2008

Tourism and crime, whose problem? : a Cornish perspective

Jones, Carol

http://hdl.handle.net/10026.1/393

http://dx.doi.org/10.24382/4557

University of Plymouth

All content in PEARL is protected by copyright law. Author manuscripts are made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the details provided on the item record or document. In the absence of an open licence (e.g. Creative Commons), permissions for further reuse of content should be sought from the publisher or author.
Tourism and Crime, Whose Problem? A Cornish Perspective

By

CAROL JONES

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth
In partial fulfilment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Sociology, Politics and Law
Faculty of Social Sciences and Business

January
2008
This work is dedicated to

My Father and my Grandfather

"Some people are your relatives but others are your ancestors, and you choose the ones you want to have as ancestors. You create yourself out of these values"

Ralph Ellison.
Abstract

CAROL JONES

Tourism and Crime: whose problem? A Cornish perspective

Relating crime to tourism has seemingly been a taboo subject among tourism experts and researchers and it may be speculated, this is because crime is not a problem. Even fewer criminologists have thought to give the relationship a first, let alone a second glance and yet evidence exists which suggests that people on holiday are not only more likely to be victimised but are also routinely let down the criminal justice system.

It is also likely that the breadth of the problem continues to grow as travel becomes increasingly routine for holidays, business and educational purposes. International Crime Victim Surveys which have existed since the latter part of the 1980s ask residents in a wide sweep of counties about their experiences of crime and subsequent support but there has not, to date been a similar exercise among visitor victims. This is in spite of research which has shown that while people who are victims of crime in their own locale are affected in a variety of ways, those who are similarly victimised while away from the familiar are doubly affected; they must deal with the issues relating to the actual crime and must do so without knowledge of their surroundings and the support of family and friends. As a result they may return home without resolving the emotional impact of the events. Thus negative impressions of
the visit will be conveyed to family and friends thus potentially deterring them from visiting the same area.

In view of the importance of tourism and the growth in travel to all corners of the world, failure to identify the risk of crime and its impact are serious omissions. This research therefore endeavours to begin to fill that gap through a detailed study in Cornwall in the southwest of England. This is a county which relies heavily upon tourism for its economic wellbeing and yet, data from a postal questionnaire to visitor victims suggested that little support was available in the event of a crime. This is, in part because the police often failed to note the status of the victim and, where they did, victims were less likely to be contacted by Victim Support than resident victims.
List of Contents

Tables and Illustrations i
Acknowledgements v
Author's declaration vii

Chapter One: Tourism and crime: whose problem? 1

1.1 Introduction 1
1.2.1 Tourist areas as high crime areas 9
1.2.2 The tourist season 13
1.3 The tourist offender 16
1.4 The tourist victim 23
1.4.1 Risk and the tourist victim 25
1.4.2 Fear and the tourist victim 29
1.5 Impact on the resident 32
1.6 Policies 37
1.7 Summary 57

Chapter Two: Research methodology 60

2.1 Introduction 60
2.2 Secondary data 67
2.3 Crime and disorder audit questionnaires 71
2.4 Hoteliers questionnaires 76
2.5 Visitors and residents questionnaires 79
2.5.1 Summary 85
2.6 Semi-structured interviews 86
2.7 Summary 91
7.2 Rural versus urban policing
7.3 The role of the police in the tourist environment
7.4 Policing Cornwall
7.4.1 Policing Restormel
7.5 The tourist victim
7.5.1 Tourist victim support services
7.5.2 The Netherlands
7.5.3 Republic of Ireland
7.6 ATAS and TVSS: A Summary
7.7 Support for Tourist Victims in Cornwall
7.8 Policy Provision
7.9 Summary

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusion

Summary and Discussion
Future research

Appendices

1 Crime and Disorder Questionnaire to residents
2 Crime and Disorder Questionnaire to Businesses
3 Restormel Hoteliers’ Survey
4 Letter to hoteliers
5 Questionnaire to Victim Support Coordinators
6 Questionnaire to visitor victims
7 Questionnaire to resident victims

References
Tables and Illustrations

Table 1.1: Victimisation among tourists, local and foreign residents 26

Box 1.1 Case study related by a police officer in Blackpool 45

Table 2.1 Visitors/tourists and non-tourist visitors as defined 67

Map 3.1: Districts of Cornwall 102

Table 3.1: Numbers of holiday visitors during peak season 1961-1996 108

Table 3.2: Recorded crime rates by district, 1999 – 2000 118

Chart 3.1: Recorded incidents of drug-related crimes in Cornwall, 1998 – 2001 122

Table 4.1: Business types (by percentage) in Cornwall 133

Box 4.1: The impact of tourism to the local economy 134

Table 4.2: Major and tourist reliant industries in Cornwall, by district 136

Table 4.3: Importance of tourism compared with staying visitors, by district 136

Table 4.4: Non-local day visitors, by district 137

Table 4.5: Percentage of businesses that considered issues to be a problem in the area where their business is located/on their business 139

Figure 4.1 The impact of tourism on the districts of Cornwall 142

Table 4.6 Percentage of businesses that had experienced problems 145

Table 4.7 Percentage of businesses that considered there to be problems in the area where their business was located/on their businesses 148

Table 4.8: Percentage of businesses in areas of Penwith that considered issues to be a problem in the area where their business is located 154

Table 4.9: Percentage of businesses in areas of Penwith that were worried about the impact of issues on their business 155

Table 4.10: The positive impact of tourism in areas of Penwith 156

Table 4.11: The negative impact of tourism in areas of Penwith 157
Table 4.12: Percentage of businesses in Penwith that experienced problems, August 2000 – September 2001 159

Table 4.13: Percentage of businesses in areas of Restormel that considered issues to be a problem in the area where their business is located 161

Table 4.14: Percentage of businesses in areas of Restormel that were worried about the impact of issues on their business 162

Table 4.15: The positive impact of tourism in areas of Restormel (Crime and Disorder respondents) 162

Table 4.16: The negative impact of tourism in areas of Restormel (Crime and Disorder respondents) 163

Table 4.17: Percentage of businesses in Restormel that experienced Problems, August 2000 – September 2001 167

Graph 4.1: Percentage of hotels where 50.0% or more of clients came from one of five categories 169

Table 4.18: The positive impact of tourism in areas of Restormel (Hotelier respondents) 170

Table 4.19: The negative impact of tourism in areas of Restormel (Hotelier respondents) 171

Table 5.1: Demographic details from the 2001 National Census and The Crime and Disorder Residents' Survey, 2001 181

Table 5.2: Percentage of residents who considered there to be Problems 187

Graph 5.1: Percentages of residents reluctant to go to certain areas 189

Graph 5.2: Perceptions of the impact of tourism 192

Table 5.3: Percentage of households that had experienced specific crimes compared to BCS 2000 195

Table 5.4: Percentages of residents that had experienced crimes/other problems 196

Table 5.5: Tourism improves or worsens specific issues, by district 200

Table 5.6: Percentages of residents reluctant to go to certain places, by district 201
Table 5.7 Percentage of Penwith residents who considered issues to be problematic, by area in which they lived and most used town 208

Graph 5.4 Levels of concern of victimisation of Penwith residents 211

Table 5.8 Percentages of respondents/someone in their household who had experienced specific problems between August 2000 and September 2001 212

Table 5.9 Impact of tourism in Penzance/Rest of Penwith 213

Table 5.10 Percentage of Restormel residents who considered issues to be problematic, by area in which they lived and most used town 217

Graph 5.5 Levels of concern of victimisation of Restormel residents 220

Table 5.11 Percentages of respondents/someone in their household who had experienced specific problems between August 2000 and September 2001 222

Table 5.12 Impact of tourism in North/South Restormel 223

Graph 5.6 Who do residents of North and South Restormel think commit the crime 224

Table 6.1 Comparisons of responses to visitor and resident victim surveys 236

Table 6.2 Crimes reported by resident and visitor victims between June and September 2000 241

Table 6.3 Visitor victims of crime by age and district 247

Table 7.1 Police recorded crimes by month, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary 2000 -2001 263

Table 7.2 Police recorded crimes by month, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary 2000 -2001, Penzance 267

Table 7.3 Police recorded crimes by month, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary 2000 -2001, Rest of Penwith 267

Table 7.4 Police recorded crimes by month, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary 2000 -2001, Restormel 271

Table 7.5 Police recorded crimes by month, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary 2000 -2001, North Restormel 272
Acknowledgements

The topic of this work has evolved from an earlier chapter in my life when I worked, for over ten years in tourism and saw, but never truly realised that tourism and crime do often walk hand in hand and when they do, the impact is often shocking.

The road, to this day, has been very long with potholes and rough patches. There have been some deep valleys but also some glorious hills. When I was first given the opportunity to move to Plymouth to do this PhD I never could have foreseen the impact that it would have on my life. Professor Rob Mawby provided the opportunity for me to climb some of the most glorious hills and from there I have admired some spectacular views and been directed towards opportunities to stop and admire the vista.

And so, first and foremost I thank Rob for having faith my ability when I didn't; who opened doors of opportunity and directed me to a new direction in life at a time when many would be looking to slow down – his supervision was second to none. Dr. Paul Brunt has been my patient and helpful second supervisor – I thank him for valuable advice and insight.

The direction and content of my research would have been made all the more difficult had it not been for the help of the following; Chief Superintendent Phil Bunt of the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary, Sally Piper of Victim Support, Cornwall, Lisa Kennedy of the Tourist Victim Support Services in Dublin and Hilde Verheul of the Amsterdam Tourist Victim Service.
The thought of postgraduate study was presented to me in my second year at the University of Wales, Bangor where I completed my first degree. Paddy Rawlinson first raised the thought in my head and I thank her for taking the time to convince me that I had the ability. It was John Borland's exceptional supervision of my final year dissertation and his encouragement and support that provided much of the evidence that opened the door to this study. Jenny Parry, my first seminar leader and a friend to this day was an inspiration — she had the patience to constructively criticise my essays and we talked for many hours about what my move to Plymouth would mean. We didn't even get close!

In my new life in Plymouth I have met new friends and colleagues who have put up with me over the past five and a half years and to each of them I offer a huge thank you. They include Lesley, Liz, Helen, Wayne and Greta. Not least is Zannagh whose special brand of friendship is precious and valued. Thanks also go to Adrian, Dan, Jill, Nick and Trish, colleagues who have supported me and shown me the direction that I want to go!

In spite of the huge changes that have taken me away from North Wales, my children Paul, Sera and Tammy have always been at the end of the phone — thank you for staying with me.

And finally, my partner John — you have understood me, supported me and demonstrated your untiring love. Thank you.
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other university award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

A programme of advanced study was undertaken, which included a postgraduate course on Social Research and supervised research appointments relating to the content of this degree.

Relevant conferences were regularly attended at which work was often presented; appropriate institutions were visited for consultation purposes and several papers have been successfully submitted for publication.

Word Count

Publications:


Jones C. (2002) ‘Hate Crime by the Sea,’ in *Criminal Justice Matters, No.48*


Jones C. (2001) ‘Sex Tourism,’ in *Criminal Justice Matters, No.44*

**Work currently under submission**


**Presentations and Conferences Attended**


July 6th – 9th 2004 British Society of Criminology Conference, Portsmouth.


July 2003 World Victimology Society Conference, Stellenbosch, South Africa

December 17th 2002 First DeHaan Tourism Management Conference, Nottingham University

September 4th–7th 2002 Tourism Research 2002: An International Interdisciplinary Conference in Wales, University of Wales, Cardiff

July 16th – 20th 2002 British Society of Criminology Conference 2002, University of Keele

March 20th 2002 A Seminar for Caravan Park Operators in Restormel
September 18th–20th 2001 ESRC/BSC Conference for PhD students, University of Keele

July 3rd – 4th 2001 Annual Victim Support Conference, University of Warwick

May 24th 2001 Forum of Victim Support Coordinators, Cornwall

May 17th 2001 South West Partnerships Workshops, Imperial Hotel, Torquay

April 2nd 2001 Audit and Consultation: A Training Event for the Devon Community Safety Network.

Signed: ..................................

Date: .................
Chapter One: Tourism and Crime: whose problem?

1.1 Introduction

Garland (2002:15) clearly demonstrates that, "[m]odern criminology is a composite, eclectic, multidisciplinary enterprise" within which a broad number of strands have been developed. One specific area of criminological research, victimology, continues to evolve and this has, in part been in response to an increased recognition of the fear of crime and perceptions of increased risk (Jackson 2006). The impact of crimes on their victims has been recognised and catalogued by, among others Maguire and Kynch (2000) and Mawby (2000) and a plethora of studies has recognized the importance and role of the victim in the criminal justice arena (for example Garofalo 1979; Mawby and Walklate, 1994; Hough 1995; Hale 1996).

Early victim surveys in the U.S. and England and Wales pointed out that fear of victimisation was distinct from risk (Garofalo 1979; Hough and Mayhew 1983) and subsequent policies were developed to address these early findings (Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention 1989). British Crime Surveys (BCS), since their introduction in 1982, have consistently been used to measure levels of crime by asking people about their experiences and also their attitudes including their fears and perceptions
of risk. Such studies follow in the wake of U.S. research beginning in the 1960s and explored by Garofalo (1979) and Hale (1996) among others. Mirrlees-Black and Allen (1998) provide some indication that suggests, using evidence from the BCS of that year that, as crime levels were falling, so were concerns about crime. However evidence to suggest that while actual crime, in general terms, is falling and with it concerns of same, the British Crime Survey has consistently maintained that worry about crime time and again exceeds the risk of victimisation (Jansson, online). However such findings are contentious, the argument being that levels of fear of victimisation is more closely linked with the way in which the topic is researched (see for example Lee, 2001; Gilchrist et al. 1998) rather than the actuality of the situation and there is some criticism of the wording of questions used to derive such findings (Semmens et al, 2002).

What is clear however is that crime cannot be considered a generic topic in relation to either risk or fear, nor can the victims or locations. A succession of theories and approaches have, since the 1970s suggested and, in some cases, provided templates which have enabled law enforcement and other agencies to approach and tackle specific problems in more proactive and directed manners. For example, situational crime prevention measures drawing upon Newman's theory of defensible space (1972) and 'crime prevention through environmental design' (Jeffery, 1971 cited in Clarke, 1992) emphasise the benefits of architectural design to alleviate the risk of offending
and disorder, not only through measures to deter such behaviour but also to encourage residents to take responsibility for their neighbourhood.

Alternatives to established theories of crime were further explored in 1979 by Cohen and Felson who introduced the notion of ‘routine activity’ in which they suggested that for a ‘predatory’ crime to take place there needed to be a “convergence in space and time of likely offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians” (Cohen and Felson, 1979:588). This approach as well as those introduced by Newman and others has continued to hold merit and in recent times the developments of technological advancements such as CCTV and crime hotspotting have provided ever-expanding tactics in the effort to prevent, deter and detect crime. Between 1994 and 1997, CCTV accounted for 78% of the Home Office crime prevention budget (McCahill and Norris, 2002) and its increased usage has significantly broadened the notion of policing while crime hotspotting has provided the means by which patterns and movements of crimes (and offenders) can be identified and monitored (Ratcliffe, 2000).

So, the introduction and evolution of crime prevention tactics has increasingly alerted law enforcement to the location and time of crime, particularly repeated incidents by individuals or in particular places and this notion of time relates not only to explicit hours and days but also to periods throughout a calendar year so that specific crimes in particular locations may vary in
incidence dependant upon the time of the year (see for example McPheters and Stronge, 1974; Sivarajasingam and Shepherd, 2001; Yan 2004). In the work of Semmens et. al. (2002) in which they interviewed a quota sample of 576 respondents in two distinct locations over four consecutive seasons, they found that, in spite of using almost identical questions to those in the BCS, the adjustments which took in to account the different times of the year appeared to have an effect on the responses with regard to levels of fear of crime.

Issues of seasonality are reflected in the intertwining element of this study, that of tourism, and so it is a useful to include it in relation to criminology at this stage as this introduction proceeds to address this second theme.

In tourism literature Butler’s discourse on seasonality (1994) has been taken up by, among others Wall and Mathieson (2006) who similarly identified the significance of such elements as climate and school holidays as contributors to holiday seasonality. They then go on to discuss the social consequences of seasonality including income, labour provision and infrastructure and, to my mind, all too briefly, the effects on crime and this element will be further explored in this work.

In addition to seasonality is the propensity for certain crimes or criminals to operate repeatedly in a specific area. These areas are known as ‘crime hotspots’.
Sherman and Weisburd (1995 cited in Felson 2002) put forward the idea that most crime tends to be concentrated within relatively small geographic areas while Braga's (2001) conclusion suggests that the concentration of policing on such areas, while tackling the initial problem can give rise to antagonism and complaints from the community who have identified abuse of power and misconduct. Crime hot spots can be generated by local issues or by the increased popularity of a location at specific times of the year. Harper's comparative study of residents and tourists in five international locations concluded that tourist locations were hotspots for certain types of crime (2001). Focussing on such areas, research by Mawby and Jones (2004) and Barker et.al. (2002) among others have established that opportunities for crime by virtue of events or circumstances lead to the development of hotspots whereby crimes are concentrated in particular locations or during specific times.

Two other specific types of location, hotels and caravan parks have also been identified as hotspots. Research by Gill et.al. in 1993 concluded that hotels in tourist areas experienced high levels of crime with guests as both perpetrators and victims. Jones and Groenenboom's (2002) study of crime in London hotels concludes that certain types of hotel are more prone to particular crimes while Chiang’s 2002 study of crimes against Singapore hotels indicates that hoteliers recognise that negative publicity from crime impacts upon future takings and training is therefore essential. This is confirmed in an evaluation of hotel security by Jaffe (2000) which illustrates a need for training.
of staff to reduce crime. Problems of crime in hotels is applicable in the U.K. also and discussion with key agents including the police in various areas of England suggests that the targeting of hotel rooms for the burglary of guests' possessions is both widespread and more common-place than domestic burglary¹.

A second hotspot which is generally aligned with tourists and which is subject to high levels of crime is in caravans, both touring caravans and static mobile homes that are located on parks. There is little research available regarding the second situation, but a localised study in the north of Cornwall suggested that while recorded domestic burglary was, in the previous three years showing a downward trend, this was not mirrored in campsite burglary (Folland, 2001). Touring caravans (together with boats) have increasingly become targets of thieves, either hitching up and taking the tourer in its entirety or stealing from it when unattended. In recent years these issues have become increasingly addressed through such schemes as 'Secured by Design² and local initiatives such as that provided in Crewe and Nantwich³. Offenders in these cases can be from the wider community or a fellow visitor.

“Nowadays we are all on the move.” These opening words from Bauman (1998: 77) introduce a chapter in his “Globalization: the human

¹ Based on information provided by police and other key personnel in London and Blackpool during 2002
² See http://www.securedbydesign.com/
³ http://cn.23v.com/safetycaravan/
consequences" in which he goes on to discuss our age of consumerism and the choices that we are free to make. This is certainly exemplified by the World Travel and Tourism Council which estimates that, in 2005 travel and tourism will account for 10.6% of total GDP and 8.3% of total employment (World Tourism and Travel Council, 2005). Hence the economic importance of tourism is apparent while its impact upon the cultural and social environment is seen to be important (Krippendorf 1987). However, while the positive approaches remain at the forefront of the public face of tourism, negative aspects including threats to traditional social and cultural values through noise, pollution and congestion among others recur in the pages of sociological, tourist and ecological journals and other academic works. Not least of these threats is crime, which has been recognised as impacting upon all elements of tourism with residents, visitors and workers identified as offenders and victims.

So, while tourism scholars have seemingly embraced the issue of tourism and crime, criminologists have largely ignored it in spite of regular reports of disorder in holiday reports (see for example Howden and Gaynor, 2003; Byrne and Armstrong, 2004) and subsequent deliberations among residents in the affected areas (such as Boissevain, 1996), criminologists have largely ignored this growing 'market'. And yet, this work will demonstrate that criminological theories and perspectives are clearly reflected in the issues raised in tourist related crime.
This chapter firstly identifies and evaluates the literature that has addressed tourist-related crime. It will then go on to posit, using existing literature, that tourist areas are subject to higher rates of certain crimes looking at seasonality and hotspots – these being caravan parks and hotels. The work will proceed by identifying the tourist as offender and making particular reference to the impact of alcohol on young people on holiday, football hooligans, drug ‘mules’, gamblers and sex tourists. Following on, the tourist as victim will be discussed and in so doing, two distinct dimensions will be explored. The risk of victimisation will be discussed using literature pertaining to the ‘conventional’ visitor while reference will be made to a broad spectrum of tourists including back-packers and other ‘non-conventional’ tourists, second-home owners and those who inadvertently get enmeshed in a terrorist situation. This section will then go on to consider the levels of fear expressed by tourists using existing research. Much of the research referred to discusses the impact of victimisation on both visitors and residents and to this end the following section will go on to consider the impact of tourism on residents again considering both the risks and the fears which are raised by their presence.

The impact of terrorist attacks in various parts of the world and the murder of back-packers and travellers such as Peter Falconio in Australia in 2001 resulted in increased levels of alert for subsequent travellers through the media and governmental websites which in turn have led to dramatic reductions in travel to those areas. As a result, local strategies using key
agents and the media have been developed to encourage tourists to once again visit the locations. Furthermore cases such as the murders of international tourists in Florida in the early 1990s and attacks on foreign visitors to New Orleans have led to the development of specialist policing strategies while the development and operationalisation of specialist tourist victim assistance programmes will be addressed with an overview of well-developed services in the Netherlands and the Republic of Ireland as well as services available elsewhere.

This work will demonstrate that criminological theories and paradigms which have routinely been used in the wider environment are also appropriate in the measurement and definition of crime and disorder in the tourist setting.

1.2.1 Tourist areas as high crime areas

While crime in tourist areas tends to vary according to the nature of the tourism market, numerous studies have pointed out strong relationships between tourism and crime. For example McPhters and Strong (1974) in their study of Miami found that criminal behaviour was influenced by such tourist-related factors as seasonality and that property-related crime was especially influenced by the mass influx of visitor numbers. From this they posited that crime was a by-product of tourism. This was supported by
subsequent studies by, among others Jud (1975) who, in his study of thirty-two states in Mexico found that acquisitive crimes including fraud, robbery and burglary rose significantly during the tourist season while violent crimes such as rape, murder and assault remained almost static. Barker et. al. in their evaluation of the impact of the America's Cup concur that,

"The presence of large numbers of tourists at events may also establish an environment that epitomizes the concentration of opportunities for crime." (2002:763)

However not all studies are as conclusive. Pelfrey's comparative study of Honolulu and Las Vegas concludes that in Honolulu "there was an inverse relationship between the number of visitors and the violent crimes of murder and robbery" (Pelfrey, 1998:301), while results from analysis of crime data of the two cities over an eleven year period "show little support for the popular assumptions that increases in tourists necessarily lead to increased crime" (Pelfrey 1998:301).

In their evaluation of existing research, Mathieson and Wall (1982) concurred that a correlation between tourism and increased levels of crime did exist although in their words it "is not large" (1982:150).
The suggestions put forward in Jud’s 1975 work which implied a correlation between levels of tourism and crime rates were reflected in Nicholl’s conference paper a mere year on and the theme has been developed in subsequent years by other tourism academics. While these studies paid little heed to typologies of either location or tourist, Prideaux’s Tourism Life Cycle (1996) takes up the theme set out in Butler’s model (1980) wherein both authors suggest that resorts and their consumers evolve. In the case of Prideaux, he associates each stage of his ‘cycle’ to levels of crime and concludes that at ‘local’ and ‘family value’ stages there are low levels of crime while the ‘mass’ and ‘hedonistic’ stages attract higher levels of crime. These definitions reflect Cohen’s typologies of tourists (1987) which, he argued were susceptible to differing experiences of crime both as offender and victim. Cohen (1997) considers four categories relating to tourist-related crimes, crimes of locals against tourists, crimes of tourists against locals, crimes of tourists against tourists and crimes of locals against other locals in tourist-related matters. While the focus of this work lies within his first two categories, issues relating to his third and fourth categories will be referred to. Ryan’s (1993) classification of the relationship between tourism and crime provides five distinct and credible definitions:

- Tourists are victims of crime because they happen to be in an area where crime exists
- Tourist areas attract criminal activity although the crime is not directed specifically at tourists
➢ Tourists can be directly involved as either victims or offenders
➢ Criminal activity is present to serve specific types of tourist demands
   (such as drugs, sex tourism)
➢ Tourists and tourist areas are targeted by terrorists (such as in Bali in 2002)

A later, similar typology was produced by Brunt and Hambly (1999) who related their definitions to policy.

In spite of the number of studies undertaken over the past three decades, many of which will be alluded to in the body of this study, it is noticeable that the tourist industry has largely ignored the messages. It may be speculated that wherever research has been acknowledged has only been to respond to terrorism threats and the related threat to tourism incomes.

However, media reporting of crimes, particularly of a more violent nature have, in the past decade had significant effects on tourist numbers. For example, a series of murders in Florida in the latter part of the twentieth century led to it being seen as an undesirable location for tourists and advanced bookings dropped by as much as fifty percent. While crime statistics for that time showed that the number of violent crimes was no higher than the norm, high levels of publicity in both the domestic and international media painted a much more negative picture (Tilson and Stacks, 1997).
Similarly terrorist attacks in Egypt, Bali and New York have led to reductions in visitor numbers in those locations. Measures to address these and other issues that have been seen to impact upon visitor numbers will be discussed later in this chapter.

In contrast, crime is also seen to have a positive effect upon visitor numbers as can be seen in the popularity of visits to Alcatraz, while the demolition of 25 Cromwell Street in Gloucester, the home of Rose and Fred West was deemed necessary in part to prevent it becoming a tourist attraction. Elsewhere the fascination with Ground Zero, the space that once housed the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York is widely recognised as a place of awe and pilgrimage, replacing the buildings' former role as viewpoint of the skyline across Manhattan and Staten Island.

1.2.2 The Tourist Season

The labelling and classifying of tourism and its impact upon a region is fraught with incongruity; while the traditional notion of "the tourist season" is entrenched in the Bank and school holidays, flexible working practices, increasing levels of disposable income and the facilities on which to spend it have contributed to second and subsequent holidays and the ownership of time away in the shape of time shares and accommodation on holiday parks.
and marinas. In addition, populations have increasingly migrated either away from the rural towards the urban and employment or conversely away from the municipal towards the pastoral in search of tranquillity, or 'the rural idyll.' Such a shift gives increased impetus to the debate wherein 'Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR)' together with those who travel to 'tourist' locations for business or other purposes (Seaton in Seaton et. al., 1994) extend the classical definitions of tourism and all that is thus implied. In addition, the increased popularity and diversity of events and festivals provide the opportunities for short breaks at times outside of the traditional tourist season.

In Barker et. al's study of the America's Cup in Auckland, New Zealand, they concluded that,

"the potential impact of crime at special events is unquestionably based on changes in the status of the population and the criminal opportunities that a seasonal increase in tourism activity presents" (Barker et. al. 2002:779)

This directs us to the issue of seasonality, which has long been seen to be a problem in the tourist industry. As Butler indicates,

"[It] has been held responsible for difficulty in gaining access to capital, for problems in obtaining and holding full-time staff, for low returns on investment and subsequent high risk, for problems relating to peaking and overuse of facilities and conversely to under-utilisation of the same resources and facilities, and difficulties in getting tourism recognised as a viable economic activity in many areas" (1994:332).
Butler goes on to identify two main and distinct ‘seasonalities’, the first that is brought about due to climate and other natural phenomena while the second is governed by human decisions and relate to “religious, cultural, ethnic and social factors.” These can be identified by, for example school and industrial holidays. Butler further argues that a third definition of seasonality exists as a result of “social pressure or fashion” wherein the socially elite ‘did the season,’ hunting or fishing on country estates, gathering in particular cities at specific times of the year or taking the waters at spas throughout Britain and Europe. He then identifies a fourth season which has evolved as people increasingly take specialist holidays at specific times, and in particular locations such as ski-ing, surfing and golfing while the traditionalists who continue to take their holidays at the same place and same time even when former constraints such as children’s school holidays are no longer relevant provide a fifth category.

A sixth and unidentified definition by Butler is that of the ‘out of season’ long weekend. Ownership of second homes as well as the increased marketing of rural and coastal hotels and guesthouses provides the readily mobile with alternative ways of spending increased disposable income.

While Butler goes on to identify and debate the literature relating to the problems of seasonality, he makes no reference to crime patterns and this is addressed in part by Yan (2004) whose research specifically deals with seasonality and climate and while she concludes that in the case of Hong Kong, property crime is a result of economic need rather than seasonality, street crimes such as pick-pocketing and snatch theft are most predominant in
the summer months when more people are out and about. This would appear to give added support to earlier works (see for example McPheters and Stronge, 1974; Walmsley et. al, 1983 and Fujii and Mak, 1980) where it is suggested that crime in tourist areas is more prevalent during the holiday period. Such crime waves produce 'hot spots', that is, locations where tourists congregate or the opportunity for crime is made easier.

1.3 The Tourist Offender

During the latter part of the twentieth century there have been an increasing number of reports in the media of tourists as antagonists (Ryan 1991; ibid. 1993). Media reports of alcohol abuse has led to bye-laws preventing the drinking of alcohol on the streets in many areas of the U.K. while reports of crime and disorder in holiday locations in Europe that market themselves for young people have paid a high price through negative publicity and serious crimes by and towards tourists.4

The popularity and marketing of holidays for young people in Spain, Italy, Cyprus and the like have developed gradually since the 1960s when Club 18-30 and Club Med identified a ready and expanding market among young,

single people who had disposable income at a time when flying was losing its exclusivity and the fortnight’s summer holiday was the norm. As the more affluent took advantage of these package holidays, working-class youths ventured to the somewhat depressed resorts of the south and east of England in the hopes of finding excitement, which they fantasized would mirror that seemingly promised in the brochures but elusive to them. Cohen’s (2002) seminal work on the events surrounding that era illustrated, through the use of the amplification spiral, how localised confrontations between the rival Mods and Rockers became interpreted in the media as a major social problem. This series of confrontations during the middle years of the 1960s took place in areas which had formerly been popular tourist areas but which had lost much of their market to the offer of ‘Sun, Sand and Sex’ in the Spanish resorts. Such was the impact of these confrontations that, during the August Bank Holiday of 1964, the owner of a beach on the North Wales coast, some 300 plus miles from the targeted coastal resorts which were the focus of the Mods and Rockers contacted the police to ask for their support in stopping similar gangs from invading her beach. When her request was met with a certain level of derision by the authorities she combated the situation by closing the gate to the car park and staying up all night and keeping watch from her house which was located in the car park⁵. Her angst was caused purely by media representation and no such invasion took place.

---

⁵ L. Williams (1964 pers. comm., 28th August)
Confrontational behaviour has also been apparent at sporting events and the impact of football hooliganism has led to debate and re-evaluation of policies so that, for example the sale of alcohol in establishments close to football grounds has been banned. As with Cohen's Mods and Rockers, research has found that much of the hooliganism is disorganised and its impact has been amplified by the media (Garland and Rowe, 1999). It is not the purpose of this work to evaluate the impact of football hooliganism but it is pertinent to indicate that problems such as that which took place at the Heysel Stadium in 1985 which resulted in the banning of English clubs in European competition and the murder of two English supporters by a Turkish man in April 2000 have demonstrated that, in spite of increased intelligence, policing and monitoring, aggression and territoriality remain focal to small but significant elements of society whose social backgrounds are reflective of Cohen's Mods and Rockers (Williams et al. 1992).

The increased opportunity for air travel since the 1960s has made it almost routine for many, and charter and budget airlines have provided the method for people on more limited budgets to experience what was formerly an encounter only for the more affluent. In the past decade, reports of incidents which have become known as "air rage" have increased and have led to changes in laws whereby protagonists will be prosecuted for endangering the safety of the aircraft. When incidents of air rage are reported in the media,

6 See http://www.footballhooligans.org.uk/
7 See http://infoweb.newsbank.com/jw
alcohol is often identified as central to the behaviour of the troublemaker but this is disputed by others.

Opportunities for young people to holiday without parental guidance have increased in popularity with such events as 'Run to the Sun' (Barton and James, 2003) which began as a Volkswagen Beetle Rally in Newquay in Cornwall but has evolved into "a weekend of cars, music, sea, surf and water pistols" (SurfGuide 2002, cited in Barton and James, 2003). Although the festival is located on a site to the north of the town, the events overspill into the town itself which has the reputation of being one of the most popular places for young people to holiday in the U.K. This is demonstrated in the large number of licensed premises from where reports of disorder, binge drinking and anti-social behaviour, which is readily amplified in the local media, lead to annual calls for the festival to be stopped. In Australia the conclusion of schooling makes way for the annual 'Schoolies' and, as with the Run to the Sun experience sees many thousands of youngsters descending upon the surf beaches of the Gold Coast to celebrate. Public disorder arrests are regular and again derive from binge drinking resulting in acrimony between local residents and the Schoolies.

Graham and Wells' qualitative research explored the correlation between alcohol and aggression and concluded that:

8 See for example http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/309291.stm
9 See for example http://themercury.news.com.au/printpage/0,5942,5438850,00.html
"... the romance of bar room brawls and the general tolerance for aggression in bars, combined with 'macho' values of many young men and expectations about the effects of alcohol, have created a social context in which male-to-male aggression is normal and accepted" (2003:561)

and this is supported by others (see for example Ryan, 1993; Taylor 1999; Homel et. al 1997 and Carr 2000). Safety concerns in locations where older clientele, families and residents feel threatened by younger elements has led to the development and implementation of initiatives to disperse, reduce and avoid the catalysts that fuel the problems of binge drinking and aggression stimulated by alcohol (Bromley et.al 2000). The problems of 'laddish behaviour' accentuated by alcohol and lack of supervision are exacerbated by the holiday experience10.

The demands of the tourist for entertainment and sources of amusement to enhance the holiday experience are often seen in the acquisition and use of illegal drugs. Nowhere is this more common than in the Netherlands where the pragmatism of key agents has resulted in the development of cafes selling soft drugs while the demands of tourists has resulted in dealers setting themselves up to provide less tolerated drugs in the streets of Amsterdam. In Korf's study of drugs and tourism he deduced that the increase in drug sales was largely in response to tourist demand with many of the dealers being foreigners themselves (Korf 1994).

10 examples include Nightsafe by Lancashire Constabulary (2003)
Notions of hedonistic behaviour resulting in the sorts of actions indicated above are not the only crimes that turn the tourist into offender. Acquisitive crimes are not uncommon among tourists and include U.K. residents who bring in tobacco and alcohol from Europe (where both are subject to much lower taxes) under the pretext of it being for their own use. More seriously, the employment of drug ‘mules’ whereby people are coerced or duped in to carrying illegal drugs across borders have made the news. These can either be tourists who, in a ‘one off’ transaction carry drugs in return for the cost of a free holiday\textsuperscript{11} or those who regularly act as courier knowing what they are carrying (Mingardi, 2001).

The impact of gambling on both gamblers\textsuperscript{12} and residents (Hsu 2000) is routinely commented upon and specific areas such as parts of Australia and the U.S., where a significant percentage of their revenue derives from gambling, show little will at government level to address related problems (O'Connor and Jones, 1998). In addition to the impact on residents and gamblers there is also the appeal to those who may or may not be regular gamblers but have overstretched themselves and lost more than they could afford to be drawn in to criminal activity. Furthermore ‘problem gambling’ has led to increased levels of criminality to fund the ‘habit’ while greater volumes

\textsuperscript{11} See for example http://infoweb.newsbank.com/inw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_action=doc&p_docid=0F793499D791D445&p_docnum=331&p_queryname=6&p_product=UKNB&p_theme=aggregated4&p_nbid=T4FY48GDMTExMzIxNTA2MS45MTc1NTQ6MT03OjE0MS4xNjM

of people, vehicles and facilities have resulted in higher levels of certain crimes (O'Connor and Jones, 1998)

"Besides the obvious lure of casinos and their surroundings (hotels, parking lots) to individuals intent on committing crime for gain, the casinos may also inspire situational and opportunistic crime by gamblers who have sustained big losses and who are desperate to recoup those losses. Compulsive gamblers have been found to have a high involvement in crime and an incarceration rate more than three times the expected rate (National Opinion Research Center [NORC], 1999, p. 46). The free alcohol provided to gamblers in many casinos may make the potential victim less vigilant and an inviting target. Alternately, the easy availability of alcohol may remove restraints from potential offenders." (Stitt, Nichols and Giacopassi, 2003:256)

Sex tourism whereby foreigners travel to other countries for the sexual exploitation of men, women or children has been demonised and denigrated by Western cultures resulting in the criminalisation, particularly of sex with children and the adoption of cross-national laws (Jones 2001). A consequence of this is that perpetrators of sexual abuse against children overseas can be punished in their home countries (ECPAT13; David 2000).

Hence while tourists can knowingly be offenders as in the case of drug mules, abusers of alcohol who in turn become aggressive, and importers of excessive amounts of cigarettes and alcohol to sell on for a profit, they may however unknowingly commit crime through the carrying of a package 'as a

13 End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking.
favour to a friend' and which turns out to be illegal drugs, or some other outwardly innocuous behaviour which turns out to be illegal as in the case of the British plane spotters who were arrested and initially charged with illegally photographing of aircraft (Pank, 2001). Similarly the unwitting offender commits an offence because of their ignorance of local laws and customs. For example, while it is illegal to sell architectural artefacts from areas such as Greece and Egypt, they continue to be extracted and make unique and interesting mementos for tourists who unwittingly buy them from unscrupulous traders. In a similar way, inappropriate dress at religious sites has led to visitors being removed.

1.4 The Tourist Victim

While visitors may elect to or inadvertently offend, there are those that find themselves as victims of crimes either by virtue of the location that they are in (as in the case of terrorist activity) or through their own behaviour. Hence, in the first setting the ready identification of visitors provides the target for terrorists who select tourist areas where attacks are guaranteed to ensure publicity for their cause. For example attacks on foreign visitors in Egypt in the early 1990s reduced the country's tourism market by some fifty percent (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996) as a consequence of the subsequent media coverage. Following the bombing of Paddy's and the Sari Club in Bali in 2002 which resulted in the death of 202 people, the deaths of the visitors were
highlighted in the subsequent media reporting while little was said about the number of locals who also died. As a result, the local economy was severely damaged through the cancellation and reduction in holiday bookings to the region which added to the misery of locals who had lost relatives and property and were dependent upon tourism for their livelihood. Any instance of tourist victimisation of terrorism is well documented by media reports thus providing the protagonists with the audience that they generally seek in publicising their cause. However victims of less startling criminal events receive less interest and it is rare for governments to involve themselves in the assessment of tourist victimisation. A notable exception was that undertaken on behalf of the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research in 1997 (Allen, 1999).

While the tourist offender may be readily identifiable if they are apprehended, it may not be so for the tourist victim. Firstly, a definition of 'tourist' is problematic: do we include business people or people who are on educational visits; should policy makers in addressing this issue (if indeed they consider it to be of sufficient relevance) only be concerned with people who are in a country other than their usual one of residence; and what of second homeowners? This thorny issue will be discussed in the following chapter.

When visitor victims report a crime, police records usually only provide the victim's current address and this will not help to identify where they are
staying, so that where support services may be available, failure to identify their temporary address will mean that they are inaccessible to any services. Similarly, if the police only record the temporary address there may be little opportunity to follow up on the incident when the victim returns home. However visitors are less likely to report crimes than people local to the area and reasons are varied including the victim's ignorance of the language and customs of the region; it may be that the victim does not feel that the crime is sufficiently serious to warrant reporting or the victim felt somehow responsible through lack of care. A crime may also remain unreported because the victim quite simply does not know what a police officer looks like or can identify the insignia denoting the local police station.

1.4.1 Risk and the Tourist Victim

Events such as those illustrated above are far from unique. Most relevant research to date suggests that tourist areas appear to suffer disproportionate levels of crime with visitors being more prone to victimisation. Chesney-Lind and Lind in their study of residents and visitors in Hawaii found that visitors to two areas of Hawaii, Honolulu and Kauai County were significantly more likely to be victims of recorded crime than residents although there was no uniformity in the rates between the two areas (1986). For example rates of violent crime in Honolulu were higher for visitors than residents while in Kauai the opposite was true. Tourists in the Caribbean, according to research by de
Albuquerque and McElroy are more at risk from property crime than residents (1999) while further research by the same authors in 2001 and based on a satisfaction survey in Barbados in the years 1991-1994 found that tourists felt more at risk due to harassment.

Similarly Stangeland (1998) in one of the few relevant victim surveys undertaken, compared the results of interviews with tourists at the end of their holiday in Malaga with local residents and also foreign owners of properties on the Costa del Sol. The results indicated that tourists were victimised almost as much as residents (and in some cases more so) in spite of only being there for a fraction of the time. The research goes on to suggest that foreign residents and second homeowners experienced lower levels of risk than tourists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Malaga Tourists</th>
<th>Malaga Residents</th>
<th>Costa Foreign Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 Victimisation among tourists, local and foreign residents (Stangeland 1998)

Mawby et. al. (1999) also deduced that people appeared to be more susceptible to crime while on holiday than at home while second homes have also been found to be particularly susceptible to crimes such as burglary, and indeed to repeat victimisation (Mawby 2001).
In a survey of British holidaymakers conducted through *Holiday Which?* in 1998 respondents were asked whether they had been a victim of any from a list of seven crimes while on holiday. From a total of 514 respondents, 50 cited 92 incidents. This translated to an approximate incidence rate of 18% and a prevalence rate of 10%, annually adjusted to a considerably higher figure than that of householders as indicated in the British Crime Survey (Mawby et. al., 1999).

It would appear that tourists make easy targets for potential offenders. For example, Inciardi (1976) noted that pickpockets identified tourists by their dress, demeanour and behaviour and saw them as profitable targets. Similarly visitors to China, which had traditionally been considered a safe environment, are increasingly being targeted (Dixon and Newman 1998).

In line with earlier comments relating to tourist victims and the heightened risks among young people, many elect to go back-packing as school leavers take gap years prior to starting at university or alternatively take time before starting on their careers. Backpackers are identified by their propensity to travel alone or with one or two other people, travelling to experience non-tourist sites and staying in budget hostels (Israel, 1999). They tend to carry valuable consumerables including mobile phones, credit cards, cameras and CD players and their youth often means that they are naïve and open to new
experiences including drugs and alcohol. The increased risk among backpackers is similarly identified and supported by Cohen (1997).

Between 1992 and 1993 the remains of seven backpackers were found in a forest near Sydney, South West Australia. All had been shot or stabbed during the previous four years and media response in the U.K. was alarmist while labelling the two British female victims as "adventurers" (Israel, 1999:231). In 1989 six backpackers at a hostel in Sydney died as a result of an arson attack. The inquest found that the council had not been advised of the hostel's poor safety standards. Israel's conclusion goes on to indicate that backpackers "form a significant client group for the tourism industry in Australia" (1999:232) but "... poor regulation of the tourist industry, through corporate greed to the prevalence of various sexist and racist attitudes." (Israel 1999:232) leaves backpackers at considerable risk of victimisation.

Hence the growing phenomenon of 'travelling' puts ever-increasing numbers of people in locations and situations with which they are unfamiliar. This is sometimes reflected in their behaviour making them readily identifiable to less than scrupulous observers, be they locals or fellow travellers. The traveller is on holiday to shake off the familiar, to relax and to have new experiences – all of these make the unsuspecting visitor less reticent, less aware, and more vulnerable, particularly if they drink more alcohol. Even the best-prepared and aware tourist can be made a victim in those regions where the abduction
or murder of foreign nationals ensures global coverage for a cause or a principle. Except in the case of terrorist attack (and then, not always) travellers show little or no awareness of the risk of crime on holiday and are rarely deterred, even when reports in the media suggest otherwise.

1.4.2 Fear and the Tourist Victim

In evaluating people's fear of crime, surveys have traditionally asked about perceptions of safety at home alone at night or walking out after dark. In addition, questions about how much people worry about being the victim of specific crimes and awareness of crime problems provide opportunity for comparison (see for example Garofalo 1979; Hough and Mayhew 1983; Aust and Simmons 2002). The constituents that lead to people's fear of crime are open to debate (Carrabine et.al. 2002; Semmens et. al. 2002) but accepted research indicates that those most likely to be a victim of crime, that is, young men, are least likely to fear it. In contrast, the elderly, whose lifestyle makes them least likely to be a victim are the most fearful.

Following publication of the 1994 British Crime Survey, further research in to the fear of victimisation by householders posited that those who are most susceptible to the consequences of crime are more likely to feel at risk (Hough, 1995). His findings are supported in part by Crank et.al.'s study of
fear of crime in non-urban settings which concluded that while "[r]esidents who witnessed what they thought were drug and gang behaviors were more likely to believe that all types of criminal and disorderly activity were heightened" (Crank et al. 2003:259). However a weak correlation was found between television viewing and a heightened fear of crime.

In Cape Town tourists limit their activities at destinations because of their fear of crime. The reputation of South Africa as a high crime area has been well publicised and,

"As research suggests, tourists have every reason to fear crime, as they are more susceptible to crime victimisation than local residents in areas that have high crime rates" (George 2003:583).

Fear of victimisation from terrorism amongst potential tourists has arguably been raised through the increase in such actions in areas popular with visitors including Bali, Israel, Spain and New York while media reports of violence and robbery in Florida, South Africa and Australia impact on prospective travellers to those areas. Such reports result in mass cancellations which give rise to financial implications for tourist areas. Therefore regard for the visitors' sense of safety is important for the future prosperity of an area dependent upon tourism for its economic success.
Milman and Bach's study among tourists in sixteen motels and hotels in central Florida concluded that security devices in their accommodation had a positive effect on their overall feeling of safety (Milman and Bach, 1999). In their conclusion, a key finding by Milman and Bach was that travelers' previous exposure to crime influenced the overall sense of their safety (1999:384). In asking people about such issues, results may be contentious and as Milman and Bach indicate, the respondent's answers are, at least in part dependent upon previous experiences of crime which in turn affect their sense of safety so people are not responding from the same baseline. During previous fieldwork, in conversation with visitors to a holiday camp two elderly couples were asked independently about their experiences of crime. One couple that was staying in Premier accommodation and came from a prestigious area was horrified and indeed the lady had wanted to return home, such was her fear of being the next victim. Crime was something that she had not experienced and she had avowed never to return to the camp or, indeed to that area ever again. In contrast the second couple had been regular visitors to the holiday camp and travelled there from an inner-city location where crime was commonplace. Indeed they had been victims of burglary on more than one occasion. They were not fazed by the events at the camp and felt that the victim had been responsible, leaving her handbag in her accommodation. The response of the first lady does not bear out the findings of Mawby (2000a) whose evaluation of research of the Holiday

14 In conversation with the author, July 1995 following reports of a burglary from guest accommodation
15 This followed news that the handbag of an elderly lady had been stolen from her chalet while at lunch
Which? found that victims of crime were no less likely to revisit the location where the crime took place than non-victims.

Demos’ study of tourist perceptions of safety and security in Washington D.C. appear to support the examples at the holiday camp, given above. He indicated that while a third of respondents were very much concerned with levels of safety in a region that was well known for its high crime levels and 39% felt unsafe going out after dark, only a third saw safety as the main deterrent in considering a return trip (Demos 1992).

1.5 Impact on the Resident

Studies undertaken have demonstrated that local residents have mixed feelings with regards to tourism and its perceived impact upon their lives. For example in Allen et. al.’s study of small communities in the United States (1988), tourism development is linked to the reduction in traditional rural industries including agriculture and light industry and in their evaluation of the impact on residents’ perceptions of community life they conclude that residents see tourism as a risk to particular aspects of rural life. Lawson et.al.’s study of tourism impact in ten New Zealand destinations produced a comparative notion that impact is not uniform (1998) while Zarkia makes clear the distinction that residents in Skyros maintain between the notion of tourist and guest. (in Boissevain, 1996). Milman and Pizam’s study among
residents in central Florida (1988) found that most were in favour of tourist
development because of the impact on the economy but they considered it
detrimental to traffic congestion, crime and disorder. Similar negative
connotations were reported by Ross (1992) in his study in an Australian
tourist area and this was further supported by Lankford (1996) and Davis et.
al. (1988).

Crank et.al.'s research on fear of crime in a nonurban setting does not relate
to the impact of tourism per se but is relevant in that the study took place in a
rural area which was undergoing rapid change through local growth in
employment opportunities (2003). The result was that the area was subject to
migration of people who did not have the same "small town" views as existing
and indigenous residents. It can be argued that tourists similarly fail to
identify with the area to which they travel – after all they are only there for a
limited period of time and are paying for the facilities thus suggesting an
element of 'ownership.' Freudenburg and Jones noted that in those areas of
rapid growth "crime rates increased over population…. Acquaintanceship is
down (people don't know each another), and social controls on youth are
diffused" (1991, cited in Crank et. al. 2003:251). The research went on to
identify three models relating to fear of crime and it is one of these, the social
integration model, which is most pertinent in the context of tourism and its
impact on residents. This model "suggests that there is an inverse
relationship between neighborhood integration and fear" (Crank et.al.
2003:251). It may be argued that the impact of large numbers of tourists in
rural areas inhibits the normal interaction of residents who are often employed in service industries for the benefit of these same temporary visitors. Furthermore, second home ownership can result in large numbers of properties in rural areas being empty for considerable periods, particularly during the closed season thus impacting upon the sense of neighbourliness in small villages.

Tourism has been regarded by some residents as having a negative impact on their location while others consider it as beneficial. Despite the fact that local people appear less at risk than tourists, research indicates that local residents perceive crime to be a problem that is exacerbated by tourism and see tourism as contributing significantly to the local crime rate. Milman and Pizam (1988), for example, in a telephone survey of a sample of residents of Central Florida, found that while a large majority of their sample was favourably inclined towards tourist development, with economic factors seen as particularly benefiting from the tourist industry, increased traffic was identified as the greatest problem created by tourism and crime and disorder problems were also regularly cited.

Ross (1992) similarly reported residents of an Australian tourist city as associating tourism with crime, and Lankford’s (1996) research in rural Columbia found that about 16% agreed with the statement that ‘Tourism has increased crime in my community’. In an earlier study, Davis et al (1988)
described how some 30% of residents were concerned about the impact of tourist development on crime, and this held constant between groups with very different attitudes towards tourism. Moreover, it seems that locals in less developed societies perceive the impact of tourism on crime, disorder and morality to be both wider and more intensive (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996; Ross 1992). As with the tourist victim, there are clearly two aspects relating to the impact of tourism on residents, the risk and the fear.

A further important feature of tourism relates to the provider of services and goods in the tourist area. While the impact of tourism on residents has been widely researched (see for example Liu and Var 1986; Milman and Pizam 1988; Shaw and Williams 1988 and Prentice 1993) it has been less rigorously explored with regard to businesses. Business people are also residents and while there has been extensive research that has looked at the effects of tourism on residents’ perceptions, little has been looked at in relation to businesses per se. Chapter four will examine the correlation between businesses and crime, particularly in relation to tourism but here I am going to touch on businesses and tourism. Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) did indicate that where residents directly benefited from tourism they had more positive perceptions of tourists than those who had little or no involvement with the industry. So while such enquiry has indicated that tourism is perceived to have a positive impact on employment, income, quality of life and standard of living, traffic conditions, certain crimes and drug and alcohol abuse are adversely affected by the increased volume.
Lawson et.al (1998) argue that the perceptions of the impact of tourism varies according to the nature of the tourist area. In their research of ten tourist destinations in New Zealand they suggest that this may be related to the size of the region. This has implications for rural areas such as Cornwall where crime and disorder have traditionally been found to be lower than in urban areas (see for example Shapland and Vagg 1988; Coombes et. al. 1994 and Mirrlees-Black 1998). Lindberg and Johnson’s study suggested that where residents gain financially from tourism this is a more effective predictor of attitudes than those values which indicate disorder. “The expectancy-value models indicate that perceived economic and congestion impacts have greater effect on attitudes than do perceived crime and aesthetic impacts” (1996:402).

Similarly, Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) also found that there was a significant correlation among residents when it came to the benefits that they derived from tourism. Of greater significance to this work, the authors found that residents felt that “individual crimes, brawls, vandalism, sexual harassment, and drug abuse were worsened or increased because of tourism” (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996: 522).
So while residents may also be providers of such services and crime against commercial premises has been identified and discussed (see for example Mars 1973; Masuda in Clarke 1997; Tilley and Hopkins 1998) little has been said about the impact of tourism on crime against and by businesses. Gill et al. (1993) made a start in their research relating to crime in guesthouses and hotels and this theme has been picked up by, among others, Bach and Pizam (1996) and George (2001) whose South African study identified the impact of crime on visitor numbers and hence on businesses. Mawby and Jones, (2004), Jones and Groenenboom (2002) and Huang et. al. (1998) have identified the problems of crime from and in hotels. That said, the importance of tourism on their individual businesses is often overlooked and the illustration in chapter four (page 120) clearly identifies this. Hence the true relevance of tourism and subsequent crime issues may be underestimated.

1.6 Policies

The problem of tourism and its impact upon crime and disorder has therefore attracted a certain amount of attention but it may be argued that much of it is for economic rather than social reasons. Negative publicity about a location can, and will, as already demonstrated severely affect bookings thus having a devastating impact upon local economies. This is particularly significant in areas that are heavily reliant upon tourism for their income. But this is not always the case; for example New York is the economic capital of the United
States and while it attracts large numbers of tourists, the events of 9/11 did not result in the economic collapse of the city.

Dimanche and Lepetic's (1999) study shows that New Orleans, a popular area for tourists suffered from reducing numbers due to media reports of high crime. An earlier evaluation of the same location by Pizam, Tarlow and Bloom (1997) identified the following issues relating to the way that crime was dealt with:

- Shortage of manpower
- Shortage of funding
- Poor community cooperation
- Lack of media cooperation
- Poor record keeping of crime statistics

As a result of negative impressions, a variety of agencies took steps to address the issues with new policing strategies including more visible patrolling and the creation of the New Orleans Police Foundation. By the time of Dimanche and Lepetic's study, some of the issues had been confronted, largely by the police, but citywide cooperation has not been forthcoming. "No one in the tourism sector has emerged as a leader and coordinator of such efforts" (Dimanche and Lepetic, 1999:22) thus suggesting that those involved in the marketing of their region chose the ostrich approach to negative
elements. Evidence of commercial support was apparent by the funding of additional policing to reduce and prevent crime.

Such partnership working has been implemented elsewhere including that which took place at Surfer's Paradise in the Gold Coast region of Queensland, Australia (Homel et. al., 1997), the Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy\(^{16}\) and Nightsafe schemes\(^{17}\) which offer a partnership between the police and a variety of key agencies to tackle specific problems. For example in a popular tourist area in the South of England a scheme was launched to tackle disorder around licensed premises during and after late night opening and was heavily reliant upon a partnership initiative between police, CCTV (operated by the local authority) and licensees.

Implementation of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act in England and Wales requires inter-agency strategies to tackle crime and disorder issues within the appropriate crime and disorder reduction partnerships (CDRP)\(^{18}\). Discussion with representatives of a variety of such CDRPs in tourist areas around the country, however, show little evidence of participation by tourism agencies even in areas where crime is shown to be seasonally affected.

\(^{16}\) See http://www.strategy.gov.uk/downloads/su/alcohol/index.htm

\(^{17}\) See for example Lancashire Constabulary website  http://www.lancashire.police.uk/

\(^{18}\) An explanation of CDRPs will be provided in Chapter two.
The impact of tourism on local policies is apparent as it adds a significant strain on resources and an infrastructure that has, in the main been designed for a rural population but has to deal with a much greater one than that. This additional strain applies to many aspects of life including roads and transportation, so that residents are delayed in going about their daily business while parking in areas that in the 'closed' season are traffic free, in the holiday season become blocked and unavailable. For example in some areas parking is prohibited between the months of May and September while in others holiday traffic congests residential streets preventing residents from parking outside their own homes or even getting access to their own driveways. Water and power supplies are stretched, so that, in a dry spell, residents feel resentment towards the visitors if resources are rationed. Medical services including doctors, dentists and hospitals, which are primarily planned for the indigenous population, must also absorb the needs of the visiting population. The problems of policing a generally sparse region requires particularly inspired planning in areas that, during the winter months are virtually uninhabited such as caravan parks, camp sites and holiday centres while commercial areas developed to attract a particular market struggle to cope with the product of their endeavours. As the research for this work will identify, the concentration of particular types of visitor attracted to specific locations requires a differing pattern of policing than that required in the wintertime. In addition to potential problems from caravan and camping parks, thieves frequently target beauty spot car parks while isolated holiday homes, often in remote areas, make tempting targets during the winter where
long nights and poor or non-existent street lighting lengthen the odds for the potential offender.

An early acknowledgement of the effects of "undulating communities" by Rothman et.al. (1979) appears to have attracted little subsequent debate. An alternative stance was taken up by Muehsam and Tarlow in their 1995 study of the attitudes of U.S. police towards tourism and conclude that, through the use of their "tourism quotient indicator" police officers who are "most sympathetic" to tourism should be selected to work within the tourism system. This notion is taken up by Glensor and Peak (2004) in the 'Problem-Oriented Guides for Police: Problem-Specific Guides' series where they highlight the need for police officers to understand localised problems resulting from tourist crime and pertinently state that,

"Most tourist areas closely guard tourist crime data. To get an accurate picture of the problem, you may need to (1) thoroughly review offense reports to identify tourist-related crimes...... (2) conduct tourist surveys ...... to determine the actual number of offenses; or (3) encourage businesses – including hotels and motels – to report crimes or other problems concerning tourists to the police" (Glensor and Peak, 2004:7)

The establishment of tourist police units in a variety of countries including Greece, Thailand, Nepal, Peru and India suggests that crime against tourists
is considered an important deterrent for future tourism and according to their websites each prioritises issues pertinent to the location\(^{19}\)

A media release in 1999 (prior to the 2000 Sydney Olympics) from the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research in Australia\(^{20}\) maintained that tourists were at a low risk of crime, making Sydney, Australia a safe destination. It concluded that additional or alternative policing methods were not required in the region. However many police authorities do not share this view. For example, Glensor and Peak's guide (2004) addresses tourist crime throughout the United States of America and offers solutions which "\textit{will no doubt benefit those readers dealing with the problem abroad}" (Glensor and Peak, 2004:1).

When an incident is reported to the police, the officer will use his or her discretion and this will impact upon how the victim is treated. Studies by Rothman et. al (1979) and Muehsam and Tarlow (1995) both indicate that police officers in the targeted areas recognised specialist issues relating to tourism and policing.

\(^{19}\) See for example
\http://cpaperdaily.timesofindia.com/Repository/ml.asp?Ref=Q0FQLzIwMDQvMDgvMDYjOXIwMDMwMw==&Mode=Gif&Locale=english-skin-custom;
\http://www.athensguide.com/practicalinfo/touristpolice.htm; \http://www.peruexplorer.com/tourism_police.htm

Police authorities in several parts of the world have identified particular needs among visitor victims and some have gone so far as to establish tourist police services. Indeed one of the earliest examples of the establishment of a police service that was developed in response to visitor numbers was in Blackpool, a coastal town in the Northwest of England that, with the development of railways became a popular resort for the working classes of the industrial north and where, in 1887 the town was permitted to operate its own police force under the direction of a Chief Constable (Walton in Godfrey et. al., 2003). So while this was not specifically a tourist police service, its introduction was in response to visitor impact. Rothman et al. (1979) provided an early acknowledgement of this impact of tourists on resorts in the U.S. and concluded that,

"police departments in undulating communities develop mechanisms for dealing with transient populations that they feel are effective" (1979:116).

Put simply, police chiefs have developed strategies to deal with increased populations and subsequent problems including traffic congestion and specific crimes. A study by Muehsam and Tarlow (1995) used data collected from serving police officers in five regions of the U.S. that were popular resorts, and while they concluded that the majority of officers acknowledged and supported the importance of tourism to the economy, a majority also felt that visitors created extra problems for them. Almost 70.0% said that tourism resulted in increased crime in the community which they represented.
However, barely half felt that they needed any special training to work with visitors. In a comparative study undertaken in 1996 amongst law enforcement officials in Florida and Louisiana in the U.S. and Cape Town, South Africa, authors of the study drew conclusions that were common in all three areas including the need for greater community cooperation, staff shortages, inaccurate media reporting and a standardisation of statistics that would allow for the direct comparison of levels of crime against the visitor victim (Pizam et. al., 1997). Therefore it may be supposed that tourist police have three priorities: dealing with the impact of crime and disorder generated by tourism; preventing crime against tourists; and responding to tourist victims.

However, while the views of the police have been sought, to date there has been little research among visitor victims to establish their satisfaction with the services provided by the police if they reported a crime. It has already been indicated that when people go on holiday, few think about crime in the area to which they are travelling. It may therefore be speculated that they do not think about the levels of service in the event of them becoming a victim of crime. That said, where individuals have been victims of crime while overseas, reputations of the tourist police in some countries are more negative than positive. This is particularly so in less economically affluent regions where the police have been known to be a party to incidents. In

---

21 See for example “Cops held over Kirsty Murder, The Middlesborough Northern Echo, 31/01/2002 and “Cole R. “Travel Scams: All that glisters is not gold” in The Guardian, 01/09/2002
addition, methods of recording crime are often at best random and at worst, dangerous as indicated in Box 1.1.

In 2004 an English woman on holiday in Faliraki was separated from her group of girl friends so, rather than walk back to the accommodation she chose to take a taxi. She was raped by the driver and, on escaping from the vehicle she ran and found a policeman who did not seem to understand her. He took her to the local police station where another officer who spoke some English sent her to a male doctor for examination accompanied by a male police officer. She reports that the 'surgery' was in a back street and very dirty and the doctor spoke little English. She was so upset and frightened that she refused to be examined and returned to the police station whereupon she was arrested! Several hours later she was permitted to leave and she immediately returned to England. On further investigation, no record was found of her original report.

Box 1.1  Case study related by a police officer in Blackpool who was invited to Faliraki to advise in the restructuring of the local policing service.

The remit of a tourist police officer varies. In Cuba they have been introduced to protect tourists from hustlers (Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003) and similarly The Ho Chi Minh City Council recently announced that they were establishing a designated tourist police force to tackle the problem of harassment and

---

22 This was relayed to the author by a serving police officer who had travelled to the region to advise on the policing of an area that was adversely affected by alcohol abuse among young, generally British tourists.
23 In spite of the invitation, little was done to address the situation there.
attacks by pickpockets, hawkers and bag snatchers. A requirement of the job was that the police officer must speak English and the service was scheduled to be operational from October 2005\textsuperscript{24}.

In Greece the tourist police;

"... is a Service of the Greek Police Force staffed with specially trained, foreign-language speaking personnel. Within the framework of its duties and functions, it provides the following services:

- It provides information to Greek and foreign visitors and offers them assistance in settling any issues arising with tourist businesses.
- It cooperates with locally competent Directorates of Tourism and local authorities in order to deal with tourism issues.
- It ensures that the tourist legislation in force is applied in all tourist areas, businesses and media, such as hotels, apartments and rooms to let, tourist shops, tourist agencies and coaches, car and motorcycle rental agencies, archaeological sites, tourist guides, ski resorts, spa towns, mass arrival/departure stations, sanitary facilities operating in tourist businesses and sites of free camping, etc.
- It carries out inspections of tourist businesses with the aim to provide better services and higher protection to visitors." (Ministry of Tourism on http://www.qnto.gr/pages.php?pageID=23&langID=2)

The role of the police itself as a service to the victim may however be open to question, as demonstrated in the following report in Peru:

\textit{If you're unlucky enough to have anything stolen, your first port of call should be the tourist police (policia de turismo). Bear in mind that the police in popular tourist spots, such as Cusco, have become much stricter about investigating reported thefts, after a spate of false claims by dishonest tourists. This means that genuine victims may be grilled more severely than expected, and the police may even come and search your hotel room for the "stolen" items. However, provided your claim is genuine, you should stick to your guns and make sure you get a written report. Peru's headquarters for the tourist police is in Lima at the Museo de La Nacion, Javier Prado Este 2465,}\hfill

\textsuperscript{24} See http://hochiminhcity.ds-osac.org/page.cfm?pageID=1475
If you feel you've been ripped off or are unhappy about your treatment by a tour agent, hotel, restaurant, transport company, customs, immigration or even the police, you can call the 24-hour Tourist Protection Service hotline (Servicio de Proteccion al Turista, also known as INDECOPI). Staff are trained to handle complaints in English and Spanish. If an immediate solution is not possible, the service claims to follow up disputes by filing a formal complaint with the relevant authorities.  

In 2001 an ex-police officer in Wellington, New Zealand was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to explore tourist victimisation and support services for such victims (Morley, 2001). With regard to tourist policing he referred to the Anaheim Police Department, whose jurisdiction includes Disneyland and Knotts Berry Farm as well as Orange County, California. The Tourist Oriented Policing Team (TOP) consisted sixteen officers, detectives and supervisors who worked closely with tourist operators and civilian volunteers known as Anaheim Resort Ambassadors.

Morley's report identified such services in only five countries, New Zealand, the U.S., North and Southern Ireland and the Netherlands and hence omitted many countries where tourist policing exists. For example, a new service has been brought in to operation in Durban, South Africa while tourist police have been established in areas as diverse as Thailand, Greece and Cuba. Websites such as that of the Tourist Police Division of the Royal Thai Police

---

26 See Jones S. "South Africa launches tourist police" in The Daily Telegraph, 14/05/2005
27 See http://tourist.police.go.th/eng/index.php
and the Cambodian Tourist Police Service\textsuperscript{28} emphasise their major priorities to prevent crime against tourists and respond to the needs of the tourist victim while the Philippine Island Divers website suggests that the role of the tourist police is also to "Settle conflicts in a peaceful manner between foreigners and locals"\textsuperscript{29} indicating some degree of crime and disorder issues exacerbated by tourists.

Police services have also been geared towards tourism in certain areas of the U.K. The police in Blackpool for example are targeting alcohol related crime through an initiative called Nightsafe and are spreading the message by displaying posters and issuing flyers in the bar area of the local airport where many young weekenders congregate on arrival in the area. The Nightsafe initiative is aimed to target potential binge drinkers with the message that excessive drinking will not be tolerated\textsuperscript{30}. Indeed one of the earliest examples of the establishment of a police service that was developed in response to visitor numbers was in Blackpool, a coastal town in the Northwest of England that, with the development of railways became a popular resort for the working classes of the industrial north and where, in 1887 the town was permitted to operate its own police force under the direction of a Chief Constable (Walton in Godfrey et. al., 2003). So while this was not specifically a tourist police service, its introduction was in response to visitor impact.

\textsuperscript{29} See http://www.phildivers.com/tourist_police_eng.html
\textsuperscript{30} See http://www.lancashire.police.uk/nightsafe.html
The Metropolitan Police in Westminster offer the following to visitors to the locality;

"Visitors to Westminster, the 'Capital of the Capital', will notice how safe Central London feels. The Police and their associated partners have worked long and hard to ensure that your stay is as enjoyable as possible. However, it is the responsibility of the individual to keep themselves as safe as they can."{31}

This work will demonstrate that these issues recur, not only in the literature but also in the geographical area that I have elected to focus upon while identifying those areas where initiatives have been implemented in an effort to address crime and disorder issues (see for example Barton and James, 2003; Nightsafe{32}).

Mawby et. al.'s survey of British holidaymakers (2000) found that, of those tourists who had been victimised while on holiday, they were affected at least as much as 'traditional' victims leaving us with the quandary of how they were affected; i.e. were the effects the same for tourists as for the local victim? The plight of the victim has been acknowledged in the latter part of the twentieth century and the Victim's Charter, first published in 1990 provides a template identifying the range and standard of services available to the victim of crime (Home Office 1990). Hence an all-encompassing victim support service has been increasingly superseded by specialist services to address the particular

{31} See http://www.met.police.uk/westminster/visiting_westminster.htm
{32} Nightsafe was an initiative by Lancashire Constabulary and operating in their Western Division which covers the commercial area of Blackpool and was implemented to reduce alcohol related problems
needs of victims in specific situations. This is no less true for the tourist victim; it may be speculated that the loss through theft or burglary of passports, tickets and valuables in a strange environment then confronts the victim with unfamiliar local customs, police practice and language. In addition, the victim is isolated from informal systems of support including friends and family as well as those formal agencies that may be known to the victim.

Such situations have been recognised and addressed in few locations. Traditionally, support such as that provided by Victim Support in the U.K. and victim assistance programmes elsewhere has focussed upon the emotional needs of the victim while practical assistance including contacting insurance companies, liaising with the police and explaining the criminal justice process furthers the ‘healing’ process while material assistance in the form of replacement goods is not provided. But research indicates that this may be of equal need to the tourist victim whose first hurdle may indeed be to find someone who understands them. Two countries have already implemented schemes to provide support and assistance including material aid for visitors who are victimised while away from home. The first country to recognise the specialist needs of the tourist victim was in the Netherlands where The Amsterdam Tourist Assistance Service (ATAS) was launched in 1991 when funding for a service to address the needs of the 9% of foreign visitors who were victims of crime in the City was made available. ATAS provides practical and emotional support to foreign tourist victims of crime and the target group is further defined as “comprising the victim-tourist who has come
to experience acute distress due to a crime, and who cannot assess and/or solve his/her problems him/herself without the intervention of a third party” (Bruinink and Slump, 1997a:9). This type of service was taken up in the Republic of Ireland in 1993 and while Amsterdam and Dublin remain the main examples of centres coordinating such victim assistance services, initiatives are being instigated such as the emergency centre which was inaugurated in 1999 in South Africa to support travellers and based on the U.S. 911 system (Cape Times, 1999) and trauma rooms have been opened in many police stations in South Africa.

The Amsterdam Tourist Assistance Service (ATAS) was launched in 1991 when funding for a service to address the needs of the 9% of foreign visitors who were victims of crime in the City was made available. The location of the tourist victim support office is in an urban location, chosen because (being close to the main railway station) it is in the police station where many tourist victims called in to report the crime. The volume of tourist victims to this station meant that police officers were severely overworked and it was not unusual for a police officer to give a tourist twenty five guilders from his or her own pocket because the tourist had lost all their money and had nowhere else to turn. An initial approach by a senior police officer to the tourist board was unsuccessful and so the victim assistance service was approached.
The initial notion of operating the new tourist victim service as a subsidiary of the local Victim Support Agency was considered untenable and a separate scheme was therefore initiated. Initial funding and support by The Department of Justice and the Amsterdam Municipality bolstered by fundraising amongst business, tourism and catering facilities enabled ATAS to be established. The Department of Economic Affairs provided subsidy funds. A psychologist was also involved in its early days but when it was found that visitor victims were more in need of practical rather than emotional support he lost interest. The early success of ATAS encouraged a similar scheme in 1994 to be developed in The Hague, another area of The Netherlands which also attracts large numbers of overseas visitors. A third 'branch' was established in Zeeland, this one, unlike the other two operating as a sub-branch of the established Victim Support Zeeland and only during the summer months.

ATAS is described as providing practical and emotional support to foreign tourists who are victims of crime 'supplemental to the activities of existing assistance and governmental organizations' (Bruinink and Slump, 1997a:9). The target group is further defined as comprising the victim-tourist who has come to experience acute distress due to a crime, and who cannot assess and/or solve his/her problems without the intervention of a third party.
A publication in 1997 provided organisational guidelines outlining the issues that are raised in the case of tourist victimisation and identified their specialist needs which do not apply to the resident victim (Bruinink and Slump, 1997a). It illustrated the differences of the impact of crime and a second workbook provided a clear illustration of the effects and more specifically the characteristics of assistance for the tourist victim (Bruinink and Slump, 1997b).

Section four of the workbook is entitled ‘Specific characteristics of assistance to tourists who are victims of crime’ and begins by highlighting the similarities of tourist and regular victim assistance services in that both are dependent upon volunteers who need to work in close co-operation with the police, providing a service to victims of crime and traffic accidents. However, the section then goes on to identify the specific differences that impact upon the tourist victim including the need to work quickly in an environment which identifies and understands the intercultural context. Thus appropriate communication is paramount, not only verbal, that is the knowledge of the victim's language but also the nuances demonstrated through body language, implicit and explicit assignment of meaning and cultural impact.

A European Forum held in 1993 introduced the principles of ATAS to Victim Support personnel from the Irish Republic at a time when a string of tourist robberies was attracting media attention. An Garda Siochana, the Irish Police Force were approached and the Tourist Victim Support Service was opened.
in April 1994 with the support of the municipal police in Dublin (who provided the office space in their headquarters), the Department of Tourism, Borde Failte (The Irish Tourist Board) and a myriad of organisations, many of whom deliver a selection of services to the tourist industry and who provide support in kind. The inclusion of these service providers is particularly significant as it acknowledges the importance of ensuring that where a visitor has been the victim of a crime whilst away from home, the message that they take home with them can have far-reaching effects on future visitor numbers.

Such was the alleged level of crime in The Irish Republic that in 1993 The New York Herald Tribune advised its readers not to visit Dublin for safety reasons (Tourist Victim Support Services, 2004). Partly as a result of this and partly following the presentation by the Amsterdam Tourist Assistance Service in 1993, the principles of ATAS were introduced to Victim Support personnel from the Irish Republic. The presentation indicated that early findings by ATAS found that the intervention of such a service meant that tourists who had been a victim of crime regained their sense of confidence and reduced the impact of the crime and they left the country with a much more positive impression. In order to move the idea along, the co-ordinator of ATAS was invited to make a presentation at an event that was hosted by The Lord Mayor of Dublin in the Mansion House. Such a setting ensured the presence of representatives from the Garda Síochána (Police), Departments of Justice, Tourism and Trade, the Irish Tourist Board, Dublin Corporation, Dublin Chamber of Trade, Embassies and other related organisations.
Having raised the notion of such a scheme, a Steering Committee was formed, made up of representatives of a cross-section of the agencies that had attended the presentation in order to raise the £21,000 needed to fund the first six-month pilot project. What was particularly significant was the support of the Department of Tourism and Trade which provided representation on the Committee and also gave a grant of £5,000 towards the initial funding through Bord Failte, the Irish Tourist Board. The Department of Justice, through An Garda Síochána, donated offices at Harcourt Square, the Metropolitan Regional Headquarters in an urban setting. The location of the offices in such a safe (and tranquil) environment demonstrates the close association between the criminal justice and victim services and this is seen as one of the reasons for the success of TVSS. This arrangement provided a strong basis which encouraged those in the tourist industry to respond to appeals for support. Restaurants donated vouchers for meals, hostels and hotels donated free accommodation, doctors offered their services free of charge and visitor attractions donated admission vouchers. Airline, ferry, train and bus companies offered to replace tickets free of charge or provide the means for victims to return home early.

The inclusion of these service providers is particularly significant as it acknowledges their recognition of the importance of ensuring that where a visitor has been the victim of a crime whilst away from home, the message
that they take home with them will be a positive one, in spite of events. Hence a relevant cross section of agencies in both The Netherlands and The Republic of Ireland recognised that overseas visitors who were victims of crime at the time of their visit required types and levels of support that differed from resident victims and the negative messages that they took back home with them had a detrimental effect on future plans.

It has taken some time for other countries to take these issues on board but the last decade has seen levels and quality of service provision for victims of crime improved through pressure lobbies such as the Council of Europe, the United Nations and the European Forum for Victim Services. Improvements have not however been uniform and this can be particularly notable and problematic for visitors who fall victim of crime somewhere other than in their usual country of domicile.

The European Union Framework decision of March of 2001 highlights the importance of the rights of victims across the European Union and the need to rationalise service provision so that all citizens may expect to receive a level of care in all member states commensurate with that of their own country. In addition to minimum standards of service provision, Victim Support perceives "the promotion of specialist services and victims' organisations." The inclusion of a section on specialist services in the Victim Support policy report and the positive case studies included would suggest that tourist victim support services are one of the specialist services under consideration.

33 From, "The New Rights of Victims of Crime" policy report, June 2002
Hence the message is slowly being heard around the world and further examples of services are appearing on websites such as that in Hungary where the Economics Ministry and the National Police have recently set up a hotline for tourists who are victims of swindling by local businesses. Victim support centres have also been strategically located in the tourist Balaton region\(^{34}\) while the relatively newly formed Mauritius Victim Support has also identified the special needs of tourist victims.

1.7 Summary

This chapter has introduced the notion of tourism and crime, the latter being a parasite upon the former. It has provided the reader with a preface to an area of research that, though attracting little attention from criminologists, has been acknowledged by tourism academics such as McPheters and Stronge (1974) and Jud (1975) who, in early studies concluded that levels, impact and types of crime vary depending upon seasonality and customer type while Prideaux (1996) argued that the nature of the resort increased the likelihood for crime. However, while perceptions and risk of victimisation among tourists has been recognised in research, the message has barely crossed the divide in to the marketplace.

Tourism affects residents in the chosen areas as their lives are blighted by the availability of seasonal rather than full-time employment, traffic congestion, crowded streets, shops and other facilities and heightened disorder, generally in those areas that attract large numbers of young people. It has been noted that while many residents acknowledge and benefit from tourism through employment opportunities and improved services (for example Boissevain, 1995); there are also elements of resentment and mistrust. An added and less apparent impact of tourism is that it also provides the opportunity for crime against people and property which are considered to be easy targets and construed as deserving victims.

Victimology has provided a wealth of studies but few have addressed the area of victimisation in the tourist environment, that is, one that raises atypical conditions for both victims and supporting agencies. The nature of policing is such that it must contend with any situation and the training of the officer is central to this so that he or she can provide the appropriate level of service. However, the particular demands of the tourist victim, especially if the incident takes place in a country where language and customs vary from the familiar tend not to be considered except in a few places. Similarly where victim assistance programmes exist, policy demands that services are appropriate for all victims without alternative options such as, in the case of tourist victims, access to material support.
Given that tourism is the fastest growing industry in the world together with globalisation which has seen the ever expanding movement of people across borders, evidence suggests that the problem of crime against and by the visitor has produced few policies or laws which acknowledge the particular issues raised. This work is therefore dedicated to identifying the relationship between tourism and crime and exploring solutions to an under-resourced problem. This will follow the methodology identified in the following chapter.
Chapter Two: Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one demonstrated that criminological research into tourism and crime is scant and indeed most studies associated with this theme derive from tourism academics where the emphasis is often very much on the economic cost of adverse publicity rather than the social impact. Ryan (1993) makes reference to tourist victim typologies but does not stay with the theme while Pizam's classification of criminal acts in tourist areas provides "a pilot study" from which a classification of crime/violence phenomena and some indicators of crime/tourism relationships are specified (1999). In a similar vein, Prideaux's tourism crime cycle concludes that the image of the destination, the night leisure and drug subculture inter-relate to increase the risk of crime (1996). Hence while there have been attempts to identify a relationship between tourism and crime, research thus far does not appear to reflect the impact of tourism on the recorded increases in levels of crime during the holiday season.

In contemplating the most appropriate research methodology for this work, lack of previous research necessitates the significant use of primary material. This means that the initial consideration was to have access to those agents who were in a position to provide the required data. One element of that was
of paramount importance was access to statistical evidence regarding levels of victimisation in order to provide evidence of the impact of tourism on various elements of the selected region. In addition, semi-structured interviews with those agencies that were involved with tourism, policing and the aftermath of tourist victimisation were deemed appropriate to provide specialist knowledge and insight into the various elements of this research.

While it has been argued that the use of multiple methods in one piece of research can muddy the waters (Silverman 2000) an alternative view of triangulation is put forward by Jupp et al.

"... if the same conclusions can be reached using different methods or sources of data then no peculiarity of method or of data has produced the conclusions and the confidence in their validity is increased." (2000:59)

For this work the second interpretation has been used and so, qualitative and quantitative data as well as a literature search was used. Where the literature has identified and explored some of the issues raised in this work, findings from the qualitative and quantitative research are used to endorse or reject existing research findings.

Hence, in assessing the relationship between tourism and crime, three sets of actors can be targeted:
(i) Local people. In the context of the research for this study, there are three specific groups:

(a) local residents
(b) local businesses
(c) hoteliers in Restormel

(ii) Tourists/visitors. There is little data as such which effectively identifies tourists; for example Demos' research identified respondents by virtue of their passing through an airport (1992) while Mawby et. al. (1999) were able to identify only a very limited sample of tourist victims of crime, that is, those who paid an annual subscription to a particular holiday publication. The research for this study however identified tourists who had been the victims of, and reported crime to the police while in Cornwall, and their experiences could be compared with a matched sample of local victims.

(iii) Key stakeholders in the criminal justice system and tourism industry.

For this element of the research, semi-structured interviews with members of the police, Victim Support and tourism personnel have provided important and perceptive insights into the relationship between tourism and crime in the area.
Literature has suggested that use of quantitative data can be criticised (see for example Sarantakos, 1998; Silverman 2000; Bryman, 2004), but it does provide fixed and objective statistics relating to 'reality.' In this study this is particularly pertinent because of the extensive access and use of quantitative data relevant to the principles of the work. In the event, access to the results from five such questionnaires was possible through personal involvement with the original research which meant that a broad spectrum of data could be used.

Involvement in the design of each of the questionnaires allowed for a degree of repetition in the questions thus allowing for comparison between the different types of respondents. The first set of questionnaires (Appendices 6 and 7) was distributed to tourists and residents who had reported being victims of crimes in Cornwall between June and September 2000 and was designed initially for my own use for this research; a further questionnaire was designed for Cornwall County Council and sent to residents of Cornwall for the production of the 2001 Crime and Disorder Audit (Appendix 1) and a similar one (Appendix 2) was distributed to business operators for the same purpose. In 2002 an evaluation was undertaken on behalf of the Home Office among people who owned or operated hotels and guesthouses in Restormel, Cornwall and those findings were useful for comparison with the business questionnaire (Appendix 3).
All quantitative data was entered on to SPSS, a commonly used computer programme among social scientists. This provides a consistent and organised method of presentation for valid analysis. Frequencies were used to identify the incidence of responses to specific questions which could be presented numerically and as percentages, while cross-tabulation enabled the analyst to count the incidence of one variable against another, for example the number of females who were victims of a particular crime or the number of people over 60 who were afraid to go out after dark.

In order to address the participation of support services for victims of crime, a focus group interview took place with Victim Support coordinators and a further interview took place with the area manager of Victim Support in Cornwall.

An interview also took place with representatives of Devon and Cornwall Constabulary who were involved with ‘Holiday Watch’ a Penwith based initiative. Further qualitative data was extracted from semi-structured interviews that were undertaken with appropriate police and tourism personnel and community safety officers throughout the county. Anecdotal evidence from such interviews is not intended to validate the findings of the quantitative data, nor is it intended to provide a theoretical perspective although it does provide evidence of the pertinence of the main hypothesis which underpins the reasons for crime in the tourist environment, that is that the availability of a
target to a potential offender is eased by the lack of guardianship. Their purpose is mainly though to provide an insight by those agencies that are directly related to the issues.

Before this chapter proceeds to explore the methods used, it is essential that the principal subject of this work, the tourist, is defined. Quite simply this is because the tourist (or visitor) is a constant throughout all the methods used and an acknowledged definition is therefore required. Mathieson and Wall (1992) refer to Ogilvie’s early definition which described the tourist as someone whose stay away from home was for a relatively short space of time and that the money spent was derived from home rather than earned where it was being spent (1933). Cohen in his 1974 study defined the tourist as, “a voluntary, temporary, traveller
d, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip” (Cohen 1974:533) The ‘visitor’ according to the 1963 United Nations conference suggested someone visiting a country other than that of their usual domicile but not on business.

However the development of Tourism Satellite Accounts (Eurostat 2001, cited in Wall and Mathieson 2006) has resulted in a globally accepted definition of tourism and therefore, by definition, the tourist.

*Tourism comprises the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for

\[\text{1 Italics authors own}\]
leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.” (cited in Wall and Mathieson 2006:14)

In addition, the visitor is defined as:

“Any person travelling to a place other than that of his/her usual environment for less than twelve months and whose main purpose of trip is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited” (cited in Wall and Mathieson, 2006:14).

Hence for the purposes of this study, the term tourist and visitor should be considered one and the same.

By definition then short break holidays and visiting friends and family are consistent with the above definitions although Seaton (1994) hypothesises that particularly when visiting family, the trips are due to obligation rather than for pleasure hence flying in the face of the notion of holidaying. However for the purposes of this work, they are included in the visitor victim data as are those who stated that they were in the County on business since it may be speculated that most are employees of companies based elsewhere and therefore they are not directly deriving their income from the area.

So, two distinct lists can be identified, one which provides examples of who is included as a tourist and a second showing who isn’t:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included visitors</th>
<th>Excluded visitors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staying visitors for leisure purposes</td>
<td>Day visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends and family</td>
<td>Staying for more than a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short break visitors</td>
<td>Staying for less than a year but employed in the locality, e.g. researcher, seasonal worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational/ sports/ activities trip (staying)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business trip (income derived from elsewhere, e.g. representative, visiting speaker)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Visitors/tourists and non tourist visitors as defined by literature (see main text)

2.2 Secondary Data

As has already been indicated, there is plentiful research into tourism and crime as separate disciplines but in bringing them together, while there is some from tourism academics, criminologists have barely given the subject a first, let alone a second glance. Furthermore, there is a plethora of literature about Cornwall as a tourist destination but within the discipline of criminology, only Mawby (2003a; 2003b) provides an exploration and examination of criminal and deviant behaviour in the County. There is however a limited amount of research which identifies the impact of crime on tourism or the effects of tourism on crime and this is particularly so in the case of tourism in the U.K. In exploring this inter-disciplinary challenge, its legitimacy is apparent when one considers that tourism is one of the fastest growing industries globally and victimisation from crime one of society's greatest fears.
Moreover this in an era where the role of the victim is gaining increased significance in the criminal justice process.

As an inter-disciplinary piece of work, material for this research must necessarily be from both the tourism and the criminological perspectives but while Cornwall is undeniably heavily dependent upon tourism for its economic viability, a thumbnail sketch of the county's history and demography will be useful in order to illustrate its evolution as a tourism area. To do this, literature outlining the history of Cornwall provides the necessary background. In addition, statistical data from the 2001 National Census affords demographic detail that is used to support the validity of the research data derived from the questionnaires used in this research.

In order to reasonably consider the significance and impact of tourism on crime in Cornwall, crime statistics were needed and these were collated from a number of sources; the first is from data provided for the production of the 2001 Crime and Disorder audits for the entire County of Cornwall which identified residents' and business operators' perceptions and experiences of crime and disorder in the year prior to receipt of the questionnaire².

---

² A delay in distribution actually meant that the period was extended to thirteen months
Further data came from police statistics as well as the victim surveys published in the British Crime Survey by the Home Office (Povey et.al. 2001; Simmons et. al. 2002). Since 2001 these two reports have been published as a single document ‘Recorded Crime in England and Wales’ (Simmons et. al. 2002). It is an annually produced document by the Home Office and for this research this particular edition was selected as figures correspond to those collected through the questionnaires referred to in this chapter. In ‘Recorded Crime’ notifiable offences are listed for all police force areas including that of Devon and Cornwall and also by the individual CDRPs in their respective “families”.

"Responsible authorities have a statutory duty to work with other local agencies and organisations to develop and implement strategies to tackle crime and disorder including anti-social and other behaviour adversely affecting the local environment as well as the misuse of drugs in their area." (s6, Crime and Disorder Act 1998 as amended by s97 & s98 Police Reform Act 2002 and s1, Clean Neighbourhoods & Environment Act 2005)

Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) are made up, primarily of the police, the police authority, the local authority, fire and rescue authority and the primary care trust. Their establishment came about under the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) whereupon these statutory authorities together with other agencies deemed to be necessary would, every three years, carry out an audit of crime and disorder issues prevalent in their geographical area. These audits are to be made public for local consultation and subsequent strategies drawn up to address identified problems.

---

3 For an explanation see http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs2/basiccommand.pdf
Only the police recorded statistics are given by CDRP in 'Crime in England and Wales' and so these are the statistics which are used in this research because in Cornwall the CDRPs correspond to each of the districts. Furthermore, the BCS does not include all crimes; for example in the context of this research, the BCS does not differentiate between the thefts of household and personal property because such offences are defined in a series of categories by the police. The police statistics therefore provide a more appropriate opportunity to compare levels and types of crime between each of the districts because the list of crimes used in the various questionnaires are consistent with those used in the published data.

Details about tourism in the County are available on the Cornwall County Council website and from South West Tourism. Information relating to seasonal patterns, a tourism profile and the attractions available in the various districts provided a comprehensive picture of the industry in the County. From that data it was apparent that types and concentration of tourists are not the same in all the districts of Cornwall and this will be discussed in chapter three. It should be noted at this juncture that the Cornwall County Council website identified many of the negative influences that tourism has on the area, but in common with virtually all locations that attract large numbers of tourists, it fails to overtly mention crime.
A further issue that should be mentioned at this point relates to Cornwall and its rurality. Pre-existing research indicates that crime tends to be lower in rural rather than urban areas (Dingwall and Moody 1999; Kershaw et.al 2001; Aust and Simmons 2001) and Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly have been identified as the second most rural area in England (National Statistics, 2005). However while the official statistics taken at the time of the census suggests this, it can be argued that the influx of tourists to many areas of the county result in a significant increase in populations while visitors travel in and out of the county over a period of several months during each year. As a consequence, while Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly are recognised as having a low baseline population, the picture is clearly skewed by the transitory migration of the visitors which often result in a doubling of the population.

2.3 Crime and Disorder Audit Questionnaires

The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) requires a partnership comprising local authorities, the police, health authorities, police authorities and others to work together to address crime and disorder problems in their area. Every three years an audit must be produced in which issues of crime and disorder in each CDRP are identified and a subsequent strategy produced in which the partners indicate the approaches that will be taken to address selected concerns.
In 2000, I was employed with Professor Rob Mawby by the collective districts of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly to produce their Crime and Disorder audits. A part of this work included the design and construction of questionnaires to residents and business operators in the six mainland districts and that for the Isles of Scilly and I was involved in this.

The questionnaires covered a broad remit, asking recipients about the area in which they lived and the town which they used most often, their perceptions and experiences of the police and problems that they encountered. These were all issues which were dictated by the needs of the district authorities but because of my involvement with the design of the questionnaire, I was able to negotiate the inclusion of questions on tourism. While these questions were primarily for the benefit of this research, the responses did inform the audit because of the significance of tourism in the County.

To this end, involvement in the production of the 2001 Crime and Disorder audits for the six districts of Cornwall comprising the six CDRPs led to the distribution of a questionnaire to a sample of 10,500 households in Cornwall, 1750 to each of the six districts. While BCUs were established in response to "operational policing needs" (Harper et. al (2001), CDRPs correspond to local authority boundaries. In many areas of England and Wales BCUs and CDRPs are not coterminous but in the case of the six mainland districts of

4 The Isles of Scilly questionnaire used a slightly different version and is therefore excluded from this study.
Cornwall this is not the case hence making comparisons easier. The sample was selected by employees of Cornwall County Council and so the authors had no control over how the sample should be selected and the only information regarding choice was that addresses were taken from a random sampling package using the electoral register as a sampling frame.

In order to maintain confidentiality as well as ease of organisation, the County Council posted the questionnaires and completed ones were returned to them in pre-paid and addressed envelopes. To try and encourage people to return the questionnaire, a prize was offered. In the end, 3752 completed questionnaires were returned, a response rate of between 33.0% and 38.4% for each CDRP and the data was entered on to an Access spreadsheet by analysts at the County Council. Due to time constraints there was no opportunity to send a reminder and hence potentially improve the response rate.

To measure the validity of the data emanating from the questionnaire, the association between comparative variables in the 2001 National Census provides appropriate correlation. Demographic information from the Crime and Disorder audit suggests a degree of weighting in favour of married couples; 72.8% of respondents to the audit stated that they were married or cohabiting, or married but separated while the National Census (2001)
indicated that 66.4% of those over the age of 16 were married or remarried, cohabiting or separated. Respondents aged between 16 and 19 were under-represented in the audits with responses from only 1.7% while the 2001 national census recorded 4.5% making up the population of the County. The audit data are over-representative of those over the age of 60 (37.6%) compared with 26.6% in the 2001 National Census. The question of ethnicity shows a close relationship between the percentages of the white population in the census and audit sample while the audit gender division shows a slight over-representation towards females (56.3% and 51.3%). The questionnaire was completed by a higher proportion of older females (indeed the group with the highest response rate was among females aged 50-59) and it may be speculated that this was because they take a greater interest in local affairs and are more willing or have more time to complete the questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of forty-nine questions divided in to seven sections:

- The area in which the respondent lived and where they spent most time
- How they spent their time in and out of their home
- Police and policing in the area in which they live
- Feelings about crime
- Feelings about crime prevention and community safety

5 All National Census figures also include the Isles of Scilly
- Personal information and their experiences of crime
- Tourism and its impact

The questionnaire was largely made up of closed questions where the respondent was asked to select a response from a list of given options. Open-ended questions were asked where opinions were deemed relevant and these were entered but uncoded. Questions relating to the respondent's lifestyle and patterns of behaviour correspond to those in the British Crime Survey thus providing room for comparison.

Most pertinent to this research was the inclusion of questions asking respondents about the importance of tourism in their area, whether anyone in the household was employed in tourism and the impact of tourism on the area in which they lived. Published data indicates that tourism is an important source of employment throughout the County and it was speculated that a significant percentage of respondents would be thus employed and as such this would have an influence on the way that they would respond.

At the same time that questionnaires were sent to households, a separate one was sent to a sample of businesses in the county. Fifteen hundred businesses were identified by analysts at Cornwall County Council from their own records to receive a copy of the questionnaire, 250 in each of the local authorities, irrespective of the demographics of the districts. Because it was
the Council which distributed the questionnaires, there was no control over selection of the sample. Completed questionnaires were returned by 621 recipients, a response rate of 41.4%, a satisfactory response rate for a postal survey which did not have the benefit of a follow up reminder. In common with all of the other questionnaires used in this research, these questionnaires were divided into sections, in this instance issues relating to the location, size and type of business was considered, as was the impact of tourism on both the business and the area in which it was located. Responses to the closed questions were again entered on to an SPSS spread sheet and replies to the open ended questions entered uncoded.

The impact of tourism in the County is reflected not only in the range of services which respond to tourist demands but also in the amount of business that visitors bring to existing traditional businesses and this will be explored in Chapter Four.

2.4 Hoteliers Questionnaire

In 2002 Professor Rob Mawby and I were approached by the Home Office to undertake an evaluation of a project which had been initiated and conducted by the Devon and Cornwall police because they knew of our ongoing work on tourism and crime.
The Torbay Hotel Burglary Initiative provided data from a fifth source for this research and included questions that were also present in the Crime and Disorder business survey. The work comprised a Home Office evaluation of a burglary initiative in the region of Torbay on the south coast of England and was directed at a virtual community of hotels and guesthouses in Torquay, Brixham and Paignton because police data identified a significant number of acquisitive crimes from properties other than domestic dwellings and further study indicated that the targets were generally hotels and guest houses. The research took place during nine months of 2002 and included the design and distribution of a questionnaire among hotel and guesthouse owners and managers in Torbay. In order to determine the impact of the Torbay initiative the use of a control area was decided and Restormel in Cornwall was selected. This was because the region marketed itself as similar to Torbay with different locations endeavouring to attract different types of tourist.

The district tourism department provided a list of hotels, guesthouses and bed and breakfast establishments and 84 interviews were undertaken. The questionnaire was administered in face-to-face interviews by a team of interviewers and this method of administration was selected because the period in which the research took place was during the peak summer months when hoteliers were at their busiest and it was therefore felt that postal questionnaires would be ignored. About two weeks before the start of the interviewing process letters were sent to all known hotels and guesthouses in

---

6 In a currently unpublished work by Mawby R.I. and Jones C.
7 Interviewing actually took place in June, July and September
the district advising the recipients that they may be approached as part of the research (Appendix 4). Most of the questions were directed towards hotel crime but some from the other questionnaires were included for comparison. Questions particularly pertinent to this thesis include those which asked about the types of guests that the hotel/guesthouse accommodate, the impact of tourism on life in the area, and crime against the hotel/guesthouse and its guests during the previous year. Results from this research will be more closely examined in Chapter four but it is pertinent to point out that crimes were not always reported to the police because respondents sometimes considered the crime insufficiently serious to bother the police while others would report incidents if a guest was the victim but not if it was against the hotel.

Not all hotels and guesthouses in the area were contacted however because not all such properties are registered with the council, while others had closed down or changed usage. One reason for this is that larger premises that had been used as hotels or guesthouses have a lower market price than domestic properties of a comparable size and so are frequently purchased for residential purposes and the local authority is not notified.

Interviews resulted in 84 questionnaires being completed, a response rate of 33.6%\(^8\) of the original list of premises. This was regarded as an appropriate

---

\(^8\) Originally we had aimed to collect 75 completed questionnaires – 30% of all hotels but in the event completed 84
response for the purposes for which it was intended. In view of the timing of
the research, the questionnaire was relatively brief comprising twenty-five
open-ended and closed questions and addressing six broad areas:

- Details of the hotel/guesthouse
- Respondent's details
- Hotel's security measures
- Feelings about crime in the area
- Victimisation experiences
- Awareness of the Torbay Hotel Burglary initiative.

The data was coded, entered and analysed on SPSS as with the Crime and
Disorder audit responses.

2.5 Visitors and Residents Questionnaires

One of the issues that has received little attention by criminologists, in spite of
the significance of travel, is the victimisation of visitors whilst 'on holiday' and
it was for this reason that this research came about. An agreement by a
senior officer at police headquarters in Exeter opened the doors to the
distribution of the first two questionnaires to both visitor and resident victims of
crime in Cornwall. While the questionnaires were designed for this piece of
research, accessibility to potential recipients was only possible through the
co-operation of the police. This process will be examined in more detail later in this chapter and in chapter six.

At the end of 2000, following a meeting with the officer in question, a police analyst was instructed to extract all cases within the given period where one or more of the crimes in the questionnaire were recorded. From the extracted cases, the analyst then further identified all the visitor victims by separating out from that sample, all those where the victim's address was somewhere in England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland other than Devon or Cornwall. This method of selection was used because, while it is feasible that people from these two counties may have been on holiday at the time of the incident, there was no way in which this could be verified prior to sending out the questionnaires. Therefore, in order to ensure a distinction between the visitor and resident responses, questionnaires were not sent victims in the two counties. However, a sample of victims whose address was in Cornwall was contacted to complete a corresponding resident's questionnaire.

In order to establish the effects of crime on tourists, the postal questionnaire was sent to those who had visited Cornwall during June – September 2000 and had been a victim of crime during their stay and had subsequently reported the crime to the police. Postal questionnaires provide an inexpensive way of accessing potential respondents over a geographically wide area. The pertinence of this is apparent when considering directing
questionnaires to visitors who have left the relevant area, in this case Cornwall.

The research sample was extracted by the analysts at constabulary headquarters from police statistics and a covering letter signed by a Chief Superintendent on Devon and Cornwall Constabulary headed paper was included which added weight and authenticity to the questionnaire; reply-paid envelopes back to police headquarters were also enclosed. In this way recipients could be assured of complete confidentiality thus encouraging them to reply. A total of 623 questionnaires were requested for posting and these were delivered to police headquarters in February 2001 for despatch and 218 questionnaires were returned giving a response rate of 35.0%. One respondent, the owner of a holiday home did not regard himself as a visitor and therefore did not complete the questionnaire. That said, other respondents who were also owners of properties in the region did complete the questionnaire. This is a thorny issue and leads us to probe what constitutes 'a tourist.' In addition to what has already been said about this in this chapter, this aspect will be further examined in Chapter five. Another questionnaire was returned incomplete because the victim was travelling for several months and her father returned the form with a covering letter. These were therefore not included which resulted in 216 completed questionnaires being used for analysis, a response rate of 34.7%.
Given as indicated above that there is no obvious way of identifying tourists, all U.K. residents who had reported an incident to the police in the area during the given period of time were included in the sample. However in order to ensure that only staying as opposed to day visitors were included, those with postcodes in both Devon and Cornwall were excluded from the sample. However, this is not a wholly accurate method of selection since it is not uncommon for people living in the region to take short break holidays or as owners of second homes or caravans in relatively close proximity to their homes.

The visitors’ questionnaires were made up of four sections:

- The location and type of, and purpose of the visit when the incident took place
- The details of the crime
- Other victimisation apart from the incident in Cornwall
- Background information about the respondent

Questions were generally closed but respondents were asked to expand on certain issues. Responses to closed questions were entered on to SPSS for analysis in the prescribed manner while responses to open questions generally followed one of a limited number of responses. It was therefore viable to code and enter these on to SPSS. Where responses to open
questions clearly reflected issues pertinent to the research, these were selected for reflection, clarification and analysis.

In addition to sending one model of questionnaire to visitors, a second was also sent to residents who had reported similar specific crimes in Cornwall between June and September 2000. The primary purpose of the residents' questionnaire was as a control group but it also provided interesting comparisons with the remainder of the research data which, at the time of implementation was unknown.

The questionnaires that went to the residents allowed for some level of comparison with the visitor victim's questionnaire and again they were posted from police headquarters with a covering letter similar to that sent to visitor victims and reply-paid envelope. A total of 81 people returned completed questionnaires, a response rate of 27.0%. While this is low, it was deemed sufficient to identify trends between Cornish resident victims and those in police statistics and the British Crime Survey as well as with tourist victims. Because of confidentiality issues, pre-coding of questionnaires was impossible so it wasn't feasible to send follow up questionnaires. As a consequence there was no opportunity to improve on the response rates in either the visitor or resident questionnaires.
The visitor questionnaires were sent to those who had been victims of crime whilst in Cornwall and who subsequently reported the incident to the police and who in turn had recorded it. This method of data collection omits those who may not have reported the crime and anecdotal evidence suggests that this may indeed account for a significantly higher number than those that did report the event. In addition, crimes may have been reported but for a number of reasons may not have been recorded by the police. Overseas visitors were also excluded from the sample. In identifying visitors who had reported a crime to the police, analysts extracted both U.K. and overseas victims but the opportunity to send questionnaires to the overseas group was not forthcoming.

In developing the questionnaires, the same questions were asked of both samples regarding:

- The type of crime (and if acquisitive, what was taken)
- Patterns of movement during the day and at night
- Perceptions of Cornwall as a safe place
- Feeling of safety when out at night
- How much the crime affected them
- Satisfaction with police response
- Contact by Victim Support
- Background information including employment, income and hobbies
The choice of questions was such that a comparative evaluation could be made regarding perceptions about the area, the police and Victim Support services. Personal information allowed for stratified analysis relating to gender, age and socio-economic status as well as the location where the crime took place.

2.5.1 Summary

In summary, and as previously indicated, an important aspect of the production of the 2001 Crime and Disorder Audits for the six districts of Cornwall was the use of postal questionnaires to businesses and residents across the County. These questionnaires were printed and distributed by Cornwall County Council and as with the visitor and resident questionnaires that were distributed by the police, we had no influence regarding the sample selection. As indicated by Sarantakos (1998), the use of an appropriate sample is central to adequate analytical data but the business and resident questionnaires as well as the visitor and resident questionnaires were administered by third parties and as such could raise questions of validity in the final analysis. However the scope of this research is not to provide a large scale analysis of tourism and crime but rather to identify, hypothesize and investigate the impact of tourism and crime in a particular area of England as a small-scale study which may provide an appropriate model for further analysis. By comparing and contrasting findings across the six districts this
provides an opportunity to assess the impact of tourist typologies on crime
while the deeper analysis of specific areas within two districts of the county
"allows... the potential to examine the interplay between [wider] processes
and the formation of distinct local milieux" (Savage et.al. 2005:14).

The information in these questionnaires therefore offers a breadth of material
sufficient to provide a defensible contention that tourism impacts upon crime
in the focal areas. In isolation however the evidence is bare and cannot
wholly determine the effects of tourism on crime and associated victimisation.
Therefore qualitative data has been used to illustrate and enlighten the
quantitative data. The rigidity of the open-ended responses in the
questionnaires go only so far in providing richer material whereas field
research and the data from semi-structured interviews give appropriate variety
and scope.

2.6 Semi-structured Interviews

The purpose of semi-structured interviews is to provide richness to the
numerical data provided by quantitative analysis. Furthermore, there are
instances where the sample size is such that it is possible to undertake in-
depth interviews with each member of the population. This was the case in
2001 when the tourism managers in Cornwall were interviewed for the Crime
and Disorder audit process. Each district in the county employs a tourism
manager, sometimes as a full-time and sometimes as a part-time post. In all instances, interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The content of the interview schedules with the tourism managers was primarily to satisfy the demands of the audit process where issues relating to the impact of tourism on crime in their respective districts were relevant. Because only six interviews took place (of which, two managers had no opinions regarding crime) the content of the remaining four was drawn upon for comparison. The method of analysis of qualitative data can only begin after the material has begun to be collected. This is in contrast to quantitative statistics whereby a framework (in this case, using SPSS) can be set out prior to the collection of the data because the variables are established within the content of the closed questions. Qualitative data requires coding but this can only be achieved as the material is gathered and analysed to identify concepts and categories (Bryman, 2004).

In order to ascertain the local government perceptions of crime and tourism the views of the Community Safety Officers in the six districts of the County were paramount. Community Safety Officers are employed in all the districts of Cornwall and their backgrounds are generally from other departments in the local authority or from the police. As with the tourism managers, interviews with members of this group were also recorded and transcribed. Again, interviews were focussed upon the requirements of the audit process but in all cases the officers also had opinions regarding tourism and its impact in their district and these will be referred to throughout the remainder of this
study. Data was collated and analysed using the same method as above with the tourism managers.

The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) indicates that interested bodies may also be considered in the compilation of the strategy and in several CDRPs, Victim Support is consulted. To this end and because of their function with regard to victims of crime, it was pertinent to ask Victim Support coordinators about their experiences and perceptions regarding tourist victimisation. In 2000 the organisation was in the process of restructuring but at the time that the initial contact was made, there were eight active coordinators who had relative autonomy and each was sent a short questionnaire (Appendix 5) with a covering letter. A subsequent invitation to attend one of the regular coordinator meetings at which they were all present allowed for participation in an informal but productive dialogue with each to expand on issues raised by their responses to questions in the short questionnaires.

Almost by default the meeting with Victim Support Coordinators took the form of a focused interview (Bryman, 2004). The size of the group was predetermined as all coordinators were required to attend and, because of the imminent reorganisation of Victim Support there was no opportunity to see the group together again.
The amount of data gleaned from the ‘focus’ group interview provided a number of themes which informed subsequent research including:

- The levels of crime suffered by tourist victims
- The types of crime
- Locations of crime
- The role of the police

Because of the inexperience of the researcher and the refusal by some members of the group to allow the meeting to be recorded, notes were taken by the researcher but, due to the size of the group and the limited amount of time given to the meeting, some issues were not fully pursued at the time. However, it was agreed that there would be opportunities to speak with individual coordinators/ managers in later meetings when they would be willing to clarify issues raised in the initial meeting.

The prime purpose of the questionnaire was to establish the incidence of tourist victimisation in the various districts and to ask coordinators about the level and type of service that they provided. It also went on to ascertain whether or not they identified a need for a specialist service for visitor victims. Following the restructuring of Victim Support as directed from National Office, coordinators were replaced by branch managers and a regional manager was appointed. While time did not allow for further interviewing of the branch managers, because many had previously been coordinators I had therefore
already spoken to most but an interview with the area manager was undertaken.

Work over the duration of this degree process has brought me in to contact with a broad range of people who have made small but significant remarks that will be used where appropriate. During a seminar for Community Safety Officers and Community Police Officers from across the South West of England a short questionnaire was distributed in which they were asked about the impact of tourism on crime in their respective areas. Fifty questionnaires were circulated and with only six returned, their use in this research was generally dismissed. However, while the response was disappointingly low, some of the responses to the open-ended questions are of interest and will be used to illustrate some of the issues raised in this work.

Input from local police is central in any piece of research looking at crime in a given area and interviews with police commanders in each of the districts for the 2001 Crime and Disorder audit provided useful data for this research. The role of the police commander is to take overall responsibility for service provision in their BCU. In Cornwall, the BCUs and CDRPs are coterminous with the district boundaries and so this made comparisons between information from the various sources and police data easy. Each of the commanders had opinions regarding the effects of tourism on crime and disorder in their Basic Command Unit (BCU) although their level of interest
varied although not always in relation to the levels of tourism in their district. Policy and strategic issues are illustrated in the interviews with senior officers while impressions and operationalisation aspects come from the lower ranks, those who physically patrol the areas. So while the public's perceptions of policing in the community are addressed in the questionnaires, field research gave an element of practical police perceptions.

In all cases, interviewees were asked if the interviews could be tape recorded, this to allow the interviewer to concentrate on what was being said at the time so that, should a point need to be clarified or expanded upon it could be picked up at the time and also to ensure that no issues were missed. Although it was made clear to participants that they could refuse, all were happy to have their interviews recorded having assured them that confidential matters would not be alluded to in this work without their prior permission. Again interviews were analysed using the same methods as the previous semi-structured interviews.

2.7 Summary

Qualitative data was gathered from interviews with representatives of agencies involved in both tourism and the criminal justice process in Cornwall
and elsewhere. Hence police officers and civilian staff provided perspectives and perceptions of policing in tourist areas and initiatives used to tackle specific, tourism-related crime and disorder issues. Further interviews with employees of local authorities including community safety and tourism personnel provided information on policy and practice while representatives of Victim Support in Cornwall have demonstrated the support provided for the tourist victim. These findings have been compared with levels and types of support given by specialist tourist assistance programmes, particularly those in Amsterdam and Dublin where established services have been in operation for over a decade, while provision by other programmes has been explored on the Internet and in e-mail 'conversations' with appropriate representatives.

Hence literature has identified the views and perceptions of various categories of people with relation to tourism and crime but little relates to the English experience. In order to address this and explore the perceptions of tourist victims and compare their responses with those of resident victims, a series of questionnaires were sent to both residents and visitors who had reported specific crimes in Cornwall. During the same period, the opportunity to investigate the perceptions of tourism and its impact on crime and disorder in their area by residents and business operators was made possible through involvement with the production of the Crime and Disorder audits in Cornwall. An evaluation of hotel burglary for The Home Office provided further scope for quantitative data collection and analysis through the distribution of
questionnaires to hoteliers and other accommodation providers as well as interviews with key players.

Analysis of the subsequent data will go some way to substantiating or challenging the premises laid down in the context of this work.
Chapter Three: Cornwall, the place

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce Cornwall the place, beginning with a description of its historical significance as a provider of minerals and fish. Its wealth as a source of several metals and a need to extract them led to the development of the first steam driven pumps while the expansion of the railways facilitated the movement of fresh produce, mined minerals and gradually travellers to what had been an isolated outcrop of mainland Britain. This brief history will go to show that Cornwall has suffered from poor economic performance in spite of the presence of such natural advantages.

The development of tourism in the wake of the decline of traditional industries was to become the economic mainstay of many areas of the county and the second part of this chapter will discuss the history of tourism in Cornwall from its early days as a place for recuperation and convalescence – a common feature of the seaside since George III popularised Brighton. This section will then go on to outline the importance of tourism to the county and evaluate the popularity of the different districts of Cornwall with particular emphasis on two districts in which tourism is of principal importance for the local economy.
The third section of this chapter will then go on to examine crime in Cornwall. A discussion about levels of crime will lead on to an assessment of policing in the county. The section will then consider the impact of tourism on crime in the county, firstly looking at the area as a whole and then district by district, taking into consideration the importance of tourism in each. Again there will be further evaluation in two districts, one where different types of tourists are attracted to different parts of the district and the other where tourists visit one area but stay in another.

3.2 Cornwall: the place

‘Cornwall is a pore and very barren countrey of al manner thing, except Tyn and Fysshe’ (Borde 1542 cited Jenkin 1933:3)

This early and somewhat unprepossessing impression of Cornwall seems a far cry from the contemporary impression of the County and provides evidence of Cornwall's early worth as a provider of tin and fish in an era when notions of tourism were still some two centuries away. Indeed Murray's Handbook of Devon and Cornwall dated 1851 makes much of the area in the context of a region of production, geology and antiquity although he does write of the landscape. The first census of Cornwall in 1801 showed a
population of 192,281 which almost doubled in the 1861 census to 369,390 largely due to the vast mining industry (Tregellas, 1887:47).

"By the middle of the last century the mines of Cornwall were producing three quarters of all the copper used in the world, and nearly half the tin." (Jenkin, 1947:104). However by 1891 some 50,000 miners had left attracted by newer and more accessible mining possibilities in America, Australia and elsewhere. Tregellas in 1887 wrote, “The busy scenes where thousands of both sexes were once employed in the many varieties of mining operations are now nearly all deserted.” (1887:11). This transfer of labour was brought about largely due to the ease of access to resources elsewhere thus reducing the cost of extraction. There was little allegiance to their former employers as wages and conditions for the workers were grim.

“.... though he [the Cornish miner] was a skilled workman, generally remained very poor. Instead of receiving wages, he worked under a system known as ‘tribute’, which allowed him so many shillings out of every pound’s worth of ore he sent to the surface. His earnings, therefore, entirely depended on the richness or otherwise of the vein or ‘lode’ on which he was working. Sometimes he might get £20 or £30 for a month’s labour, sometimes nothing at all. On an average he rarely made more than £3 a month on which to keep himself and his wife and family.” (Jenkin 1947:104-5)

In addition to extensive mining, fishing was another common and lucrative source of employment along much of the Cornish coastline. The region was particularly known for its pilchards and mackerel but the demise of the trade
due in part to incursion by fishermen from elsewhere and the structure of the industry in the County also had a domino effect on other reliant industries including cooperages, rope manufacturers, boat builders and sail lofts (Daniell).

Many of those who had worked in the mines found employment in the expanding china clay industry which was, historically the third and newest major industry in the County.

The soils of Cornwall were generally regarded as poor “sour and acid” (Daniell, p16) so that while there is a history of dairy farming, fruit and broccoli growing, its importance is of less significance than the previously referred industries. Indeed,

"The spirit of emigration continues active in the neighbourhood of Stratton. High rents, heavy rates, and obnoxious and impoverishing taxes are driving some of he best of our agriculturists to climes where these demons of robbery and ruin are unknown. Upwards of 280 are said to have taken their passage by the ‘Spermaceti’ of Plymouth, and several other ships of large burthen are rapidly attaining their complement (17th February 1843). (Bradford Barton 1971:96-97)

This dramatic decline in the Cornish population together with the paucity of incomes resonates with contemporary Cornwall. In spite of its popularity as a

---

1 From Daniell S. Old Cornwall: Life in the County about a century ago, Truro, Top Mark Press (No date available)
tourist area, Cornwall is ranked amongst the most socio-economically deprived areas of England attracting Objective One, European funding.

"Agriculture, mining and tourism contribute a much higher proportion than average to incomes in the region. Whilst there is an unemployment problem in the region, an exceptionally high proportion of the workforce in employment earns very low wages. There are significant seasonal variations in employment opportunities and female participation in the workforce is low."

With regard to employment in Cornwall, a considerably higher percentage in Cornwall is self-employed than England as a whole. In England according to the 2001 census, 10.7% of the labour force was self-employed while 16.2% in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly were similarly employed.

In the United Kingdom in March 2002, 83.4% of businesses employed 1 – 9 people while in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly there were 86.2% of similar employment size band (ONS, 2003). This indicates the lack of large, national employers in the region and suggests a dependence on small, locally based businesses.

Since 1999 Cornwall has been awarded some £300 million of European funding in response to the County’s low Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

---

Areas are eligible for Objective One funding if GDP is below 75% of the EU average and in the case of Cornwall this has fallen in 2004 from 65% when first awarded the funding in 1999 to a current figure of 60%. A decision recently taken by the EU has suggested that Cornwall will be eligible for a further seven years of similar funding when the current round ends in 2006. Cornwall is the only area of the UK which has received such news of ongoing funding thus suggesting it to be one of the poorest regions in the EU. This is reflected in the earnings in Cornwall in April 2001. The average weekly wage for ‘all adults’ in Cornwall was three hundred and forty eight pounds, 25.1% lower than the average for Great Britain as a whole. Only one area has lower weekly earnings. When one differentiates between males and females, Cornwall has the lowest weekly earnings for all males while the same is not the case for all females where there are nine areas which pay lower wages. Furthermore, data illustrates that the differential between Cornwall and the remainder of Great Britain’s average gross weekly earnings for males has fallen from 15.9% lower pay in 1981 to 26.1% less in 2001 while for females, in 1981 they received, on average 10.0% less than their Great Britain counterparts and in 2001 this has fallen to 21.6% less.

Most of Cornwall is considered to be rural and a little over 20% of the population live in rural areas and small settlements of fewer than one thousand people. A further 20% live in villages of one to two thousand residents and a little over 25% live in small towns and larger villages with

3 From BBC News http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cornwall/3501271.stm
4 All figures in this section taken from Cornwall County Council on www.cornwall.gov.uk
populations of between two and ten thousand people. Hence only about one third of the population live in towns of over ten thousand, this in contrast with England and Wales where four fifths of the population live in larger conurbations.

"Cornwall is characterised by a dispersed settlement pattern, nine towns have a population in excess of 10,000, however some parts of Cornwall are very sparsely populated. However, Cornwall has experienced significant immigration since the early 1970s, although this growth slowed in the 1990s. This trend has been accompanied by significant out-migration of younger people in response to limited educational and employment opportunities. Largely because of its relative isolation the region has retained its own identity, traditions and culture. Cornwall possesses distinctive physical features such as its coastline, moorlands and relatively unspoilt villages" (http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/business/objone/objone2.htm).

The population of Cornwall according to the 2001 Census shows that in general terms the percentage of younger people (under 16) is lower in Cornwall than in England and Wales while the proportion of people aged 60 and over is higher throughout Cornwall than the national percentage (ONS, 2004). 57.7% of the resident population of Cornwall are employed compared to 60.6% of the population of England and Wales. The most striking variation is in the percentage of retired. While 13.6% of the population (16-74) of England and Wales was recorded as retired in the 2001 Census, a significantly higher 17.6% of Cornish residents were similarly registered. A longitudinal study of data on migration in the years 1981-1991 from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) concluded that Cornwall attracted a comparatively high number of migrants who were advanced in their working careers and already homeowners. Williams (2003) however argues that population,
bolstered by in-migration has historically exceeded employment so that increased economic activity is restricted to the few thus exacerbating poverty in the County. This may suggest that Cornwall is an area to which people from elsewhere retire to and this aspect will be further explored in Chapter five.

Hence, in spite of the beauty of the area, the comparative quality of the environment and sparsity of population density, material affluence eludes many of its residents. According to the Cornwall local government website, Cornwall's major sources of employment derive from mining and quarrying; distribution, hotels and catering; and agriculture, all traditionally poor paying industries. It should be further noted that, since production of these statistics, the foot and mouth epidemic of 2002 has further decimated agriculture in an area that traditionally relied heavily upon it for income and employment opportunities.
There are six mainland districts in Cornwall and additionally The Isles of Scilly. The populations of the six districts vary from 63,012 in Penwith to 95,562 in Restormel with a mean of 83,186. Population density ranges from 0.62 in North Cornwall denoting a sparsely populated district to Restormel's 1.91. Such sparsity makes provision of services problematic.

Caradon covers an area of 66,430 hectares and lies in South East Cornwall. At the time of the 2001 census the district had a population of 79,649, 48.0% of which were male. Its largest towns are Liskeard and Saltash, the former of

---

5 For the purposes of this work, the Isles of Scilly will be excluded
6 Statistics taken from the 2001 Census
which has a population of 8656, Saltash, lying on the banks of the River Tamar, has a population of 14964 a significant proportion of whom work in nearby Plymouth.

At the Local Authority level and according to the Index of Deprivation 2004⁷ (IMD) Caradon was the relatively least deprived Local Authority within Cornwall. However, in certain Domains within Caradon there are Super Output Areas (SOA) that appear within the most deprived across the whole of England. For example within the Housing and Access to Services Domain an SOA relating to St Cleer and St Neot gives a deprivation score ranked as the 49th most deprived out of a total of 32482. In all, 18 of Caradon’s 53 SOAs fall within the worst 10% nationally in terms of relative deprivation against the Housing and Access to Services Domain.

Carrick lies to the western end of the Cornish peninsula and covers an area of 45,758 hectares. It had a population in 2001 of 87,865 of which 48.0% were male. Cornwall’s only city, Truro lies in the boundaries of Carrick and is the location of the administrative centre for the county, while Falmouth, which has one of the world’s deepest natural harbours, attracts many boats from around the world thus reinforcing its popularity with visitors. According to the findings of the IMD 2004, Carrick is ranked 149th of the 354 local authorities in England. With regards to income it ranked 181 and 186th in employment.

⁷ For further details about the Index of Deprivation see http://www.odpm.gov.uk/stellent/groups/odpm_control/documents/
Kerrier covers an area of 47,352 hectares and had a total population in 2001 of 92,517 of which 49% were male. The larger towns of Redruth and Camborne fall within its boundaries with populations of about 11,400 and 16,000. In spite of a large part of Kerrier being designated as either an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty or Heritage Coast (areas on the Lizard Peninsula being designated as Sites of Special Scientific Interest), Kerrier is also home to the Goonhilly Earth Station and RNAS Culdrose, the largest naval air station and helicopter base in the U.K. In terms of deprivation, Kerrier is relatively affected ranking 87th in the 2004 IMD. However its problems are not specifically derived from income where it ranked 136th or employment (141). Twenty one of its 62 SOAs are in the lowest quartile on the IMD ranking scale in Cornwall, while 20 are so placed for income. Twenty two of its SOAs are in the lowest quartile for employment, ten in the barrier to housing and services ranking while 15 in the crime and disorder ranking.

North Cornwall lies to the north-east of the county covering 119,530 hectares making it by far the largest district by area in the county and, as already indicated, the most sparsely populated. The population in 2001 was 80,509 of which 49% were male. Almost a third of the district is designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Its score ranks it the 106th most deprived of the 354 local authorities in England, although this is not demonstrated in its ranking on the income (211) or employment scale (206). Crime is also not problematic, with 43 of its 52 SOAs clearly in the highest quartile. In contrast,
ranking in barriers to housing and services sees 28 of the 52 SOAs in the lowest quartile in the County.

Penwith at the extreme west of the county and covering an area of 30,370 hectares is the smallest district but houses Penzance, one of the largest towns in the county. Population in 2001 was 63,012 of which 48% were male. It has a significantly higher older population (60 and over) than the England and Wales average (27.5% against 20.9%) and a higher than average level of 'unemployed', 'retired', 'permanently sick or disabled' or 'looking after home/family.' According to the 2004 IMD, it is the most deprived local authority district in Cornwall and 56th in England. It is made up of 38 SOAs and its deprivation is particularly reflected in its low ranking in income and employment.

Restormel straddles the full width of the peninsula covering an area of 45,188 hectares and accommodates two of the largest towns in Cornwall. Newquay to the north has a population in excess of 18,000 while St. Austell to the south has a population of 21,200. The total population in 2001 was 95,562 of which 49% were male. The number of retired is again higher than the national figure and as in the remainder of the county, a higher proportion of jobs are part-time than the national average. Its rank of average score in the IMD 2004 places it at 93rd and comprises 64 SOAs.
3.4 Cornwall as a Tourist Area

The closure of mines and subsequent increase in unemployment fortuitously coincided with the development of tourism to the region and branch lines (to Falmouth in 1863, Launceston in 1865, Newquay in 1876, St. Ives in 1877, Looe in 1879 and Helston in 1887) opened up the county to affluent travellers from the South of England and South Wales and attracted the building of hotels to accommodate these burgeoning visitor numbers. The first purpose built hotel was The Queens in Penzance which opened in 1861, two years after the Tamar was spanned at Plymouth by Brunel's railway bridge. Cornwall's status as a tourist destination can arguably be traced back to this opening, in 1859, of the Royal Albert Bridge that spanned the River Tamar. The train that took the fish and vegetables from the fertile grounds of Cornwall brought the early tourists from London on the line that ran from Paddington to Penzance. Hotels were constructed to accommodate the growing numbers of visitors but their presence was not always welcomed:

"The railway opened up the country for the visitor...Then came the motor car, and in the twenties Cornwall, or rather Cornish beaches, were discovered by English holiday-makers, and so rapid was the rush, so ruthless the exploitation of her coast, that a Survey was hurriedly compiled by the Cornwall branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England in an attempt to protect the county both from the excesses of ignorant foreigners and the rapacity of thoughtless natives. 'Since we must cater for the stranger' Q had written thirty years before,' let us do it well and honestly. Let us respect him and our native land alike.' And now he wrote a preface to the Survey. 'I merely ask it to be noted how rapidly the strain has come upon us, an ancient people, with its inrush of motors and descent of the ready-made bungalow builder, the hotel investor, the holiday-maker who thinks no cove complete without a minstrel (negro) and a gramophone, the paterfamilias who

8 Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, 1863-1944
9 Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, author and editor of the Cornish Magazine
brings his youngster to Tintagel with spade and bucket. Cornwall is not an improvised playground; it is not a "Riviera", and the use of that word, whoever first applied it to Cornwall, was and has been a commercial "inexactitude". To any right Cornishman, Cornwall is a mother with a character, a most gregarious one, definite and dear. Having that character, she has a character to lose.' And he concluded, 'At least let me implore the reader beyond Tamar to help us in protecting our noble coast from defacement by the Philistine.' (Halliday, 1959: 309)

Sir Quiller-Couch's somewhat romantic portrayal of 'an ancient people' is, as we have seen, somewhat misdirected clearly mirroring such notions as the Welsh Eisteddfod with its druid ceremonies and the German principles of "die heimat" as used prior to and during Hitler's time in power.

The Holidays with Pay Act, (1938) empowered wage-regulating bodies and the Ministry of Labour found itself in the position whereby voluntary schemes could be rationalised (Pimlott, 1976: 221) thus paving the way for vacationing for wage earners. A gradual but significant increase in visitor numbers began with the availability of cars so that mass tourism arrived in Cornwall in the 1950s as elsewhere with the advent of improved transport networks, car ownership and the expansion of self-catering holidays. Caravans were becoming increasingly popular with touring caravans providing accommodation wherever there was an empty field and an obliging farmer.

'After the Second World War everything changed. Statutory holidays with pay came in and people, tired of war, flocked down on holiday. Local housewives set to work to "take in" people and the fishermen prepared to provide trips around the bay.' (Mattingly and Palmer, 1991: 32)
3.4.1 Tourism in the Districts of Cornwall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carrick</td>
<td>30700</td>
<td>41800</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerrier</td>
<td>20300</td>
<td>28500</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restormel</td>
<td>40700</td>
<td>60400</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caradon</td>
<td>22700</td>
<td>34200</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penwith</td>
<td>24700</td>
<td>43600</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Cornwall</td>
<td>28500</td>
<td>56100</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall Total</td>
<td>167600</td>
<td>264600</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Numbers of holiday visitors during peak season 1961 - 199610

The significance of tourism is not however the same within and between the different districts of the County. As illustrated in Table 3.1, while visitor numbers have increased in each of the six districts in a thirty five year period, Penwith and North Cornwall’s proportions have risen more than in the County as a whole.

Caradon is less popular as a tourist resort than other districts in the county although its popularity has increased by over 33.0% between 1961 and 1996. Tourism accounted for 18% of employment in the district in 2002 accounting for 6,822 jobs. Beaches such as Looe and Portwrinkle are popular family destinations while the Minions Heritage Centre provides a potted history of mining in the area. Staying visitor spend amounted to £114,172,000 in 2002 while 3,076,000 day visits brought in a further £68,611,00011. 11.2% of nights

---

10 Source: [http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/Tourism/tourstat.htm](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/Tourism/tourstat.htm)
spent in the district by staying visitors were in serviced accommodation while a further 25.1% was spent in self-catering\textsuperscript{12} properties.

Carrick's popularity increased the least of the six mainland districts in the County between 1961 and 1996. In 2002, 793,000 trips by staying visitors brought £155,768,000 to the region and 30% of employment is supported by tourism accounting for 10,203 jobs in 2002. In the same year Carrick attracted 4,412,000 day visits, perhaps in part because of the cathedral in Truro. The natural harbour at Falmouth is a magnet for large numbers of boats to the area while attractions such as the Swanpool Nature Reserve and the marine museum at Falmouth draw visitors with special interests to the region. Its popularity brought a further £15,235,000 from day visitor spend. 19.4% of nights spent in the district by staying visitors were in serviced accommodation while a further 18.4% was spent in self-catering properties.

Kerrier is identified in tourism statistics as the least popular tourist district in Cornwall (see Table 3.1) although numbers did increase marginally more than Carrick's in the 35 years from 1961 to 1996. Large parts of Kerrier are designated Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty or Heritage Coast while it has historically been an area heavily dependent upon mining engineering and the legacy lives on through its current bid for World Heritage Status. Tourism supports 16% of employment accounting for 6,410 jobs. In 2002 544,000

\textsuperscript{12} Figures relating to percentages of nights in types of accommodation refer to domestic tourists only.
trips by staying visitors brought a spend of £98,277,000 while 2,692,000 day visits resulted in a spend of £62,524,000. A considerable proportion of visitors to Kerrier do so to stay with friends and family, 11,000 trips accounting for 85,000 nights (second highest to Restormel). 9.3% of nights spent in the district by staying visitors were in serviced accommodation while a further 26.9% was spent in self-catering. This is significantly less than the 36.7% who stayed with friends and family.

The district of North Cornwall is the most popular amongst day visitors accounting for 4,846,000 in 2002 and a spend of £110,036,000. This may arguably be because of its proximity to the remainder of the south west of England and South Wales making it easily accessible. Certainly it has shown the greatest increase in visitor numbers between 1961 and 1996 (49.2%) significantly higher than the County mean of 36.7%. This may, in part be due to a plethora of attractive and accessible beaches, the mysticism of Tintagel or the narrow streets of Padstow. Tourism supports 33% of employment, 11,465 jobs in total. Staying visitors made 1,017,000 trips accounting for a spend of £226,838,000 in 2002 and 15.1% of their nights spent in the district were in serviced accommodation while a further 36.8% were spent in self-catering.

Penwith is the district furthest away from the remainder of England, at the extreme west of the country. In spite of this, visitor numbers increased by
43.3% between 1961 and 1996, the second highest increase in the County. Penzance is one of the largest towns in Cornwall but it is not a place where tourists tend to stay but rather to visit whilst staying elsewhere in the district or further afield\textsuperscript{13}. The area has a strong prehistoric and Celtic culture which attracts large numbers wishing to explore the historical sites while St. Ives houses the Tate Gallery. In 2002 3,708,000 staying visitors accounted for a spend of £160,913,000 while 2,848,000 day visits resulted in a spend of £70,032,000. Staying visitors accounted for 21.3% of nights in serviced accommodation while a further 26.7% were spent in self-catering.

Restormel straddles both coastlines of Cornwall, north and south, with Newquay on the north being well known for its surfing beaches which attract large numbers of young single people while the area around St. Austell to the south of the peninsula is marketed for families. Tourism is important to Restormel, supporting 28% of employment in the district. Aside from an overabundance of beaches suitable for families and surfers alike, Restormel plays host to a wealth of festivals ranging from the literary, such as the Daphne du Maurier Festival to the more adventurous such as the Run to the Sun. The staying visitors spend amounted to £253,019,000 in 2002 during 5,382,000 nights' stay. In addition to the high volume of staying visitors, it also attracts a large number of day visitors. In 2002 some 3,883,000 visited and their spend totalled £87,645,000 in 2002. While Restormel accommodates Newquay, the fourth most popular resort in England, it does

\textsuperscript{13} Including the Isles of Scilly. Both the helicopter and ferry services to the Islands go from Penzance.
not show the largest increase in visitor numbers. However Table 3.1 demonstrates its consistent popularity; 38.7% of nights spent in the district by staying visitors were in serviced accommodation while a further 8.7% was spent in self-catering.

3.5 Crime in Cornwall

Early policing in Cornwall was a localised affair with, for example, the establishment of the Penzance Borough Police in 1836 following the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 which required every borough to appoint a Watch Committee, the precursor of the Police Authority, who had the duty of maintaining a police force (Dell, 2000).

Crime and disorder has long been considered an issue; for example a letter sent to 'The Newquay Visitor's Notes and Directory' in June 1896 stated that

"It has appeared to me that the police at Newquay have for several years past, carried out with much skill and discretion, duties of considerable difficulty, aggravated too, as their difficulties are by the grievous want of public spirit among the population, and the reluctance of almost every one of them to lend a helping hand, when the opportunity offers, towards the preservation of peace and good order."
At the time of writing the average population of Newquay was 3,000 and was policed by two officers who were also responsible for St. Columb Minor, Tren Creek, Crantock, Lane, Cubert and Newlyn East.

The Police Act of 1946 finally abolished the non-county borough forces resulting in the Penzance Borough Police Force being incorporated into the County Constabulary in April 1947\textsuperscript{14}.

The Devon and Cornwall Constabulary has developed from the amalgamation of the four forces of Exeter and Plymouth City Police Forces together with the Devon and Cornwall Constabularies in the latter part of the 1960s (Bunt, 1999:160).

Cornwall comprises one of four Basic Command Units (BCUs) in the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary. While BCUs were established "according to operational policing needs" (Sheldon et. al. 2002) family groupings were developed using variables that would enable BCUs and CDRPs to be grouped using similarities.

\textsuperscript{14} Taken from The History of The Cornwall Constabulary 1857-1937, an unpublished piece of work
Cornwall's population at the 2001 census was 499,114 divided among the six Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs). CDRPs were created following the implementation of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act which required local authorities, the police, health authorities, police authorities and probation services to collaborate in identifying and addressing crime and disorder issues in their area. This ideology of partnership working was intended to facilitate the recognition of identifiable problems to specific areas.

The organisation and structure has been of these partnerships has been defined in the establishment of 376 Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) in England and while Cornwall is regarded as rural by some definitions, only the low density of North Cornwall puts it in to density group two, according to definitions by the Home Office (Aust and Simmons, 2002) group one being the least dense. If classifications of the forty three Police Force Areas are considered, Devon and Cornwall is regarded as 'less rural' along with such areas as Cumbria, West Mercia and Wiltshire. The CDRPs are grouped in to thirteen 'families' which groups them according to social, economic and demographic characteristics. Carrick, Kerrier, Penwith and Restormel are in family group 7 along with such areas as The Forest of Dean, Shrewsbury and Atcham and the Staffordshire Moorlands while Caradon and North Cornwall are in family 12 with Pembrokeshire, Cotswold and South Lakeland15.

---

15 Since the first publication of local-level statistics in 'families' in 2000, they underwent changes in variables used resulting in changes in family groupings. Families are no longer used.
The Home Office counting rules require CDRPs to record crimes in to six substantive categories, violence against the person, sexual offences, robbery, burglary (dwelling), theft of a motor vehicle and theft from a motor vehicle. Table 3.2 shows the rates of crime in each of the six CDRPs recorded between October 1999 and September 2000.

It must be noted that classification of crimes is however problematic. For example, according to The Home Office Counting Rules for Recorded Crime issued in April 2003, Burglary in a Dwelling specifies that:

“A person is guilty of burglary if – (a) he enters any building or part of a building as a trespasser and with intent to commit any such offence as is mentioned in subsection (2) below; or (b) having entered any building or part of a building as a trespasser he steals or attempts to steal anything in the building or that part of it or inflicts or attempts to inflict on any person therein any grievous bodily harm.” (Home Office, 2003)

However this is immediately thorny in that the publication goes on to state that if a caravan, chalet or houseboat is targeted

“References [in the statutory definition of burglary] to a building ... or to a building which is a dwelling, shall apply also to an inhabited vehicle or vessel, and shall apply to any such vehicle at times when the person having a habitation in it is not there as well as times when he is.” (Theft Act 1968 Section 9(4), Home Office 2003). But “For the purposes of classifying burglaries of vacant properties, one should consider them to be dwellings only if they are fit for habitation. Normally, this means that they are merely between occupiers and that all the basic services (water, electricity, gas) are connected... (Home Office 2003).
This would therefore suggest that property taken from caravans, chalets and larger boats during the period covered by the questionnaires would be included as 'burglary dwelling'. Similarly in hotels, where the rooms involved are in use by the owner/manager or rented to an occupier on a long-term basis, such offences should be classified as burglary dwelling while those rooms rented on a short-term basis or vacant are to be classified as burglary other.

There is little evidence of research into the impact of tourism on the criminal justice system within those regions where populations are significantly increased by the proliferation of visitor numbers. Rothman et.al. writing of 'Police Departments in Turbulent Environments' (1979) refer to the dynamics and diversity that results from these population shifts. Hence the increase in visitor numbers requires the localised police element to address this inflated population while equally acknowledging their heterogeneity. This is particularly pertinent in the current societal environment where community is central to the policing of the locale (Hughes et.al. 2002:62). This was clearly demonstrated in my own study of crime in a holiday camp\textsuperscript{16} where police numbers in the area remained the same throughout the year although patterns of policing were changed in order to be able to respond to additional problems brought about by the influx of visitors to a local holiday camp which effectively formed a new town of up to 10,000 during the holiday season but where, during the 'closed' season fewer than 100 worked on the camp. In

\textsuperscript{16} Undergraduate dissertation, 2000, unpublished
addition the area attracted many thousands of tourists to the many resorts in
the locality that, like Cornwall comprises a rural peninsula formerly dependent
upon agriculture, fishing and mining.

While the impact of the industrial revolution may, arguably have had less
effect on Cornwall than some of the more industrialised towns and cities that
mushroomed throughout Britain, the development of the mines, growth of the
fishing industry and importance of the china clay industry brought workers
together from the rurality of the County. Thus theories of social
disorganisation would appear to have some pertinence; the ‘Chicago’
thorists in identifying and theorising that the bringing together of dissociated
populations led to a lack of social coherence may arguably also be referring to
the impact of mass tourism.
3.5.1 Crime in Cornwall: district variations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Violence against the person</th>
<th>Sexual offences</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Burglary (dwelling)</th>
<th>Theft of a motor vehicle</th>
<th>Theft from a motor vehicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 7 median</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrick</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerrier</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penwith</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restormel</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 12 median</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caradon</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Recorded crime rates, 1999 – 2000, for all districts in Cornwall in CDRP families 7 and 12 (Notifiable offences recorded by the police April 1999 – March 2000)

Carrick is in CDRP group 7 and in police recorded offences from April 1999 to March 2000, the rate for domestic burglary in Carrick was sixth lowest in its group.

The impact of tourism is barely addressed in the 2002 Crime and Disorder strategy with regard to domestic burglary beyond indicating that in the previous three years they had tackled the issue through the provision of crime prevention of advice for people going on holiday via local travel agents; they had provided advice to owners of holiday accommodation and second homes and promoted crime prevention through environmental design.
Vehicle crime between April 1999 and March 2000 showed that theft of a vehicle was amongst the lowest in the CDRP family but theft from a vehicle was third highest. The 2002 Crime and Disorder strategy indicated that in the previous three years crime prevention posters had been provided in beauty spot car parks, a common location for such crimes while CCTV, improved lighting and crime prevention advice via the press and local radio had also been utilised. A car park watch scheme had also been developed.

Recorded incidents of robbery are also low in Carrick it having the second lowest rate in its 'family' while recorded violent crime is lower than in the other three districts of Cornwall that are also in group 7.

In the 2001 Crime and Disorder strategy for Caradon there is no specific reference to the impact of tourism on crime but allusion was made to vehicle crime in the district, although police statistics for the year 2000 – 2001 did not show a significant increase in vehicle crime during the holiday period.

"The partnership over the past 3 years has tackled vehicle crime through a number of initiatives that includes "Operation Banish," a vehicle crime prevention initiative in beauty spot car parks and vehicle crime prevention advice provided via radio, local press and leaflets to every household in the district."17

In addressing domestic burglary however the picture is somewhat different,

17 From the Crime and Disorder strategy for Caradon published 2001
"Away from the towns, holiday homes, second homes, chalets and caravans in holiday parks form a significant proportion of the burglaries."18

There is some evidence of an increase in domestic burglaries during the peak holiday months of July to early September, but counting rules make these figures somewhat ambiguous. In addition, if such properties are broken in to during the 'closed' season, it may be some weeks or months before the owner discovers the incident and reports it. It may also be the case that any loss is not reported if it is of minimal value or the victim does not feel that it would be of any purpose.

Kerrier is also in family group 7 and according to police data for April 1999 to March 2000 was amongst the lowest for recorded incidents of robbery and sixth lowest for domestic burglary. When compared with the other districts of Cornwall however it is second highest (behind Restormel) while its pattern of violent crime is comparable to the remaining districts aside from Restormel (see below).

The 2002 Crime and Disorder strategy for Kerrier makes no reference to tourism although there is evidence to suggest that vehicle crime is more problematic during the holiday period.

18 ibid
North Cornwall is, like Caradon in ‘family’ 12 of the CDRP groupings and is the most rural district in Cornwall. Statistics for 1999 – 2000 show a low incidence of recorded robbery but a relatively high incidence of reported theft from a vehicle (Povey et.al. 2001).

The 2002 Crime and Disorder strategy highlights the rurality of the district with small pockets of employment scattered around the villages and countryside while most is concentrated in the towns. "Agriculture and tourism remain a primary source of employment" (2002:4)

The summary of the audit findings state that "A high proportion of crime in North Cornwall is related to tourism, deprivation and second homes" (2002:6) and this may, in part be borne out by the increase in domestic burglary incidents during the winter months when holiday properties are empty.

While the synopsis of the 2001 Crime and Disorder audit for Penwith identifies the significance of tourism to the district, its impact is not carried through in the strategy. Incidents of violence are more prevalent in the summer, peaking in July and most common at weekends and in the vicinity of most clubs. This also accounts for many of the incidents of disorder while domestic violence is clustered away from main towns and predominates in holiday homes, second homes, chalets and caravans in holiday parks. Vehicle crime is most
common in car parks, holiday camps and ‘beauty spot’ locations while the peak month for traffic accidents according to police data was August.

It has been much vaunted that drugs are a serious issue in Penwith but as chart 3.1 indicates, this is not wholly accurate. In 1998 – 1999 drug related incidents were most common in Restormel and while such recorded incidents rose in 1999 – 2000 in Penwith it may be speculated that this was due to increased reporting and recording rather than an increase in actual offences.

Chart 3.1 Recorded incidents of drug-related crimes in Cornwall 1998 - 2001

According to Povey et. al. (2001) the rate for the incidence of robbery in Penwith is relatively low while violence against the person is high within the group. The rate for theft from a vehicle is fourth highest in the family grouping while theft of a vehicle is relatively low.
Restormel is the largest district in Cornwall and has, in recent years recorded the fastest annual population growth in the county (see Table 3.1). The Crime and Disorder strategy (2002) identified that there are areas of deprivation in the district and a high dependence upon tourism which impacts upon crime and other community safety issues. Employment opportunities following the decline in the clay industry have been replaced by part-time employment, often in the tourist industry which traditionally is seasonal and low paying. In addition, the road network is considered inadequate in the holiday period due to the high volume of additional traffic.

While violent crime was found to be low nationally, it was, according to police data for 2000 – 2001 higher in the Devon and Cornwall force area and particularly high in Restormel. Devon and Cornwall is also 16th highest with regard to recorded ‘violence against the person’ and reported incidents of violent crime are higher in Restormel than the remaining districts with a significant peak in July and August.

The Restormel Crime and Disorder strategy (2002) indicates an acknowledgement of the importance of tourism to the district and Newquay identified as a ‘hot spot’ during the summer and at weekends. Among the issues highlighted is vehicle crime which accounted for 29% of all recorded crime in the borough with St. Austell and ‘beauty spot’ car parks being most
vulnerable. Initiatives designed to reduce such crimes include "Tourist season operation to reduce vehicle crime at 'beauty spot' car parks".

3.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide a description of the County of Cornwall. The County supported many forms of mining including tin, copper and arsenic. Fishing was common around the entire coastline while agriculture existed in spite of poor soil. It was however the importance of mining that brought mechanisation to the region, some of the earliest anywhere in the world and when mining eroded, the china clay industry provided employment. However tourism has grown in the County in general and in certain districts more than others in order to bring economic affluence to specific elements of the region. The reliance upon tourism is not evenly distributed across the six mainland districts of the County and its impact on the region will be further explored in subsequent chapters in this work.

While Chapter four will demonstrate that tourism is welcomed and regarded as generally favourable by business people in the County as a whole, this is not uniform across all districts. The provision of Objective One funding further illustrates that there are levels of poverty across the County and the

---

19 In Restormel Crime and Reduction Strategy 2002
acknowledged rurality and beauty of the area does not reflect this deprivation. Hence while some benefit from tourism, many do not and the perceptions of residents will be explored in Chapter five.

Crime in the County is generally lower than much of England and Wales but the lack of social cohesion has led, in the past to erratic crime patterns while fluctuations are identified in contemporary crime statistics particularly with regard to disorder and vehicle crime. Such vacillations often coincide with the influx of high numbers of visitors, a further source of disruption in locations that, during the 'closed' season tend to be quiet.

This work will, in subsequent chapters identify the impact of tourism and crime on the County through data from business people, residents and tourists themselves. Interviews with key agency representatives will further relate the importance of tourism in the region and its impact on crime.
4.1 Introduction

"Business and retail crime can be taken to include 'all crime and disorder committed by or against businesses.' The definition is extremely broad, covering internal crimes (e.g. employee theft, fraud and false accounting); external crime (e.g. burglary, customer theft and vandalism) and contraventions of legislation, for example on trading standards or health and safety."

In Chapter one the notion of crime in tourist areas suggested that its impact was felt differently by tourists, residents and businesses, having indicated that the impact of tourism on residents who are involved with businesses in tourist areas differs from the effects on other residents. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and explore its effect on commercial enterprises in the County. Just as domestic and personal crime levels are more accurately determined through the use of victim surveys such as the British Crime Survey, so crimes against businesses are more clearly determined through specific studies of commercial victimisation.

Brand and Price (2000:43) make reference to problems in calculating such levels of victimisation and this appears to be supported by Hollinger who states that "Characteristic of many crimes, over half of all workplace victimizations were not reported to the police" (in Felson and Clarke, 1997:58). Furthermore, Challinger finds that businesses are unlikely to pay serious attention to security and crime prevention beyond the most basic deterrence measures until they are victims of 'a

1 http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/toolkits/br020101.htm
notable event’ (Challinger in Felson and Clarke 1997:36) thus perpetuating the rates of victimisation through non-activity.

Among those who have written on the impact of crime against businesses, van Dijk and Terlouw (1996) indicate that business crime is becoming increasingly recognised as a problem following findings such as those in the US by the National Crime Victimization surveys (Skogan 1990 in Hopkins 2002). Hollinger goes on to state, “Unfortunately, the modal response to crime in the business setting is to ignore it, hoping it will just go away.” (in Felson and Clarke, 1997:73).

The British Retail Consortium Survey2 as its name suggests reflects issues concerning only the retail industry while in contrast the Commercial Victimisation Survey considers crimes against a broader range of businesses. Hopkins however indicates that only Gill’s 1998 study provides a truly comprehensive survey in his use of the Forum of Private Businesses that represents retail and manufacturing as well as “wholesale, construction, agricultural, transport and hotels.” (Hopkins 2002:785) and this would appear to most closely reflect my own research. It should be noted however that Tilley’s (1993) report on crime against small businesses is also pertinent when related to Cornwall with its relatively high proportion of small retail and accommodation premises. While the work covers several of the issues addressed in my own research, it is perhaps a sign of the times that there was scant regard of any impact other than financial.

---

2 The Retail Crime Survey appears on http://www.crimereduction.co.uk/leaflet_retail_crime_survey_1999.htm
Commercial crime may derive from within the business, such as staff theft (Masuda in Clarke 1997; Tilley and Hopkins 1998), and drug dealing (Morris 1998). In addition research suggests that violent crime and disorder may be exacerbated by the actions of young males in response to licensing laws in the UK (Graham and Wells 2003). Such behaviour is reflected in in-house pub brawls, fights outside pubs and clubs, while assaults against employees are not uncommon (Burrows 1991). Customer theft of property (Gill et al. 1993; Tilley 1993) may account for significant losses to the business with cheque and credit card fraud resulting in losses to businesses, individuals and banks and building societies (Levi et al 1991). The impact of crime on businesses may not only result in the loss of property or income for the business, these being direct costs, but also the indirect costs which include the replacement of stolen goods or the repairing of vandalised property. In addition, a reduction in trade as a result of negative publicity may also impact, this being particularly apparent in those areas that have suffered terrorism attacks (such as Egypt, Spain and Bali) and areas that have poor records on crime (such as South Africa).

In those areas that are heavily reliant upon the tourist industry, commercial crime is commonly reported among hotels and guesthouses. Mars’ seminal work in 1973 identified the problem of staff pilferage from restaurants while Gill et al. (1993) recognised the problems of theft from guesthouses and hotels. More recently George’s study indicated the problems experienced in Cape Town (2003) while issues relating to burglary from certain hotels has led to the instigation of initiatives (Mawby and Jones, 2004). Elsewhere, the influx of particular visitors brings disorder such as during ‘Run to the Sun’ and while the inundation is unwelcome by residents, the trade it generates is welcomed by businesses
Similarly disorder has been reported in locations such as Faliraki, Greece where it can be speculated that alcohol-related problems, while increasing the income of the bar and club operators raises protests from residents.

It is my intention in this chapter to discuss the types and levels of crime reported by businesses in Cornwall. Many businesses in Cornwall are heavily dependent upon tourism for their success and it may therefore be surmised that crime against such businesses increases in line with the seasonality of tourism. More specifically, I intend to demonstrate, using data taken from two surveys that have direct pertinence to the subject, that in the particular circumstances, businesses in tourist areas are subject to differing levels and types of crime. The data used are taken from the business survey distributed for the 2001 Crime and Disorder Audit throughout Cornwall and the respondents to the Restormel hotel survey completed in 2002 as part of an evaluation of the Torbay Hotel Burglary Initiative. I will go on to demonstrate that crime not only impacts to varying degrees from district to district, but that there are also significant differences between the various areas within a district. Furthermore, the data gives scope to indicate respondents’ perceptions of crime which, as in the British Crime Survey reveal that concerns about crime far exceed the actuality.

This chapter therefore comprises five sections following from this introduction. Initially businesses in Cornwall will be examined, identifying the range and who operates them. There will be an indication of the problems of running a business in the County using material derived from responses to the Crime and Disorder Business survey and the Torbay Hotel Burglary Initiative evaluation while making reference to existing data, but identifying its shortcomings. Further analysis of available data will also enable provision of a summary of differences between districts in relation to businesses across the County. The chapter will then go on
to explore the problem of crime and disorder against businesses in Cornwall initially looking at the perceptions of business people. The importance of tourism will be examined with relation to the business operators so that issues relating to the impact of tourism on crime and disorder and the perpetrators of crime will be addressed. This section will then conclude with an analysis of the levels of victimisation.

Access to appropriate data allows for further analysis of the points raised in the previous section so that differences between districts can be explored. This takes account of the importance of tourism in each of the districts and a further section will investigate the issues of perception, impact and victimisation within the two districts which attract the largest proportion of tourists in the County. Related to this, hotels and campsites, two facilities which exist exclusively for the visitor market provide a level of data worthy of comment. In conclusion, the summary will draw together the major findings identified in the chapter.

4.2 Businesses in Cornwall

Following fluctuating markets in the traditional industries (see Chapter 3), the popularity of tourism has similarly ebbed and flowed but, according to The Objective One Tourism Proposal 2001,

*Between 1989 and 1999, the number of tourists [to Cornwall] increased by nearly one third of 4,455 million trips; over the same period, actual tourism spend increased by over 50%.* (2001:10).
As a result:

'Tourism supports over 42,500 actual jobs in the county — direct and indirect — or roughly 1 in 5 of all jobs (double the regional average), this is equivalent to circa 21,000 FTEs in tourism, plus another 10,000 f.t.e. in other sectors.' (Objective One, 2001:10).

The increase in the importance of tourism in the area appears to account for a significant proportion of new businesses. Perry writes of the massive increase in new properties and facilities throughout the 1970s in response to the escalation in visitor numbers, disposable income and leisure time (in Payton 1993). The development of new businesses during the same period reflected the increase in self-employment figures which more than offset the reduction, in the 1980s, of the number of full-time male employees (Perry in Payton 1993). Following observations in Chapter three, it is somewhat unsurprising that much of the employment increasingly available in Cornwall is low skill in the service industries. This work which includes retail, hotels, food outlets, entertainment venues and product provision traditionally is low paid and seasonal and commonly attracts females and in-migrating casual workers.

Perry's persuasive chapter underpins my own research findings (in Chapter three) which have indicated that the lure of rural idealism attracts significant numbers of former city dwellers who elect to escape 'the rat race' in favour of a seemingly more idyllic existence. In order to make this dream a reality, many become small-scale entrepreneurs employing only themselves or the families that moved with them.
In trying to make some comparison between my own research and that from 'official' statistics the task is made more difficult because classifications are not matching. However, where some comparison is possible, classification of business types provided by the 2001 Census demonstrate that 18.16% are allied to 'retailing and car repair' and 8.73% involved with 'hotel and catering'. These statistics are similarly reflected in the Crime and Disorder surveys in which 'retail and garages/motor trade' accounts for 24.1% of business respondents while 13.5% listed themselves as working in 'visitor accommodation or catering/leisure'. In the business survey distributed for the 2001 Crime and Disorder Audit, 61.1% (379) of respondents were involved in a business employing nine or fewer with 44.8% employing fewer than five. Regional figures provided by the Office of National Statistics show that, in March 2002, 86.2% of business sites in Cornwall as a whole employed one to nine workers. According to respondents to the Crime and Disorder Business Survey, almost 48% (297) ran their businesses from a single site while a further 19.3% (120) worked from their homes. When asked about how well established their business was, over 69% had been on the existing site for ten years or more. The majority (57.3%) of owners/managers had either moved to Cornwall as an adult or returned having lived away for some time. Only 26.9% were born in the County and had lived there all their lives.

3 http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/Facts/2001/cen03.htm
4 Classifications are not precise by business type. Also the statistics from Cornwall County Council include The Isles of Scilly as well as Cornwall.
5 The Isles of Scilly have been included in these statistics but size is not considered to make a significant difference to overall percentages
6 From the interdepartmental business register on http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_compendia/region_in_figures_winter03/South_West.pdf
While it may not initially be apparent, it can be assumed that many of the business types in Table 4.1 are dependent to a lesser or greater degree on tourism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business type</th>
<th>All Cornwall (n=621)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Professional Services</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catering/Leisure</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor Accommodation</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community/Education/Health</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial/Property Services</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garages/Motor trade</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Hire/Haulage</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport/Distribution</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance/Engineering</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehousing/Distribution</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor Attraction</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Horticulture</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Business types (by percentage) in Cornwall according to respondents to the Crime and Disorder Survey, 2001

This 'domino' effect of tourism is well illustrated in Box 4.1, where a local businessman offers a clear indication of the impact of visitors on the local economy.
The Local Economy

I have been trading in Fowey for just over a year. I consider my business as one of the 'core' shops that locals use, however figures show that 75% of turnover occurs in the holiday season.

In that time, my business has contributed to the local economy in the following ways:

- It has employed 3 full time, and 5 part time staff.
- It has paid two RBC Business Rates
- It has paid rent to two local landlords
- It has used at least 16 Cornish firms for goods for resale
- It has advertised in at least 6 local publications
- It has used a local Solicitor
  - Bank
  - Accountant
  - Post office
  - Printers
  - Computer firm
  - Painter
  - Building firm
  - Electrician
  - Carpenter
  - Window cleaner
  - Boat builder
  - Sail maker
  - Marine engineer
  - Life raft servicing
  - Graphic designer
  - Sign writer
  - Website designer
  - Telephone/alarm services

- It has bought
  - A car from a local garage
  - Fuel from the local filling station
  - Sundries (e.g. light bulbs) from at least 6 local shops

(The above is purely business connected and does not include any money spent by my family for personal use.)

I would consider my business very largely dependent upon tourism, and the above serves to illustrate the knock-on effect to other local firms and businesses that would not be considered as employment based directly on tourism.

I believe that Fowey's currently vibrant economy is based almost wholly on tourism, and that this benefits all, with the trade and services that this then provides."

Box 4.1 The impact of tourism on the local economy

---

7 This was provided by a representative of Restormel Borough Council

134
Analysis using the Crime and Disorder Business Surveys, 2001 concurs with Shaw et al's (1987) earlier study of tourism and its impact on the economy of Cornwall. Shaw's study found that 70.6% of businesses in their survey were under private ownership with a further 15% part of a national chain. The audit data provided similar percentages with 79.8% privately owned and a further 14.5% owned by national/regional chains. The importance of tourism to the businesses showed a more significant difference with 82.7% in Shaw's survey responding that tourism was very beneficial or beneficial to their business while 55.5% of audit respondents considered their business to be some or largely dependent upon tourism. Differences may be explained by the sampling frames with Shaw et al's being derived from a selection of businesses chosen according to location, settlement size and level of tourism development. In contrast the audit surveys were distributed to 250 businesses in each of the six districts of the County without such considerations.

However, while the entire peninsula attracts visitors, appeal is not uniform and levels and types of businesses vary accordingly. Table 4.2 indicates that while it is apparent that tourism has an important impact on businesses in the County as a whole, that impact is not the same across the six districts. Among Penwith respondents, 14.7% listed visitor accommodation as their business which is significantly higher than the County mean of 5.0% and catering/leisure is more predominant in Restormel and Penwith than Cornwall as a whole. Retail is the most common sector in all districts except North Cornwall and Kerrier while these two districts are also higher in manufacturing than the County average.
Table 4.2: Major and tourist reliant industries in the six districts of Cornwall.

The table further demonstrates that respondents in Kerrier, which attracts the lowest proportion of visitors, are more than twice as likely to be in manufacturing than respondents in Restormel, the district that attracts the biggest volume (Table 4.3). Similarly, Kerrier was the only district where there were no responses from providers of visitor accommodation.

Table 4.3: Importance of tourism in area where business is located compared with percentages of staying visitors by district

---

8 Percentages are of the respondents to the Crime and Disorder (2001) business survey (n=621)

9 Taken from West Country Tourist Board (1998) and are a percentage of the visitor sample surveyed by district, these therefore add up to 100% (+/- allowing for rounding up/down)

---
As Table 4.3 demonstrates, in all districts except Kerrier, over 50.0% of respondents to the business survey for the Crime and Disorder audits, 2001 said that tourism was important in the area in which their business was located and while Penwith respondents were most likely to regard it as important in the area where their businesses were located, Restormel attracts more visitors regardless of their origin. However, when non-local day visitors are considered (Table 4.4), estimates vary somewhat with North Cornwall the district most readily accessible to the remainder of England and Wales being the most popular while somewhat surprisingly, Kerrier attracted marginally more day visitors (at least in 1997) than Caradon and only slightly fewer than Carrick and Penwith.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Caradon</th>
<th>Carrick</th>
<th>Kerrier</th>
<th>N.Cornwall</th>
<th>Penwith</th>
<th>Restormel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day visitors</td>
<td>1,177,000</td>
<td>1,388,000</td>
<td>1,249,000</td>
<td>1,754,000</td>
<td>1,352,000</td>
<td>1,591,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from home % of county total</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Non-local day visitors from home: district comparisons

4.3 Businesses and Crime in Cornwall

Having already identified that commercial crime attracts little attention nationally, it can come as no surprise that the problems that businesses experience with regard to crime and disorder in Cornwall have similarly attracted little consideration. It may be suggested that this is because there are no problems to think about or it might be that crime against commerce is looked upon with less sympathy. Commercial premises do not fit the image of the 'ideal victim,' but rather tend to

10 From West Country Tourist Board (1998)
attract cynical comment wherein victims of shoplifting or other crimes against businesses are seen to be covered by insurance while their pursuit for profit makes them, in the opinion of some, to be legitimate targets.

However, as has already been indicated, problems of crime against businesses do have an impact on both the business itself and on the area in which it is located. This section will go on to indicate the problems experienced by businesses in Cornwall and, using data from the Crime and Disorder Business audits the impact on both the business itself and on the area will be explored. In common with literature relating to crime against the individual, the reality and perceptions of crime against businesses vary and this section will use the data to indicate levels of both.

In common with other policing areas, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary do not provide succinct data relating to business crime so that assessments of the levels of such incidents are virtually impossible. Levels of victimisation can therefore only be adequately derived for this work from the responses to the Crime and Disorder Business survey. In view of the extensive literature referring to ‘the dark figure’ of crime, the use of this data is perhaps more appropriate because these provide an indication of all crimes that were suffered by the respondents and which they recorded in their responses.
4.3.1 Perceptions of Crime and Disorder

Recipients of the questionnaire were asked two questions relating to how much of a problem they considered specific issues. One question related to the effect that they felt they had on the area in which their business was based while the second question asked about the effect on their business. Table 4.5 provides a comparison in their responses and perhaps understandably shows that levels of effect vary between the two settings with the impact being considered more so against the business.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Effect on area (n=621)</th>
<th>Effect on business (n=621)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street / in public places</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>53.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking in to business premises</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the street/ in public places</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the street</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours or loud parties</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5 Percentage of businesses that considered the above issues to be a very big/big problem in the area in which their business is located/ on their business.

11 In the case of the effect on their business, respondents were asked if they were very/fairly or not very worried in order to deflect from notions of repetition of the earlier question on the effect in the area.
The table further indicates that the issues that are regarded to have most effect on the area are those that may be considered to be aesthetic, such as litter (251) or children/teenagers hanging around on the street/in public places (238), or inconvenient such as that of traffic congestion (299). Amongst the issues that are regarded as most problematic in the area, none of the four highest are interpersonal. However when these same issues are considered in relation to the business, there is something of a shift in priority. Respondents saw each of the issues as more of a problem when regarded against their businesses than against the area where their business was located, with burglary/breaking in to premises being considered the most problematic (400). As indicated in Table 4.5, issues regarded as being ‘in the public arena’ such as people begging on the street, drunken people on the street/in public places, mugging or robbery and vehicle crime were all regarded as having a greater effect on their businesses than on the area in which their businesses were located.

4.3.2 Impact of Tourism

The impact of tourism on the County was more particularly addressed in questions to businesses wherein respondents were asked how they thought tourism affected precise issues and a further question asked whether respondents felt that tourism improved or worsened specific elements of life in the area where their businesses were located. In the County as a whole as well in the individual districts tourism was deemed to benefit income, employment opportunities, the area’s overall prosperity, availability of leisure facilities and the quality of life in general. However, opinions relating to noise, traffic congestion, violent and property crime,
litter/vandalism, public order offences, alcohol and drug abuse and cost of housing were apparent with Restormel consistently regarding tourism to have the most negative effects as illustrated in Figure 4.1 except in the cases of traffic conditions and cost of housing, and this will be further explored later in this chapter.
When asked how much of an impact tourists being picked on may have, the perceived effect on their businesses was significantly higher than on the area in which their business was located. This may be particularly salient to those businesses that depend heavily upon tourists for their income.

When the issue of who commits crime locally was broached, respondents were asked to select two options from a list of four, local residents, tourists, local casual workers or casual workers from outside the area. In addition they were given the option of specifying others who they felt were responsible. 68.9% thought that local residents were responsible for crime and 22.2% considered casual workers from outside the area to be guilty. However, rather fewer respondents regarded tourists to be responsible (7.1%).

The survey went on to ask people what preventative measures had been taken in order to minimise and avoid their businesses being victimised. Such levels may underline perceptions of the problem of crime and disorder. A note of caution is appropriate here as reasons for the measures were not asked and it may be that demands by insurance companies rather than perceptions or actual victimisation were the reasons for the efforts. Over half of respondents had fitted a burglar alarm (67.0%), special locks to doors (65.2%) and windows (54.6%) and 56.7% had fitted security lights. Slightly above 50.0% had taken out or increased their insurance. It is therefore apparent that levels of crime prevention measures are comparable with their perceptions of the problems indicated.
4.3.3 Victimisation

While perceptions of the problems of these issues show that, in some instances, significant percentages of business respondents considered there to be a very big or big problem, the actuality, in common with established research (Simmons and Dodd 2003; Mirrlees-Black and Allen 1998; Garofalo 1979), demonstrates that such fears are unfounded. Table 4.6 illustrates the incidence of victimisation amongst respondents during the thirteen months covered by the survey and in order to demonstrate the level of reported crime, respondents were also asked to indicate which of the crimes that they had been victim of, were subsequently reported or made known to the police.

In comparing perceptions of similar problems, it is apparent that, in common with data from Crime in England and Wales, 2002 – 2003, perceptions significantly outweigh actual risk. Hence while 64.5% (400) respondents regarded burglary as a problem, only 15.1% (94) had actually been a victim. Similarly 53.5% (332) of business respondents in Cornwall perceived vandalism to be a problem but only 19.8% (123) had been a victim of it. The problem of assault was regarded by 27.2% (169) as a potential problem while only 3.1% (19) reported that staff had
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Percentages of businesses that had experienced the above problems between August 2000 and September 2001, by district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cornwall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break in to premises</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks in to premises</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
been assaulted. Levels of crime reporting were somewhat different from the actual number of incidents; for example the most commonly experienced 'crime' was vandalism (19.8%) but was only the second most reported (7.4%) while presumably because of insurance purposes, most victims of burglary reported it to the police.

4.4 Businesses and Crime in Cornwall: District Differences

While Section 4.3 has identified and provided evidence of perceptions, impact and victimisation by and against businesses across the County, this section will undertake an analysis of those same issues in the six mainland districts in order to identify and illustrate variations. This section will begin by looking at perceptions of crime and disorder using the same questions as previously. The section will then go on to explore the perceived impact of tourism on the individual districts and here it may be hypothesised that respondents in those areas which attract the greatest volume of visitors will deem them to have the greatest impact. To conclude, levels of victimisation as reported by the respondents will be identified and examined to see if the risk is in line with their perceptions.

For the 2001 Crime and Disorder Audits, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary provided data for all crimes in the two counties but only made available monthly figures for 'total crime.' Taking the two districts which attract the largest proportion of staying visitors, Penwith and Restormel, data suggests that while it is not wholly apparent, there is a tendency for total crime to increase during those months
traditionally considered to cover the holiday season, this being more apparent in Penwith than Restormel. Restormel 'peaks' in May (perhaps coinciding with May Bank Holidays and Run to the Sun), whereas July and August indicate the period of most recorded crime in Penwith.

4.4.1 Perceptions of Crime and Disorder: By District

As in Section 4.3.1, answers to the questions relating to respondents' perceptions of crime and disorder can be further analysed using SPSS in order to identify their views in each district. In the first question in which respondents were asked about their perception of the impact of certain 'problems' on the area in which their business was located as identified in Table 4.7 across the County as a whole, traffic congestion was regarded as the biggest 'problem' and while this remains true in Caradon, Restormel and Carrick, other 'problems' are more pertinent in the remaining districts. In Kerrier for example, over 50.0% of respondents were concerned about burglary and unemployment with traffic congestion falling to seventh place while litter was considered the biggest issue in Penwith and North Cornwall.

However the picture changed when respondents were asked about their perception of the same issues in relation to their businesses. Generally, respondents were more definitive about the effects of the given issues on their businesses in which burglary became the biggest concern across the County as a whole (64.5%) and was also the most worrying in Caradon (59.0%), Kerrier (73.2%), Penwith (63.7%) and North Cornwall which rated it equally with traffic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.7:</th>
<th>Percentage of businesses that considered the above issues to be very big/important, in the area in which their businesses were located, on their business.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real estate assessment</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People being picked on</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise in the evening/night</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assail</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begging/sees</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carjacking (n=93)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerrier (n=97)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camlann (n=95)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Cornwall</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restormel</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
congestion (62.4%). Restormel (73.6%) and Carrick (61.6%) also continued to see traffic congestion as the biggest problem.

Most noticeably, Restormel respondents saw tourist nuisance as a significant problem in response to both questions; while fewer than 5.0% of Cornish businesses in general thought them a problem in the area in which their business was located, 13.2% of Restormel respondents thought similarly. When asked to consider the impact of nuisance by tourists on their businesses, 18.2% of Restormel respondents felt this to be the case while only 8.7% of Countywide respondents responded similarly.

While begging was seen to be detrimental in the area in which their businesses were located by 11.1% of Cornwall respondents, more than double in Penwith (26.4%) were moved to see it as an issue contrasting sharply with Caradon (1.1%).

4.4.2 Impact of Tourism: By District

When asked about the impact of tourism using a given set of issues, the order in which the points were rated showed little variation in each of the districts with violent and property crime being low in all cases. However the percentages that indicated that tourism worsened the situation varied
considerably, so that, while traffic congestion was very problematic in all districts, violent crime was regarded as an issue by almost half of all respondents in Restormel while less than a quarter of Caradon respondents felt the same.

Table 4.7 provides clear evidence that Restormel and Carrick respondents were the most likely to consider tourists causing a nuisance and affecting their businesses. However in spite of Kerrier being the least reliant upon tourism, a higher percentage of respondents saw tourists causing a nuisance as having an effect on their business (6.2%) there than those in Penwith (3.9%). The potential negative impact of tourists being picked on is acknowledged by 17.0% of respondents across the County with almost 20.0% of Restormel respondents agreeing and almost 19.0% in Caradon. Indeed at least 17.0% in all districts were similarly concerned except among North Cornwall business people where only 11.9% considered their victimisation as having a negative effect on their businesses.

As may be expected, similar events were considered to have a lesser effect on the area in which their businesses were located so that ‘tourists causing a nuisance’ were considered to have an effect on the area by fewer than 5.0% of respondents in all districts except Restormel where 13.2% felt thus (Table 4.7). ‘Tourists being picked on’ however were considered to have marginally
more impact in general terms with the highest number of respondents being from Penwith (7.8%).

When asked more expressly about the impact of tourism on specific aspects in the region, Figure 4.1 clearly indicates that traffic conditions are the most severely impacted upon by all districts as indicated by over 90.0% of respondents in Carrick and North Cornwall and 80.0% in the remainder of the districts. The negative impact of tourism was felt most acutely in Restormel in all other situations except the cost of housing where respondents in Penwith (70.6%) and Carrick (71.1%) felt it was slightly more of an issue.

Where tourism was considered to have a positive impact upon issues in their district, opinions were fairly constant across the six districts and in line with the County as a whole.

4.4.3 Victimisation: By District

When respondents to the business audit survey were asked which crimes their businesses had been a victim of, in the thirteen months prior to the survey, perceptions of the problem were significantly higher than incidence. For example, the perception of the problem of burglary from premises in Restormel was a significant 66.9% while only 16.5% had actually been a
victim. Vandalism was the most reported crime in all districts except Restormel where shoplifting was the most commonly suffered (Table 4.6, Page 144).

From the list of fifteen 'problems' provided, Restormel respondents reported the highest level of victimisation in nine cases. Reports of shoplifting were almost 60.0% higher than in the County as a whole while the assault against staff was twice the County rate although levels were not high. Similarly robbery in Kerrier was almost double the County rate and was significantly higher than any of the other districts.

4.5 Businesses and Crime in Cornwall: Intra-district Variations

It would be fair to say that while the County of Cornwall is renowned for its draw as a holiday destination, its attraction is not uniform with not only the six districts attracting different proportions and categories of visitors but also differing areas within those districts having contrasting appeal. Hence the initial analyses of two districts, Penwith and Restormel can be further subdivided to provide ample evidence of the different issues and the impact that they have on very specific areas in the County.
4.5.1 Penwith

4.5.1a Perceptions of Crime and Disorder

Respondents in Penwith were not uniform in considering the impact of specific problems in the area in which their businesses were located. As Table 4.8 clearly shows, businesses in Penzance saw all of the issues to be a much greater problem than those from elsewhere in Penwith with assaults, tourists and racial minorities being picked on, noisy neighbours, street crime and begging being regarded as particularly problematic. Issues surrounding drug misuse in Penwith have attracted much attention in recent years with the 2002 Crime and Disorder Strategy identifying that,

"7 residents per 100 population have registered as addicts within Penwith, which proportionately is the highest within Devon and Cornwall, reflecting the large problem that exists in relation to class A drug misuse, particularly heroin." (Penwith Partnership, 2002:28/9) In addition "Alcohol has just recently been given prominence as 'other' drugs have. In Penwith link noted between alcohol and violent crime and disorder" (Penwith Partnership, 2002:28),

and this is clearly illustrated among Penzance business respondents.
Table 4.8 Percentage of businesses in Penwith who considered the above issues to be a very big/big problem in the area in which their business was located.

In fact, in all instances, the issues referred to were regarded to be more problematic in Penzance than the remainder of Penwith and this may be as a result of rurality and therefore somewhat diluted effect. When asked about the impact of the issues on their businesses, those in the remainder of Penwith were again less likely to consider them a problem although in some instances, notably traffic congestion and tourists/victims being picked on, the differences were insignificant.
Table 4.9 Percentage of businesses in Penwith that were fairly/very worried about the impact of the above on their business.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Penzance (n=40)</th>
<th>Rest of Penwith (n=62)</th>
<th>Penwith (n=102)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking in to business premises</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street/in public places</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the street</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the street/public places</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise in the evening/at night</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps most significantly but not surprisingly, the priority of issues differs when considered in the area that their business is located and against their business (Table 4.9). Somewhat unexpectedly, unemployment and poverty were regarded as the issues most likely to impact upon their businesses in Penzance while less surprisingly burglary and drug abuse were also regarded as a very big or big problem by 70.0% of respondents.
Penzance is one of the largest towns in the County. Over 50.0% of respondents to the Crime and Disorder Survey in Penzance stated that their business was in the town centre and 67.5% that their business was dependent upon tourism to some degree. In contrast even more of those whose business was elsewhere in the district were reliant to some extent on tourism and fewer than a quarter described themselves as being in a town. Tourism appears to be much appreciated by the businesses in the town; at least 70.0% were in agreement with the majority of business respondents across the County with regard to the positive elements (Table 4.10) while those in the remainder of the district were less enthusiastic, particularly with regard to the provision of leisure facilities and the quality of life in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>Penwith Crime &amp; Disorder</th>
<th>Businesses</th>
<th>Remainder of Penwith</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area's overall prosperity</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of leisure facilities</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life in general</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10 The Impact of Tourism Improves the above
Where they felt that tourism negatively impacted upon the area, businesses in Penzance were particularly unhappy with traffic congestion reflecting the narrow streets of the town and its popularity as a shopping centre. People in both Penzance and the remainder of Penwith were less likely to consider tourists to have an impact upon ‘criminal’ issues than respondents in the County as a whole (Table 4.11)
In view of the earlier analysis which shows that business respondents in the remainder of Penwith are more dependent on tourism than those in Penzance, it may therefore be speculated that tourism is seen to have a lesser impact on the listed problems in Penzance. However, Penzance is an attractive town for shopping, and tourists visiting the west of the County and Isles of Scilly regularly browse through the narrow streets. Penzance business people are certainly more concerned about tourists being picked on (7.8%) and also regard tourists as causing more of a nuisance (3.9%) than their Penwith counterparts. This perception of tourists as victims however changed when asked about the impact on their businesses. In this instance, there was little difference between respondents in Penzance and the rest of Penwith while the percentages that thought tourists causing a nuisance were the same whether in relation to their business or the area in which their business was located (Tables 4.8, 4.9).

Table 4.11 The Impact of Tourism worsens the above

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>Penwith Crime &amp; Disorder Businesses</th>
<th>Penzance</th>
<th>Remainder of Penwith</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter/vandalism</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public order</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Penwith the relative 'urbanness' of Penzance makes its businesses more susceptible to crime than elsewhere in the district. One third of the population of the district lives in the parish of Penzance and only one other area, St. Ives has a population of over 10,000. As already indicated, Penzance is not an area where visitors stay but it is the hub for many businesses and it attracts shoppers and tourists alike. It is therefore somewhat surprising to note that in the sample period, as identified in Table 4.12 rates of car vandalism, fraud, items stolen from the car, robbery at business premises and staff injury at work were marginally higher in the rest of Penwith than Penzance although differences were not significant.

Shoplifting, while a problem, is not generally reported to the police whereas burglaries, robberies and fraud cases are more commonly brought to the attention of the police, again it may be speculated, for insurance purposes. Shoplifting, in contrast is generally more difficult to detect unless the offender is caught 'in the act' in which case the items are retrieved. Shop personnel may then consider the time required to report and convict a shoplifter cannot be spared. Nonetheless respondents to the survey indicate that victims in Penzance are more likely to report 'problems' than those in the remainder of the district and this may be because of access to a police station or presence of officers on the street.
Recategorising crimes under broader headings, when crimes of similar typology are clustered, 36.7% of respondents in the County indicated that they had been victims of a property crime in the given period with 29.0% of Penwith respondents reporting such victimisation. However Penzance respondents reported a somewhat higher level of such crimes (40.0%). Vehicle crime was also less of a problem generally in Penwith with 10.8% reporting a vehicle related crime compared with 12.4% across the County. In a reversal of fortunes however 14.5% of businesses in the remainder of the district had been a victim of vehicle crime compared with just 5.0% in Penzance.
4.5.2 Restormel

4.5.2a Perceptions of Crime and Disorder

As elsewhere in the County, respondents in Restormel were also asked about how much of a problem they perceived specific issues to be in relation to the area where their business was located. Table 4.13 indicates that where issues can be compared, most problems were seen as more of an issue in the north of the district, the exceptions being unemployment and poverty, vehicle and street crime, and tourists and minorities being picked on. While traffic congestion was regarded as the biggest problem in both areas, burglary was regarded as the second most problematic crime in the north while in the south it was children/teenagers hanging about which was regarded as having a somewhat higher impact on the area in which businesses were located than almost all other issues.

The higher percentage of respondents who saw the problem of drunken people on the streets in the north may well correlate with the large number of young people that gravitate to Newquay and surrounding area where there is a high density and number of licensed premises.
Table 4.13 Percentage of businesses in Restormel who considered the above issues to be a very big/big problem in the area in which their business was located.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>North (n=42)</th>
<th>South (n=75)</th>
<th>Restormel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking in to business premises</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street/in public places</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the street/public places</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the street</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours or loud parties</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the same question was asked about how big a problem the issues were perceived to impact on their businesses, again traffic congestion was regarded as the most problematic but in both sectors, burglary also ranked highly (Table 4.14). Greater differences are apparent when matters relating to the north's popularity with young people are considered. Respondents in the north regarded drunken people on the street, assaults, street crime, begging and noise in the evening to be significantly bigger problems than those in the south and it may be surmised that respondents see such behaviour as inflicting a negative view, thus deterring people from remaining in or recommending the area.
Table 4.14 Percentage of businesses in Restormel that were fairly/very worried about the impact of the above on their business.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>North (n=42)</th>
<th>South (n=75)</th>
<th>Restormel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking in to business premises</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the street/public places</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street/in public places</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the street</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise in the evening/at night</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.15 The impact of tourism improves the above.

4.5.2b Impact of Tourism

The importance of tourism to Restormel has already been indicated and this section will identify its impact in the north and the south of the district.
The impact of tourism worsens the above

It would appear that the issue of alcoholism amongst visitors and related disorder problems is borne out by respondents to the Crime and Disorder audits throughout the County but more so in Restormel. While the problem of drunken people on the streets and in public places was seen as a problem by 18.7% across the County compared with 21.4% across the district, in the north of the district 30.9% regarded it thus. Only 4.7% of respondents generally regarded there to be a problem from tourists causing a nuisance in the area in which their business was located, but in Restormel the figure rose to 13.2% and the percentage went up to 14.2% in the north (Table 4.6).

When asked more specifically about the impact of tourism in the area of their businesses, Tables 4.15 and 4.16 indicate that respondents to the Crime and Disorder Survey in Restormel regarded tourism as beneficial for the economy and recreational facilities while having a negative impact on issues that may be regarded as criminogenic or anti-social. The cost of housing was the exception in this negative listing, it being economically driven. The positive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter/vandalism</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public order</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16 The impact of tourism worsens the above
impact of tourism appears more appreciated in the north than the south (Table 4.15) although differences are not great with the quality of life being seen as somewhat less positively influenced by tourism in the south.

When the negative impact is considered, respondents in the north were significantly more emphatic about the impact of tourism on crime etc. Most noticeable are the differences between the north and south respondents when it came to their thoughts regarding the impact of tourism on violent crime, public order, and alcohol and drug abuse. Rates in the north of the district were twice those in the south with regard to violent crime and alcohol abuse while almost two thirds more in the north regarded drug abuse to be affected by tourism.

The localised impact of alcohol was identified in a paper entitled “The Future Role in the Marketing and Promotion of ‘Newquay and the Cornish Riviera’” dated June 2000 where it was stated that there was a downturn in visitor numbers during the early years of the 1990s in part because of "Violence/teenage delinquency: a periodic problem which is publicised out of proportion by a sensation seeking tabloid press." In a local newspaper article dated August 28th 2003, Paul Wright whose role was head of tourism for Restormel Borough Council was quoted as saying that "More than 20,000 of our visitors a year are between the ages of 18 and 30 – around a fifth of the market. They have a spend of around £60 million.” In response to a question
relating to who caused the problems in Newquay, he responded, "Much of it is down to youngsters caught up in a drink culture where they have never grown up with the idea of alcohol as a social part of life."

Issues of public order clearly relate to the nature of tourism and the increased numbers that congregate in the narrow streets. Only cost of housing and traffic conditions were considered more negatively impacted upon by tourism in the south than the north. It has been suggested that while Newquay in the north is a location to which people travel and remain, in the south of the district, people travel through the various towns and villages in order to reach other destinations such as The Eden Project and coastal resorts along the southern coastline.

The impact of second home ownership on the cost of housing has been mooted in literature relating to many areas throughout the U.K. including The Lake District (Coppock, 1977) and North Wales (de Vane, 1975) as well as Cornwall. While the impact of incomers on house prices remains open to debate, the data that I have used indicates that 73.3% of business people in the south of the district regard them as responsible for higher property prices.

---

14 In conversation with a senior research and information officer in Cornwall County Council
15 Recent planning and building in the north of the district may result in this perception changing.
Statistics for the north of Restormel indicated that while 52.3% regarded burglary to be a problem in the area, 21.4% had actually been victims. Similarly 52.9% of respondents in the district considered vandalism to be problematic but only 21.5% had suffered from it. In the north of the district 42.9% of respondents perceived vandalism to be a problem while 33.3% had actually been a victim of it, almost double the level in the south. Of the 'problems' indicated in the questionnaire, the north of the district was victimised more than the south for shoplifting, vandalism, burglary (from both the premises and outbuildings), theft, fraud, staff assaulted or injured in an accident at work and robbery from the premises. Staff being insulted or harassed, the company car being stolen, involved in an accident or vandalised or having items stolen from it and arson was more problematic in the south.
Table 4.17 Percentage of businesses in Restormel that experienced problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>North (n=42)</th>
<th>South (n=75)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism to premises</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary from premises</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of goods left lying around</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff insulted, threatened or harassed</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company the victim of fraud</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff assaulted</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary from garage, shed etc.</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company car involved in an accident</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff injured in an accident at work</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car vandalised</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery at business premises</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items stolen from car</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson to business premises</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company car stolen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Problems of vandalism were reported by over 30.0% of respondents in the north, almost twice as many as in the south. When it came to reporting the incidents to the police in the period discussed, victims in both areas (Table 4.17) almost always reported burglaries, robberies and arson. In spite of it being the most prevalent crime in the north, less than a third of those who had been a victim of shoplifting actually reported it to the police. In contrast and in both the north and south of the district, burglary from the premises was always reported while from the garage or similar, almost always. This was also the case for robbery from the premises.
When all property crimes are clustered, Restormel businesses reported more incidents than in the County as a whole (42.1% against 36.7%) and the north experienced a higher level of such crimes than those in the south (47.6% and 38.7%). Vehicle crime was 25.0% higher in Restormel than the County in general (16.5% and 12.4%) while victimisation rates in the south of the district were almost 30.0% higher than the County (17.3% and 12.4%).

4.5.3 Hotels in Restormel

Two specific facilities that are provided almost exclusively for the benefit of visitors are hotels and caravan/camp sites and each has attracted some level of interest with regard to businesses and crime. The evaluation of a hotel burglary initiative in Torbay has given scope for research in Restormel, the area used as a control for the project (Mawby and Jones, 2004). The material made available as a result of this provides perspectives of the attitudes of hoteliers with regard to crime while an undergraduate dissertation has provided information regarding burglary from caravan and camping parks, also in Restormel (Folland 2001).

Information relating to the hotel initiative indicated that establishments in the south of the district tended to be smaller than those in the north with only one having more than fifty bedrooms while in the north 31.1% were in the largest
category (51+ bedrooms). A similarly small percentage of hoteliers were classified by the RAC or AA although in the south, 23.5% were registered by the ETB. Most extreme in difference was the status of the respondents. In the north of the district, 71.6% listed themselves as owners compared with 17.6% in the south and 1.5% and 35.3% respectively were 'landlords' or 'landladies.' This latter category is suggestive of two options; it may be indicative of the guesthouse landlord or landlady, often the brunt of risqué comedy. In this instance they generally are also owners of the establishment. A second suggestion is that they run inns or pubs with rooms to let in which case they may be owners or tenants.

Graph 4.1: Percentage of hotels where 50.0% or more of clients came from each of the categories

The types of clientele that the hotels accommodated may be significant when analysing their perceptions and experiences of crime (which will be explored later) and the graph above identifies by type of clientele, the percentages of
hotels for whom 50.0% or more came from each of the given client categories. The proportions of pre-retirement and retired guests in the south of the district would appear to confirm that area's attraction to a more mature clientele while a zero response to the accommodation of 50.0% or more of young people in their premises in the south suggests that they are not as apparent or welcomed as they are in the north. However contrary to Newquay's image as a magnet to young people, 40.0% of hoteliers in the north said that over 50.0% of their clientele were pre-retired or retired. It would therefore appear that young people do not generally stay in hotels and this seems to be borne out when one considers the number, size and popularity of caravan and camping sites in the region.

As in previous sections there were stark differences between the north and the south of the district. The impact of tourism on specific issues revealed that, as in the county as a whole Restormel hoteliers considered income, employment opportunities, the area's overall prosperity, the availability of leisure facilities and the quality of life in general were all positively influenced by tourism (Table 4.18) while Table 4.19 illustrates how tourism negatively impacted in the north and south of the district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>97.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area's overall prosperity</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of leisure facilities</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life in general</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.18 The Impact of Tourism Improves the above
Traffic conditions were seen to be the biggest problem by both hoteliers and business survey respondents with litter generally considered second in both surveys. While burglary and breaking in to premises was seen as a significant worry to business respondents (34%), hoteliers were less concerned (10%) but they did regard drug dealing/using and drunks on the street as more of an issue (38.1%: 21.5% and 40.4%: 21.4%). The greatest differential was in the problem of noisy neighbours/loud parties where almost four times more hoteliers saw this as an issue.

In analysing the north and south of the district separately, it is apparent that the negative impact of tourism is felt differently by respondents in the two ‘halves’ of the district. Hoteliers in the south do not consider tourists to have a significant impact on public order, drug abuse, property or violent crime. Indeed in only two areas can we consider hoteliers in the south to regard tourism as having a truly negative impact on the area with over 50.0%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>88.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter/vandalism</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public order</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.19 The Impact of Tourism worsens the above

16 54.8% said that tourism made no difference
17 50.0% said that tourism made no difference
identifying traffic conditions and the cost of housing to be adversely affected.

In sharp contrast, only one issue in the north, that of drug abuse is considered to be adversely affected by fewer than 50.0%, but only just!

Analysis of responses to the hotelier questionnaire found that in the south no hotelier considered tourists as causing a nuisance while 41.8% of respondents in the north felt that they were. Similarly, begging, tourists/visitors as victims and racist victimisation were regarded as problematic in the north while nobody in the south felt that this was the case. In contrast vehicle crime was the second greatest worry amongst hoteliers in the south, almost 13% higher than in the north.

When asked about who they thought committed the crime in their area, a third of hoteliers felt that local residents were to blame. A significant 14.3% of respondents accused tourists and local casual workers of being responsible for crime in the area while 22.2% felt that casual workers from elsewhere were to blame.
4.5.4 Caravan/Camping Parks

Arguably the most popular form of self-catering accommodation is provided by 160 premises that hold some form of licence for camping or caravanning in Restormel, 83 licensed for fewer than ten units and 70 of those licensed for only one or two caravans, the majority of these being residential. However licensing regulations are such that while a property may hold a licence for pitches, this may not actually be in operation. It is the case that a licence may have been granted but there is no obligation on the licence holder to instigate development. Similarly there are instances of properties which do not actually hold a licence but are operating as a site. One environmental officer with responsibility for site licensing explained to me that if a property has been operating as a site for ten years or more without being contested then the operator can, by default continue such operation.

As a demonstration of the popularity of camping as a cheaper option for young people there are ten sites of a hundred pitches or more in the south of the district and twenty in the north. Evidence of levels of burglaries against specific sites in the north of Restormel clearly identified that during the period of the study (1999-2000) the burglary rate was two and a half times that of other dwellings (Folland 2001) and whilst domestic crime will be referred to elsewhere, the question of security in these small communities demands some inspection. Caravan and camping parks are businesses providing
accommodation for visitors to the area and while the onus of security of the caravan or tent is indubitably upon the head of the visitor, safety measures of the surroundings is the role of the park operator.

Research has shown that the police in pertinent areas of England have, in the past produced information sheets and strategies aimed at reducing crime on caravan and camping parks (Howard 2000; Norfolk Constabulary 2000) although none has to date been apparent in Restormel. In conversation with park managers, perceptions of safety and security vary with one park near St. Austell having no security apart from a CCTV camera in the games room. There has never been a reported crime on the park which is exclusively for families and couples and is strict in its policy regarding customer types. In contrast an organisation which operates two large parks near Newquay, one of which is for families and the other which markets itself for the 18-30 year olds has strict codes of conduct. In the singles park all bookings require a deposit which is retained if any member of a party has to ‘be spoken to’ or any one of its rules are broken. From 11.00 p.m. no-one can access the singles park via the family park and the singles park has 24 hour security while on another park in the area, all guests are given a colour-coded wrist band which they must wear throughout their stay and which they must show on entering and leaving the park. Such controls would suggest that previous experiences have resulted in the park operator acknowledging the need for such constraints and this is duplicated in pubs and clubs in those towns that attract large numbers of young visitors.
4.6 Summary

This chapter began by outlining the difficulties in identifying the problems of crime against businesses. Limited research through surveys has indicated that crime does impact upon businesses and while Cornwall is an area that has some of the lowest incidents of crime in England and Wales, the increase in population brought about by tourists to the area brings a corresponding seasonal increase in problems of crime:

The chapter therefore began by identifying the types of businesses prevalent in the County and indicated that concerns about crime exceeded levels of victimisation. In addition, the importance of tourism to their businesses was seen to have a bearing upon those perceptions.

The chapter then went on to illustrate that the regions attract different levels of specific types of tourist and this had a bearing not only upon perceptions of their impact but also the types and levels of crime experienced by businesses in each of the districts.

The lack of uniformity of perceptions and levels of victimisation throughout the districts appear to be influenced by the differing levels and types of tourist
who are drawn to different areas of the County and the final section of this chapter shows that this is apparent in contrasting areas of the two districts which attract the highest percentage of visitors to the County.

This is exemplified by the evidence, albeit limited, derived from caravan and camp sites suggesting that such operators are aware of the proclivities of their guests and in some cases at least take measures to reduce problems while hoteliers in the two ‘halves’ of Restormel provide differing responses when considering the impact of tourism.

Hence this chapter clearly identifies the varying levels of influence which tourism has upon businesses across the districts of the County and the following chapter will go on to explore these same issues in relation to residents.