to the Theft Act 1968, 'a person is guilty of theft if he dishonestly appropriates property belonging to another with the intention of permanently depriving the other of it' (http://www.legislation.gov.uk). For Strathclyde Police, theft is a broader category under the 'crimes of dishonesty' and also includes housebreaking and motor vehicle crime.

Vandalism/Fire-raising

Vandalism is a wilful damage to public and private property (Muncie, 1984). Setting fire to property deliberately is also included by Strathclyde Police within this group of offences (www.strathclyde.police.uk/crimestats/crime_definitions).

Violence and Indecency Crime

Strathclyde Police categorise these two under the term Serious Violent Crime. *Violent crimes* include murder, attempted murder, serious assault; robbery and assault with intent to rob; cruelty to children; threats and extortion. On the other hand, among *crimes of indecency* are rape, indecent assault, lewd and libidinous practices (www.strathclyde.police.uk/crimestats/crime_definitions).

Appendix II: Sample Interview Schedule, Focus Group Questions and Self-completion Questionnaire

II A: Interview schedule (adult male and female)

<u>Introductory Questions:</u>

You are: Male / Female.   Your age:

How long are you in East Pollokshields?

Your house: Own / Rented

How will you describe your ethnic background?

Your occupation:

<u>Main Questions:</u>

Have you heard about quality of life? If yes, how will you describe it?

What are the five most important elements in your quality of life (in the order 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important)?

Have you heard about 'community safety'? If yes, how will you describe it?

How important is community safety for your quality of life?

Very important	Fairly important	Slightly important	Not important at all	Don't know

How safe is East Pollokshields as a place to live? Explain.

Very safe	Fairly safe	Slightly unsafe	Not safe at all	Don't know

What are the community safety issues in East Pollokshields? (list as many as you want)

With respect to each of the above issues, also tell how much of a problem these are in East Pollokshields (as in the following example):

Issues	Major problem	Moderate problem	Minor problem
1	√		

Tell me your thought on incidence of Housebreaking in Pollokshields:

How safe are the roads in East Pollokshields? Explain

What is your opinion on young people in East Pollokshields?

Are you aware of drug use among young people in Pollokshields? if yes, elaborate.

Have you ever come across any 'gang' in Pollokshields?

Since the age of 17 or during your stay in Pollokshields, have you (any member of your family) ever been a victim of any of the following?

Your car or other vehicle stolen	
Your car or other vehicle damaged by vandals	
Your home is damaged by vandals	
Your home is broken into	
You are mugged or robbed in the street	
You are physically assaulted or attacked in the street or other public place	
You are involved or caught up in violence between groups of individuals or gangs	
Your identity, bank details stolen	
You or any member of your family have been intimidated/knocked by speeding cars	
Somebody frightened you, by threatening to hurt you	
You have become a victim of domestic abuse/violence	
You are abused, harassed or assaulted due to your skin colour, religion or ethnicity	
Any other (please specify)	

Will you be willing to explain the incident?

Have you ever made a complaint to the Police about any incident?

If yes, what did the Police do?

Are you satisfied the way Police dealt with your complaint? Yes/ No. Explain

If not made any complaint to Police, whom did you tell about the incident?

How was the matter dealt with?

If not complained to anyone, what was the reason?

Tell me what the Strathclyde Police is doing in controlling crime and anti-social behaviour in this area:

How often do community police officers visit East Pollokshields?

Every day	Often (4-5 days/week)	Sometimes (once or twice/week)	Occasionally (once or twice /month)	Not sure

What is your opinion on the Police-Pakistani Scottish community relation in East Pollokshields?

Who do you think should be responsible for community safety in East Pollokshields?

Are you aware of any community safety initiative in your area? If yes, what are those?

Are you aware of the organisation called Glasgow Community and Safety Services (GCSS)? Yes / No.

If yes, tell me what the GCSS is doing in making East Pollokshields safer?

Are you aware of any CCTV in the area? Yes / No. If yes, tell me what role they are playing in making East Pollokshields safer?

What is your thought on the role of the City Council in making East Pollokshields a better and safer place to live?

What role local community organisations play for community safety in this locality?

How to make East Pollokshields a better and safer place to live?

II B: Focus group questions (young people: 12-24 years)

Introductory Questions (separate sheet):

You are: Male / Female.   Your age:

How long are you in East Pollokshields?

Your house: Own / Rented

How will you describe your ethnic background?

Your occupation:

If a student, tell me which class you are in:

Main questions

Have you heard about quality of life? If yes, how will you describe it?

What are the five most important elements in your quality of life (in the order 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important)?

Have you heard about 'community safety'? If yes, how will you describe it?

How important is community safety for your quality of life?

Very important	Fairly important	Slightly important	Not important at all	Don't know

How safe is East Pollokshields for young people? Explain.

Have you ever been a victim of crime? If yes, explain.

What are the community safety issues in East Pollokshields? (list as many as you want)

With respect to each of the above issues, also tell how much of a problem these are in East Pollokshields (as in the following example):

Issues	Major problem	Moderate problem	Minor problem
1	√		

Local people think that young people hang about in gangs in East Pollokshields. How do you see this?

Local people are concerned with the use and dealing of drugs among youths in East Pollokshields. Why do these young people deal/use drugs?

How could adults or elderly members in the community help the youths who are into drugs and other disorderly behaviour?

Have you ever been stopped and searched by the police?

How well did the police deal with you when they stopped you?

How often do community police officers visit East Pollokshields?

Every day	Often (4-5 days/week)	Sometimes (once or twice/week)	Occasionally (once or twice /month)	Not sure

How well is the relationship between the Police and Asian youths in East Pollokshields?

Overall, how effective is the Strathclyde Police in controlling crime and anti-social behaviour in East Pollokshields?

What do you do in your spare time?

Do you think that East Pollokshields has sufficient sport/leisure facility for young people?

If no, what type of facilities do young people want and where?

What will you suggest to make East Pollokshields a better and safer place to live?

II C: Self-completion Questionnaire (women above 17 years)

<u>Introductory Questions:</u>

Your age: -------------------------------

How long are you in East Pollokshields? ----------------------------

Your house: Own / Rented

Your occupations: ---

How will you describe your ethnic background? --

<u>Main Questions:</u>

Have you heard about quality of life? If yes, how will you describe it? ------------------
----

What are the five most important elements in your quality of life (in the order 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important)? ---
----

Have you heard about 'community safety'? If yes, how will you describe it? -----------
----
--   How important is community safety for your quality of life?

Very important	Fairly important	Slightly important	Not important at all	Don't know

How safe is East Pollokshields for women as a place to live?

Very safe	Fairly safe	Slightly unsafe	Not safe at all	Don't know

Do you feel safe going out alone after dark in your locality? Yes/No

Are there any specific location in East Pollokshields which you generally avoid going after dark?   Yes/ No .   If yes, explain: --
----

What precautions (if any) do you take when you go out after dark? ----------------------
----
What are the community safety issues in East Pollokshields? (list as many as you want)

With respect to each of the above issues, also tell how much of a problem these are in East Pollokshields (as in the following example):

Issues	Major problem	Moderate problem	Minor problem
1	√		

Tell me your thought on incidence of Housebreaking in Pollokshields: -----------------
----

How safe are the roads in East Pollokshields? Explain. ------------------------------------
----

What is your opinion on young people in East Pollokshields? -----------------------------
--- Are

you aware of drug use among young people in Pollokshields? if yes, elaborate.

Have you ever come across any 'gang' in Pollokshields? If yes, explain: ---------------
----

Since the age of 17 or during your stay in Pollokshields, have you (any member of your family) ever been a victim of any of the following? Tick all that apply.

Your car or other vehicle stolen	
Your car or other vehicle damaged by vandals	
Your home is damaged by vandals	
Your home is broken into	
You are mugged or robbed in the street	
You are physically assaulted or attacked in the street or other public place	
You are involved or caught up in violence between groups of individuals or gangs	
Your identity, bank details stolen	
You or any member of your family have been intimidated/knocked by speeding cars	
Somebody frightened you, by threatening to hurt you	
You have become a victim of domestic abuse/violence	
You are abused, harassed or assaulted due to your skin colour, religion or ethnicity	
Any other (please specify)	

Will you be willing to explain the incident/s? --

Have you ever made a complaint to the Police about any incident?   Yes/ No. Explain

----

If yes, what did the Police do? ---

Are you satisfied the way Police dealt with your complaint? Yes/ No. Explain---------
----

If not made any complaint to Police, whom did you tell about the incident? ------------
----

How was the matter dealt with? --

If not complained to anyone, what was the reason? --

Tell me what the Strathclyde Police is doing in controlling crime and anti-social
behaviour in this area: --

How often do community police officers visit East Pollokshields?

Every day	Often (4-5 days/week)	Sometimes (once or twice/week)	Occasionally (once or twice /month)	Not sure

What is your opinion on the Police-Pakistani Scottish community relation in East
Pollokshields? ---

Are you aware of any organisation in East Pollokshields to deal with crime against
women? Yes / No.

If yes, have you ever been in contact with them? Yes / No. Explain ----------------------
----

Are you aware of any other initiatives to ensure safety of women in Pollokshields? Yes
/ No. Explain --
--   Who
do you think should be responsible for community safety in East Pollokshields?

Are you aware of any community safety initiative in your area? If yes, what are
those? --

Are you aware of the organisation called Glasgow Community and Safety Services
(GCSS)? Yes / No.

If yes, tell me what the GCSS is doing in making East Pollokshields safer? ------------
----

Are you aware of any CCTV in the area? Yes / No. If yes, tell me what role they are playing in making East Pollokshields safer? --

----

What is your thought on the role of the City Council in making East Pollokshields a better and safer place to live?

What role local community organisations play for community safety in this locality?

How to make East Pollokshields a better and safer place to live; especially for women?

II D: Interview Schedule for Agencies: Strathclyde Police

<u>Introductory Questions:</u>

How long have you been serving the Strathclyde Police? ----------------------------

Your position: --------------------------------------- Your age: ----------------   M / F

<u>Main Questions:</u>

How long are you in the community policing team for East Pollokshields (Beat GE 70)?

From you experience, tell me about the local policing issues in East Pollokshields:

How do the Strathclyde Police/local policing team address these issues?

How far the Strathclyde Police works in collaboration with other agencies such as GCSS, the City Council in dealing with community safety issues?

To what extent do you get co-operation of the local residents in East Pollokshields regarding community safety issues?

What is your view on the police-Asian community relationship in East Pollokshields?

Questions regarding feedback from the community on policing

How do you see the following perceptions of the local Asian community about the community police officers?

a) 'They never come when it matters'

b) 'They do discriminate'

c) 'The police stop us for no reason' (young people)

d) 'They do not interact with us'

Finally, your suggestions for making East Pollokshields a safer place:

Bibliography

Accounts Commission (2000) Safe and Sound: A Study of the Community Safety Partnerships in Scotland, Edinburgh: Audit Scotland.

ACEVO (2012) Youth unemployment: the crisis we cannot afford, The ACEVO Commission on Youth Unemployment, London.

ACPOS (2007) Public Reassurance Strategy, available at

http://acpos.police.uk/Documents/Policies/CRIME%20-%20ACPOS%20Public%20Reasurance%20Strategy%2010.09.07.pdf; last accessed 17/06/2013.

Ali, W. (2000) Social control and deviance: a South Asian community in Scotland, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Alonso, A. (1998) Urban Graffiti on the City Landscape. Paper presented at Western Geography Graduate Conference, San Diego State University.

Anderson, S.; Kinsey, R.; Loader, I. and Smith, C. (1994) Cautionary Tales: Young People, crime and policing in Edinburgh. Avebury: Aldershot.

Andresen, M. A. (2010) The Place of Environmental Criminology within Criminological Thought, in Andresen, M. A.; Brantingham, P. J. and Kinney, J. B. (Eds.) (2010) *The Classics in Environmental Criminology,* CRC Press: Boca Raton, pp 5-28.

Andresen, M. A. (2006) Crime Measures and the Spatial Analysis of Criminal Activity, *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 46 (2): 258-285.

Andresen, M. A.; Brantingham, P. J. and Kinney, J. B. (Eds.) (2010) The Classics in Environmental Criminology, Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Andresen, M. A.; Wuschke, K.; Kinney, J. B. and Brantingham, P. L. (2009) Cartograms, Crime, and Location Quotients, *Crime Patterns and Analysis,* Vol. 2 (1): 31-46.

Anselin, L.; Cohen, J.; Cook, D.; Gorr, W. and Tita, G. (2000) Spatial Analyses of Crime, *Criminal Justice,* Vol. (4): 213-262.

Armitage, R. (2002) To CCTV or not to CCTV? A review of current research into the effectiveness of CCTV systems in reducing crime, Community safety practice briefing, London: NACRO.

Asim, Q. M. (2011) Mosques and Youth Engagement: Guidelines and Toolkit, London: MINAB.

Atkinson, R. (2003) Domestication by *Cappuccino* or a Revenge on Urban Space? Control and Empowerment in the Management of Public Spaces, *Urban Studies,* Vol. 40 (9): 1829-1843.

Atkinson, R. and Flint, J. (2001) Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies*, Social Research Update*, Issue 33, University of Surrey.

Audit Commission (2005) Local Quality of Life Indicators - Supporting Local Communities to Become Sustainable, Public Sector National Report, London.

Audit Commission (2002) Community Safety Partnerships: ACKNOWLEDGE - Learning from Audit, Inspection and Research, London.

Audit Commission (1999) Safety in Numbers: Promoting Community Safety - National Report, London.

Audit Scotland (2011) An overview of Scotland's criminal justice system, Edinburgh: Audit Scotland.

Bailey, N.; Bowes, A. and Sim, D. (1995) Pakistanis in Scotland: Census data and research issues, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 111 (1): 36-45.

Baily, S. (2005) No Man's Land: How Britain's inner city young are being failed, Centre for Young Policy Studies, London.

Bajekal, M. et al. (2004) Ethnic differences in influences on quality of life at older ages: a quantitative analysis, *Ageing and Society,* Vol. 24 (5): 709-28.

Banton, M. (1964) The Policeman in the Community, London: Tavistock.

Baxter, P. and Jack, S. (2008) Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers, *The Qualitative Report,* Vol. 13 (4): 544-559.

Bazeley, P. (2009) Analysing Qualitative Data: More Than 'Identifying Themes', in *Malaysian Journal of Qualitative Research,* Vol. 2 (2): 6-22.

BBC News (03/02/2012) Party leaders unite against Scottish Defence League march, available online at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-16869704, accessed 26/01/2013.

BBC News, Scotland (2012) William McKeeney killed on way home in Pollokshields, 15/01/2012. www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west16566465, accessed 30/10/2012.

BBC News, Scotland (2004) Defenceless teen's extreme terror. 18/11/2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/4022261.stm, accessed 13/04/2013.

Bean, P. (1994) Overview of the Community and Community Safety, In Lightfoot, J. (Ed.) *Towards Safer Communities: Community Development Approaches to Crime*, London: Community Development Foundation.

Belina, B. and Helms, G. (2003) Zero Tolerance for the Industrial Past and Other Threats: Policing and Urban Entrepreneurialism in Britain and Germany, *Urban Studies,* Vol. 40 (9): pp 1845-1867.

Benzer, M. (2011) Quality of Life and Risk Conceptions in UK Healthcare Regulation: Towards a critical analysis, Discussion Paper No. 68, centre for analysis of risk and regulation, LSE.

Berk, R. A.; Lenihan, K. J. and Rossi, P. H. (1980) Crime and Poverty: Some Experimental Evidence From Ex-Offenders, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 45 (5): 766-786.

Berry, G.; Briggs, P.; Erol, R. and van Staven, L. (2011) The effectiveness of partnership working in a crime and disorder context: A rapid evidence assessment, Research Report 52, London: Home Office.

Bloor, M. et al. (2001) Focus Groups in Social Research, London: Sage Publications.

Boggess, L. N. and Hipp, J. R. (2010) Violent Crime, Residential Instability and Mobility: Does the Relationship Differ in Minority Neighbourhoods? *Journal of Quantitative Criminology,* Vol. 26: 351-370.

Boggs, S. L. (1965) Urban Crime Patterns, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 30 (6): 899-908.

Bolognani, M. (2007) Community perceptions of moral education as a response to crime by young Pakistani males in Bradford, *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 36 (3): 357-369.

Bouffard, J.; Exum, M. L. and Paternoster, R. (2000) Whither the Beast? The Role of Emotions in a Rational Choice Theory of Crime, in Simpson, S. S. (Ed.) *Of Crime and Criminality: The Use of Theory in Everyday Life*, California: Pine Forge Press, pp 159-178.

Bourque, L B and Fielder, E P (2003) How to Conduct Self-Administered and Mail Surveys, 2nd Edition, California: Sage Publications

Bowes, A.; McCluskey, J. Sim, D. (1990) Racism and Harassment of Asians in Glasgow, *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol. 13 (1): 71-91.

Bowes, A., McCluskey, J. Sim, D. (1990) The changing nature of Glasgow's ethnic minority community, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 106 (2): 99-107.

Bowers, K. and Hirschfield, A. (1999) Exploring links between crime and disadvantage in north-west England: an analysis using geographical information systems, *International Journal of Geographical Information Science,* Vol. 13 (2): 159-184.

Bowling, A. (2005) Mode of questionnaire administration can have serious effects on data quality, in *Journal of Public Health,* Vol. 27 (3): 281-291.

Bowling, B. and Phillips, C. (2003) Policing Ethnic Minority Communities, in Newburn, T (Ed.) *Handbook of Policing*, Devon: Willan, pp 528-555.

Bowling, B. (1999) Violent Racism: Victimisation, Policing and Social Context. Clarendon Studies in Criminology, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bowling, B. (1993) Racial Harassment and the Process of Victimisation: Conceptual and Methodological Implications for the Local Crime Survey, *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 33 (2): 231-250.

Brace, I. (2008) Questionnaire Design: How to Plan, Structure and Write Survey Material for Effective Market Research, London: Kogan Page.

Brantingham, P. J. and Brantingham, P. L. (2008) Crime Pattern Theroy, in Wortley, R. and Mazerolle, L. (Eds.) *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 78-93.

Brantingham, P. L. and Brantingham, P. J. (1997) Mapping Crime for Analytic Purposes: Location Quotients, Counts and Rates, in Weisburd, D. and McEwen, T. (Eds.) *Crime Mapping and Crime Prevention*, Criminal Justice Press, pp 263-288.

Brantingham, P. L. and Brantingham, P. J. (1993) Environment, Routine and Situation: Toward a Pattern Theory of Crime, in Clarke, R. V. and Felson, M. (Eds.) *Routine Activity and Rational Choice, Advances in Criminological Theory* (Vol. 5), New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, pp 259-294.

Brantingham, P. L. and Brantingham, P. J. (1993) Nodes, Paths and Edges: Considerations on the Complexity of Crime and the Physical Environment, *Journal of Environmental Psychology,* Vol. 13: 3-28.

Brantingham, P. J. and Brantingham, P. L. (1984) Patterns in Crime, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Brantingham, P. J. and Brantingham, P. L. (Eds.) (1981) Environmental Criminology, California: Waveland Press.

Brewer, J. D. (2000) Ethnography, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Brockmann, M. (2002) Towards a Model of Quality of Life for Older Ethnic Minority Migrants in Germany, Austria and UK, *European Societies,* Vol. 4 (3): 285-306.

Brown, S. (2005) Understanding youth and crime: Listening to youth? Berkshire: Open University Press.

Browning, C. R. et al. (2010) Commercial Density, Residential Concentration, and Crime: Land Use Patterns and Violence in Neighbourhood Context, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* published online on 28/04/2010: 1-29.

Bryman, A. (2008) Social Research Methods, third edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (Undated) Triangulation, available online at http://www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/triangulation.pdf; last accessed 09/07/2013.

Burgess, R. G. (Ed.) (1982) Field Research: A sourcebook and Field Manual, London: George Allen and Unwin.

Burgess, R. G. (1984) In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research, London: George Allen and Unwin.

Burman, M.; Bradshaw, P.; Hutton, N.; McNeil, F. and Munro, M. (2006) The End of an Era? - Youth Justice in Scotland, in Josine, J-T. and Scott, H. D. (Eds.) *International Handbook of Juvenile Justice.* Dordrecht: Springer, pp 439-472.

Burns, L. A.; Willams, D. J. and Donnelly, P. D. (2011) A Public Health Approach to the Evaluation of the Glasgow Community Initiative to Reduce Violence. Research Summary No 7: The Scottish Institute for Policing Research.

Butt, J.; Moriarty, J.; Brockmann, M.; Sin, C. H. and Fisher, M. (2003) Quality of Life and Social Support among Older People of Different Ethnic Groups, Growing Older Programme: Research Findings 23.

Byrne, S. and Pease, K. (2003) Crime reduction and community safety, in Newburn, T. (Ed.) *Handbook of Policing,* Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 286-310.

Carnie, J. K. (1995) The Safer Cities Programme in Scotland: Overview Report, Edinburgh: Central Research Unit.

Chief Constable, Strathclyde Police (undated) Justice Committee Inquiry into Community Policing in Scotland Submission from Strathclyde Police, available online at
http://archive.scottish.parliament.uk/s3/committees/justice/inquiries/CommunityPolicing/CP3.pdf

Children 1st (2002) Children (Scotland) Act 1995, Factsheet: 5. Available online at
www.scotlandscolleges.ac.uk/.../846-HNC-SL-Children-1st-Children-Sco ; last accessed 18/06/2013.

Christmann, K. and Rogerson, M. (2004) Crime, Fear of Crime and Quality of Life Identifying and Responding to Problems, Research Report 35, Sheffield Hallam University: Northern Crime Consortium.

Clancy, A.; Hough, M.; Aust, R. and Kershaw, C. (2001) Crime, Policing and Justice: the Experience of Ethnic Minorities - Findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey, Home Office Research Study 223, London.

Clark, I. and Leven, T. (2002) The 2000 Scottish Crime Survey: Analysis of the Ethnic Minority Booster Sample, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.

Clarke, R. V. (1997) Situational crime prevention: successful case studies, 2nd Edition, New York: Harrow and Heston.

Clarke, R. V. and Felson, M. (Eds.) (1993) Routine Activity and Rational Choice, Advances in Criminological Theory, Vol. 5, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Coffield, F. (1991) Vandalism and Graffiti: the State of the Art, London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Cohen, A. P. (1985) The Symbolic Construction of Community. London: Routledge.

Cohen, L. E. and Felson, M. (1979) Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach, *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 44 (4): 588-608.

Cohen, S. (2002) Folk Devils and Moral Panics, Third Edition, Oxon: Routledge.

Coleman, C. and Moynihan, J. (1996) Understanding Crime Data: Haunted by the Dark Figure, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Coleman, R.; Sim, J. and Whyte, D. (2002) Power, politics and partnerships: the state of crime prevention on Merseyside, in Hughes, G and Edwards, A (Eds.) *Crime Control and Community: The New Politics of Public Safety*, Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 86-108.

Collins, P. H. (2010) The New Politics of Community, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 75 (1): 7-30.

Connexions (2002) Working together: Connexions with Voluntary and Community Organisations, Nottingham: DfES Publications.

Conradson, D. (2005) Focus Groups in Flowerdew R. and Martin, D. (Eds.) *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project*, 2nd Edition, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Cooper, C. (2008) Community, Conflict and the State: Rethinking Notions of 'Safety', 'Cohesion' and 'Wellbeing', Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cooper, C. (2006) Community involvement in community safety – But whose 'community'? And whose 'safety'? in Dearling, A; Newburn, T. and Somerville, P (Eds.) *Supporting safer communities: Housing, crime and neighbourhoods,* Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing, pp 219-34.

Cooper, S. (1966) Theoretical geography, applied geography and planning, *Professional Geographer,* Vol. 18 (1): 1-2.

Cops, D. (2009) The position of young people in community safety: a search for possible explanations, *Safer Communities,* Vol. 8 (3): 14-20.

Craig, G. (2007) Social Justice in a Multicultural Society: Experience from the UK, *Studies in Social Justice* Volume 1 (1): 93-108, available online at www.ojs.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/SSJ/article/download/ ; last accessed 02/07/2013.

Crawford, A. (2007) Crime Prevention and Community Safety, in Maguire, M.; Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. et al (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 4th Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 866-909.

Crawford, A. (1999) Questioning Appeals to Community within Crime Prevention and Control, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research,* Vol. 7 (4): 509530.

Crawford, A. (1998a) Delivering Multi-agency Partnerships in Community Safety, in Marlow, A. and Pitts, J. (Eds.) *Planning Safer Communities*, Dorset: Russell House Publishing, pp 213-222.

Crawford, A. (1998b) Community safety and the quest for security: Holding back the dynamics of social exclusion, *Policy Studies*, Vol. 19 (3-4): 237-253.

Crawford, A. (1998c) Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices, London: Longman.

Crawford, A. (1998d) Community safety partnerships, *Criminal Justice Matters*, Vol. 33 (1): 4-5.

Crawford, A. (1997) The Local Governance of Crime: Appeals to Community and Partnerships, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2007) Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches, 2nd Edition, California: Sage Publications.

Croall, H. (2012) Criminal justice, social inequalities and social justice, in Mooney, G. and Scott, G. (Eds.) (2012) *Social Justice and Social Policy in Scotland,* Bristol: Policy Press, pp 179-201.

Croall, H. (2005) Criminal justice in the devolved Scotland, in Mooney, G. and Scott, G. (Eds.) *Exploring Social Policy in the 'New' Scotland.* Bristol: Policy Press, pp 177-198.

Croall, H. and Frondigoun, L. (2010) Race, ethnicity, crime and justice in Scotland, in Croall, H.; Mooney, G. and Munro, M. (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland.*
Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 111-131.

Cummins, R. A. (1997) Comprehensive Quality of Life Scale – School Version (Grades 7-12) Manual. Fifth Edition. Melbourne: Deakin University.

Dahya, B. (1974) The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain, in Cohen, A. (Ed.) *Urban Ethnicity,* London: Tavistock.

Daily Record (06/08/2010) Street thugs threaten to kill 14-year-old boy and tell him: You're the next Kris Donald, by Janice Burns, available online at http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/street-thugs-threaten-to-kill-14year-old-1066080; last accessed 22/06/2013.

Davidson, N. and Locke, T. (1992) Local Area Profiles of Crime: Neighbourhood Crime Pattern in Context, in Evans, D. J.; Fyfe, N. R. and Herbert, D. T. (Eds.) *Crime, Policing and Place: Essays in environmental criminology.* London: Routledge: 60-72.

DETR (1999b) A Better Quality of Life - a Strategy for sustainable development in the United Kingdom, London: HMSO.

de Lima, P. (2005) An Inclusive Scotland? The Scottish Executive and racial inequality, in Mooney, G. and Scott, G. (Eds.) *Exploring Social Policy in the 'New' Scotland,* Bristol: Policy Press, pp 135-156.

Deller, S. C. and Ottem, T. (2001) Crime and the Quality of Life in Wisconsin Counties, Staff Paper No. 442, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Denney, D. (Ed.) (2009) Living in Dangerous Times: Fear, Insecurity, Risk and Social Policy, Chichester: Willey-Blackwell.

Denzin, N. K. (1970) The research act in sociology: a theoretical introduction to sociological methods, London: Butterworths.

Dey, I. (1993) Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists, London: Routledge.

Ditton, J. (2000) Crime and the City: Public Attitudes towards Open-Street CCTV in Glasgow, *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 40 (4): 692-709.

Ditton, J. (1999) Scottish Ethnic Minorities, Crime and the Police, in Duff, P. and Hutton, N. (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland,* Aldershot: Ashgate, pp 302-318.

Donnelly, D. (2005) Policing the Scottish Community, in Donnelly, D and Scott, K (Eds.) *Policing Scotland*, Devon: Willan Publishing.

Duffy, B.; Wake, R.; Burrows, T. and Bremner, P. (2008) Closing the Gaps: Crime & Public Perceptions, Ipsos MORI, London.

Edwards, A. (2002) Learning from diversity: the strategic dilemmas of communitybased crime control, in Hughes, G. and Edwards, A. (Eds.) *Crime Control and Community: The New Politics of Public Safety*, Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 140166.

Egan, M.; Neary, J.; Keenan, P. J. and Bond, L. (2012) Perceptions of antisocial behaviour and negative attitudes towards young people: focus group evidence from adult residents of disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods (Glasgow, UK), *Journal of Youth Studies:* 1-16.

Ekblom, P. (2000) The conjunction of criminal opportunity: A tool for clear, 'joinedup' thinking about community Safety and crime reduction, in Ballintyne, S; Pease, K and McLaren, V. (Eds.) *Secure Foundations: Key Issues in Crime Prevention, Crime Reduction and Community Safety,* London: IPPR, pp 30-66.

Ekblom, P. (1998) The Crime and Disorder Act: Community Safety and the Reduction and Prevention of Crime - A Conceptual Framework for Training and the Development of a Professional Discipline. London: Home Office.

Evans, D. J. (1992) Left Realism and the Spatial Study of Crime, in Evans, D. J.; Fyfe, N. R. and Herbert, D. T. (Eds.) *Crime, Policing and Place: Essays in environmental criminology.* London: Routledge, pp 36-59.

Evans, K. (2002) Crime Control Partnerships: who do we trust? *Criminal Justice Matters*, Vol. 50 (1): 12-13.

Evening Times (20/03/2007) Street where Kriss grabbed gets CCTV; Cameras start filming in seven crime hotspots. Report by Chris Musson.

Evening Times (22/08/2001) An open booking for police, page 11.

Farrington, D. P. and Welsh, B. C. (2002) Effects of Improved Street Lighting on Crime: A Systematic Review, Home Office Research Study 251, London.

Felson, M. and Clarke, R. V. (1998) Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical theory for crime prevention, Police Research Series, Paper 98, London: Home Office.

Felson, M. (2000) The Routine Activity Approach as a General Crime Theory, in Simpson, S. S. (Ed.) *Of Crime and Criminality: The Use of Theory in Everyday Life*, California: Pine Forge Press, pp 205-216.

Felson, M. (2008) Routine Activity Approach, in Wortley, R. and Mazerolle, L. (Eds.) *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 70-77.

Fenton, S. (2010) Ethnicity, 2nd Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fielding, N. G. (2012) Triangulation and Mixed Methods Designs : Data Integration With New Research Technologies, *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* Vol. 6 (2): 124–136.

Fitts, C. A. (2001) *Popsicle Index*, available online at http://solari.com/about/popsicle_index/html; last accessed 24/05/2013.

FitzGerald, M. and Hale, C. (2006) Ethnic Minorities and Community Safety, In Squires, P. (Ed.) *Community Safety: Critical Perspectives on Policy and Practice,* Bristol: The Policy Press, pp 71-92.

FitzGerald, M. and Hale, C. (1996) Ethnic Minorities, Victimisation and Racial Harassment, Research Findings No. 39, London: Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research, *Qualitative Inquiry,* Vol. 12 (2): 219-245.

Foster, J. (2002) 'People pieces': the neglected but essential elements of community crime prevention, in Hughes, G and Edwards, A (Eds.) *Crime Control and Community: The New Politics of Public Safety*, Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 167196.

Foster, J. (1995) Informal Social Control and Community Crime Prevention, *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 35 (4): 563-583.

Foster, J. (1990) Villains: Crime and Community in the Inner City, London: Routledge.

France, A.; Bottrell, D. and Armstrong, D. (2012) A Political Ecology of Youth and Crime, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frank, R. et al. (2011) Power of Criminal Attractors: Modeling the Pull of Activity Nodes, *Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation*, Vol. 14 (1), available online at http://jasss.soc.surrey.ac.uk/14/1/6.html , last accessed 16/07/2013.

Frazier, J. W. (1978) On the Emergence of an Applied Geography, *The Professional Geographer,* Vol. 30 (3): 233-239.

Fremeaux, I. (2005) New Labour's Appropriation of the Concept of Community: A Critique, *Community Development Journal,* Vol. 40 (3): 265-274.

Frondigoun, L.; Davidones, C. and Nicholson, J. (2010) Tackling Youth Offending and Violence: Intensive Policing and/or Dispersal Orders; Report prepared for Strathclyde Police Force; Glasgow: The Scottish Institute for Policing Research.

Frondigoun, L.; Nicholson, J.; Robertson, A. and Monigatti, S. (2008) Building Safer Communities: An Evaluation of the Enhanced Policing Plan in the Shettleston, Baillieston and Greater Easterhouse area of Glasgow; Report prepared for Strathclyde Police Force; Glasgow: The Scottish Institute for Policing Research

Frondigoun, L.; Croall, H.; Hughes, B.; Russell, L.; Russell, R. and Scott, G. (2007) Researching Minority Ethnic Young People in Edinburgh and the Greater Glasgow Area, Glasgow: Glasgow Caledonian University.

Fyfe, N. R. and Bannister, J. (1998) 'The eyes upon the street': closed-circuit television surveillance and the city, in Fyfe, N. R. (Ed) *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, London: Routledge, pp 254-67.

Fyfe, N. (2012) Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill: Submission to the Local Government and Regeneration Committee, available at http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S4_LocalGovernmentandRegenerationCommittee/General%20Documents/Prof_Nicholas_Fyfe_.pdf; last accessed 23/04/2013.

Fyfe, N. (2010) Policing crime and disorder in Scotland, in Donnelly, D. and Scott, K. (Eds.) *Policing Scotland*, Second Edition, Oxon: Willan Publishing, pp 175-200.

Fyfe, N. R. (2010) Policing, surveillance and security in contemporary Scotland, in Croall, H.; Mooney, G. and Munro, M. (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland.* Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 175-194.

Galloway, S.; Bell, D.; Hamilton, C. and Scullion, A. (2005) Quality of Life and Well-being: Measuring the Benefits of Culture and Sport: Literature Review and Thinkpiece, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Social Research.

Garland, D. (2001) The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Garland, D. (1996) The Limits of the Sovereign State: Strategies of Crime Control in Contemporary Society, *The British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 36 (4): 445-471.

Gillborn, D. and Mirza, H. S. (2000) Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender – A Synthesis of Research Evidence, Office for Standards in Education, London.

Gilling, D. and Barton, A. (1997) Crime prevention and community safety: A new home for social policy? *Critical Social Policy,* Vol. 17 (1): 63-83.

Gilling, D. (2009) Crime Prevention, in Hucklesby, A. and Wahidin, A. (Eds.) *Criminal Justice,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 11-36.

Gilling, D. (2001) Community Safety and Social Policy, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research,* Vol. 9 (4): 381-400.

Gilling, D. (1999) Community Safety: A Critique, The British Criminology Conferences: Selected Proceedings. Volume 2: 1-12.

Gilling, D. (1997) Crime Prevention: Theory, Policy and Politics, London: UCL Press.

Glasgow City Council (2012) Population and Households by Ethnicity in Glasgow, Briefing Paper by Director of Development and Regeneration Services, Glasgow, available online at http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=5705&p=0, last accessed 16/07/2013.

Glasgow City Council (2011) Glasgow's Single Outcome Agreement: Annual Progress Report 2010/11, Glasgow.

Glasgow City Council (2009) East Pollokshields Conservation Area Appraisal, Draft, Glasgow: DRS.

Glasgow City Council (2007) Glasgow's Local Housing Strategy: 2009-14, Pollokshields and Southside Central Area Development Framework, Glasgow.

Glasgow City Council (2005) Glasgow's Antisocial Behaviour Strategy: working together to build stronger, safer communities, Glasgow.

Glasgow District Council (1982) Pollokshields/Dumbreck Local Plan: Draft Written Statement, Glasgow.

Glasgow District Council (1979) Pollokshields/Dumbreck Local Plan: Survey Report, Glasgow.

Glasgow Community Planning Partnership (2005) Our Vision for Glasgow: Community Plan 2005-10, Glasgow.

Glasgow Community and Safety Services (2011) Glasgow Community and Safety Services Annual Report: 2010-11, Glasgow

Glasgow Community and Safety Services (2010) Glasgow's Safe Theme Strategic Assessment 2010/11, Glasgow.

Glasgow Community and Safety Services (2009) GCSS Strategy: 2009-2012, Glasgow.

Glasgow Community and Safety Services (2008) Glasgow's Safe Theme Strategic Assessment: 2009-10, Glasgow.

Glasgow District Council (1979) Pollokshields/Dumbreck Local Plan: Draft Written Statement, Glasgow.

Goodey, J. (2001) The Criminalization of British Asian Youth: Research from Bradford and Sheffield, *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 4 (4): 429-450.

Greig, A.; Taylor, J. and MacKay, T. (2007) Doing Research with Children, 2nd Edition, London: Sage Publications.

Grbich, C. (2007) Qualitative Data Analysis: An Introduction, London: Sage Publications.

Greene, J. C. (2006) Toward a Methodology of Mixed Methods Social Inquiry, *Research in the Schools,* Vol. 13 (1): 93-98.

Grewal, I. et al. (2004) Influences on Quality of Life: A Qualitative Investigation of Ethnic Differences Among Older People in England, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Vol. 30 (4): 737–761.

Hallett, C. (2000) Ahead of the Game or Behind the Times? The Scottish Children's Hearings System in International Context. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family,* Vol. 14: 31-44.

Hamilton-Smith, N.; Mackenzie, S.; Henry, A. and Davidones, C. (2013) Community policing and reassurance: Three studies, one narrative, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*: 1-19, published online 20/05/2013, available at http://crj.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/04/24/1748895813483762, last accessed 13/06/2013.

Hamilton-Smith, N. and Kent, A. (2005) The prevention of domestic burglary, in Tilley, N (Ed.) *Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety,* Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 417-457.

Hammersley, M. (2008) Troubles with triangulation, in Bergman, M. M. (Ed.) *Advances in Mixed Methods Research*, London: Sage, pp. 22–36.

Harries, K. D. (1981) Alternative Denominators in Conventional Crime Rates, in Brantingham, P J and Brantingham, P L (Eds.) *Environmental Criminology*, California: Waveland Press, pp 147-165.

Harrison, L. and Gfroerer, J. (1992) The Intersection of Drug Use and Criminal Behavior: Results From the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, *Crime and Delinquency,* Vol. 38 (4): 422-443.

Harrison, L. D. (1992) The drug-crime nexus in the USA, *Contemporary Drugs Problem,* Vol. 19: 203-245.

Harrison, P. (1992) Inside the Inner City: Life Under the Cutting Edge. Revised Edition. London: Penguin Books.

Hartless, J. M.; Ditton, J.; Nair, G. and Philips, S. (1995) More Sinned Against than Sinning: A Study of Young Teenagers' Experience of Crime, *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 35 (1): 114-133.

Hayslett-McCall, K L (2002) Neighbourhoods, Land-Use and Robbery Rates: A Test of Routine Activity Theory, unpublished PhD thesis, The Pennsylvania State University.

Helms, G. (2008) Towards Safe City Centres? Remaking the Spaces of an OldIndustrial City, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Helms, G. (2003) Towards safe city centres? Remaking the spaces of an oldindustrial city, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

Henry, A. (2012) Situating community safety: Emergent professional identities in communities of practice, *Criminology and Criminal Justice,* published online on 07/02/12, pp 1-19.

Henry, A. (2009a) Partnerships and communities of practice: a social learning perspective on crime prevention and community safety in Scotland, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Henry, A. (2009b) The Development of Community Safety in Scotland: a Different Path? in Crawford, A. (Ed.) *Crime Prevention Policies in Comparative Perspective*, Devon: Willan Publishing.

Herald Scotland (20/01/2013) Far right protest brings angry scenes to south side of Glasgow, available online at http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/farright-protest-brings-angry-scenes-to-south-side-of-glasgow.1358699892; last accessed 26/01/13.

Herald Scotland (16/03/2013) Police ban far-right SDL ceremony to mark teenager's death, available online at http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/far-rightmeeting-location-banned.20518242, last accessed 23/04/2013.

Hewitt, J.; Cryle, G. and Ballintyne, S. (2000) Threads of Success: a Study of Community Safety Partnerships in Scotland, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Hinkle, J. C. (2005) The Impact of Disorder on Fear of Crime: A Test of the First Link of Broken Windows. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Maryland

HMSO (1977) Policy for the Inner Cities, Cmnd: 6845, London.

Hoggart, K.; Lees, L. and Davies, A. (2002) Researching Human Geography, London: Arnold.

Home Office (2013) Antisocial Behaviour, available online at http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime/anti-social-behaviour/, last accessed 02/02/2013.

Home Office (2012) New definition of domestic violence, available online at http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/news/domestic-violence-definition, last accessed on 01/12/2012.

Home Office (1991) Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention Through the Partnership Approach, The Morgan Report, London: Home Office.

Hope, T. (2005) The New Local Governance of Community Safety in England and Wales, *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice,* Vol. 47: 369-387.

Hope, T. (1998) Community Safety, Crime and Disorder, in Marlow, A and Pitts, J (Eds.) *Planning Safer Communities*, Dorset: Russell House Publishing, pp 168-180.

Hopkins, P. (2004) Everyday Racism in Scotland: A Case Study of East Pollokshields, *Scottish Affairs,* No. 49 (autumn): 1-17.

Hudson, B. (2003) Justice in the Risk Society, London: Sage.

Hughes, D. and DuMont, K. (1993) Using Focus Groups to Facilitate Culturally Anchored Research, *American Journal of Community Psychology,* Vol. 21(6): 775806.

Hughes, G. and Edwards, A. (Eds.) (2002) Crime Control and Community: The New Politics of Public Safety, Devon: Willan Publishing.

Hughes, G. and Follett, M. (2006) Community Safety, Youth and the 'Anti-Social'. In Goldson, B. and Muncie, J. (Eds.) *Youth Crime and Justice,* London: Sage Publications, pp 157-171.

Hughes, G. (2007) The Politics of Crime and Community, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hughes, G. (2006) Standing at the crossroads: Community Safety Partnerships, *Criminal Justice Matters*, Vol. 63 (1):18-41.

Hughes, G. (2000) Community safety in age of the risk society, in Ballintyne, S; Pease, K and McLaren, V. (Eds.) *Secure Foundations: Key Issues in Crime Prevention, Crime Reduction and Community Safety,* London: IPPR, pp 276-295.

Hughes, N. (2011) Young people 'as risk' or young people 'at risk': Comparing discourses of anti-social behaviour in England and Victoria, *Critical Social Policy, Vol.* 31(3): 388–409.

Hunter, A. (1978) Symbols of Incivility: Social Disorder and Fear of Crime in Urban Neighbourhoods, Working Paper M-46 A, Northwestern University.

Innes, M. (2004) Signal crimes and signal disorders: notes on deviance as communicative action, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 55(3): 335-55.

Jacobs, J. (1961) The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York: Vintage Books.

Janesick, V. J. (1998) The Dance of the Qualitative Research Design: Metaphor, Methodolatry and Meaning, in Denzin, N K and Lincoln, Y (Eds.) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, California: Sage Publications.

Jansson, K (2006) Black and Minority Ethnic groups' experiences and perceptions of crime, racially motivated crime and the police: findings from the 2004/05 British Crime Survey, Home Office Online Report 25/06, London; available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218135832/rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs06/rdsolr2506.pdf; last accessed 07/09/2013.

Jick, T. D. (1979) Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24 (4): 602-611.

Johansson, R. (2003) Case Study Methodology, available online at http://www.infra.kth.se/bba/IAPS%20PDF/paper%20Rolf%20Johansson%20ver%202.pdf, last accessed 16/07/2013.

Johnson, B. R.; Jang, S. J.; Li, S. D. and Larson, D. (2000) The 'Invisible Institution' and Black Youth Crime: The Church as an Agency of Local Social Control, *Journal of Youth and Adolescence,* Vol. 29 (4): 479 498.

Johnson, R. B.; Onwuegbuzie, A. J. and Turner, L. A. (2007) Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research, *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* Vol. 1(2): 112-133.

Johnstone, C. (2004) Crime, Disorder and Urban Renaissance, in Johnstone, C. and Whitehead, M. (Eds.) *New Horizons in British Urban Policy: Perspectives on New Labour's Urban Renaissance*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2013) Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion in Scotland 2013, available online at http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/povertyexclusion-scotland-summary.pdf; last accessed 03/07/2013.

Kalunta-Crumpton, A. (2005) How Safe is Britain's Black Community? *Community Safety Journal.* Vol. 4 (2): 21-28.

Katzman, M. T. (1981) The Supply of Criminals: A Geo-Economic Examination, in Hakim, S. and Rengert, G. F. (Eds.) (1981) *Crime Spillover*, Sage Research Progress Series in Criminology, Vol. 23, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp 119-134.

Kearsley, G.W. and Srivastava, S. R. (1974) The spatial evolution of Glasgow's Asian community, Scottish Geographical Magazine. Vol. 90 (2): 110-124.

Kelling, G. L. and Coles, C. M. (1996) Fixing Broken Windows, New York, Touchstone.

Kennedy, C.; Kool, S. and Krueger, R. (2001) Methodological Considerations in Children's Focus Groups, *Nursing Research,* Vol. 50 (3):184-187.

Kenny, D. A. (1979) Correlation and Causality, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Kenzer, M. (Ed.) (1989) Applied Geography: Issues, Questions and Concerns, Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Khan, U. (1998) Putting the Community into Community Safety, in Marlow, A and Pitts, J (Eds.) *Planning Safer Communities*, Dorset: Russell House Publishing, pp 3341.

Kingdon, G. and Cassen, R. (2010) Ethnicity and low achievement in English schools, *British Educational Research Journal,* Vol. 36 (3): 403–431.

Kinsey, R. and Anderson, S. (1992) Crime and the Quality of Life: Public Perceptions and Experiences of Crime - Findings from the 1988 British Crime Survey, Scottish Office, Edinburgh.

Kintrea, K.; Bannister, J.; Pickering, J.; Reid, M. and Suzuki, N. (2008) Young people and territoriality in British cities, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. J. (2000) Conducting Research into Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Kitchin, P. and Williams, A. (2010) Quality of Life and Perceptions of Crime in Saskatoon, Canada, *Social Indicator Research,* Vol. 95 (1): 33-61.

Kitzinger, J. and Barbour, R. S. (1999) Introduction: the challenge and promise of focus groups, in Barbour, R. S. and Kitzinger, J. (Eds.) *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice*, London: Sage Publications.

Knepper, P. (2007) Criminology and Social Policy, London: Sage Publications.

Krueger, R. A. (1994) Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research, 2nd Edition, California: Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009) Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing, 2nd Edition, California: Sage Publications.

Lawrence, M. (1995) Urban Regeneration and Community Benefit. Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/5369/ , accessed 12/02/2013.

Lee, R. M. (1993) Doing research on sensitive topics, London: Sage Publications.

Levitas, R. and Guy, W. (Eds.) (1996) Interpreting Official Statistics, Routledge, London.

Lewis, P. (2007) Young, British and Muslim, London: Continuum.

Ley, D. and Cybriwsky, R. (1974) Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 64 (4): 491-505.

Liamputtong, P. (2011) Focus Group Methodology: Principle and Practice, London: Sage Publications.

Liamputtong, P. (2009) Qualitative Research Methods, 3rd Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Maantay, J. A.; Maroko, A. R. and Herrmann, C. (2007) Mapping Population Distribution in the Urban Environment: The Cadastral-based Expert Dasymetric System (CEDS), *Cartography and Geographic Information Science*, Vol. 34, No. 2: 77-102.

Macallair, D. and Roche, T. (2001) Widening the Net in Juvenile Justice and the Dangers of Prevention and Early Intervention, Justice Policy Institute, USA, available online at https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=192131, last accessed 07/07/2013.

MacGarrell, E.; Brinker, G. and Etindi, D. (1999) The Role of Faith-based Organisation in Crime Prevention and Justice, Occasional Paper Series, Hudson Institute, pp 1-24.

Mackenzie, S. et al. (2010) The drivers of perceptions of anti-social behaviour, Home Office Research Report 34: Key Implications, London.

MacLeod, G. (2002) From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City"? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance, in Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (Eds.) *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North American and Western Europe,* Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp 254-276.

Mason, D. (2000) Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain, 2nd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McAra, L. (2012) 'A Society of Captives'? New Finding from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime, Seminar lecture, University of Edinburgh, 11/12/12, available online at http://www.howardleaguescotland.org.uk/McAra_lecture_Dec_11th.pdf, last accessed 23/06/2013.

McAra, L. and McVie, S. (2010) Youth crime and justice in Scotland, in Croall, H.; Mooney, G. and Munro, M. (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland.* Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 67-89.

McAra, L. and McVie, S. (2005) The usual suspects? : Street-life, young people and the police, *Criminal Justice,* Vol. 5 (1): 5-36.

McCord, E. S.; Ratcliffe, J. H.; Garcia, R. M. and Taylor, R. B. (2007) Nonresidential Crime Attractors and Generators Elevate Perceived Neighbourhood Crime and Incivilities, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* Vol. 44 (3): 295-320.

McGarrigle, J. L. (2010) Understanding Processes of Ethnic Concentration and Dispersal: South Asian Residential Preferences in Glasgow. IMISCOE Dissertations. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

McLoughlin, S. (2005) Mosques and the Public Space: Conflict and Cooperation in Bradford, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31 (6): 1045-1066.

McMahon, S. K. (2002) The Development of QOL Indicators - a Case Study from Bristol, UK, *Ecological Indicators,* Vol. 2: 177-185.

McMillan, L. and Robertson, A. (2011) An evaluation of the use of dispersal powers in the east end of Glasgow, available online at http://www.sipr.ac.uk/downloads/AnnRep2011/Dispersal_zone.pdf; last accessed 18/06/2013.

Mcvie, S. and Norris, P. (2006) Neighbourhood Effects on Youth Delinquency and Drug Use, The Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime, No. 10, Edinburgh.

Metcalf, H.; Modood, T. and Virdee, S. (1996) Asian Self-Employment: The Interaction of Culture and Economics in England, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Michalos, A. C. and Zumbo, B. D. (2000) Criminal Victimisation and Quality of Life, *Social Indicators Research,* Vol. 50: 245–295.

Millar, D. (1999) Principles of Social Justice, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Mirrlees-Black, C. (1999) Domestic Violence: Findings from a new British Crime Survey self-completion questionnaire, Home Office Research Study, 191, London.

Modood, T. et al. (1997) Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage, the Fourth National survey of Ethnic Minorities, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Moller, V. (2005) Resilient or Resigned? Criminal Victimisation and Quality of Life in South Africa, *Social Indicators Research,* Vol. 72: 263-317.

Monaghan, B. (1997) Crime Prevention in Scotland, *International Journal of the Sociology of Law,* Vol. 25 (1): 21-44.

Mooney, G.; Croall, H. and Munro, M. (2010) Social inequalities, criminal justice and discourses of social control in contemporary Scotland, in Croall, H.; Mooney, G. and Munro, M. (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland.* Devon: Willan Publishing, pp 21-42.

Morrison, S. (2011) She Settles in the Shields: Untold Stories of Migrant Women in Pollokshields. Glasgow: Glasgow Women's Library.

Morse, J. M. (1998) Designing Funded Qualitative Research, in Denzin, N K and Lincoln (Eds.) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, California: Sage Publications.

Morse, J. M. (Ed) (1994) Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods, California: Sage Publications.

Morse, J. M. and Niehaus, L. (2009) Mixed Method Design: Principles and Procedures, California: Left Coast Press.

Muncie, J. (2005) The globalisation of crime control: the case of youth and juvenile justice, *Theoretical Criminology,* Vol. 9 (1): 35-64.

Muncie, J. (1984) The Trouble with Kids Today: Youth and Crime in post-war Britain, London: Hutchinson.

NACRO (1999) Community safety, Community solutions: Tackling crime in inner city neighbourhoods. London: NACRO.

National Records for Scotland (2012) Glasgow City Council Area - Demographic Factsheet, available online at http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/files2/stats/councilarea-data-sheets/glasgow-city-factsheet.pdf, last accessed 16/07/2013.

Nayak, A. (2003) Through children_s eyes_: childhood, place and the fear of crime, *Geoforum*, Vol. 34 (3): 303–315.

Nazroo, J. et al. (2003) Ethnic Inequalities in Quality of Life at Older Ages, Growing Older Programme: Research Findings 11, ESRC.

Neuman, W. L. (1994) Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, 2nd Edition, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Nicholson, J. (2010) Young people and the police in Scotland, in Donnelly, D. and Scott, K. (Eds.) *Policing Scotland*, Second Edition, Oxon: Willan Publishing, pp 234-258.

Okely, J. (1994) Thinking through fieldwork, in Bryman, A. and Burgess, R. G. (Eds.) (1994) *Analysing Qualitative Data*, London: Routledge.

Oppenheim, A. N. (1992) Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Management, London: Cassel.

Orr, J. (1998) Strathclyde's Spotlight Initiative, in Dennis, N (Ed.) *Zero Tolerance: Policing a Free Society*, Enlarged and Revised Second Edition, IEA Health and Welfare Unit, London, pp 105-125.

Pacione, M. (2011) Continuity and Change in Scotland's First Garden Suburb: The Genesis and Development of Pollokshields, Glasgow, *Urban Geography,* Vol. 32 (1): 23-49.

Pacione, M. (2011) Applied Geography: Principles and Praxis, *Hrvatski Geografski Glasnik,* Vol. 73 (1): 7 – 28.

Pacione, M. (2009) Urban Geography: A Global Perspective, Third Edition, London: Routledge.

Pacione, M. (2005) The changing geography of ethnic minority settlement in Glasgow, 1951–2001. Scottish Geographical Journal Vol. 121 (2): 141-161.

Pacione, M. (2004) Environments of disadvantage: Geographies of persistent poverty in Glasgow, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol. 120(1): 117-132.

Pacione, M. (2003) Quality of Life Research in Urban Geography, in *Urban Geography*, Vol. 24 (4): 314-339.

Pacione, M. (1999) Applied geography: in pursuit of useful knowledge, *Applied Geography,* Vol. 19 (1): 1-12.

Pacione, M. (1986) Quality of Life in Glasgow: An Applied Geographical Analysis. *Environment and Planning:* A. Vol. 18: 1499-1520.

Pacione, M. (1984) The Definition and Measurement of Quality of Life, in Pacione, M. and Gordon, G. (Eds.) *Quality of Life and Human Welfare*. Norwich: Geo Books, pp 1-13.

Parker, A. and Tritter, J. (2006) Focus group method and methodology: current practice and recent debate, *International Journal of Research & Method in Education,* Vol. 29 (1): 23-37.

Parks, R. B.; Mastrofski, S. D.; DeJong, C. and Gray, M. K. (1999) How Officers Spend their Time with the Community, *Justice Quarterly,* Vol. 16 (3): 483-518.

Pease, K. (2002) Crime Reduction, in Maguire, M.; Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology,* Third Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 947-979.

Pelser, E.; Burton, P. and Gondwe, L. (2004) Crimes of Need: Results of the Malawi national crime victimisation Survey, Crime & Justice Statistical Division, National Statistical Office.

Police-Information (undated) on Vandalism, available online at http://www.policeinformation.co.uk/legislation/legislationindexsco.html#vandalism, last accessed 23/06/2013.

Police Scotland (2013) Police Scotland: Annual Policing Plan 2013/14, available online at http://www.scotland.police.uk/assets/pdf/138327/150739/police-scotlandannual-police-plan-2013-14, last accessed 16/07/2013.

Pollard, C. (1998) Zero Tolerance: Short-term Fix, Long-term Liability? in Dennis, N (Ed.) *Zero Tolerance: Policing a Free Society*, Enlarged and Revised Second Edition, London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, pp 42-61.

Poulsen, E. and Kennedy, L. W. (2004) Using Dasymetric Mapping for Spatially Aggregated Crime Data, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology,* Vol. 20 (3): 243-262.

Press Association (24/12/2009) Women Saved after Lower Flat Broken into then Set on Fire, PA Newswire Scotland.

Prior, D. (2008) Working for Safer Communities in ethnically diverse areas: developments and dilemmas, *Safer Communities,* Vol. 7 (4): 9-16.

Prior, D. (2005) Civil Renewal and Community Safety: Virtuous Policy Spiral or Dynamic of Exclusion? *Social Policy and Society,* Vol. 4 (4): 357-67.

Punch, S. (2012) Hidden struggles of fieldwork: Exploring the role and use of field diaries, in *Emotion, Space and Society,* Vol. 5 (2): 86-93.

Quraishi, M. (2002) Muslims and Crime: A Comparative Criminology Study of South Asian Muslims in Britain and Pakistan, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales.

Rapley, M. (2003) Quality of Life Research: A Critical Introduction, London: Sage Publications.

Ratcliffe, J. (2010) Crime Mapping: Spatial and Temporal Challenges, in Piquero, A. R. and Weisburd, D. (Eds.) *Handbook of Quantitative Criminology*, New York: Springer.

Reid Howie (2001) Police Stop and Search among White and Minority ethnic Young People in Scotland, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.

Reiner, R. (2007) Neoliberalism, crime and justice, in Roberts, R and McMahon, W (Eds.) *Social Justice and Criminal Justice,* London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, pp 8-21.

Rengert, G. F. (1992) The Journey to Crime: Conceptual foundations and policy implications, in Evans, D. J.; Fyfe, N. R. and Herbert, D. T. (Eds.) *Crime, Policing and Place: Essays in environmental criminology.* London: Routledge, pp 109-117.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (1996) The New Governance: Governing without Government, *Political Studies,* Vol. XLIV: 652-667.

Rodger, J. J. (2008) Criminalising Social Policy: Anti-social behaviour and welfare in a de-civilised society, Devon: Willan Publishing.

Ruthven, M. (2000) Islam: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sampson, R. J. (1987) Urban Black Violence: The Effect of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 93 (2): 348-382.

Sampson, R. J. and Groves, W. B. (1989) Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganisation Theory, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94 (4): 774802.

Sampson, R. J. and Raudenbush, S. W. (2004) Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of "Broken Windows", *Social Psychology Quarterly.* Vol. 67 (4): 319–342.

Sampson, R. J. and Raudenbush, S. W. (2001) Disorder in Urban Neighbourhoods – Does it Lead to Crime? National Institute of Justice Research in Brief: February, 2001.

Sampson, R. J. and Wilson, W. J. (1995) Toward a Theory of Race, Crime and Urban Inequality, in Hagan, J and Peterson, R D (Eds.) *Crime and Inequality*, California: Stanford University Press, pp 37-54.

Sandelowski, M. (1995) *Focus on Qualitative Methods: Sample Size in Qualitative Research,* Research in Nursing and Health, Vol. 18: 179-183.

Sanders, B. (2005) Youth Crime and Youth Culture in the Inner City, Oxon: Routledge.

Sanger, J. (1996) The Compleat Observer? A field research guide to observation, Falmer Press: London.

Sant, M. (1982) Applied Geography: Practice, Problems and Prospects, London: Longman.

Savoie, J.; Bedard, F. and Collins, K. (2006) Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime on the Island of Montréal, Statistics Canada, Ottawa.

Savona, E. U. (1993) Experiences, Fear and Attitudes of Victims of Crime in Italy, in del Frate, A. A. et al. (Eds.) *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control*, United Nations Publication, Rome, pp 93-131.

Schaffer, E. B. (1980) Community Policing, London: Croom Helm.

Scherer, J. (1972) Contemporary Community: Sociological Illusion or Reality? London: Tavistock Publications.

Scottish Community Safety Network (2012) Community Safety Partnership

Research: Initial Report, web resource, available at http://www.safercommunitiesscotland.org/Documents/Community%20Safety%20Unit%20-%20CSP%20Research%20-%20Initial%20SCSN%20Report%20-%20December%202012.pdf , last accessed 14/05/2013.

Scottish Executive (2004) Guide to the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2004) Guidance on Graffiti Removal: Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004, Edinburgh.

Scottish Executive (2004) The Local Government in Scotland Act 2003: Best Value Guidance, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2000) Social justice…a Scotland where everyone matters, Annual Report: summary, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (1999) Social justice…a Scotland where everyone matters, Annual Report: summary, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Government (2011) Safer Communities Programme *Principle 2: Governance Structures, roles and responsibilities,* Safer Scotland, Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government (2009) Safer Communities Programme: A series of guidance, support and tools for partnership working. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government (2009) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation: 2009 General Report, Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2009) Promoting Positive Outcomes: Working Together to Prevent Antisocial Behaviour in Scotland, Vol. 1, Edinburgh: Safer Scotland and COSLA.

Scottish Government (2008) Evaluation of the Implementation and Impact of the Glasgow Antisocial Behaviour Taskforce, Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research.

Shaw, C. R. and McKay, H. D. (1969) Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.

Skinns, L. (2003) Responsibility, Rhetoric and Reality: Practitioners' Views on Their Responsibility for Crime and Disorder in the Community Safety Partnerships, *British Society of Criminology Conference Proceedings*, Vol. 6, pp. 1-18.

Skogan, W. G. (1990) Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighbourhoods. New York: The Free Press.

Slattery, M. (1986) Official Statistics, London: Tavistock.

Smith, S. J. (1989) The Challenge of Urban Crime, in Herbert, D. T. and Smith, D. M. (Eds.) *Social Problems & the City*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp 271288.

Smith, S. J. (1982) Victimisation in Inner-City: A British Case Study, *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 22 (2): 386-402.

South, S. J. and Messner, S. F. (2000) Crime and Demography: Multiple Linkages, Reciprocal Relations, *Annual Review of Sociology,* Vol. 26: 83-106.

Spalek, B. (2005) British Muslims and Community Safety post-September 11th, *Community Safety Journal.* Vol. 4 (2): 12-20.

Spicker, P. et al. (2004) Community safety for minority ethnic groups in Aberdeenshire, Aberdeen: The Aberdeenshire Community Planning Partnership.

Sport England (1999) Best Value through sport: the value of sport to local authorities, London.

Squires, P. (Ed.) (2006) Community Safety: Critical perspectives on policy and practice, Bristol: Policy Press.

Srivastava, S. R. (1975) The Asian Community in Glasgow, Unpublished PhD thesis of the University of Glasgow.

Stewart, D. W.; Shamdasani, P. N. and Rook, D. W. (2007) Focus Groups: Theory and Practice, 2nd Edition, California: Sage Publications.

Strathclyde Police (2011) The violence must stop: Glasgow' Community Initiative to Reduce Violence, second year report. Glasgow: Violence Reduction Unit.

Strathclyde Police (Undated) Justice Committee Inquiry into Community Policing in Scotland, Submission from Strathclyde Police, available at http://archive.scottish.parliament.uk/s3/committees/justice/inquiries/CommunityPolicing/CP3.pdf; last accessed 06/09/2013.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. M. (1990) Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques, California: Sage Publications.

Swartz, C. (2000) The Spatial Analysis of Crime: What Social Scientist Have Learned, in Goldsmith, V. et al. (Eds.) *Analyzing Crime Patterns: Frontiers of Practic*e, California: Sage Publications, pp 33-46.

Taylor, R. B. et al. (1995) Street Blocks with More Nonresidential Land Use have More Physical Deterioration: Evidence from Baltimore and Philadelphia, *Urban Affairs Review,* Vol. 31 (1): 120-136.

The Glasgow South and Eastwood Extra (25/09/2012) Residents escape tenement flat fire, report by Gillian Loney, available online at

http://www.glasgowsouthandeastwoodextra.co.uk/news/local-headlines/residentsescape-tenement-flat-fire-1-2545927, last accessed 16/07/2013.

The Guardian (04/07/2011) Glasgow gang project leads to cut in violent crime, by Kirsty Scott. Available online at http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/jul/04/glasgow-gang-project-cuts-violence; last accessed 18/06/2013.

The Guardian (17/06/2010) 70% rise in number of black and Asian people stopped and searched, available online at http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/2010/jun/17/stopand-search-police; last accessed 14/03/2013.

The Herald (10/02/09) Friendly snowball fight turns into racial attack, report by Martin Williams.

The Independent (09/11/2006) Racist are jailed for life after abducting and killing boy, 15. Report by Paul Kelbie.

The Telegraph (25/08/2009) 1,000 CCTV cameras to solve just one crime, Met Police admits, report by Christopher Hope, available online at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/6082530/1000-CCTV-cameras-tosolve-just-one-crime-Met-Police-admits.html; last accessed 12/07/2013.

Thomson, C (2006) Caught up in the Curfew: the Hamilton Child Safety Initiative remembered, available online at http://www.cjscotland.org.uk/index.php/articles/hamcurfew, last accessed 20/07/12.

Tilley, N. (Ed.) (2005) Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety. Devon: Willan Publishing.

Trojanowicz, R et al (2002) Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective, 3rd Edition, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Co.

UNICEF (2006) Behind Closed Doors: The Impact of Domestic Violence on Children, New York: Child Protection Section.

UNISON Scotland (2013) Redesigning the Community Justice System: Consultation, Briefing Number 30 (January), available at http://www.unison-scotland.org.uk/briefings/b030_BargainingBrief_CriminalJusticeSystemReform_Jan2013.pdf; last accessed 17/06/2013.

UNISON Scotland (2012) Reform of Police & Fire Services in Scotland, Policy Briefing Number 19 (February), available at http://www.unison-scotland.org.uk/briefings/b019_PolicyBrief_PoliceandFireReform_Feb2012.pdf, last accessed on 23/04/2013.

Universities Scotland (2006) Race Equality Toolkit: Learning and Teaching, available online at www.universities-scotland.ac.uk/raceequalitytoolkit; last accessed 26/06/2013.

Valentine, G. (1997) Tell me about…: using interviews as a research methodology, in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (Eds.) *Methods in Human Geography*, London: Longman.

Van den Berg et al. (2006) The Safe City: Safety and Urban Development in European Cities, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Waiton, S. (2010) The Politics of Surveillance: Big Brother on Prozac. *Surveillance & Society,* Vol. 8(1): 61-84.

Waiton, S. (2008) The Politics of Antisocial Behaviour: Amoral Panics, Oxon: Routledge.

Walklet, S. (2006) Community safety and victims: who is the victim of community safety? In Squires, P. (Ed.) *Community Safety: Critical perspectives on policy and practice,* Bristol: Policy Press, pp 169-180.

Walklet, S. (2000) Trust and the Problem of Community in the Inner City. In Hope, T. and Sparks, R. (Eds.) *Crime, Risk and Insecurity,* London: Routledge, pp 50-64.

Webster, C. (1997) The Construction of British 'Asian' Criminality, *International Journal of the Sociology of Law,* Vol. 25 (1): 65-86.

Webster, C (1995) Youth Crime, Victimisation and Racial Harassment: The Keighley Crime Survey, Paper in Community Studies, Number 7, Ilkley: Bradford and Ilkley Community College Corporation.

Welsh, B. R. and Farrington, D. P. (2003) Effects of Closed-Circuit Television on Crime, in *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 587: 110-135.

WHOQOL Group (1995) The World Health Organisation Quality of Life Assessment: Position paper from the WHO. *Social Science and Medicine.* Vol. 41 (10): 1403-1409.

WHO (2005) Researching Violence against Women. A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists, Washington DC.

Wilson, D. K..; Kirtland, K. A.; Ainsworth, B. E. and Addy, C. L. (2004) Socioeconomic status and perceptions of access and safety for physical activity, *Annals of Behavioural Medicine,* Vol. 28 (1): 20-28.

Wilson, J. Q. and Kelling, G. (1982) Broken Windows, *The Atlantic Monthly,* March, pp 29-38.

Wilson, R. E. (2009) Why Neighborhoods Matter: The Importance of Geographic Composition, *Geography and Public Society,* A Quarterly Bulletin of Applied Geography for the Study of Crime & Public Safety, Vol. 2 (2): 1-2, available online at http://www.nij.gov/topics/technology/maps/gps-bulletin-v2i2.pdf, last accessed on 28/06/2013.

Wilson, R. and Smith, K. (2008) What is Applied Geography for the Study of Crime and Public Safety? *Bulletin of Geography and Public Safety,* Vol. 1 (1): 1-3.

Wilson, W. J. (2012) The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy, Second Edition, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1999) When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the global economy, *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol. 22 (3), pp 479-499.

Wombacher, J. (2009) Sense of Community at the Workplace: An Exploration of its Antecedents and Effects and the Development of a German Measurement Scale, Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of Strathclyde.

Wright et al. (1999) Reconsidering the Relationships between SES and Delinquency: Causation but not Correlation, *Criminology*, Vol. 37 (1): 175-194.

Yin, R. K. (2009) Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 4th Edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Young, J. (1998) Zero Tolerance: Back to the Future, in Marlow, A. and Pitts, J. (Eds.) *Planning Safer Communities,* Dorset: Russell House Publishing, pp 60-83.

Websites consulted

Children's Hearing Scotland

www.chs.chscotland.gov.uk The Home

Office https://www.gov.uk The Scottish

Government http://www.scotland.gov.uk

Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

http://www.sns.gov.uk/ Glasgow

Community and Safety Services

http://www.saferglasgow.com