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RES 000-23-1108: Research Report

Background

The fear of crime is an enduring research topic. Since the 1960s in the USA and the 1970s in the UK there has been a growing belief that public anxieties about criminal victimisation are a widespread feature of modern life (Stanko, 2000). Underpinning this belief is an ever-expanding corpus of work on the fear of crime, 'emotional reactions to crime', or 'anxieties about crime'; indeed a telling indicator of the political significance of this topic is the fact that questions relating to the fear of crime are one of the few consistent elements of the 1982-2006/07 British Crime Surveys (BCS).

Yet a number of authors have expressed concerns about the measurement of the fear of crime (Farrall et al, 1997 summarise this literature). Two studies have suggested that the fear of crime has been (at best) misrepresented and (at worst) exaggerated (Farrall *et al.,* 1997; Farrall & Gadd, 2004). Building upon best practice in survey research and question design, an earlier ESRC Award (RES000220040) designed and piloted new survey questions. The resulting data suggested that fears about crime were in fact less common than they were previously held to be (Farrall & Gadd, 2004). The current ESRC award (RES 000231108) sought to build upon the previous grant in a number of ways. First of all we aimed to confirm the findings from the pilot project in terms of the distribution of the fear of crime. Second we sought to explore what these new questions told us about the fear of crime and who was most likely to report having experienced it.

Third, we tested a new conceptualisation which explored both the *experiential* element of the fear of crime (how do emotional responses to risk manifest in people's daily lives?) and the *expressive* element (what interpretative processes drive public concerns about crime?). On the one hand, our task was motivated by previous difficulties with the measurement of the fear of crime: survey questions have been questioned for their accuracy and reliability in identifying the everyday experiences of crime, leading some criminologists to argue that the measures unwittingly exaggerate the extent to which worries manifest as daily routines. On the other hand, a lack of theoretical sophistication in much of the quantitative research in this topic has bracketed out the social and cultural significance of crime and criminal threat.

Our conceptualisation differentiated between those who worry as part of their everyday lives and those who have a more diffuse sense of anxiety and need for caution. Our project also investigated whether the experience of fear (whether this was concrete moments of worry or some more diffuse anxiety about risk and security) was explicably situated in people's understanding of their social and physical environment – understandings that were themselves shaped by broader values and concerns regarding authority, law and order and long-term social change.

This conceptualisation of the fear of crime, as well as resonating with qualitative accounts of crime-fears (for example, see Ditton and Bannister, 1997), forced us to consider a number of conceptual questions. For example, what are we to make of people who say they are very worried about crime, but have not actually felt worried recently, as found by Farrall et al. (1997)? We hypothesised that this level of intensity of worry is expressive, articulating a generalised sense of risk which is embedded in and expressive of a whole set of rich interpretations of social order and moral consensus. This is not to spirit the fear of crime away. Rather, it is to develop a more subtle definition of the construct, taking seriously the idea that anxieties about crime often operate to express a

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range of anxieties about other social issues. It was through these lenses that we approached the fear of crime.

Objectives

We had four Objectives:

1: To assess the replication and modifications of the measure developed by Farrall.

To be achieved via a comparison of the questions piloted in the earlier ESRC award (which simply referred to 'crime') with those from the BCS (in which specific types of crime were identified: car crime, burglary and robbery). Our analysis suggested that the modifications had little impact on the distribution of answers (see Working Paper One).

2: Compare old and new measures of the fear of crime.

Our aim at this point was to compare the variables associated or correlated with the old and new measures of the fear of crime. Our first step was to run bi-variate analyses. We found that whilst the two styles of questions produced similar lists of correlates/associates, the coefficients were always greater for the new measures. Multivariate analysis provided more systematic analyses. It showed that, controlling for other factors, crime levels and victimisation experience were the only consistent predictors of the two different measures of the fear of crime. In some cases, gender was important (robbery), as was age (new measures of burglary and car crime), area-type (robbery), ethnicity (burglary) and social class (old measures of car crime). But, crime levels and victimisation experience were more highly correlated with our new questions compared to estimates derived from standard tools. Working Papers Three and Four reported on this in more depth. Working Paper Seven returned to the issue to report definitive results.

3: To explore the fear of crime in terms of Experiences and Expressions.

This was achieved via the creation of four groups of respondents: those who scored highly on both measures (those who worried on an everyday basis); those with low scores on both measures (those who were not worried); those with high scores on the old measures but low scores on the new measures (we characterise these as 'anxious' since they report some level of concern but also admit that they do not ever actually worry); and those with high scores on the new measures but low scores on the old measures (the number of individuals in this group was extremely small so subsequent analyses focussed on the three substantial groups). We also developed a model (tested using structural equation modelling) which accounted for variations in levels and types of fear based on: crime experiences (e.g. victimisation); perceptions of risk; concerns about neighbourhood disorder, cohesion and collective efficacy; individual socio-demographic characteristics; and wider social and economic factors. This model was developed from existing theories of the fear of crime (Working Paper Five) and tested on qualitative data (Working Paper Six) and quantitative data (Working Paper Seven).

4: To use this knowledge to inform a number of groups in the UK (and beyond) about the fear of crime and it's 'dispersion' across the population.

This has been achieved through the activities listed below under the headings Activities and Outputs. In short, we have held one seminar for an international audience of

academics (at Keele) and one seminar aimed at practitioners (at the LSE). We have made no less than 16 presentations at conferences. One book has been contracted, and we have written two journal articles and contributed two chapters to other edited collections. Our seven Working Papers are available via the ESRC's website as well as one at the LSE and the Social Science Research Network.

Methods

The main source of our data was the 2003-04 BCS. The BCS is an annual household-based crime survey covering England & Wales. The total survey size for the 2003-04 sweep was 37,931. After being asked a series of questions about victimisation, fear of crime (using standard indicators) and other topics related to criminal justice, respondents got one of four random follow-up sections. Our new questions were fielded to half the respondents who answered follow up D (n = 4,448). Three offence types were specified: burglary, robbery and car crime.

We also drew on data from a number of other sources:

- The survey data from a survey of respondents living in Northumberland carried out by Dr. Jackson in 2002 as part of an ESRC Postdoctoral Fellowship (TO26271167).
- Qualitative data collected by Dr. Jackson and comprising of 23 interviews with experts on the fear of crime from an ESRC Studentship (R00429834481).
- Qualitative data collected by Dr. Jackson and comprising of 24 interviews with residents of a west London Borough from an ESRC Studentship (R00429834481).
- Qualitative data (64 interviews) collected as part of an earlier ESRC award (L210252007), and undertaken in and around Glasgow (and on which Dr. Farrall had been employed).

The survey data were analysed using SPSS for basic analyses such as frequencies, cross-tabulations and regression modelling (specifically, multinomial logistic regression). Latent Gold was used to perform latent class analysis. AMOS was used to test the structural equation models. Qualitative data were analysed using NVIVO.

Results

Four phases of work were planned (see Objectives). Starting with a confirmation of the earlier ESRC award, we built up to more theoretically-informed analyses. Our conceptualisation of the fear of crime was characterised by the idea that fear of crime encapsulates a range of different phenomena. On one hand there are those fleeting experiences which, based on our qualitative research, appeared to be of a very short duration, and were best described as transitory, infrequent and often very short-lived. On the other hand when respondents (in qualitative research) were asked to discuss their fears about crime, it appeared that their feelings about crime were more akin to a diffuse anxiety, articulated by our interviewees as the need to be careful and a general concern about the way 'society was heading'[2]. These feelings did *not* seem to represent 'fears' as such, but rather to represent opinions about societal-level change, the causes of this, and

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[2] Anxieties about crime took other forms too: for example worrying on the part of others (i.e. expressing concern about crime and its effect on the elderly); worrying about others and their safety (vicarious anxiety) and worrying in the absence of direct experience or threat ("it would be terrible if…"). These sorts of anxieties were outlined in more detail in Working Paper One.

what can be done to limit the less desirable aspects of these changes. These concerns, as such, did not represent heart-stopping, terror-loaded moments when citizens feared for their lives or the integrity of their home and possessions, but rather represented quite reasonable expressions of valid and not disinterested views on the society in which they live. Working Paper One outlined the distinction between these two types of fear in greater detail (which we referred to being the 'experiential' and 'expressive' dimensions) and discussed how these could be captured in survey research.

Working Paper One also reviewed the state-of-the-art of the psychology of survey response and the frequency with which people report common emotional experiences. Our review of these issues led us to the conclusion that the questions designed as part of the earlier ESRC award best capture the experiential dimension of the fear of crime (since these questions ask about specific episodes which have be fallen the respondent in the recent past). By contrast the older style of survey questions mix up the everyday worry with some kind of fear of crime which does not manifest in concrete visceral feelings (since these survey questions ask more generalised questions and elicit from respondents something more akin to an attitude).

Having outlined our approach to the fear of crime and it's measurement, we presented some basic findings in Working Paper Three (Working Paper Two explored the origins of the fear of crime in the UK). According to standard measures, 35% of respondents were ('fairly' or 'very') worried about robbery, 47% about burglary, and 45% about car crime. However, when asked whether they had worried once or more over the past year, 16% said 'yes' over robbery, 32% over burglary, and 32% over car crime. Moreover, when asked how many times they had worried over the past year (if they had), only 2% of the sample had worried once a week or more about robbery, 4% over burglary, and 4% over car crime. This suggested that questions about the frequency of worry were measuring something more specific than questions about an overall intensity of worry; in many instances, standard indicators seemed to be tapping into 'something else' – perhaps a diffuse anxiety (Hough, 2004), a generalised awareness and 'image' of risk (Jackson, 2006), or even a condensation of broader concerns about crime, stability, and social change (Taylor and Jamieson, 1996; Girling *et al.* 2000; Farrall, 2006).

Working Paper Four then cross-tabulated respondents' answers to both styles of questions and examined the correlates of the subsequent fear of crime groups. Our thinking developed as the project evolved: we returned to this issue in Working Paper Seven where we reported the results of latent class analysis (which allowed us to empirically identify patterns underlying the data). Individuals were placed into one of four groups according to their scores on the old and new measures (for robbery, burglary, and car crime):

- 54% of respondents reported not being worried when asked either type of question. These people appeared to be protected from both feelings of crime-related anxiety and fearful episodes. We referred to them as the *unworried*.

- 21% of the respondents reported no direct experiences of the fear of crime, but expressed some level of concern (ranging from mild to high levels) about crime when asked old-style questions. This group we termed the *anxious,* since they worried about crime but did not appear to have experienced specific episodes of fear.

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- 21% reported being worried when asked both types of questions. These cases report both expressive fears and at least one episode of fear. These people, unlike the unworried, appear to experience fearful episodes and, perhaps understandably, report higher levels of worry about crime. We referred to this group as the *worried*.

- 4% had worried at least once a week. We named this group the *frequently worried*.

These findings suggest that we have been able to more accurately distinguish those who experience fearful episodes from those who express anxieties – a goal promised by the earlier ESRC-funded project (RES000220040). Further analysis showed this new conceptualisation of the fear of crime had substantive implications, specifically that everyday worry reflected a more experiential and damaging phenomenon than anxiety:

- Respondents were asked whether they had ever felt in danger of physical attack by a stranger. 12% of our sample said 'yes.' When cross-tabulated with the above groupings, we found that 8% of the 'unworried' said 'yes', 9% of the 'anxious' said 'yes', 23% of the 'worried' and 30% of the 'frequently worried';

- Respondents were also asked about the impact of crime on their quality of life. Amongst the 'unworried', 2% said that it did 'a great deal', 7% for the 'anxious', 9% for the 'worried' and 22% for the 'frequently worried.'

These groupings were then explored in greater depth (Working Paper Seven). We used multinomial logistic regression to identify the characteristics associated with membership of each of these categories. The 'anxious' represented a group which was in the middle of society in terms both of their social position - a home-owning group, living in areas with low levels of ethnic variation, high levels of professional workers with good financial resources. Their experience of crime was also of the middling sort: they witnessed little of it, experienced less still, and lived in areas with low levels of deprivation and disorder. In many respects the group of people we referred to as the 'anxious' were generally drawn from amongst the better off members of society. Working Paper Four dealt with some of the possible explanations for this, including middle class 'fear of falling' (Ehrenreich, 1989), the encroachment of crime into middle class consciousness (Garland, 2001), and the wider social and economic changes experienced in post-industrial nations since the end of the second world war (e.g. Offer, 2006).

In Working Paper Five we reviewed the literature on the fear of crime and derived a framework which drew together hitherto unconnected empirical and conceptual insights from the literature (Figure One). This model sought to bridge several levels of analysis. Beginning at the top left, our model began with ecological neighbourhood factors (which include crime levels, deprivation and the long-term trajectory of a community and its social conditions), existing attitudes towards the way society is going and values about normative and moral standards (including authoritarian attitudes towards crime and 'law & order'), and circulating representations of crime and social change. Individuals who live in high-crime neighbourhoods, who hold certain attitudes towards social conditions, and who attend and respond to circulating images of crime and danger, were expected to be more likely to see in their environment problems of disorder, cohesion, shared trust, and informal social controls. This is because, first, that local community is more likely to *have* these features, and second, the individual will typically conclude salient disorderly and problematic features from otherwise ambiguous cues. These neighbourhood

concerns shape perceptions of risk (which include judgements of likelihood, control, consequence and the vividness of risk) and emotional responses towards those perceptions (whether this be a more diffuse anxiety or explicit moments of worry). Finally, direct and indirect experience of crime was expected to influence everyday worry but not anxiety about crime.

Figure One: An integrative framework of the fear of crime
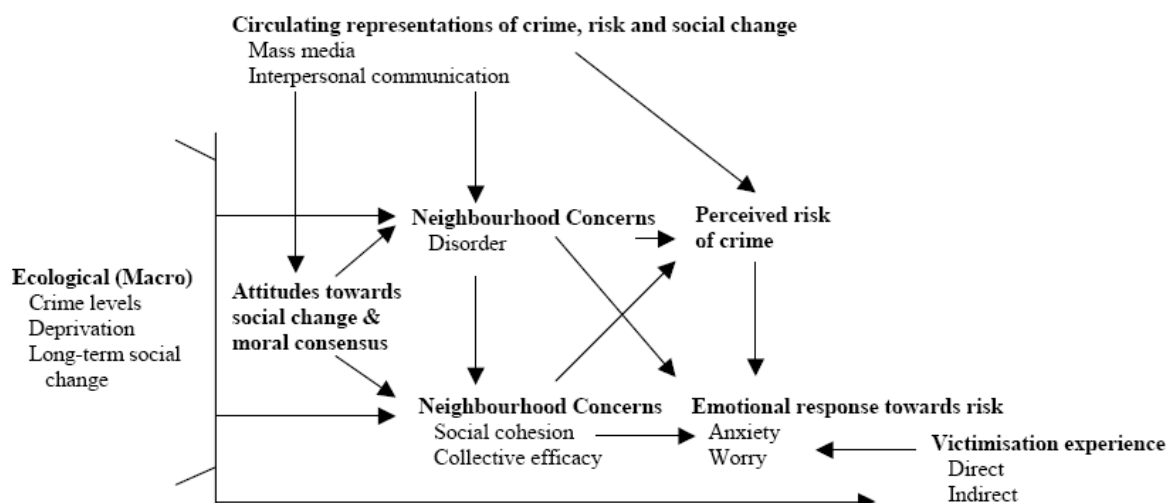
Using this framework, Working Paper 6 drew on qualitative data from two previous ESRC-funded projects, one conducted in Glasgow (Farrall *et al.,* 1997), the other in London (Jackson, 2002). In terms of the experiential features of fear, it was clear that when asked whether they worry about crime, some interviewees conveyed short episodic memories of fear – which were grounded in the specifics of time and place – such as fleeting occasions when they feared their car had been stolen or they had temporarily misplaced a possession. Such worries typically accompanied clear stimuli, such as footsteps behind you, or the sound of arguing voices. Moreover, worry was not the only response. Interviewees described a range of thoughts and feelings, including concern, awareness, anxiety, irritation, anger and worry, to name a few. In short, the emotional pallet was broad, demonstrating the diversity and complexity of emotional responses to crime.

By contrast, interviewees also talked about a kind of emotional concern about crime and threat that was irreducible to concrete feelings of danger and risk. This 'concern' seemed more akin to anxiety and less grounded in day-to-day experience. When pressed to describe their thoughts and feelings, individuals found it difficult to locate specific emotional experiences; instead they often talked about the need to be careful and responsible, about the erosion of cohesion and their experience of distrust when considering their neighbours and society. Broader shifts in society were identified by participants as influencing their emotional responses to crime. Some participants resented the imposition of responsibilisation policies and the 'fortress mentality' that a perceived growth in crime rates had necessitated. Others lamented the corrosive affects of poverty and inequality as contributing to social tensions as well as public sensibilities about crime and disorder. Still others talked about the failure of the police and governments to protect them and uphold the law. When these agencies appear weak and powerless public anxieties seemed to become amplified.

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As others have found (Girling *et al.,* 2000) when our interviewees talked about crime they also often talked about place, and specifically, their social and physical environment. There was recognition that a 'clean and tidy' space was important to one's sense of safety and indicative of a 'healthy' place to live. Other respondents listed various local disorders (persistent graffiti, vandalism, youths always hanging around and littering or destroying property) as a particularly unpleasant and unsettling feature of their environment. Indeed, for some respondents these minor but nevertheless persistent disorders had a potent impact on their perceptions of the neighbourhood. Such misdemeanours affected how they felt in relation to their environment because they were interpreted as indices of the level of safety and cohesion afforded to a particular area.

Interviewees also talked about the role and value of social bonds. Topics herein included how members of the community relate and support each other (or not); the informal control provided by the local population; and the identification and social production of particular 'problem populations.' Unsurprisingly, 'community' for these respondents was something that had been an important form of social organisation and provoked a strong emotional 'pull'. However, respondents were keenly aware of risks posed to these 'bonds'; local people busier, less well known to their neighbours and less likely to remain in one area, community cohesion was being replaced by more negative influences, namely materialism and 'individualism'. Cognate worries about the 'breakdown of family-life' were also voiced. While in the past, families were said to have provided an 'extended network', families and communities were perceived to have changed dramatically and become more atomised. These types of cultural shifts highlight a 'lost time' for some of the older respondents, and with it their own sense of belonging, as these changes are wrapped up in their own personal histories and their anticipated concerns for the future. As community cohesion wanes (perceived or otherwise) and as members of the local population become less recognisable to one another, the creation and prominence of suspicious characters or problem populations emerges. There were plenty of stories about local individuals or categories of people and respondents attributed much of the area's petty crime to indigenous sources, especially, young people, 'drunks' and 'drug addicts'. These groups also presented long-term dangers, in terms of causing anti-social behaviour or crime which could restrict the aspirations of other members the community. Discussions also focused on more diffuse worries, about the loss of a cultural and moral order.

In Working Paper 7 we returned to BCS data and included data from a local crime survey conducted by Jackson. In both datasets we used structural equation modelling to test mediational models. Findings confirmed that concerns about neighbourhood disorder and social cohesion, as well as judgements of risk, were important in explaining emotional response to crime-risk (both everyday worry and anxiety about crime). Moreover, concerns and judgements mediated the impact of neighbourhood crime levels and long-term social change on perceptions of risk and subsequent emotional response. Put another way, perceived risk and worry about crime were both embedded in concerns that members of the local neighbourhood were refusing to submit to the rules or rights of others, that social conditions were failing to encourage citizens to treat others with respect, that the physical and social environment was somehow lacking.

The local crime survey was designed in such a way that all respondents lived in a very similar area, meaning that one could investigate why different individuals come to different conclusions about relatively homogeneous surroundings. Investigating the data, we found that those individuals who tended to judge ambiguous cues as disorder (and to

associate this with problems of social cohesion and criminal threat) were also those who (a) were concerned with the pace and direction of local social change (specifically, about neighbourhood breakdown and the decline of community cohesion) and (b) believed that discipline and morality were on the wane. In other words, broader social and political attitudes and anxieties shaped 'first-order' judgements of disorder. These findings support two ideas. First, both types of the fear of crime express a set of lay diagnoses about neighbourhood breakdown and stability. Second, broader social anxieties are 'locateable' in specific aspects of neighbourhood disorder and social decay.

In summary, and looking across the variety of data that we have brought to bear on our stated research problem, our study found that what has been previously been identified as 'fear of crime' can usefully be carved up into two phenomenon: everyday worry about crime (which is relatively rare and typically affects those who live in high crime areas and who have direct and indirect experience of crime) and anxiety about crime (which is more widespread and typically affects those who lead more protected lives). Moreover, people do not separate out the issue of crime from issues of cohesion, collective efficacy, social change and tension: rather than being about an irrational sense of crime, fear (whether it is everyday worry or anxiety) expresses and distils lay diagnoses about neighbourhood breakdown and stability and the violation of social rules. We have shown that both 'types' of fear are strongly related to anxieties about neighbourhood order, cohesion, collective efficacy and trust; these local and locateable anxieties are also associated with broader and more diffuse societal concerns about moral order and the norms and bonds that bind us.

The fear of crime is a broader 'token of cultural preoccupation' (Garland, 2001). It is an emblem of moral outrage and censure, wrapped up in diagnoses of a society with shifting moral standards, loosening pressures to conform, and broader uncertainties amid rapidly changing societies. 'Crime' has become intertwined in the public mind with the less dramatic but more everyday matters of social cohesion, consensus, and relations. Concerns about crime seem to be driven not just by aspects of risk perception and circulating mass-media images of frightening and unsettling events, but also by everyday signs of social stability and moral order. Indeed such concerns may, at the final analysis, be just as much about 'concern about community' and 'moral outrage' as it is about crime and risk *per se.*

Activities
- 2006 European Society of Criminology Conference, Tübingen, Germany. Initial findings presented by Gray.
- 2006 American Society of Criminology Conference, Los Angeles, USA. Work on the social and economic change and the fear of crime presented by Farrall.
- 2006 Norfolk Partners Against Crime Taskforce 10 Year Anniversary Conference, Norwich, UK. Work on the social and economic change and the fear of crime presented to an audience of practitioners and politicians (including the former-Home Secretary, the Right Honourable Charles Clarke, MP) by Farrall.
- 2007 Home Office British Crime Survey Users' Group Conference, London. Work on the social and economic change and the fear of crime presented by Farrall to an audience of academics, criminal justice practitioners and survey researchers.

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- 2007 Conference on the Fear of Crime South Bank Univ, London. Initial findings and theoretical 'work in progress' presented to an audience of practitioners by Gray.
- Groupe Européen de Recherches sur les Normativités funded InterLab Seminar devoted to the project. Two papers presented (one on the social and economic change and the fear of crime and one on the unified theory of the fear of crime) to an audience European and UK academics[3] by Farrall, Jackson and Gray.
- 2007 Manning-Gottlieb Media Group. Paper on the fear of crime presented by Jackson to an audience of media consultants advising the Home Office.
- 2007 ESRC Social Contexts and Responses to Risk Network, Risk & Rationalities Conference. Paper on risk perceptions and the fear of crime presented by Jackson.
- 2007 New Ways of Approaching the Fear of Crime: Measurement and Policy Applications, LSE, London. Two papers presented (on our general approach and on the theoretical models) to an audience of practitioners from around the UK by Farrall, Jackson and Gray.
- 2007 European Association of Survey Research, Prague, Czech Republic (two papers presented by Jackson and Gray as part of a panel we organised).
- 2007 British Society of Criminology Conference, LSE, London, UK (two papers presented by Farrall and Gray as part of a panel we organised – one on qualitative data and one on the theoretical model adopted).
- 2007 European Society of Criminology Conference, Bologna, Italy (two papers presented by Jackson and Gray – one on qualitative data and the other on the relationship between confidence in the police and the fear of crime).

We also held a small number of meetings with BCS Team members in order to ensure that we were using the data appropriately and to feedback headline findings. We also provided comments on the piloting and development of new measures of the fear of crime for the European Social Survey, and an early draft of a Home Office report (Allen, J., 2006, *Worry About Crime in England & Wales: Findings from the 2003-2004 and 2004-2005 British Crime Survey*, Home Office Online Report 15-06).

Outputs

We have a book contract with Oxford Univ. Press for a book (entitled *Experience and Expression in the Fear of Crime*) based on the research project and which will appear in their 'blue ribbon' book series *Clarendon Studies in Criminology*. Professor Wesley Skogan (Chair in Political Science of the Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University and a renowned expert on the topic) has agreed to write a foreword.

We have also contributed to a collection of essays in Spanish (to be edited by Alfonso Serrano Maillo) and aimed at encouraging the development of criminology in the Spanish-speaking World. We have also provided an essay in a forthcoming volume edited by Prof. Helmut Kury of the Max Planck Institute.

The following was published as part of an online research methods journal:

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[3] See footnote 1 for a list of those attending this seminar.

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Jackson, J., Farrall, S. and Gray, E. (2006). Interdisciplinary tension and the importance
    Of method in fear of crime research: A discussion piece, **Methodological
    Innovations Online**, 1(1), available at: <http://sirius.soc.plymouth.ac.uk/~andyp/index.php>.

The following journal article will come out in 2008:

Gray, E., Jackson, J. and Farrall, S. (in press). *Reassessing Fear of Crime in England and
    Wales*, **European Journal of Criminology**.

The following were published during the lifetime of the project (and are all available
from the ESRC's and Dr. Jackson's websites):

Farrall, S., Jackson, J. & Gray, E. (2006) **Everyday Emotion and the Fear of Crime:
    Preliminary Findings from *Experience & Expression***, Working Paper No. 1,
    ESRC Grant RES 000 23 1108.

Jackson, J., Farrall, S. & Gray, E. (2006) **The Provenance of Fear**, Working Paper No.
    2.

Gray, E., Jackson, J. & Farrall, S. (2006) **Reassessing the Fear of Crime: Frequencies
    and Correlates of Old and New Measures**, Working Paper No. 3.

Farrall, S., Gray, E. & Jackson, J. (2007) **Combining the New and Old Measures of
    the Fear of Crime: Exploring the 'Worried Well'**, Working Paper No. 4.

Farrall, S., Gray, E. & Jackson, J. (2007), **Theorising the Fear of Crime: The Cultural
    and Social Significance of Feelings of Insecurity**, Working Paper No. 5.

Gray, E., Farrall, S. & Jackson, J. (2007) **Experience and Expression: conversations
    about crime, place and community**, Working Paper No. 6.

Jackson, J., Farrall, S. & Gray, E. (2007) **Experience and Expression in The Fear of
    Crime**, Working Paper No. 7.

Impacts

A team at the Metropolitan Police, led by Professor Betsy Stanko, have also started to
use the same question in METPAS (Metropolitcan Police Public Attitude Surveys).
These are monthly surveys used to track changes in, amongst other things, the fear of
crime. One line of research is to explore the impact of particular criminal events on
expressive and experiential fear levels.

Researchers at Leicestershire County Council adopted the questions we developed and
have inserted these into a number of surveys. Their results (Adamson, 2007) broadly
support our own findings *vis-a-vis* the levels of experiential and expressive fears and the
associates of the anxious – who appeared to hold negative views about social and
economic change.

At the dissemination conference we held (June 2007), a number of researchers and
practitioners working in local government expressed support for the approach adopted
and wanted to know more about the survey questions for their own use.

Future Research Priorities

One area for future research we have identified has been to extend our work both substantively to include confidence in criminal justice and to comparative research to include a cross-national European focus. Steps towards this were initiated at the European Society of Criminology Conference.

We were fortunate to be given an additional £8,800 by the ESRC to develop an FP7 application based on our ESRC project. We undertook this (reference no. FP7 - 217311) with colleagues at Kings College London, Parma (Italy), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France), Centre for the Study of Democracy (Bulgaria), HEUNI (Finland), Institute for Political Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the LSE, Centre for Crime Prevention in Lithuania, and Sheffield University. Our proposal (€1,500,000) scored 14.5 out of 15 and we have been called to negotiation.

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