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Tourism and crime, whose problem? : a Cornish perspective

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Chapter Five: Tourism and Crime: A Problem for Residents

5.1 Introduction

Chapter four demonstrated that tourism has a significant impact on certain aspects of life for businesses in tourist areas and, while operators appeared to welcome the benefits that it brings, tourists were also regarded as impacting negatively on certain elements of their lives. While this is the case for businesses, for residents the benefits of tourism may be less apparent, and it may be speculated that they will focus more on the negative impacts of tourism such as on their income or lifestyle. Therefore for those residents who regard themselves as gaining little from tourism, their perceptions of its impact may be less welcoming. This may also be the case for those who live or work in locations that attract large numbers of visitors but who are regarded as contributing little or nothing to the locality. In contrast, those who derive their livelihood from tourism may have a more positive outlook.

While there appears to be more research since Krippendorf's seminal work (1987), his referral to the perceived insignificance of residents in tourist areas remains, so that tourism development takes place in spite of, or regardless of misgivings by the resident population. Zarkia's research into the growth of tourism on Skyros (in Boissevain, 1996) appears to reflect several of the elements that also typified tourism development in Cornwall (see Chapter...
three) and her sub-title, "Receiving tourists but not guests" seems to epitomise the position that such visitors hold. However at the time of writing, the development of the tourist industry on Skyros was still in the hands of the indigenous population, unlike Cornwall where recent significant developments such as The Eden Project and the building of new homes in coastal locations have been undertaken by incomers. Similarly new industry is positively encouraged through events such as ‘The I'd Rather be in Cornwall Club’ which "provides an opportunity for creative thinkers to meet in a relaxed environment to discuss the benefits of Cornwall as a business location." ¹

The shelves of the University library are resplendent with literature relating to the impact of tourism on environmental, socio-cultural and economic factors but little mention is made in any of the texts regarding crime and criminology sources add little to the debate. Nowhere is this more apparent than in those areas where tourism results in disorder and other incivilities. The introduction of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 has given rise to an increased emphasis on the curbing of disorder and included in its rubric the notion of anti-social behaviour (ASB) which it defined as “Acting in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as (the defendant). This was further defined in the Anti-Social Behaviour Act, 2003 as “determined by a series of factors including context, location, community tolerance and quality of life expectations” (Nixon et. al., 2003). Hence behaviour that one person regards as unacceptable may

¹ http://www.cornwallpurchbusiness.co.uk/default.htm
be within acceptable limits to their neighbour. However where an anti-social behaviour order is issued and contravened, then a particular incivility becomes a criminal act. Such behaviour is often attributed to those who congregate in particular areas and this is especially true in certain locations in Cornwall.

It is therefore the purpose of this chapter to identify and explore the impact of tourism on residents in Cornwall through the use of data from the 2001 Crime and Disorder residents’ survey. Survey questions asked residents about their perceptions of several issues with regard to where they lived and also the area which they most used either for work, shopping or leisure. Their responses for both locations will be used to compare perceptions not only in the two areas but also among those who said that they lived in an area where tourism was important compared with those who said that it wasn’t. In order to provide a reflective portrayal of Cornwall as a place of residence, I will make use of the results of the survey, having gauged its appropriateness by comparing with data from the British Crime Survey (2000) and the 2001 National Census. The chapter will then go on to consider the perceptions and experiences of crime from the data collected from respondents in the County as a whole in order to provide a snapshot of a comparatively rural region where tourism plays an important role. However as already indicated, the impact of tourism is not consistent across the entire region and this will be explored in the six individual districts.
The influence of tourism also varies within each of the districts and, as in Chapter four, I will go on to look at the north and south of Restormel to compare the effect of tourism on residents in the two areas and a similar exercise will be done with data for Penzance and the remainder of Penwith. Similarly its impact on crime in the sub-divided districts will also be examined.

5.2 Local People

As I have already indicated, a significant amount of data to be used in this chapter comes from residents' responses to the questionnaire distributed for the 2001 Crime and Disorder audit in Cornwall. Cornwall County Council distributed the questionnaire (as described in Chapter two) and Table 5.1, derived from the 2001 Census and responses from the Crime and Disorder audit survey provides some evidence to indicate that the sample responses are not exactly in line with the population breakdown. Women and older people were over-represented among respondents, and men and younger people under-represented.
When asked about the area in which they lived, 12.7% of respondents describe themselves as living in a large town, 30.5% in a small town, 16.9% in a large village, 23.8% in a small village, 10.7% in a small cluster of houses and 3.5% in an isolated property. The way in which this question was asked does not, however, enable further research into rurality and crime as no definitions were given with regard to the categories provided. As a consequence, responses are wholly subjective. It may however be speculated that residents identify themselves fairly accurately with the appropriate description of the area in which they live. Almost three-quarters (70.4%) had lived in their present house for at least five years and 89.9% were very satisfied or satisfied with the area in which they lived.

The importance of tourism in Cornwall had been clearly indicated among business operators in the previous chapter and in order to identify if residents concurred, they were asked if they felt that tourism was important in the area in which they lived. Overall 58.4% said that it was. Furthermore, tourism is
identified as being important to employment in the County so residents were also asked if anyone in their household worked in tourism and 8.7% said that someone was. This is a lower than expected response but may be indicative of the wording and timing of the distribution of the questionnaire. The surveys were distributed outside of the main holiday period so that people may not at that particular time have been employed in the tourist industry whereas, had they been asked during the holiday season then a higher percentage may have answered in the affirmative. Also, it may be that people are employed in industries which they do not instantly relate to tourism as indicated in Box 4.1 in the previous chapter.

In common with findings among business respondents in the previous chapter, the attraction of living in Cornwall is reflected amongst respondents to the residents' survey in which 33.7% (1266) said that they had been born in Cornwall and lived there all their lives while 40.0% (1502) had moved to the area as an adult. A further 8.2% (306) retired to the area while the remainder either moved to the County as a child and stayed or returned to the County after living elsewhere for some time.

It is clear that they were not drawn to Cornwall for the wage structure; in a draft report produced in 2002 by Cornwall County Council, average earnings in Cornwall were 19.3% lower than the South West as a whole and 28.3%.

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2 In the subsequent 2004 audit survey, respondents were asked if anyone had worked in the tourist industry in the previous twelve months.
less than the average for Great Britain and this was reflected in residents’ responses to the questionnaire. Of 87.4% who answered, 10.4% said that they earned less than £5,000 and 20.7% earned between £5,001 and £10,000. A further 30.1% earned between £10,001 and £20,000. Many jobs in Cornwall are related to the tourist industry; a report in 1998 concluded that tourism supported 23.6% of all jobs in the County. As we have already seen, such employment tends to be low paid. Furthermore, respondents were not asked whether they worked full or part time and this too may have some bearing on the high proportion of low incomes. While literature exists which suggests that there are some misgivings towards tourism, it should be noted that much of this derives from authors who are associated with the Institute of Cornish Studies whose research largely espouses the notion of Cornish identity and perceived threat from incomers (see for example Payton 1993; Hale 2000).

Cornwall’s popularity as a tourist area and region of low manufacturing and skilled labour ranks Cornwall amongst the most socio-economically deprived areas of England. When the traditional view of poverty is considered, inner city areas of deprivation, high-rise social housing, rubbish-strewn streets and graffitied walls are the images generally regarded as epitomising poverty. However, Cornwall’s inclusion as an ‘Objective One’ area indicates its status as one of poverty and deprivation which is somewhat difficult to quantify in a

4 From ‘The Economic Impact of Tourism in Cornwall Report, 1998’ produced for the West Country Tourist Board so that while only 8.7% of respondents to the Crime and Disorder survey said that someone in their household was employed in tourism, this may be an under estimation as identified by Box 4.1.
region where the postcard imagery denotes 'chocolate box' villages, sandy beaches and vibrant market towns. For many in the County, car ownership is essential because of poor public transport while there is ample evidence of sparse services and employment. In addition, employees in the service industries and particularly tourism are most usually paid minimum pay rates and the work is generally seasonal and of low status.

“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.” (http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/business/objone/objone2.htm

Since 1999 Cornwall has been awarded some £300 million of European funding in response to the County's low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the effects of poverty and social deprivation on crime is well documented (see for example Felson 2002; Lea 2002; Bottoms and Wiles 1997) so while there is considerable evidence to support my earlier assertions relating to the economic impact of tourism, the next section will go on to show that the impact and perceptions of crime in such areas is evident but is less well addressed.
5.3 Resident Perceptions and Experiences

Literature already suggests that crime in rural areas tends to be lower than that in more populated areas (see for example Dingwall and Moody, 1999; Kershaw et.al 2001; Aust and Simmons 2002) and Devon and Cornwall Constabulary is amongst the more rural of forces in England and Wales.

Opinions about the police showed that almost three-quarters of respondents to the Crime and Disorder survey thought that there were too few police but in spite of public outcries about the closure of police stations, 71.0% felt that their local station was close enough. However major causes of concern related to the opening hours of such stations and the problem of ringing to report an incident to a centralised call centre and speaking to someone who was unfamiliar with the area (Mawby, 2004). Opinions about policing in the area were generally ambivalent because of low levels of contact and this is emphasised by the notion that the police were somewhat apart from their locality. Only 17.0% thought that they were part of the community.

Seasonal increases in population put extreme pressures on policing and it may hence be speculated that this will impact upon residents’ concerns about crime and disorder. In considering these perceptions, the author has been unable to find previous research into this growth in population and its impact.
upon residents’ fears and concerns although research does exist which identifies fear of crime in both rural and urban settings, that is, low and higher density populations (see for example Mirrlees-Black and Maung, 1994; Mirrlees-Black and Allen 1998; Aust and Simmons 2002). This under-researched element can tentatively be addressed through questions asked of respondents to the Crime and Disorder questionnaire in relation to their perceptions of the impact of tourism on a variety of crimes and incivilities in the area in which they lived.

Table 5.2 indicates, somewhat unsurprisingly that respondents were generally more concerned about problems in their local town rather than the area in which they lived. However, a higher proportion felt that noisy neighbours or loud parties were problematic in the area in which they lived than most other comparable issues. Over 40.0% said that traffic congestion was a problem and over 30.0% said that graffiti and vandalism, unemployment and poverty, children and teenagers hanging around and vehicle crime were a very big or big problem where they lived. The problems that people saw as least problematic both in their most used town and where they lived were racial harassment and tourists being picked on. Fewer than 10.0% were also concerned about begging and assault where they lived, considerably fewer than those who regarded them as a problem in their most used town. In spite of a majority of residents in the County stating that tourism was important in the area in which they lived, in the context of this question, comparatively few regarded tourists as a nuisance.
Table 5.2

Percentage of residents that considered the above issues to be a very big/pig problem in the area in which they

| Percentage | Recall assessment | Pickled on being | Tourists or being a | Loud parties | Noisy neighbours | Influence | Street crime | Being | Assault | Stolen people on the streets | Drunk people on the streets | Burglary | Vehicle crime | Theft | Hanging around | Chidren/teenagers | Poverty | Unemployment | Vandalism/graft | Traffic congestion | Resutmostal | Perth (n=500) | North Cornwall | Kerrier (n=698) | Carick (n=661) | Carogon (n=722) | All Cornwal |
|------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|-------|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------|---------------|-------|----------------|----------------|----------|--------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
When residents who responded to the Crime and Disorder 2001 questionnaire were asked about their worries of becoming a victim of crime, respondents were most fearful of being a victim of a burglary (62.3%), this in spite of the low incidence levels as illustrated in the police statistics for the relevant year (Povey et al. 2001). Over 50.0% of respondents were also worried about having something stolen from or their actual vehicle taken or being involved in a traffic accident. When further pressed, 24.6% thought that they were very or fairly likely of have something stolen from their car in the twelve months following the questionnaire and 11.8% similarly felt that they would be victims of burglary.

Concerns about crime may be illustrated in the precautions that people take in their own homes so that these high levels of worry as illustrated in the columns relating to where they live, as shown in Table 5.2, would suggest that residents may take home security seriously. A question relating to this provided a range of crime prevention tactics and asked respondents which they had. Almost 80.0% said that they told a neighbour when the house was going to be unoccupied while slightly more than 65.0% avoided leaving their property empty more than was necessary. Window locks were a common feature (63.8%) although it may be speculated that this was because modern frames routinely have locks provided rather than assuming that this as something which respondents specifically had fitted. Over 50.0% had increased their household insurance, not so much a deterrent but more a way of ensuring that they were not financially penalised in the event of a burglary.
Slightly more than 25.0% were members of a Neighbourhood Watch scheme while a similar proportion had burglar alarms, security marked their property or had bought a dog as a deterrent.

Not only did residents raise concerns about a host of potential problems but it may be further speculated that they would also be reluctant to go to certain places at different times. Certainly Graph 5.1 demonstrates their increased reluctance to visit certain areas at night time, particularly in their most used town.

Graph 5.1 Percentages of residents reluctant to go to certain areas during the daytime/night in their most used town/area where they live

When asked about which areas that they would not go to in their most used town, a significant proportion had a fear of dark alleyways, areas around pubs and clubs, especially at closing time and specific areas where young people 'hang about.' When asked the same questions with regard to the area in
which they lived, significantly fewer respondents had concerns about going out. However, references to fear of abuse or assault, gangs of young people, and drug and alcohol issues featured highly in both the most used town and the area in which they lived.

Further analysis showed that 10.2% of women and 4.3% of males felt very or a bit unsafe when walking out alone at night in their home area. This is somewhat lower than for female respondents in the analysis of the 1998 BCS but higher for males (Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998). Among respondents, 37.6% were aged 60 and of these 2.3% of males and 9.0% of women stated that they were very or a bit afraid of going out alone at night in the area in which they lived. In both of these cases, percentages are again lower than those in the 1998 BCS (Mirrlees-Black and Allen, 1998).

When residents were asked who they thought was most likely to commit the crimes, they were asked to indicate two from a list of four ‘types’. A majority considered other residents to be most likely to commit the crime (56.8%) and 31.0% thought that casual workers from elsewhere were also responsible. A comparatively low percentage thought that local casual workers were responsible and only 8.3% saw tourists as liable. However, almost 40.0% of residents thought that casual workers who had come from outside the County together with tourists were responsible for crime in the region. Casual
workers from outside the region make up a considerable proportion of seasonal workers in the tourist industry in Cornwall as elsewhere.
Graph 5.2: Perceptions of the impact of tourism on the issues indicated above.
Chapter four illustrated the importance of tourism to the economy of Cornwall and it was therefore felt appropriate to also ask residents what effects they thought it had on local features. The issues supplied related to aesthetic, economic and criminal elements and as Graph 5.2 indicates, economic aspects were generally seen to benefit from tourism with the exception of the cost of housing. Quality of life was also seen to be improved by tourism as were leisure facilities. However for all other issues, tourism was seen to be detrimental to the locality with traffic conditions most adversely affected. The incivilities of noise and litter were regarded as being worsened by over 50.0% of respondents while over 40.0% considered alcohol abuse and disturbances/public order as being adversely affected. It is these very issues which are particularly relevant in relation to current government policies regarding anti-social behaviour and changes in licensing laws. A significant minority considered criminogenic behaviour including property and violent crime and drug abuse as being worsened by tourism. Hence such percentages suggest that a significant proportion of residents are concerned about the impact of tourism on several aspects of their lives.

As already indicated, 58.4% of respondents to the survey considered tourism to be important in the area in which they lived so their specific perceptions of their impact on these features are particularly salient. These residents are particularly likely to see the presence of tourism as having some effect in the area in which they lived. For example, 43.7% considered traffic congestion as being a problem compared with 36.8% who did not say that tourism was
important. Similarly 8.4% who regarded tourism as important said that tourists causing a nuisance were a problem compared with 3.1% who didn’t consider tourism as important. This pattern also applied to perceptions of street crime (5.3% and 3.0%), vandalism and graffiti (34.8% and 31.8%), unemployment (38.9% and 26.3%), drug and alcohol misuse, tourists being picked on, racial harassment and assaults. While the percentages above suggest that residents have considerable concerns about levels of crime, actual experiences of crime are somewhat lower.

Though the list of crimes offered in the Crime and Disorder audit questionnaire were not identical to those in the BCS, where some level of comparison is possible, percentages are given in Table 5.3. It is perhaps worthy to note that in both cases, figures given are in response to victim surveys and not related to police reported crimes. Thus while the BCS identifies in the literature that their levels of crime are higher than that reported by the police, responses to the audit survey were, in some cases even higher. For example victimisation of domestic burglary in Cornwall in the given period was higher than in the BCS 2000 as was car-related crime excluding theft of the car which was marginally lower. Violent crime was also higher in Cornwall than among respondents to the 2000 BCS.

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6 It is pertinent at this point to put in a reminder that the Crime and Disorder audit covered thirteen months
The most extreme difference is that of theft from the person where 8.3% of Cornwall respondents reported being victims while only 1.5% of BCS 2000 respondents similarly replied. Vandalism to a vehicle was also significantly higher in Cornwall while theft of goods lying around was also somewhat higher although there is a disparity in the classification of this.

It must however be noted that while levels of some crimes against residents in Cornwall appeared higher than the BCS 2000, in the Crime and Disorder survey, those who replied were asked to respond for themselves or anyone else in their household while the BCS is concerned only with the respondent. One could speculate that levels would be higher amongst respondents to the Crime and Disorder audit survey than the BCS for incidents such as assault although further research is needed to test this hypothesis.

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<th>Cornwall</th>
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<td>Car vandalised</td>
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<td>Theft from the person</td>
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<td>Vandalism to home</td>
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<td>Items stolen from car</td>
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<td>Theft of goods left lying around</td>
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<td>Domestic burglary</td>
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<td>Assaulted</td>
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<td>Car stolen</td>
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Table 5.3 Percentage of households that had experienced any of the above during the thirteen months prior receipt of the questionnaire

⁷ "Other vandalism" in BCS  
⁸ "Other thefts of personal property" in BCS
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Table 5.4 Percentages of Residents or Someone in Their Household that Had Experienced the Above Problems Between August 2000 and September 2001, by District.
Table 5.4 identifies the percentage of respondents to the Crime and Disorder survey who said that they or someone in their household had been a victim of specific incidents and in addition had reported it to the police. Concerns about strangers appear to have resulted in the highest percentage of respondents indicating suspicious callers as being the greatest problem in Cornwall and some 40.0% of these were moved to report them to the police. Over 10.0% of people also reported incidents of threatening, insulting or harassing behaviour, car vandalism and a car accident. However patterns were not identical across the six districts and the next section of this chapter will go on to explore and determine variations.

5.4 Regional Differences

Police statistics indicating levels of crime in the six mainland districts of Cornwall show that in the year April 2000 to March 2001, and hence covering the period of my own research as well as part of the period covered by the Crime and Disorder audit survey, rates for each of the six categories of crime were lower in all districts than the average in England and Wales as a whole.

Rates for violence against the person were highest in Penwith and Restormel at 8.0 per 1000 of the population, still significantly lower than the 11.4 for England and Wales. Robbery in all six districts was significantly lower than in
England and Wales (1.8) with district rates varying from 0.1 in Caradon, Kerrier and North Cornwall to 0.2 in the remaining three districts. Burglary from a dwelling had a rate of 7.6 in England and Wales somewhat higher than the rates in Cornwall which ranged from 2.3 in North Cornwall to 4.5 in Restormel. National rates and district rates were most comparable for theft from a vehicle, the national rate being 11.9 and district rates ranging from 7.3 in North Cornwall to 11.8 in Penwith.

In comparing findings in Table 5.2, it is clear that 'problems' in each of the districts are generally consistent with findings in the County as a whole with them usually being seen as less of an issue in the area in which residents lived than their most used town. However, levels of concern are not consistent across the six districts; for example in Caradon, the second biggest problem in their most used town is children hanging around while the County order shows vandalism as taking that place. Most notable disparities are in Penwith where the problem of unemployment is regarded as a significantly greater problem in their most used town than the County as a whole (68.4% and 53.2%). Drug abuse and begging are also considerably higher than the County levels while in North Cornwall, the problem of begging in the residents' most used town is a third of the County figure (7.1% and 21.3%).

The impact of tourism in the County has been identified in the previous section but again it may be assumed that it is not felt the same in each of the
districts. As Table 5.5 indicates, higher percentages of residents in Penwith consider tourism to benefit local features than those in the other districts apart from the availability of leisure facilities which Carrick residents consider to benefit most from. In contrast however, Penwith residents also feel that house prices are most adversely affected by tourism. But perhaps unsurprisingly, the district which attracts the highest proportion of tourists, Restormel also felt that they were most disadvantaged by the influx. While its impact on traffic conditions and litter are not felt much more adversely than residents in other districts, other elements cause significantly greater concern. Noise and disturbances/public order may reflect the problems which emanate from the many pubs and clubs in the north of the district and this will be clarified in the next section where intra-district comparisons will be made. Similarly drug and alcohol misuse are perceived as somewhat greater problems than elsewhere.
Table 5.5 Tourism improves or worsens each of the above

In questions which asked residents if there were places in their most used town and the area where they lived that they would not visit in the daytime or at night, Table 5.6 shows that residents in Penwith were almost twice as likely to avoid areas in their most used town during the day than Restormel and Carrick residents and three times more likely than those in North Cornwall. At night, almost 50.0% of Restormel and Penwith residents said that there were areas of their most used town that they would not go to while a considerably lower 30.6% of North Cornwall residents felt the same. In the area in which they lived, residents were significantly less concerned about "no-go" areas both during the day and at night but again it was Restormel and Penwith
residents who were most concerned although levels were generally lower than in their most used town.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>Caradon</th>
<th>Carrick</th>
<th>Kerrier</th>
<th>North Cornwall</th>
<th>Penwith</th>
<th>Restormel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Places in most used town</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Day</strong></td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Night</strong></td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Places where I live</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Day</strong></td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Night</strong></td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6 Percentages of residents that said that they would be reluctant to go to certain places.

Research in to the fear of crime is well documented (see for example Garofalo 1979; Mirrlees-Black and Allen 1998; Hale 1996; Pantazis 2000) and in line with contemporary government policies, this was an element that was explored in the 2001 Cornwall Crime and Disorder Audit survey. Respondents were asked about their fears of being a victim of a crime or other anti-social problem and as already indicated, in the County as a whole fear exceeded risk in all crime types with burglary and car crime being considered the most problematic. When these replies are examined at district level, in almost all instances the residents of Restormel are most concerned about being a victim of the crimes listed, the only exception "being insulted or bothered by neighbours" where residents of Carrick were marginally more concerned (18.3%). The district where people were least concerned was
North Cornwall where the lowest percentages were also worried about burglary, being mugged, having their property vandalised, have something stolen from their car, and being assaulted.

From the list of ten incidents provided in the survey, over 50.0% of respondents in each of the districts said that they were worried about being the victims of burglary, having their vehicle stolen, having something stolen from their vehicle and being involved in a traffic accident. In addition, over 50.0% of Penwith residents were also concerned about having their homes vandalised, as were those in Restormel, while also being most concerned with being mugged or robbed. In all districts, burglary was the crime that most people worried about whilst the lowest percentage were worried about being targeted for their race, religion or sexual orientation, perhaps reflecting the low proportion of ethnic minorities or those of religions other than Christian in the region. Residents in Kerrier and Penwith were marginally more concerned about having something stolen from their car than having the vehicle taken, while the opposite was true for the remaining four districts. Official statistics for the BCUs suggest that they are correct in their concerns; in Kerrier between October 1999 and September 2000 the rate for the theft of a vehicle was 2.6 while theft from a vehicle was 10.8 whereas in Penwith the rates were 2.3 and 12.69. In all cases except two, Restormel residents were more worried than any other district, the exceptions being Kerrier residents' concerns about thefts from their vehicles and Caradon residents being insulted or bothered by their neighbours.

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9 Statistics for Penwith include the Isles of Scilly where vehicle ownership is very low.
Respondents were asked about the measures that they had taken to increase their sense of safety and security in the home and in most areas there was evidence to suggest that such activities were taken seriously with significant percentages in most areas indicating their use of special locks on windows and doors, informal guardianship through their neighbours when the property was empty and increasing their household insurance in the event of a break-in. However the residents of North Cornwall appeared to be less troubled by fears of crime and this is further reflected in their apparent sense of safety which they feel when out walking after dark both in their own area and their most used town. Almost three quarters of respondents felt very or fairly safe doing so in the area in which they lived while more than 50.0% felt similarly in their most used town which is most commonly Wadebridge, Bodmin, Bude or Launceston. Only a marginally higher percentage of Penwith residents felt very or fairly safe in their home although all district results for this were over 80.0%.

As Table 5.4 illustrates, the percentages of those who had been victims of crime were significantly lower than those that worried about being victimised. Burglary, the crime that most people worried about was suffered by between 3.0% in Kerrier and 4.9% in Restormel. Indeed the problem most commonly reported in the survey was ‘a suspicious caller at home’ which more properly may reflect the somewhat unfounded media reporting of crime, disorder and stranger violence. An alternative explanation may be that bogus callers are
encouraged to attempt distraction burglary in rural areas where opportunities for the police to mount surveillance on them is more problematic.

Residents were asked if they were worried that they would be a victim of crime in the next twelve months and were given a list of crimes and incivilities. Residents in Restormel were most worried about being a victim of most of the issues while those in North Cornwall were least concerned. However, when asked specifically if they thought that they were at risk of becoming a victim of burglary, a mugging or being robbed or having something stolen from their car in the following twelve months, residents in Caradon were most concerned about the first two crimes while those in North Cornwall thought themselves most likely to have something stolen from their car. Domestic burglary was the crime that most people were worried about in the survey, between 56.4% of respondents in North Cornwall and 66.8% in Restormel were very or fairly worried about being a victim while in all districts the actual rate of incidents per household ranged from 6.2 in North Cornwall and 11.5 in Restormel (Povey et.al, 2001). Carrick, Kerrier, Penwith and Restormel all within CDRP Family 7 were amongst the lowest in their grouping with regard to burglary dwelling rates while Caradon and North Cornwall were both below the mean of 2.9 for Family group 12.

Caution needs to be exercised here; as in previous research, Table 5.4 shows that not all crimes that take place are reported to the police and this also
appears to be the case with the Cornwall residents. Victims were more likely to report acquisitive crimes including burglary or having something stolen from their person, perhaps because of making an insurance claim, while victims of assault were also likely to report the incident. Over 50.0% of those who recorded that they had been a victim of a break-in to their garage or shed, their home being vandalised or graffitied or involvement in a car-related incident (either theft or an accident) also reported the incident to the police.

When residents were asked who they thought committed the crime in their locality, there was little difference in each of the districts about who they thought was responsible although perhaps unsurprisingly those in Kerrier, the district which attracts the lowest proportion of staying visitors were least likely to think that tourists or casual workers from away were responsible. In contrast, 13.8% of Restormel residents thought that tourists were responsible and allied to this, 37.7% thought that casual workers from away were responsible. They also were most likely to think that local casual workers were responsible. Penwith residents were most likely to think that other residents were responsible (66.2%). Respondents were also asked if they thought anyone else specifically was responsible for crime in their area and the highest percentage of those who added a further group were Penwith residents of which 6.6% said that drug/alcohol abusers were responsible. In each of the other districts, respondents were most likely to point to young people as alternative culprits.
In Chapter four, analysis of data indicated that not only were perceptions and experiences of crime among business operators different in the six districts of Cornwall but also that there were significant variations within specific districts. As in the previous chapter, this section will also explore the perceptions and impact of crime by residents in the north and south of Restormel and Penzance and the remainder of Penwith. As in Chapter four, a comparison will be made of residents' perceptions of the problems and concerns of victimisation from crime and incivilities as well as their feelings of safety in the localities in which they live. However for similar opinions regarding town issues, residents of Penwith will be compared according to whether their most used town is Penwith or elsewhere in the County, while in Restormel the towns of Newquay, St. Austell and the rest will be compared.

5.5.1 Penwith

Perceptions and experiences among Penwith business people varied according to whether they were based in the town of Penzance or elsewhere in the district and a similar exercise can be undertaken for residents. Penwith resident responses were divided in to two sub-regions by postcode, those who lived in Penzance and those that lived in the remainder of the district. The data can also be analysed for the resident's most used town be it
Penzance or elsewhere in the County\textsuperscript{10}, 60.4\% of residents in the district indicated that Penzance was their most used town while most of the remainder used St Ives, Hayle or Camborne\textsuperscript{11}. From the sample, twenty cases were excluded, ten because no postcode was given and ten that provided ambiguous codes. Therefore for the area in which they live, 137 responses will be considered in Penzance (28.5\%) and 343 (71.5\%) in the rest of the district while for the most used town the proportions are 60.4\% in Penzance and 39.6\% for most used town in the remainder of the County.

Respondents were asked to identify from a list of issues, those which they thought were a very big or big problem in their most used town (Table 5.7). For those who indicated that Penzance was their most used town, the issues that were perceived to be the biggest problems generally reflected the aesthetic quality of life in the town such as congestion, litter and vandalism. Notions of anti-social behaviour are apparent with a majority identifying children and young people hanging around in public places and begging as being problematic and a significant percentage also referring to drunken people on the streets. The issue that was regarded as a much bigger problem in Penzance than elsewhere was drug abuse which reflects media reporting about the issue at the time\textsuperscript{12}.

\textsuperscript{10} The distance of Penwith from Devon makes it unlikely that residents would travel that far on a routine basis
\textsuperscript{11} In Kerrier
\textsuperscript{12} See for example “Anti-drug messages displayed: Pilot project celebrates success” in Western Morning News, June 1, 2001; Western Morning News: “Battle lines drawn in the war against drugs” Western Morning News, February 16, 2000
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Penzance (n=301)</th>
<th>Rest of County (n=197)</th>
<th>Penzance (n=137)</th>
<th>Rest of Penwith (n=343)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism to property</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the streets</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists being picked on</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial harassment</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7 Percentage of residents in Penwith that considered the above issues to be a very big/big problem in the area in which they lived and Penzance/ Rest of most used towns.

Such were their concerns about certain areas in Penzance that 15.9% of those who used the town were reluctant to go to those areas during the day. While respondents were asked where they would be reluctant to go to and why, the design of the questionnaire did not allow them to specify answers for day-time and night time. However several said that they would avoid town centres during the summer months because of crowds in the shopping areas. Penzance is a town which people often felt unsafe in at night; 56.8% that used the town felt like this and 56.1% were reluctant to go to certain areas within the town. The most cited areas were those around pubs and clubs, poorly lit areas, car parks and where youngsters hang about. Tourism's impact in Penzance was felt by almost 20.0% who saw tourists being picked on as
being a problem in the town. However nuisance caused by tourists was not considered a problem.

For those residents who used other towns in the County, respondents were less inclined to see the issues as being as much of a problem as those who used Penzance. Unemployment rather than traffic congestion was seen to be the biggest problem while issues relating to street crimes and incivilities are considerably reduced. While a low percentage were reluctant to go to certain areas in their most used town elsewhere in the County during the day, at night time almost 50.0% referred to dark and unlit areas and around pubs and clubs, particularly at closing time as places that they would not go to and reasons given were frequently because of the fear of being attacked or the presence of crowds of young people.

When residents were asked to indicate how much of a problem the same issues were in the area in which they lived, levels of concern were consistently lower than in their most used towns. Penzance residents were more likely to see most issues as a problem than those that lived elsewhere in the district. As indicated in Table 5.7, most notable contrasts exist with regard to begging, drunken people on the streets, assaults, tourists being picked on and racial harassment. Hence those who live in the town, like those who use it, also regard street related incidents as problematic. Amongst residents who lived elsewhere in the district, the issues considered
to be the most problematic were again traffic congestion and unemployment
but in both cases, fewer than 40.0% of respondents felt that it was an issue.
Almost the same levels of concern were aired among Penzance and Penwith
residents regarding children and young people hanging around perhaps
reflecting the impact of recent policies relating to anti-social behaviour.

People's concerns about their locality could be measured by asking if there
were areas that they would be reluctant to go to during the day and at night.
Few residents in either Penzance or elsewhere in the district were wary of
areas where they lived during the day but after dark, almost 40.0% of
Penzance residents would avoid particular locations including subways, parks
and near pubs, often because of drunken people and drug users or young
people hanging around. However such concerns were not generally present
among residents in the rest of the district. There was an even division
between those who felt safe or unsafe walking out after dark where they lived
in Penzance were evenly divided, while almost three quarters of those who
lived in the rest of the district felt safe walking out after dark. People felt
relatively safe in their own homes alone at night whether in Penzance (82.5%)
or the rest of the district (84.8%).
This led on to asking residents about their fear of becoming a victim of a crime, a central feature of current government thinking both centrally and at local level. As Graph 5.4 indicates, for almost all crimes listed, residents of Penzance were somewhat more worried that those in the rest of the district. This was particularly true for street crime such as a mugging or being robbed and problems with neighbours.

However when we asked residents to consider the risk of being a victim of specific crimes in the next twelve months, these comparatively high levels were not sustained with none of the residents in the remainder of Penwith
thinking that they were very likely to be mugged or robbed and only 4.4% thinking that it was fairly likely. This was less than half of those in Penzance of whom 10.3% thought similarly.

Actual levels of crime as indicated in Table 5.8 show that, as elsewhere, the experience is far less than the perception. While suspicious callers were the greatest problem in both areas of Penwith, theft from the person was somewhat more of an issue in the remainder of the district than Penzance while burglary was more than twice as much of a problem in Penzance. In contrast, more people in the remainder of the district were victims of assault and injuries at work while nobody who responded to the survey in Penzance had had their car stolen during the specified period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Penzance (n=137)</th>
<th>Rest of Penwith (n=343)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suspicious caller</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car vandalised</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulted, threatened or harassed</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism/graffiti on home</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break in to home</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car involved in a traffic accident</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items stolen from car</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break in to garage, shed etc</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anything else stolen that was left lying about</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened by a stranger</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured in accident at work</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured at home</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaulted</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car stolen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 Percentages of residents or someone in their household that had experienced the above problems between August 2000 and September 2001
Pertinent to the focus of this work is, once again the perception of the impact of tourism. Those who lived elsewhere in Penwith were more likely to see this as a problem than those in Penzance. Penwith attracts the second highest number of visitors to the County and so it may be anticipated that concerns about tourism's influence in the district might be significant. Levels of impact are shown to be similar among residents in Penzance and those who live in the remainder of the district although the positive impact appears greater in the remainder of Penwith (Table 5.9) than in Penzance, particularly with regard to employment opportunities, quality of life in general and the provision of leisure facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Penzance (n=137)</th>
<th>Rest of Penwith (n=343)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income and standard of living</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>84.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area's overall prosperity</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure facilities</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>-35.0</td>
<td>-37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>-35.8</td>
<td>-29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>-36.5</td>
<td>-35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>-40.1</td>
<td>-43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances</td>
<td>-41.6</td>
<td>-40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>-53.3</td>
<td>-57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter, vandalism</td>
<td>-53.3</td>
<td>-63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>-61.3</td>
<td>-65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>-84.7</td>
<td>-87.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9 Impact of tourism in Penwith where minus figures denote a negative impact.
Those who live in the rest of the district felt more strongly about the negative impact of tourism on litter and vandalism than those who lived in Penzance and were slightly more negative about alcohol abuse, noise, cost of housing and traffic conditions.

This level of impact may suggest that perceptions of who commits crime in the area might influence residents' responses to such a question. Residents were given four options and asked to tick no more than two. While similar proportions in both areas of the district thought that residents and casual workers from away were mostly responsible (67.2% and 66.5%; 38.7% and 32.9% respectively), Penzance residents were slightly more decisive than those in the rest of the district. The relatively high percentage who thought that casual workers from away were responsible may indeed relate to the tourist industry which traditionally attracts large numbers of seasonal workers from across the country and overseas to work in the service industry during holidays from college and university or who choose to work in a tourist area during the season and remain in the area during the winter and claim unemployment benefits.

This section has demonstrated that perceptions of problems in the district are more acute in Penzance than the remainder of the district by both users of the town and those who live there. However reports of victimisation are less clearly defined with those in the rest of the district reporting higher levels of incidence in the given period for being insulted, threatened or assaulted, theft
from the person, their car being involved in an accident or stolen, being threatened by a stranger and being injured in an accident at home.

5.5.2 Restormel

Having identified differences between areas of Penwith, this section will go on to repeat the exercise with resident respondents of the north and south of Restormel to the 2001 Crime and Disorder audit questionnaire. In total, 689 residents from the sample in Restormel returned a completed questionnaire of which nine failed to provide their postcode. As a result they were excluded from all data relating to the north or the south of the district while all cases are included for the analysis of most used town responses. Among all Restormel residents, 19.4% indicated that Newquay in the north was their most used town, 57.7% St. Austell in the south and 23.9% used other towns in the County including Truro and Bodmin.

In the question which asked respondents to indicate from a list of problems which they thought were relevant to their most used town, traffic congestion ranked as most problematic among those that used Newquay, St. Austell and other towns in the County. The issue which was regarded to be least problematic was that of racial harassment, although somewhat surprisingly over 10.0% saw this as a very big or fairly big problem among those that used St. Austell. Issues relating to street-based incidents including assaults,
drunken people, drug abuse, litter and street crime including robbery and mugging are seen as more problematic by those who use Newquay than those that used other towns. Residents who used Newquay and St. Austell were similarly concerned about vandalism to property, unemployment, vehicle crime and children hanging about in public places while those who used other towns in the County were less disturbed.

The significant levels of concern relating to street crimes and incivilities are clearly related to the presence of tourists in Newquay; over 60.0% said that tourists causing a nuisance was a very or fairly big problem while those who used St Austell were the least likely to see this as the case. Similarly a quarter of those who used Newquay were troubled by begging, a somewhat higher proportion than for the other town users.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Newquay Rest (n=131)</th>
<th>Rest Most used (n=161)</th>
<th>St Austell Most used (n=382)</th>
<th>Where I live (N. Restormel) (n=213)</th>
<th>Where I live (S. Restormel) (n=467)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the streets</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism to property</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists being picked on</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial harassment</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10 Percentage of residents in Restormel that considered the above issues to be a very big/big problem in their most used town/ the area in which they lived.

Patterns of concern changed somewhat when the same issues were put to respondents with regard to the area in which they lived. For this the district was divided into two, north and south, and while traffic congestion remained the most problematic issue in both 'halves,' those in the south were more troubled than in the north. Street related crimes and incivilities were again a bigger issue in the north where Newquay is located than the south, although levels of concern are much lower than for the most used towns. As indicated in Table 5.10, more respondents from the south of the district are concerned
about a number of the issues given although in several instances the margins are not great. The presence of different types of tourists is again identified in the north where twice as many residents saw them as causing a nuisance than those in the south, suggesting the increased level of disorder among younger visitors.

In spite of those who used Newquay being most concerned about street crime, only 1.5% said that there were areas in the town that they would be reluctant to go to during the day compared with 7.5% who used other towns. Even after dark, fewer respondents who used Newquay said that they would stay away from certain locations, most commonly around pubs and clubs. Marginally more of those who used St Austell were reluctant to go to specific areas, notably car parks, certain housing estates and unlit areas often because of their fears of youths who congregated. Almost 40.0% who used other towns said that they would not go to certain places in those towns at night but often this was because they did not go out at night anyway. Amongst those that did, they referred to feeling intimidated by drunken people and fearful of being a victim of a street crime. In all the defined locations, a little more than a third of respondents said that they felt unsafe walking in their most used town after dark.

In the area in which they lived, similar percentages in the north and the south of Restormel were reluctant to go to certain places during the day while at night, slightly more in the north were unwilling to venture in to particular
places. Several cited the town centre as a place to stay away from and reasons given included the threat of youths who congregated on the streets, the presence of drunks and the risk of assault. Two thirds of residents in both the north and the south generally felt safe walking alone at night in their locality and most felt safe in their own homes when alone at night.

When residents were more specifically asked how likely they thought they were likely to become a victim of a crime or other incivility, fears were high in both the north and the south of the district as demonstrated in Graph 5.5. Only being bothered by neighbours and being targeted because of race were considered to be fairly unlikely although in the case of the latter, respondents in both 'halves' of Restormel were a little more concerned than those across the County. Concern about having their home broken in to was particularly high amongst residents in the north of the district.

When respondents were asked how likely they thought that they would be a victim of burglary in the next twelve months, 14.6% in the north responded in the affirmative, marginally more than in the south. A slightly higher percentage also thought this was the case with regard to having something stolen from their car (28.1% and 24.0%). In contrast, a slightly higher percentage of respondents in the south felt that they were at risk of becoming the victim of a mugging than those in the north, somewhat surprising in view of people's perceptions about street crime in the north of the district.
Graph 5.5 Levels of responses of those who felt very/fairly worried about being a victim of any of the above

Respondents from the south were more fearful about being a victim of burglary than those in the north and reported crimes indicate that this was the case although a lower percentage had indicated that it might happen to them in the next twelve months.

So, while perceptions and fear of certain crimes have been identified, Table 5.11 signifies the actual levels of crime that respondents or someone in their household in Restormel had experienced in the thirteen months prior to the
survey. In the north of the district, marginally more people recorded incidents of being insulted, threatened or harassed than involvement in a traffic accident. The reporting of suspicious callers in the south of Restormel was higher than for residents in Penwith where it was the most reported occurrence but was placed third in the north of Restormel.

Reported incidents were higher in the north of the district for most of the crimes which can be related to street-based incidents but most noticeably, more respondents in the south reported assault than in the north, contrary to earlier analysis of the respondents' perceptions. Domestic crime was more frequently recorded by residents in the south of the district with three times more than in the north reporting that their shed, garage or other outbuilding had been broken in to. Hence while significant numbers who responded to the survey regarded crime and incivilities as a considerable problem, experiences were significantly lower. The questionnaire also identified that even where the respondent had been the victim of an acquisitive crime, it was not always conveyed to the police. However what is most apparent and in common with both established research and the experiences of business people in Chapter four, perceptions of crime and disorder far exceeded the experiences or actuality.

Thus evaluation of the data can be said to have so far provided a somewhat confusing picture. Residents whose most used town was Newquay were generally more likely to see most of the issues in Table 5.10 as somewhat
more problematic than those who used St Austell and significantly more than those who used other towns. However concern was lower when they were asked about the same problems in the area in which they lived and those in the south saw a greater number of the problems as more of an issue than respondents in the north.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>N. Restormel (n= 213)</th>
<th>S. Restormel (n= 467)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insulted, threatened or harassed</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car involved in a traffic accident</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicious caller</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car vandalised</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism/graffiti on home</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anything else stolen that was left lying</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items stolen from car</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured in accident at work</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured at home</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break in to home</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened by a stranger</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaulted</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break in to garage, shed etc</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car stolen</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11 Percentages of residents or someone in their household that had experienced the above problems between August 2000 and September 2001

The district of Restormel attracts the highest proportion of visitors that come to the County (West Country Tourist Board, 1998) with each 'half' attracting similar types of customers but in different proportions (see Chapter three); 66.2% of respondents in the north and 60.8% of those in the south said that tourism was important in the area that they lived. Table 5.12 indicates that those elements that were seen to be improved by tourism are similarly
acknowledged by respondents in the north and the south but where features are worsened by their presence, the impact is somewhat greater in the north than the south. Almost twice as many respondents in the north felt that tourism worsened alcohol and drug abuse, disturbances and public order, property and violent crime than those in the south, again perhaps reflecting the perception of the behaviour of the large number of younger visitors that gravitate to Newquay and its surrounding camping and caravan parks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Restormel (n=213)</th>
<th>South (n=467)</th>
<th>Restormel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income and standard of living</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area’s overall prosperity</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure facilities</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>-89.7</td>
<td>-91.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>-77.0</td>
<td>-57.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter, vandalism</td>
<td>-77.0</td>
<td>-62.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>-73.2</td>
<td>-40.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances</td>
<td>-71.8</td>
<td>-40.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>-62.4</td>
<td>-33.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>-62.4</td>
<td>-32.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>-61.5</td>
<td>-36.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>-56.8</td>
<td>-63.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12 The impact of tourism on local features

When asked who they thought were the perpetrators of crime in the two areas, the responses were very different\textsuperscript{13}. Graph 5.6 indicates that while those in the south predominately saw residents as the main offenders, the pattern in the north was very different with casual workers from away and tourists together accounting for the largest proportion. Respondents were

\textsuperscript{13} Respondents were asked to indicate any two from the list of four so totals do not add up to 100.0\%
also offered the choice of indicating if they thought that anyone else was responsible for crime. Among those in the south, 6.4% thought that young people were responsible, also the largest single group identified by residents across the district while 5.2% of those in the north regarded drug/alcohol abusers as the most likely.

![Graph showing responses to the question 'who do you think commits the crimes locally?' in Restormel](image)

Graph 5.6 Responses to the question 'who do you think commits the crimes locally?' in Restormel

5.6 Summary

Using quantitative data derived from a survey distributed to a sample of residents in the County, Chapter five has endeavoured to identify and examine the perceptions and experiences of crime and disorder in Cornwall. It has then gone on to explore the impact of tourism on those perceptions and has demonstrated that people's perceptions vary according to their relationship with the industry. This was particularly noticeable in the north of
Restormel where media reports and police data have illustrated that young people and the high number of licensed premises result in periods and areas of disorder.

Chapters 4 and 5 have therefore identified that the impact of tourism on businesses and residents in the County is significant although not uniform. The analysis goes on to demonstrate that these perceptions regard tourism to have an impact on crime and disorder particularly in those areas which attract higher numbers of young visitors. It has also been shown that while concerns about crime and incivilities are comparatively high, victimisation is low.

The next chapter will continue this theme using data analysis to explore the perceptions and experiences of a sample of visitors and residents who were victims of crime in Cornwall in 2000.
Chapter Six: Tourism and Crime: The Tourist Victim

6.1 Introduction

"Around the world every year millions of victims suffer severe physical, psychological and financial harm as a result of the deliberate acts of wrongdoers.... Their suffering is often ignored or forgotten. Whether the crime entails a vicious rape, a costly fraud, or the ransacking of a personal residence by a burglar, in most countries little will be done to help the victim recover from the loss and post-traumatic pain. Further, the authorities will often increase the pain by following criminal justice procedures that do not recognize the basic interests of victims or the inconvenience or fear that menace the security of witnesses and victims." (Waller in Maguire and Pointing, 1988:195)

Just as the two previous chapters have analysed perceptions, risk and victimisation of crime among a sample of people who live and work in Cornwall, this chapter will build on the theme by looking at visitors who have been victims of crime in the same County. This will be achieved using findings from a questionnaire sent to people who had reported a crime in Cornwall while staying in the area. A further 'control' questionnaire was sent to a sample of residents in the County who had reported similar crimes during the same period. Analysis of the data will specifically explore the impact on both sets of respondents at the time, how it affected them and how it may have influenced their future behaviour, in order to evaluate differences in perceptions of levels of crime and support in the region.
Following from this introduction, section 6.2 will, referring to the literature in Chapter one identify those areas which have attracted little or no research in spite of the growth in travel opportunities. This is particularly relevant in England and Wales where the recognition of the role of the victim in the criminal justice process has become increasingly significant in recent years. In so doing, the risk and impact of crime against visitors will be compared with that of residents in order to underline the assertion that crime against visitors has a different impact. This has been identified and acknowledged by agencies in various countries and while this will be further investigated in Chapter seven, the issue will be introduced in this section in relation to victim experiences.

In developing the theme, section 6.3 will go on to explore the tourist victim in Cornwall, the geographical focus of this work. Using primary research data it will identify who were tourist victims in the County during the summer of 2000, identify the crimes that they reported to the police and compare findings with those amongst residents who were victims of similar crimes during the same period. Dealings with the police and Victim Support will also be explored in order to identify their appropriateness. The final section will delve deeper by comparing findings in each of the six districts. However, numbers of respondents in most of the districts did not provide material that can be said to be generally valid so that only Restormel, the district where the highest proportion of respondents to the survey were victimised, will be examined in any detail.
In Chapter one reference was made to the issue of risk and victim surveys routinely include questions asking respondents about their perceptions of the likelihood of being a victim of specific crimes in the subsequent year. This has been explored by, among others, Ditton and Chadee (2006) and while they conclude from their own research that perceptions of risk are significantly higher than the actual risk, they provide no single answer as to why this should be the case.

The perspective taken by Chadee et. al. (2006) intimates that there is an implication in the presentation of questions that has much to do with the high levels of risk which respondents report. The issue of why some people are more at risk than others has been addressed by, among others, Gottfredson (1984) and Hindeland, Gottfredson and Garafolo (1978) (cited in Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta, 2000) who deduced that "young, unmarried, and residents of urban areas run a much higher risk of victimization" (Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Previous victimisation also increases the risk of being victimised again (Farrell 1995; Pease 1992). The study by Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta in common with other such studies therefore focussed upon the risk of repeat victimisation based on same locations and urbanisation.

Clearly, in the case of the visitor victim this is not applicable as the crime took place in a location away from the victim's familiar location and in an area that is generally not defined as 'urban'. With regard to visitor victims, it may be
assumed that visitors to a particular area have fewer concepts of the levels or risk of crime than residents in the same location. Most research in this area refers to international visitors and so they cannot be regarded as representative of the Cornish experience and UK victims, although findings often reflect those of this research. While there is research which suggests that visitors are generally unconcerned about the risk of crime on holiday, one notable exception is indicated by George (2003) who found that tourists to Cape Town are wary about going out after dark or using public transport, this in a region that is well known for high levels of violent crime.

6.2 Tourists and Crime

"The tourist is one of the world's natural victims" (Turner and Ash, 1975:238).

Literature relating to tourists and crime has generally related to international rather than 'domestic' travellers (see for example George, 2003; George 2001; Pizam et al 1997) and there appears to be little consideration of the types of tourists according to such typologies provided by Cohen (1984) or Prideaux (1996) and the crimes that they are victims of.

Mawby et al's survey (2000) among British holidaymakers found that when respondents had been victims of crime while on holiday, they were affected at
least as much as 'traditional' victims leaving us with the quandary of how they were affected; that is, were the effects the same for tourists as for the local 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 practices and possibly, language. Access to a phone to cancel credit cards and replace cash, tickets and other travel documents such as passports is a priority while, in the case of injury or other trauma, identification of appropriate medical resources may be speculative. If other property such as luggage is stolen, its effect can similarly severely impede upon the visitor's visit but in a less dramatic manner. However as has already been identified, the impact of crime is not the same for everyone and the judgement of a police officer may severely underestimate the effect because his/her training and/or skills may not equip them for such events. In addition, the victim is isolated from informal systems of support such as friends and family as well as those formal agencies that are increasingly available to the resident victim.

To address these issues, problems experienced by tourists are, in some instances addressed by specialist tourism police such as those in parts of Greece¹, Ibiza² and Phuket³ while in rare instances, specialist victim support services are in place and accessible⁴. As indicated in Chapter one, in

¹ http://www.360clicks.co.uk/travel/country_details.asp?country_id=2
Amsterdam and Dublin\textsuperscript{5}, tourist victim services working in close proximity and with the co-operation of the police have developed schemes whereby the specialist needs of the tourist victims has been identified and are addressed in a sympathetic, knowledgeable and efficient manner.

These services are further discussed in more detail in Chapter seven. Here, however, it is pertinent to note that the development of these services suggests firstly, that there is a need for such provision and secondly, those needs can be more adequately met by a specialist facility. In an interview with a coordinator for the Tourist Victim Support Services in the Republic of Ireland, the difference in impact of crime against the tourist victim compared to that of the resident victim was clear;

"The function of what we do is to help tourist victims of crime while holidaying in Ireland. We help with the emotional aspects but probably more so with any practical needs arising as a result of crime."\textsuperscript{6}

These specialist needs were addressed in the 1990s in Dublin and derive from a service established in Amsterdam a few years earlier.

While Victim Support in England and Wales perceives the need for "the promotion of specialist services and victims' organisations,"\textsuperscript{7} at the time of

\textsuperscript{5} In conversation with coordinators working for Amsterdam Tourist Assistance Service and Tourist Victim Support Service (Dublin)
\textsuperscript{6} In an interview, 9\textsuperscript{th} September 2002
writing, little has changed with regard to the provision of such services. The same document does include a section on specialist services and reference is also made to case studies so it may be speculated that the organisation will, in the near future consider establishing a tourist victim service appropriate to the needs of the tourist victim.

However at this juncture, this somewhat perfunctory reference to specialist services is intended to do no more than demonstrate to the reader that such services exist and will be more fully examined in the next chapter.

6.3 The Tourist versus Resident Victim in Cornwall

Crime in Cornwall is less of a problem than in many other areas of the country but this does not diminish the impact that it may have on its victims. It has been suggested that visitors are often victims of crime and this is supported by the trend in annual ‘total crime’ data from the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary. The months which recorded the greatest numbers of crime in the area covered by Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in 2000/2001, were May, July and August (the most popular holiday months) when there were over 9,000 crimes recorded each month compared with February 2001 (the lowest number of recorded crimes) when there were 7778 crimes, and March

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when there were 8741. More specifically this pattern was repeated in Restormel, the most popular district; there were 393 recorded crimes in February, 2001 while in July 2000 the figure rose to 635 and in August 697.

Previous studies indicate that tourist victimisation is not categorised separately in either police or victim surveys except where research has been undertaken for the specific purpose of identification. This unsurprisingly also applies in Cornwall so that statistics relating to levels of crime against tourists can only be speculative. Furthermore, visitors who are victims of crime in Cornwall are less likely to be contacted by Victim Support (see Chapter seven) and this therefore makes it problematic to categorically ascertain the effects of crime victimisation on visitors and the subsequent support of the very agency, Victim Support that is established for that purpose. This is more particularly significant for those visitors from overseas who, confronted with an alien system, language and culture may be further victimised.

Since there is little prior research relating to tourist victimisation and there is thus not much data available as a separate category, it has been difficult to identify direct comparisons. To go some way to address this, the two postal questionnaires previously referred to in Chapter two (appendices 1 and 2) were distributed in the first quarter of 2001 to individuals who reported being a victim of crime in Cornwall between June 1st and September 30th 2000. One went to those whose home address was elsewhere in Britain other than
Devon or Cornwall, and the second to people whose home address was within the County of Cornwall, the assumption being that those who received the first questionnaire had been visiting the County while recipients of the second were residents. Despite issues raised earlier, overseas tourists were excluded for practical reasons. This period was selected as being the peak months of the tourist season. In the event, 623 questionnaires were sent out to visitor victims of which 217 were returned giving a response rate of 34.8% while a sample of 300 resident victim surveys (Appendix 7) were posted and 81 completed and returned resulting in a much lower response rate of 27.0%. This second survey is problematic with regards to its representativeness as described in Chapter two but nonetheless provides an inferred, pertinent opportunity to make tentative comparisons.

The objectives of the survey were to determine the following:

- Perceptions of levels of crime in Cornwall
- The impact of the crime on the respondent
- Comparison of the effects of victimisation on the resident and the tourist
- The role and level of service of the police
- The value of Victim Support to the visitor victim

The first three of these are described here, the remaining two in Chapter seven.
The definition of tourist and traveller provided by Tourism Satellite Accounts (Eurostat 2001, cited in Wall and Mathieson 2006) form the basis for the five options given in the visitor victim questionnaire (Appendix 6). Of all these respondents, 79.3% stated that they were in Cornwall at the time that the crime happened because they were on holiday; 9.9% were visiting friends and family; 2.8% were on a business trip, and 1.4% was on an educational visit. A further 6.6% gave other reasons. Cornwall is obviously a popular destination with 41.4% saying that it was their favourite holiday choice and 10.3% that it had been recommended. Length of stay varied and 62.7% were in Cornwall for between seven and fifteen nights while 12.4% were there for one, two or three nights. Among resident victims, 32.5% had lived in Cornwall all their lives, 11.3% had moved there as a child and 45.0% as an adult.
Percentages of Visitot Victims (n=216) Percentages of Resident Victims (n=81)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender/Male</th>
<th>56.5</th>
<th>46.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married/co-habiting</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner/occupier</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more weeks away on holiday in 2000</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional status</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of less than £5,000</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£5,001-£10,000</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£10,001-£20,000</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£20,001-£30,000</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£30,001+ per annum</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-54</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ hours away from home during the day</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 times or more out in the evening at home</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare time at pubs/clubs</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating out at restaurants in the evening</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising with family/friends</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very/fairly safe walking out after dark at home</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more times out in the evening in Cornwall</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those aged 16-24 who went out 3 times or more in the evening in Cornwall</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 Comparisons of responses to questions in the visitor and resident victim surveys

The identification of the variables in Table 6.1 is intended to provide a comparative list of demographic factors available from both questionnaires. It is notable that a considerably higher proportion of visitor victims than resident victims were among those in the lowest age band, 16–24, and this is further explored in a breakdown of visitor victims into districts in Section 6.4. The
affluence enjoyed by visitor respondents is clearly reflected in their declared incomes; the percentage who described themselves as 'professionals' and the period of time that they spent away on holiday. Amongst visitor and resident victims, similar percentages were out of their homes for five or more hours during the day while further examination indicates that a slightly lower percentage of visitors (67.3%) stayed away from their holiday accommodation for a similar period. While a relatively low percentage of residents went out three or more times in the evening when at home compared to visitors at home, 62.6% of all visitors went out three or more times in the evening while in Cornwall compared with only 5.3% of residents. Among those aged 16–24, over 85.0% went out three or more times per week whilst in Cornwall, more than three times higher than young residents. When asked if they visited pubs or clubs, 85.4% in this younger age band said that they did so more than once during their stay putting them in the areas which police data identifies as being where violent crime is most likely to take place. This clearly indicates that tourists' patterns of behaviour when on holiday puts them at a greater risk of victimisation.

However tourists clearly felt safe in pursuing much higher risk activities when out after dark. Among respondents to the BCS in 2000, 68.0% felt very or fairly safe and a similar proportion (72.2%) of tourist victims said they felt very or fairly safe when out after dark in their home location, but 94.4% of the same sample said that they felt very or fairly safe when out after dark when on holiday. Interestingly, none of the visitor respondents said that they felt very
unsafe walking out after dark while on holiday while almost 6.0% said that they did at home, thus reflecting an increased sense of safety in Cornwall in spite of an almost total lack of knowledge about levels of crime in the area.

One victim identified an issue that has been indicated in established research and was echoed by other respondents,

"When on holiday you are more relaxed so crime is not the first thing you think of." (No.63, Male aged 35-44, Victim of theft of car phone from an alarmed car in Looe Bar).

To support this, a high percentage (82.4%) of visitor victims had not considered levels of crime in Cornwall prior to their visit, this in spite of the problems of securing valuables when away from home. Serviced accommodation may provide the use of a safe (generally the establishment's own safe rather than one in the room) while those camping or in caravans are subject to very low levels of security. Although a higher percentage of visitor victims spent more time away from their homes during the day than when on holiday, levels of security, increased rurality and unfamiliarity with neighbours clearly illustrates the significance of Cohen and Felson's 'routine activity approach' whereby suitable targets are identified by motivated offenders in the absence of guardianship.
On closer inspection analysis indicates that among those aged 16 – 24, 90.0% felt safe when out at night while on holiday compared with 63.4% at home, and nobody aged 65 and over felt unsafe while out after dark on holiday compared with almost 17.0% who felt so at home. This compared with 11.9% of residents (of the County) aged 16-24 who said that they felt safe when out walking after dark and 7.7% of residents aged 65 and over who felt unsafe.

Among resident respondents, the experience of the crime resulted in 22.5% saying that it had changed their attitude to living in Cornwall of which 85.0% felt less or much less secure. The reason given by one respondent was typical of several, who commented on a perception of increased insecurity,

"Whereas 6 years ago you could go out without any worries, now even when working in the garden you have to lock all doors and carry the key around which we feel is unacceptable" (No. 002, Male, aged 55-64, victim of burglary).

It is suggested that tourists, however, appear to hold rather different views on crime. In fieldwork it has been implied that when people go on holiday, they lose inhibitions and a sense of caution. At a seminar for caravan and camping park operators in Newquay in 2001 highlighting safety and security of tourists, one police officer went so far as to state that,
"When they cross over the Tamar Bridge, they leave their common sense behind" while another went further, "They stop at Gordano Services for a toilet stop and leave their brains there as well."

There appears to be some evidence to support the rather discourteous comments by the police officers. Visitor victims were asked about their perceptions of levels of crime in the County and only 16.4% of respondents had had any thoughts about levels of crime in Cornwall and of these, only 17.1% thought that it was higher than at home. One respondent was particularly unfortunate,

"I've entered the Cornwall area about six times in the past four years. I have experienced 3 minor crimes in 12-14 days total 1 theft and 2 car crimes" (No. 024, Male aged 25-34, theft of property from jacket pocket left to one side whilst playing football on Fistral Beach at night)

In spite of the experience he is not deterred from visiting the area, a viewpoint shared by most respondents. While 14.4% said that they may not return to the area and one (0.5%) said that he may sell his holiday home (the site of the crime) if the problem persists, 60.8% said that the incident had made no difference to their perceptions of the area. That said, 23.0% said that they would be more security conscious.
Table 6.2 Crimes reported by resident and visitor victims between June and September 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Visitor Victims (n=216)</th>
<th>Resident Victims (n=81)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft from vehicle</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft from vehicle</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of vehicle</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attempted and actual vehicle crime</strong></td>
<td><strong>44.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>51.9</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excluding vandalism only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual burglary from accommodation/ dwelling</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted burglary from accommodation/ dwelling</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of accommodation/ dwelling</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attempted &amp; actual property crime</strong></td>
<td><strong>32.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>32.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excluding vandalism only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding away from accommodation/ dwelling</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar proportions of resident victims (95.1%) and visitor victims (97.1%) said that they had been affected by the incident. However slightly more tourists were very much affected (35.3% compared with 28.4% of residents). For those residents who had been affected, almost 90.0% said that they felt less secure. While there was no consensus with regard to this change in attitude, comments including "Cornwall is not the crime-free area it is assumed to be;" "It's increased my awareness of crime" and "I didn't think it would happen to me!" illustrate the feelings of several of the respondents who commented.

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8 This refers to all acquisitive crime from accommodation.
The selection of crimes that were offered in the questionnaires is identified in Table 6.2 and they reflect those of the BCS. Respondents were asked to indicate which they had been a victim of during the given period and findings clearly indicate that among visitor victims, actual and attempted theft from their vehicle were the most commonly reported crimes while among residents, vandalism of a vehicle was a marginally greater problem. There are several reasons why there may be fewer records of theft from residents' vehicles; firstly residents park their cars in garages or driveways rather on the roadside or in car parks; secondly they are less likely to park in unsupervised car parks such as those near beauty spots, a common location for theft from vehicles; thirdly, residents are less likely to be transporting portable valuables as they have the security of their own homes while in contrast, visitors are often reliant upon less secure accommodation. As already indicated, visitors have a lower perception of crime in the County and it may be speculated that they leave goods on show in their vehicles. It has been further suggested that visitors leave their cars in pay and display car parks for longer periods than residents thus indicating to potential offenders the length of time that the vehicle is going to be left. The practice by many car park operators of using machines that issue tickets identifying a time limit on the ticket which is displayed on the windscreen of the car provides the potential offender with a visual checklist so that he or she can select, by time sequence which cars are likely to be left for the longest periods thus enhancing the circumstances to facilitate the offence.

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9 This was indicated by a member of Victim Support, Cornwall during a meeting in May 2001
A conspicuous variation in levels of victimisation is apparent in reports of 'theft from the person' in which 15.3% of visitors but no residents reported an incident during the sample period.

As expected, visitors indicated the loss of property from a wider range of types of property than residents with 13.0% having goods stolen from a caravan, 5.1% from a tent and 4.2% from the beach. As a consequence there is some ambiguity for tourist victims since, for the purposes of this study, burglary was used to describe the loss of property from all types of accommodation including caravans, tents, holiday homes and hotels or guesthouses while counting rules as used by the police in categorising the loss of property from premises is somewhat more complex.\(^{10}\)

Among tourists, the single most commonly stolen item was cash (30.6%), somewhat higher than the 19.8% of residents. Losses to tourists also frequently included tents and/or equipment (26.4%), clothes (25.5%) and purses or wallets (24.1%) the latter two somewhat more common losses for them than for residents. Mobile phones were also more commonly lost by visitor victims than residents (18.1% against 8.6%). From the list of twenty-one separate categories of items that were lost, only six were more commonly reported by residents than visitors.\(^{11}\)

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\(^{10}\) For clarification and explanation see [http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/countburglary05.pdf](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/countburglary05.pdf)

\(^{11}\) These were, stereo equipment, documents, tools, bicycles, vehicles and tickets
According to results from the visitor survey, in the case of vehicle crime, 44.4% of respondents reported being a victim, a somewhat lower percentage than residents who were similarly victimised (51.9%). However when a similar exercise was undertaken with property crime, levels of report were almost identical with 32.1% of residents and 32.9% of visitors recording an attempted or actual burglary from the property.

The largest percentage of visitor respondents was in the 16 – 24 age band accounting for almost a quarter of all victims. They represented a higher percentage than younger local victims and this may be because;

- They represent a higher percentage of all visitors to the County
- Tourists to the County are, in general younger than residents

Certainly according to the ONS estimates of age structure in Cornwall\(^\text{12}\) in mid 2000, those aged between 15 and 24 (the nearest comparison) accounted for only 10.0% of the population. Furthermore, while tourists to the region do not tend to be younger than residents, in the case of the survey to tourist victims, the largest percentage of respondents had been victimised in Restormel, the district that attracted a significant proportion of younger visitors. Indeed almost one third of respondents to the survey were staying in or near Newquay and a similar percentage were victimised in the same location.

Over 50.0% of the 16-24 year old respondents reported losing cash and more than 40.0% lost a purse/wallet or clothes. They were also most likely to lose their mobile phone (34.6%) or tent/equipment (30.8%).

Across all respondents, the percentages of residents and victims who said that the event had affected them to some degree was similar but most notable was the effect on respondents in the various age bands. Literature suggests that older people may be more affected by crime (Donaldson, 2003; Fattah, 1993; Yin, 1980), and this was certainly true for those aged 75 or more where 83.3% were very much or quite affected by the incident. The age band that was second was the 55–64 year olds (77.7%) while 77.0% of those aged 16–24 were third most affected. However it should be noted that numbers for this were small as they were derived from a limited sample size.

As already identified in Chapters four and five, levels of crime are not uniform across the County and this is also the case among tourist victims. While this will be looked at in closer detail in the next section, it is pertinent to reiterate that the largest proportion of respondents to the survey were victims in Restormel and while figures are low, a comparison is interesting in light of the importance which the various local authorities and the police place on tourism with regard to crime and community safety, and the sorts of tourists who are attracted to different areas of the region.
6.4 Tourist Victims by District

The previous section has provided some indication of the obvious impact of visitor numbers on the County with regard to crime, but in spite of the evidence, references to the phenomena were scant in the 2002 Crime and Disorder strategies in each of the six districts. For example, the Kerrier strategy makes no reference whatsoever to tourism while Carrick and Caradon allude to the need to reduce vehicle crime in beauty spot car parks and domestic burglary against second homes and caravans. These two themes are also identified in the Penwith strategy, as is violence and disorder which is seen to peak during the summer months and more particularly around the clubs in Penzance (notably excluding one named club). This reference to disorder and violence is also indicated in the Restormel strategy perhaps reflecting police data which indicated that violent crime was highest in August. In May and June to September it was highest in Newquay with more incidents recorded than in St Austell where the pattern was similar. However this increase in violent crime was not reflected in the responses of visitor victims in my own questionnaire where no incidents of assault were registered and only one incident of wounding away from their accommodation was recorded, this by a respondent who was in North Cornwall at the time.
Thus while there is some mention of tourist related crime and disorder in most of the strategies, only in the Restormel strategy is 'tourist related crime' highlighted as a local theme,

"The Crime Audit does recognise that the rurality of the district, the deprivation suffered by some of our communities and our dependence on tourism impact upon crime and other community safety issues at a local level." (Restormel Crime and Disorder Strategy, 2002, Section 2)

This is particularly pertinent because the district in which most visitors reported that the crime took place between June and September 2000 was Restormel. Indeed 41.9% (85) of respondents said that they had been victimised in this district, a considerably higher percentage than the other districts. This contrasts with victimisation among residents. Both police statistics and findings from the Crime and Disorder Audits in 2002 indicate that there is a slight increase in certain crimes in Restormel but levels are significantly lower than those indicated by respondents to the visitor victim survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Caradon (17)</th>
<th>Carrick (25)</th>
<th>Kerrier (12)</th>
<th>North Cornwall (39)</th>
<th>Penwith (23)</th>
<th>Restormel (85)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Visitor victims of crime, June-September 2000, by age band and district
The district with the lowest number of tourist visitors was in Kerrier, which attracts the smallest proportion of staying tourists in the County and they also had the lowest percentage of visitor victims (5.9%).

Younger victims, that is, those between the ages of 16 and 24 accounted for 41.2% of respondents in Restormel, a considerably higher proportion than visitor victims generally, reflecting Newquay's popularity among young surfers and clubbers. This is further confirmed by the large proportion who said that they were single (37.6%). Middle-aged and older visitor victims were most commonly found in Kerrier, while percentages of those who, while at home listed themselves as enjoying going to pubs or clubs, playing sport and socialising, all activities relating to younger people were higher for Restormel victims than for those in the rest of the County.

Car crime was reported by 52.3% of visitor respondents across the County. In this case, however, the district which had the lowest percentage of reported car crimes was in Restormel (38.8%) while the highest was in Caradon (76.5%) thus reflecting the latter district's concerns as indicated in the Crime and Disorder Strategy (2002),

"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..."
Property crime, that is, crime against accommodation but excluding vehicles, was most problematic in Restormel where 45.9% of respondents reported that they had been a victim of an actual or attempted burglary or vandalism against the property, significantly higher than the 13.0% in Penwith and 16.0% in Carrick. In spite of this, burglary against tourists is not mentioned in the Crime and Disorder strategy (2002) for Restormel. In contrast the Penwith strategy makes reference to the problem of domestic burglaries that are clustered away from the main towns and predominates in holiday homes, second homes, chalets and caravans in holiday parks. Similarly, the Carrick strategy indicates that between 1999 and 2001, they have provided,

"crime prevention advice to people going on holiday through local travel agents"

and,

"crime prevention advice to owners of holiday accommodation and second homes." (Carrick Crime and Disorder Strategy, 2002).

The low levels of tourist victims from each of the districts other than Restormel lead me to remain with that district for the remainder of this chapter in order to provide a concise and credible picture of tourist victimisation in a particular locality.
As already indicated, more than 40.0% of Restormel tourist victims were aged 16-24. Their ages and the circumstances of the events do not identify them as 'deserving' victims identified as being most specifically, "weak compared to the unrelated offender" (Christie in Fattah, 1986:19), and indeed most did not regard the incident as having a significant impact. Most of the respondents who had been victimised in Restormel had been staying in self-catering accommodation, a static caravan or mobile home (24.7%), a tent (15.3%), house or apartment (9.4%), touring caravan (4.7%) or a chalet on a complex (4.7%). One was in a second home but does not specify under what conditions, that is, as owner or renting/borrowing. Most of the remainder were in a hotel (20.0%), Bed and Breakfast or guest house (11.8%), youth hostel (4.3%) or staying with friends or family (1.2%). Visiting pubs and clubs was popular with almost 90.0% of respondents of which more than 73.0% said that they did so more than once during their holiday. Almost 70.0% said that they went out three or more times in the evening, over three times higher than respondents at home.

The sense of safety when walking out alone after dark was significantly different for visitor victims in Restormel where 92.4% felt safe compared with 71.6% who felt safe when at home. Conversely only 7.4% felt 'a bit unsafe' in Restormel while 18.5% felt similarly and a further 9.9% 'very unsafe' while at
home. This perception of increased safety in Cornwall is confirmed by the low percentage who said that they had thought about crime in the region (16.2%), of which only 2.8% thought it was higher than at home.

As already indicated, the most commonly experienced crime among Restormel visitor victims was actual burglary from their accommodation, most frequently from a caravan or tent. The most commonly taken items were cash (37.6%), purses and wallets (30.6%), clothes (28.2%) and mobile phones (28.2%). The theft of tents or related equipment was a major problem with 27.1% of Restormel tourist victims recording such losses.

More than half of those who had been victims of a burglary in Restormel were in the youngest age bracket (16-24) and further analysis shows that 83.5% of all victims in Restormel were in the north of the district when the crime took place and of these, 46.5% were in the youngest age band. This further indicates the attraction of the surf beaches and pubs and clubs for young people to the resorts in the north of the district; for many Newquay is the first destination for holidays without parents and its popularity among hen and stag weekenders is apparent. The impact of such crimes was generally not acute with most respondents saying that while they had been surprised by the levels of crime in the area, the episode did not deter them from returning to

13 See for example
http://www.newquaybuzz.com/modules.php?name=Forums&file=viewtopic&t=109,
http://www.stagweekends.co.uk/?source=adwords and http://www.adoniscabaret.co.uk/
the area, although several said that they would not stay in a tent or at a
particular caravan site in the future.

"Newquay centre seems to be very safe however, *** Caravan Park where we
stayed does not seem very safe. It is full of teenagers and the night staff did
not seem to be doing their job properly" (No. 008, Female, aged 16-24, victim
of burglary from rented caravan).

As a consequence,

"I have been put off by teenage resort centres and also caravan/tent
holidays."  

Another respondent repeated this sentiment,

"Would not like to stay in another caravan at Newquay again, would always
stay in hotels or bed and breakfast if returned to Newquay" (No. 129, Female,
age 16-24, victim of burglary from caravan.

However, another female whose leather coat was taken from her unlocked
room in a self-catering guesthouse stated that,

"The crime took place at a time when there were many people passing
through the area and it was partly the fault of those who were running the
guesthouse so I wouldn't assume this type of crime would happen often" (No.
012, Female, aged 16-24)

A female victim was affected very much by the incident, in which her car was
broken in to in a car park in Newquay and concluded that,

"I thought that levels [of crime] were low, but I now realise Newquay is as
busy as my home town." (No. 60, Female, aged 16-24)
Items most frequently taken in the north of the district was cash (40.8%), wallets or purses (33.8%), and mobile phones (29.6%) while over 25.0% also reported the theft of cameras, clothes, credit/debit cards and/or cheque books and almost 24.0% reported the loss of tents or allied equipment. In contrast, in the south of the district where fewer than 17.0% of the crimes reported by visitors to Restormel took place, a very different picture emerged with 42.9% reporting the loss of tents or equipment and 28.6% the theft of clothes. Cash, tools and mobile phones were each reported stolen by 21.4% of respondents. While 4.3% of victims were aged 45 and over; 40.0% of victims of car crime were aged 55-64 and 30.0% aged 45-54 it did tend to be younger respondents who were victims of property crime in the south.

The popularity of Newquay as a resort for young people is blighted by its reputation as the area in Cornwall that, in general suffers the highest crime rate. According to ‘Focus on Newquay’ dated Winter 2004\textsuperscript{14}, there are some 500 licensed premises and 14 nightclubs and, at the time of this research, licensing laws meant that “at 2 am up to 9000 alcohol fuelled young people are told to ‘drink up and leave’” (ibid.) whereupon a considerable proportion continue their partying at locations such as Towan Beach leading to complaints from residents and other people staying in the locality.

\textsuperscript{14} See http://www.restormel.gov.uk/media/adobe/g/f/Restormel%20Winter04%20p03.pdf

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The attraction of Newquay and its subsequent problems are illustrated in the categories of respondents. Those in the north of the district were most commonly part of a single or mixed sex group (45.1%) or a couple or young family (36.7%), a somewhat different demography from those in the south where 85.7% of respondents were part of a couple or young family and only 7.1% in a mixed group. Those in the north were more likely to go out in the evening during their holiday often to pubs and clubs (64.8%) and two-thirds of respondents spent five or more hours away from their accommodation during the day. In contrast, only 35.7% of those in the south went out to a pub or club more than once during their holiday although a similar percentage spent five or more hours away from their accommodation during the day.

The experience of being a victim of crime changed the perception of the area of 40.8% in the north of the district compared to 50.0% in the south. The most common reason given for the change in perception amongst those in the north was ‘that it can happen anywhere’ (26.8%) while in the south they were ‘unaware of crime levels in the area’ (35.7%). That said, while 18.3% of those victims in the north said that they may not return to the area because of the incident, a similar response was given by 14.3% in the south.
6.5 Summary

This chapter has gone some way to suggest that the levels of crimes against tourists occupy a significant proportion of all crimes in the County and yet there appears to be little evidence of its acknowledgment. The chapter has identified that the impact on tourist and resident victims varies and visitor victims in particular are subject to the very crimes that research suggests result in the most adverse effects. Furthermore, it has clearly indicated that visitors have low perceptions of crime and this appears for some, to impact upon their behaviour hence putting themselves at greater risk. Police data clearly demonstrates that crimes tend to increase in the holiday months but this is not uniform thus suggesting that police strategies should be tailored to the appropriate areas. Hence it should not be assumed that because the greatest volume of visitors are drawn to very specific locations, that all crimes are proportionately increased.

Using the questions and subsequent responses in the surveys, I have been able to provide a brief perspective of the services provided by the police and Victim Support in the County. I intend to expand on this in the next chapter by describing the services and their provision and identifying the development of policies to address those provisions. This will be summarised against a background of services supplied by specialist police and victim assistance.
programmes for tourists in locations that have identified and acknowledged their particular needs.
Chapter Seven: Service Provision

7.1 Introduction

Brunt and Hambly suggest that, to date “... within the tourism industry agreement over where the responsibility for tourist safety lies, is unclear” (1999:31). The significance and participation of the police in tourist related crime indicated by Muehsam and Tarlow (1995) was revisited by Pizam et. al. (1997) and the issue was raised again by Brunt and Hambly in 1999 and while such services have been developed in some locations (see Chapter one), contributions by other agencies are generally absent. Yet their involvement has been shown to have significant benefits for the individual and hence potentially on the location.

While the notion of any sort of relationship between tourism and crime may for some appear atypical, this work has gone some way to demonstrate that it is worthy of consideration, and as such begs the attention of appropriate agencies, particularly police, victim assistance and tourism agencies. Most significantly, in England and Wales, there is little variation in the way that the individual police forces are organised and although it is not a topic that has attracted much debate, we may speculate about how they deal with tourism and crime.
Chapters four, five and six have demonstrated problems, perceived and actual that impact upon business people, residents and visitor victims in Cornwall. While some of the issues are not directly related to crime (such as traffic congestion), the resultant inconvenience means that visitors (the cause of the excessive traffic) are viewed somewhat negatively in spite of them being seen as benefiting elements such as leisure facilities and employment. While visitors are not singled out as likely protagonists, crime statistics in certain areas certainly suggest that particular crimes are more common in the peak holiday periods.

Throughout the three chapters alluded to, as well as mention of the police, Victim Support is also alluded to, while contributions from the tourism industry is patently absent. This chapter will therefore go on to explore and examine the structure and policies of the police and Victim Support and, to a much lesser degree, the tourism industry with regard to tourist crime and victimisation. The various agencies will be considered in the broader context and then with regard to Cornwall, making specific reference to Restormel.

In the first instance though, in discussing service provision in tourist areas, the fact that many such areas are rural must be emphasised and the significance of this will be alluded to in the following section.
7.1 Rural versus urban policing

Cain in 1973 indicated that urban police operated differently from their rural counterparts. Urban police were seen to operate as a team while rural officers were more isolated. Attitudes by the public tend to be more positive towards those in rural areas than those in urban locations (Sims, 2003). However, victims in rural areas were no more satisfied with the way that their grievance was handled than those in urban areas.

Studies into the police have a long history and the emphasis has tended to concentrate on urban policing (see for example Loader and Mulcahy, 2003; Slovak 1986). Where rural policing has been researched, it has been seen as an offshoot of urban policing and this is particularly the case in countries which operate a centralised police system (Mawby 2004). In a study by Crank looking at urban and rural police departments in America, he concluded that,

"... factors influencing police style vary considerably between urban and rural departments. Equally importantly, existing theory about policing style has an urban focus" (1990:186-7)

A later study by Jiao (2001) into resident preferences of policing found differences among urban and rural respondents with urban residents
preferring community policing methods while rural respondents were more in favour of problem oriented policing.

The variables he used in his research identified community policing as,

"a) increasing the number of officers who work during the times that meet community needs
b) having patrol officers contact community members regularly and know people on their beat
c) holding meetings with various community groups to discuss how to prevent crimes, and
d) obtaining support from community members for their help in obtaining possible crime evidence" (Jiao, 2001:370)

In contrast, problem-oriented policing variables was identified for respondents as,

"a) exploring patterns of where, when, and how certain incidents occur such as false alarms
b) identifying and researching in great detail certain crime problems such as youth gang violence
c) developing and implementing special tactics and measures to reduce certain crimes such as drug offenses, and,
d) enlisting another government’s or social service agency’s help in solving certain problems such as domestic violence" (Jiao, 2001:371)

Furthermore clear differences in perceptions of policing between urban and rural settings appear to exist among the police themselves. Christensen and Crank (2001) in an ethnographic study found that the police themselves in the different settings related to their work in different ways. It may be speculated that where there are fluctuations in levels and types of population within a given year, this may result in difficulties for the police in addressing such differing markets.
In the English literature Yarwood has made some inroads into the issue of policing in the rural environment and concludes that "... rural crime be studied from a rural perspective" (Yarwood, 2001:214). In other words, that it is inappropriate to try and adapt the urban perspective to the rural environment. However there is an added complication if one considers that tourists are often attracted/enticed to areas which, during a significant part of the year are considered rural. Hence the police must provide different levels of service and, as the literature suggests it is not sufficient to merely incorporate additional levels of service in an area where both the police and residents expect and demand a different style of policing as the norm.

7.2 The role of the police in the tourist environment

This study began from an awareness that crime was at least as problematic and, perhaps more so where tourists gather. However to date the literature almost exclusively relates to international tourists. With regard to the police, there is evidence to suggest that in some locations there is an acknowledgement of some of the special problems relating to the phenomena of crime by and against those whose lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge of a particular place can lead to a criminal act.
In view of the acknowledged importance of tourism to an increasing number of destinations, it is somewhat surprising that there is so little research into the relationship between tourism and crime. An early indication of some of the problems that the tourist may experience was provided by Cohen (1987) where he suggested that as tourism becomes increasingly important to the economy of the host region, so governments will provide services specific to the tourist and this includes, in some areas, tourist police (Cohen 1987). Muehsam and Tarlow's study suggests that the police in tourist areas are somewhat isolated in their treatment of tourist victims owing to the failure of the tourism industry to engage with them (1995) and this point is raised by Glensor and Peak in their problem-oriented guide (2004).

In the U.K. where the escalation in second (and subsequent holidays) and the growth in second home ownership, weekend breaks and activity holidays has extended the holiday season there is little research into the issue of the policing of tourists and it is this reason that an examination of the issue is long overdue. A few initiatives have been undertaken including one in Bournemouth some years ago. A flyer was published and distributed around hotels and guesthouses in the region but because the initiative had been endorsed by the police and their logo was present on the flyer, a significant number of operators refused to display them\(^1\). Therefore the Devon and Cornwall police data from April 2000 – March 2001, the period covered by the surveys used in this work provided useful month by month statistics of certain

\(^1\) As indicated in an interview in Bournemouth for the Torbay Hotel Burglary Initiative
crimes during that year. Table 7.1 below indicates the number of incidents within the year with the months when the particular crimes and total crime were at their highest, highlighted.

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Table 7.1 Recorded crimes, by month, by Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in 2000-2001[^2]

It is apparent that the highest number of total crimes recorded were in July and August and this pattern is repeated for violent crime while domestic burglary across the two counties is highest in December and January (2001) and vehicle crime, at least in this particular year was almost as high in April[^3] as August. While it may be postulated that these statistics are as a result solely of tourism, further research over a number of years is necessary in order to corroborate such a hypothesis.

[^2]: The table refers to crime in both Devon and Cornwall
[^3]: Easter was in April in 2000
7.2 Policing Cornwall

The Devon and Cornwall Constabulary is the largest force geographically in England and Wales but the population is sparse and this affects the coverage that can be provided. This study has already indicated that Cornwall is a rural county and yet populations explode during certain times of the year so that the police are required to adapt their levels and types of service to address problems which appear to be reflected by the increased numbers. While Liverpool, West Yorkshire, Manchester and the West Midlands each have coverage of over 260 operational officers per 100,000 people, in Devon and Cornwall there are 180 per 100,000, so there were fewer officers covering a bigger geographical area. This is based upon the resident population of the region and policing numbers do not rise with the corresponding increase in visitor numbers during the holiday season so the ratio is further reduced. In the event, plans are produced for policing those areas that attract the highest number of visitors who are perceived to be problematic\(^4\).

So, while the police in Cornwall have gone some way to identify the problems that may be exacerbated by visitor numbers in certain areas, it may be speculated that they do not fully acknowledge the specific needs of visitor victims compared to those of residents.

\(^4\) See for example Operation Tamar: Summer Policing Plan 2005, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary
While research has demonstrated that many crimes remain unreported, when a victim does choose to report the incident, this will be to the police and because the visitor and resident surveys were sent via the police, then it was evident that all respondents had had direct contact with the service. It was possible therefore to ask them about their satisfaction levels with the service provision and in the questionnaire they were asked 'How satisfied were you with the response of the police to your experience?' A significant 79.0% of visitor victim respondents said that they were very or fairly satisfied and this was somewhat more favourable than responses from resident victims to the same question where a considerably lower 59.3% were very or fairly satisfied with the police response. The questionnaire went on to ask how well the respondents felt the police kept them informed of the progress of the investigation. Again the visitor victims were more positive with 46.7% of them feeling they were very or fairly well informed compared with only 37.7% of resident respondents.

The visitor victim survey then went on to ask respondents how the levels of service from the police compared with that they may have received at home. A relatively high percentage of visitors could not make such a comparison because they had no experience of a similar situation at home or could only base their opinions on the experiences of others, suggesting that they had not been a victim of a crime (or they did not feel it warranted being reported).
Looking at the different age bands for comparison, 50.0% of younger victims (aged 16-24) did not know whether the service provided by the Cornish police differed from that of their local force, but 25.0% were much or slightly happier with the Cornish police than their local service. The age band who was most positive about the Cornish police was those aged 65-74 (46.2%), although numbers were small.

While respondents to the visitor victim survey were unable or unwilling to compare the levels of service by police forces in Cornwall and their local force, the police demonstrated a much greater awareness of some of the specific needs of tourists.

In fieldwork, the opportunity to speak to police officers in several of the locations around the region, revealed that while some enjoyed the increased 'excitement' that sometimes occurred during the summer months, others were less eager and felt that the force in the area was overstretched and unable to deal with local issues during the peak holiday period. The impact of tourism on crime is acknowledged and addressed in a few schemes such as the Holiday Watch scheme in Penwith, which focuses on raising the attentiveness of visitors in avoiding particular crimes. Holiday Watch is based on an idea put forward by an ex officer from a Torbay initiative. The idea came about in 2000 and funding was sought for the launch of the scheme. In a seemingly rare move, a local hotel which believed that crime against tourists may be
problematic agreed together with some district policing money to co-sponsor the printing of 150,000 flyers and in 2000 beat officers distributed leaflets in accommodation and car parks in the district. In October 2001 questionnaires and covering letters were sent out to all those who had been victims of crime whilst in Penwith asking if they had seen the flyer and where were they staying. In addition, questionnaires and letters have also been sent to the accommodation addresses that the civilian who had been funded to work part-time on the initiative had compiled asking about the owner’s awareness of the Holiday Scheme and whether or not they had received copies of the flyer and their comments. ⁵

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Table 7.2 Recorded crimes, by month, by Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in 2000-2001 – Penzance

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Table 7.3 Recorded crimes, by month, by Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in 2000-2001 – Remainder of Penwith

⁵ Unfortunately, the author was unable to find out the results.
However, crime data as shown above would suggest that the success of such an initiative may be somewhat limited because patterns of incidents appear to be somewhat different between Penzance and the remainder of the district. An initiative that was targeted at the summer holiday visitors had, according to Table 7.2 missed the months that had the highest recorded domestic burglary and vehicle incidents in Penzance and to a lesser extent, in the rest of Penwith. On a more positive note, it may be speculated that the data are reflecting the success of the initiative. A more extensive study is required to uncover the answer.

7.3 Policing Restormel

In Chapter three, tourist data indicated that Restormel was the most popular district in Cornwall for staying visitors and this was reflected in feedback from both resident and business respondents to the Crime and Disorder audit surveys. It was also the district where most visitors reported crimes in the summer of 2000.

It would however appear to be more problematic in the north of Restormel. Out of the 216 completed questionnaires that were used in the analysis, 71 (32.9%) were from people who had been victimised in the north of Restormel.
and of these, 65 (91.5%) were in Newquay at the time of the offence (30.1%
of all respondents).

Chapter six clearly indicated that the types of visitors to the two 'halves' of Restormel were very different. Numbers of visitor victims were sufficient to be able to distinguish between those in the north of the district and those in the south and there was a distinct variation in their responses to questions relating to police and victim assistance provision. When asked about their opinions of the service provided by the police, 92.9% of visitor victims to the south of the district were very or fairly satisfied with the response of the police compared with 77.5% from the north. The most common reason for the high level of satisfaction amongst respondents in both 'halves' was police efficiency although those in the south were more positive than those in the north (42.9% and 23.9%). Among respondents in the north of the district, 50.7% said that they were kept very or fairly well informed of the progress of their case, a slightly lower percentage than those in the south.

Nevertheless, it would appear that some of the police in Cornwall were regarded as somewhat derisive of the problems experienced by visitor victims who had reported a crime in the summer of 2000.

"The culprit for the act of vandalism on my vehicle admitted the crime, but did not have to pay for the damage, the culprit also commited (sic) assault but was only cautioned! I was informed of the victims (sic) verdict three weeks later, this was discussed with another member of my family. The question of
confidentiality comes to mind!” (No. 193 – Male victim of vandalism to his car at Newquay)

This somewhat negative perception is a reflection of the significant minority of respondents in both 'halves' of the district who said that they had had no follow up from the police with regard to their reported crimes (29.3% in the north and 16.7% in the south). It may be speculated that the police in areas of mass tourism feel somewhat overwhelmed by the numbers that they have to deal with during the holiday period. From the study it was apparent that younger, female respondents who made up the largest proportion of victims in the north of the district were more satisfied than their male counterparts with the way that they were kept informed by the police and they were also more likely to be happy with the way that the Cornish police dealt with the incident compared with their local police. It may be speculated that this positive attitude results from a more chivalrous (or lecherous) reaction by the police to the plight of young female victims. However, one officer of some years' service and based in Newquay was sorry for families with young children whose holiday had been spoiled because of an acquisitive crime or road accident and did his best to assist. He was somewhat less complimentary where the victims were young and had been drunk at the time of the incident,

“... I can't believe some of the things that they get up to .... and often they bring it on themselves. I have kids of their age and if I thought that they went on holiday to spend the whole time drunk I'd be jumping. Why do they think that they're invincible in Cornwall?”
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>697</td>
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<td>559</td>
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<td>501</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>482</td>
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Table 7.4 Recorded crimes, by month, by Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in 2000-2001 – Restormel

From the data available, the months when most crimes were recorded according to police recorded statistics took place in the peak summer months (Table 7.4). However, the picture is not quite as clear cut as might be assumed; one would presuppose that the months when the highest numbers of crimes were reported would be in July and August, the established peak months. While this is true for total crime, violent crime and domestic burglary, the highest numbers of incidents of vehicle crime were recorded in August and October. This information gives rise to further questions with regard to other crimes.

Furthermore, a different image is available when data for the district is divided as in previous chapters.
The highest number of total crimes in the north of Restormel is recorded in July and August, suggesting that tourism has some part to play. The increased levels of vehicle and violent crimes were, at least in 2000 most predominant in August and September; in the case of violent crime it may be indicative of holidays taken by those at university or waiting to register while vehicle crime may reflect the numbers of older people who visit the north of the district after the peak school holiday period. The BCU certainly appears to be aware of some of the issues of policing Newquay in the summer; Operation Tamar, the summer policing plan for 2005 makes particular note of the problems of assaults, public order, drunk and disorderly and anti-social behaviour. The plan is intended to cover the entire County but “twenty-five per cent of .. visitors will go through Newquay.” (Cornwall and Isles of Scilly BCU, foreword). This emphasis on the north of Restormel would appear to have some foundation if one considers the pattern indicated in Table 7.6, recorded crimes in the south of the district.

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<th>Apr</th>
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<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Violent</td>
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<td>281</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>155</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5 Recorded crimes, by month, by Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in 2000-2001 – North Restormel
Contrary to the existing literature and in sharp contrast to the north of the district, police data for the south of Restormel in 2000-2001 indicates that only one set of crimes peaked during one summer month while the remaining statistics are distinctly random; this in spite of the popularity of the region. Such findings suggest that tourism is not always a catalyst for crime either acquisitive or violent in nature. However it would be inappropriate to be categorical in this, based on a single year’s figures but the evidence provides a hypothesis for future research.

7.4 The Tourist Victim

While research into victimisation is plentiful, that relating to tourist-related victimisation is less readily available. Tourism literature provides some evidence of research, much of it referring to rates and levels of crime rather than impact. Chesney-Lind and Lind for example concluded in their study of crime against tourists in Hawaii that “... tourists.....were significantly more
likely than local residents to be the victims of crime (1986:184). Harper takes this further in her suggestion that "tourists' locations can be 'hot spots' for certain crime types" (2001:1055) wherein tourists make easy targets, for example around clubs and pubs, and are therefore disproportionately targeted. It may therefore be speculated that the numbers of victims and perpetrators of disorder and anti-social behaviour will be higher in those areas. Indeed reports from those areas which attract large numbers of 'clubbers' and parties of young people suggest that the behaviour that has brought them in to the spotlight has been fuelled by inexpensive alcohol available in a liberated environment. Increased victimisation is similarly apparent in those locations that attract the tourist 'gaze' (Urry, 2002).

Most research into tourist victimisation uses police statistics to underpin hypotheses but Stangeland's (1998) research used interviews with tourists at the end of their holiday, local residents of Malaga and foreign residents of properties on the Costa del Sol. His findings indicated that the rates of victimisation among tourists during an average two week holiday were often only marginally lower (and sometimes higher) than that of the other groups in a year. Mawby et.al. (1999) in a postal survey to Holiday Which? provided readers with a list of seven offences and it was found that of 514 respondents, 50 cited being victims of 92 incidents. This translated into a relatively low incidence rate of 18% and a prevalence rate of 10%. However this is a misleading comparison with residents, as it relates to an average two-week stay rather than the accepted annual rate, therefore suggesting that tourists
are far more susceptible to victimisation from crime than residents. As well as being more likely to be a victim of crime, the impact on visitors may also be greater. Mawby et. al’s research found that 22% described themselves as ‘very much’ affected and 20% ‘quite a lot’ (Mawby et. al 1999) by the event, these figures somewhat higher than those of the 1988 BCS where 11.0% had been ‘very much affected’ and 17.0%, ‘quite a lot.’ The article did not however detail other effects of the incident such as the impact on their holiday and the levels of support given to tourist victims.

So, while research into perceptions and susceptibility has been identified, any that relates to the impact of crime against the tourist is scant. In a rare instance, Brunt et. al. (2000) identified the levels of crime experienced by British holidaymakers and went on to ask about their perceptions. However, limitations as identified in their summary clearly indicate the problems in trying to address the issue in a reliable and valid manner. For example, the sample was extracted from subscribers to Holiday Which?, a publication that generally attracts a specific ‘type’ of tourist.

When someone becomes a victim of a crime the impact can vary considerably. Not only can the crime result in material loss or injury, but also the emotional effect can have a greater influence on the victim. In the case of tourist victims, unfamiliarity with the location, language and customs of the host setting may exacerbate those feelings. Addressing the issues through
the services of a victim support agency is increasingly an option for victims in general, but tourist victims may be unaware of any such services.

If a tourist is victimised as a result of crime, poor service, illness or any other negative impact, their perception of that location not only makes it less likely for them to return there but also probable that they will tell their friends and relatives about what happened, thus deterring them from visiting the same location. As a consequence a poor experience for one individual takes on a domino effect leading to a potential reduction in bookings. If the report relates to poor service or illness then the victims may return but avoid their previous accommodation or other location that spoiled their stay. Thus when a tourist is a victim a crime, the reaction is not generally against the perpetrator but rather against the area. Victims return home and tell their friends, colleagues and family about what happened in a particular location. Publicity may exacerbate this, so the idea of including information about potential risks in tourist brochures and advertisements is resisted. While the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) routinely identifies and posts details relating to such issues on its web-site\(^6\), its influence and effect is unknown, and it may be speculated that young travellers in particular may prefer to glean their knowledge courtesy of unofficial websites such as romebuddy.com, bugeurope.com (Backpackers Unofficial Guide) and thestudentzone.com. These sites offer comments and suggestions which are often posted on the

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pertinent site after the author has been the victim of a scam or other crime and in a format which may be more attractive to the young traveller.

7.4.1 Tourist Victim Support Services

The impact of a crime against a visiting victim has been recognized by some agencies in certain areas of the world, but in spite of the acknowledged increase in travel, relatively few regions have, to date provided a commensurate level of support. This is particularly true of victim assistance programmes which, while well established in the Western Industrialised World have almost uniformly failed to recognise the level of impact for such victims.

Crime in a strange location can result in a sense of isolation due to the unfamiliarity of language, geography and customs exacerbated by the lack of informal support of friends and family. Both Amsterdam and Dublin have developed pioneering schemes which recognise these issues and provide models that may be helpful to E.U. States who need to follow the guidelines set out in the European Council Framework (2001). Victim Support in Malta has produced guidance notes for tourist victims as has Mauritius, both with the backing of Victim Support in the U.K. In the United States a draft handbook has been produced which is directed at "improving victim services
for international tourists who become victims of crime" (National Organisation for Victim Assistance, 2002) but to date has not been implemented.

7.4.2 The Netherlands

Referrals to ATAS come via the police who effectively act as 'gatekeepers,' filtering through only genuine victims. A registration document completed by the police ensures that recipients of the service receive appropriate assistance having ascertained the needs of the victim, while the forms are held on file for future reference. The language issue is addressed by the range of volunteers who, if they are not on duty, can be called at home. In the event of a volunteer with the appropriate language skills not being available then a translation service can be used and the police cover the cost.

In a survey conducted for ATAS in 1996, 462 clients were sent a postal questionnaire asking about their experiences and levels of satisfaction with ATAS and the police (Hauber and Zandbergen, 1999). Significantly, the questionnaire was translated into four languages to overcome the language barrier and perhaps because of this, 43.0% returned a completed survey, a comparatively high response rate for a postal questionnaire. In the event 41.2% were used for analysis.
A significant 80.0% of respondents were satisfied with the response of the police but 25.0% experienced a language barrier (these were often Eastern European victims but it is a situation that is gradually being rectified as greater numbers are settling in the region); 85.0% felt that ATAS had addressed their questions, 86.0% felt that they had received sufficient assistance and 93.0% agreed with the ATAS philosophy of self help whereby the volunteer would make suggestions and the victim would, where possible physically do what was required.

However at the time of writing, ATAS only covered the Centrum district of Amsterdam and they maintained (although without reference) that only one half of tourist victims reported crimes to the police. Furthermore, only 10.0% of reports are forwarded on to ATAS and therefore only 5.0% of tourist victims in the district are actually seen by ATAS. Since the service was only available in the one district, Hauber and Zandbergen went on to suggest that only 3.0% of tourist victims in Amsterdam are seen by ATAS (Hauber and Zandbergen, 1999).
In an interview with the coordinator of Tourist Victim Support Services in Dublin, she identified the most significant differences between resident and tourist assistance programmes.

"The service provided for residents by Victim Support can take a much longer process and more so Victim Support is for the emotional – going to the house, sitting with them and talking to them whereas with Tourist Victim Services they come to us and, from talking with them we find out that they need, for example money stolen, airline tickets and passport gone so there are these other practical needs on top of the whole emotional aspect of being a victim of crime in a foreign country and you know language barriers and cultural barriers so people can be very distressed when they arrive in."

Residents in Dublin may have to wait for several days before they are contacted by Victim Support but, in the case of visitor victims, "Tourists are referred to us and referral is immediate so within a couple of hours probably of the crime, we see tourists and we help from thereon in." (The Tourist Victim Coordinator) This prompt response has a significant and positive effect on visitor victims who have used the service. Research into the impact of crime against visitors in 2001 indicated that, in spite of the incident, 96.0% of respondents to the survey would recommend the country (Campbell, 2002). This research also illustrated that visitor victims were very grateful for the type of provision that they received from the specialist service,
"Terrific service considering the lack of information I was able to provide and the time difference between home and Dublin"

"They not alone helped me emotionally but practically – passport, I.D. etc"

"What an amazing service! I haven't come across anything like the TVSS in all of my travels."

The Community Relations section of An Garda Síochána is based in the same complex as TVSS and its role "formulates, establishes and monitors all situational and social crime prevention programmes which are operated by An Garda Síochána in conjunction with the community."

"For the Garda it's not their job to go and sort out their passports, airline tickets and yet they don't want to see the tourist who's crying, not knowing where to start, so they're delighted that they can be referred on to a service that's there to deal with those issues. We don't take away from the Garda's job, we take away the hassle" (TVSS coordinator).

7.5 ATAS and TVSS: A Summary

Both ATAS and TVSS still find it difficult to make themselves known and research from TVSS states that "It's always a challenge to increase awareness of the service...." while a recent communication from ATAS indicates that it has 'downsized' as a result of progressive intervention

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7 Quotations taken from Campbell 2002:14
8 Taken from the Annual Report, An Garda Síochána, 2000:23
including "revolving door criminals", more cameras and more alertness in general. In Amsterdam, a new project is in operation whereby tourists who have been robbed are contacted by ATAS on behalf of the police, the idea being to provide some level of support for people who have not been referred to them and to find out how they have been treated by the police.

Hence, the Amsterdam Tourist Assistance Service and the Tourist Victim Support Service in Dublin demonstrate two programmes in areas that have identified that visitors who become victims of crime have needs which are different from those generally provided by local victim assistance programmes. While these specific organisations indicate what can be provided through the close collaboration of police and victim assistance services in an urban setting, the rurality of Cornwall suggests problems specific to that environment. That said, the key concern with regard to Victim support in England and Wales would suggest that it is an organisation that is implicitly appropriate for local victims who can be contacted in the days following the reported crime, but the fact that this is not the case for visitor victims raises doubts.

7.6 Support for Tourist Victims in Cornwall

The increased interest in victimology and the development of policies to address the needs of victims of crime have been clearly identified by Mawby
and Gill (1997), Maguire and Corbett (1987) and Newburn (in Davies et al. 1999) among others, and in the past two decades Victim Support in the U.K. has become increasingly specialised in its services. Until recently, branches of Victim Support have been relatively autonomous in their organisation. However, in the early stages of this research, Victim Support nationally was in the process of restructuring. As a result, there was evidence of increased uniformity throughout England and Wales as increased managerialism and direction from the Home Office and Victim Support head office infiltrated the individual branches. Coordinators were replaced (often through promotion) by branch managers and, in the case of Cornwall, the eight individual branches were drawn together under the mantle of Victim Support Cornwall as a single organisation.

In the postal questionnaires that were sent to visitor victims of crime in Cornwall, respondents were asked to provide details about the support that they received from the police and Victim Support. In addition, further research involved the distribution of a semi-structured questionnaire to the Victim Support coordinators in the County which was followed up with a focus group meeting in which the issues raised in the postal survey were explored and expanded upon.

As a consequence of these approaches the research has enabled me to:
• Identify the types of tourist victimisation in Cornwall

• Identify perceptions of the needs of tourist victims among Victim Support Co-ordinators

• Identify the levels of service to tourist victims by Victim Support in Cornwall

The single entity known as Victim Support Cornwall has evolved from The Cornwall Association of Victim Support Schemes as a result of the restructuring of Victim Support, England and Wales so that Victim Support Cornwall now comprises six sub-branches, one for each of the districts and all containing areas that attract large numbers of tourists. A management committee is responsible for the overall operationalisation of the County with an area manager being accountable for the day-to-day running of the countywide organisation.

Victim Support Cornwall does not have a specific service for tourist victims of crime, and their statistics do not list them separately. Hence when first approached for my own research, schemes were unable to offer information specific to tourist victimisation. Only when I distributed the short questionnaire to each of the co-ordinators, in which they were asked to consider levels of crime against tourists, did they access their own records to provide some answers.
According to Victim Support coordinators, the working relationship between the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary and the region's Victim Support offices was considered to be very good. Details of all crimes were sent by e-mail by the police to the relevant district offices within 24 hours of the report whereupon coordinators identified the cases most in need of support. Police statistics in the region suggest that there are increases in the levels of certain crimes during peak holiday periods and while the proportion of victims who are tourists is not calculated, it may be surmised that a significant proportion are visitors. However without a concerted effort to identify and evaluate their level of victimisation there has, in the past, been little will by the relevant agencies to develop a specific support network. Tourism is a feature in all areas of Cornwall and all the coordinators said that neither they nor the police discriminated between visitor and resident victims, and universally indicated that they offered a similar service regardless of status and did not see the need for a specialist service.

Burglary against tourists was identified as a significant problem by all the coordinators and while cases involving those victimised from a house, caravan or tent, would be classified as domestic burglary and so prioritised (Victim Support website, 2005), commercial victimisation is not identified so that visitors who had lost property while staying in hotels and guesthouses, as described in research in neighbouring Devon (Jones and Mawby, 2005) may not have been picked up by Victim Support. Vehicle crime was also indicated
as a problem for tourists but due to insufficient numbers of volunteers, following national policy these were the least likely to be addressed.

Co-ordinators were asked to indicate whether or not they thought that visitors were likely to suffer the same sorts of crimes as residents and two of the six respondents who took part in the focus group meeting felt that tourists suffered from similar crimes to local victims while one said that tourists were more likely to experience theft from their car and burglary. One commented that she had evidence to suggest that, if traumatised, visitors wanted to return home. However only three of the six of respondents said that there was a difference in the way in which crime affected the tourists. Among those that did feel that there was a difference, all referred to the fact that tourists had no support network while two out of six felt that crime affected people similarly wherever they were.

In view of this acknowledgement by some of the co-ordinators that tourist victims were affected differently from resident victims, it may be presumed that, when asked if there was the need for a specialist victim assistance service for tourists, some at least would see a need. However none felt that it was necessary and reasons given included that:

"Victim Support should be treating all victims equally"
"We strive to offer the same high standard to all victims regardless of where they come from. We tailor our service to their needs and wishes;"¹⁰

and it was the type and circumstances of the incident which was significant rather than the status of the victim. Four of the six respondents went on to provide reasons why a specialist service was not necessary. Two argued that they strove to tailor the service to the individual irrespective of their circumstances while another said that Victim Support in tourist areas were aware of the pressure and treated everyone the same.

Several of the co-ordinators felt that there were cases that they considered required immediate attention, but the address taken by the police was not 'local,' so there were no means by which the service could contact the victim. Often it was only when coordinators or volunteers spoke to police officers in the area where the incident took place that they discovered where the victims were staying, a point that the police officer had not regarded as relevant. However, in spite of repeated requests, police officers often failed to make a note of the victim's temporary or holiday address so that the only assistance which Victim Support could provide was to notify the relevant office closest to the victim's home so that they could be contacted on their return. This illustrates a general problem with police procedures, in that in some cases the police recorded victims' addresses at the time the crime was reported, in other cases their home addresses. All co-ordinators had referred at least some

¹⁰ Comments by Victim Support co-ordinators in Cornwall, 2001
visitor victims to the local Victim Support office closest to the victim's given (usually home) address and all had received referrals from other offices for Cornish residents who had suffered a crime while away elsewhere in the U.K. (but nobody had received a referral from further afield).

While respondents to the visitor victim survey were less likely to be contacted by Victim Support, it was clear that Victim Support coordinators, at least in Cornwall are endeavouring to provide a service tailored to the individual. However they were often frustrated by police procedures. For example, among burglary victims 57.1% of locals said they were offered Victim Support, compared with only 38.6% of tourists, and 32.7% of the former but only 24.8% of the latter who had been a victim of vehicle crime were offered a referral. It would therefore appear that visitors often missed out on the support services offered to local victims, despite their being affected at least as much by their experience. This was the case for victims of both burglary and vehicle-related crime, but not necessarily interpersonal crime. It also seemed that, despite national policy, victims rarely received support from their 'home' scheme. Of the 17.1% who replied to the question “Following the incident, did Victim Support offer to contact your local branch of Victim Support to visit you on your return home?” only 2.3% said that such an offer had been taken up.

11 For example, 47.1% answered in the affirmative to at least one of the questions
Earlier in this chapter, it has been noted that overseas victims of crime have very specific needs. Respondents to the visitor survey (who were all from the U.K) indicated that they were affected at least as much as resident victims and it is possible that those from elsewhere can be more adversely affected. Again further research is required to assess the needs of non-UK victims in line with that of Campbell's study of the Irish support service.

7. Policy Provision

The Council of Ministers of the European Union in the Council Framework Decision of 15th March 2001 set out minimum standards for the standing of victims in criminal proceedings which came into effect in March of 2002 and 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 a part of this framework acknowledges,

"The involvement of specialised services and victim support groups before, during and after criminal proceedings is important."

The text goes on to state that, "Each Member State shall ensure that victims who are particularly vulnerable can benefit from specific treatment best suited to their circumstances," while Article 13 calls on Member States to involve
victim support systems with providing victims with information, assist victims according to immediate needs, accompany victims to court proceedings and provide post-procedure support.

The Netherlands and Republic of Ireland have already established specialist victim support units for tourists having recognised their specific needs and other countries have implemented the use of tourist police. Article 11 of the EU framework requires member states to,

"ensure that its competent authorities can take appropriate measures to minimise the difficulties faced where the victim is a resident of a state other than the one where the offence has occurred"

and this has led to Hungary addressing this with a spectrum of agency support through White Ring, the Hungarian victim assistance service and the police. In their paper entitled "The Protection of Victims in Hungary: in Light of the Requirements of the EU Framework Decision" (2003)\(^\text{12}\), the section relating to Article 11 goes on,

\textit{This notion was also emphasised at the Berlin conference for the European Forum for Victim Services, where it was pointed out that over 200 million persons travel each year as tourists, or spend longer periods of time in a foreign country as a result of the free movement of persons. With the accession of candidate countries to the EU, this number will undoubtedly grow.}"

\(^{12}\) On International Victimology website http://www.victimology.nl/onlpub/national/huframedecision.pdf
In order to fulfil their interpretation of the framework, the Ministry of the Interior together with 21 agencies involved with tourism have drafted a crime prevention and victim protection programme in which foreigners who fall a victim of crime are defined as a special category.

The European Framework for Victim Services was established in 1990 as a non-governmental not-for-profit Company representing all national victim support organisations throughout the E.U and its purpose to allow members to exchange ideas has led to the production of policy documents and the rights of crime victims being brought in to the criminal justice process. While its primary objectives were to campaign for a fairly uniform provision of service for victims of crime in each of the accession countries, the plight of the tourist victim is clearly identified in Hungary's interpretation of the framework. In response to the principles of the framework, the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior has prepared a "crime prevention and victim protection program for foreigners' safety." From this White Ring has, since May 2002 provided a broad range of services to foreign victims including psychological, emotional, legal and financial support and has, in common with the Netherlands and Republic of Ireland also provided meals and accommodation and the means to travel home by bus or train although payment for this is not explained. Hence Hungary's interpretation of the framework directive and the methods it has adopted appear to shadow those of the established services in Amsterdam and Dublin and aside from its office in the capital city, Budapest,

14 See http://www.ds-osac.org/
also operates services near Lake Balaton, a popular tourist area. These services are operated independently of any domestic organisation and this is facilitated by the presence of a large city to which most visitors gravitate.

It may be that provision in Cornwall would have to be structured differently because there is no town or city of comparable size to either Dublin or Amsterdam thus reducing the chances of having a ready pool of foreign nationals to provide the language and cultural knowledge that is so readily available to ATAS and TVSS by virtue of their city centre locations. Furthermore where seasonal peaks may be less of an issue in capital cities thus underpinning the need for a year round service, Cornwall has much greater troughs in visitor numbers so that the need for a year round service may not be justified. Therefore the need for a year-round separate service would appear to be inappropriate. However it may be speculated that a service operated under the auspices of Victim Support, Cornwall, much in the vein of their witness service, anti-bullying and domestic violence programmes may successfully be operated from one or both of the offices in the County developing a post for a coordinator/manager with the specialist knowledge required. Existing volunteers may be offered specialist training if they have the level of skills required to deal with the needs of visitor victims while those of foreign nationals may require a further level of assistance perhaps facilitated through a telephone network of residents in the County prepared to provide the minimum of a verbal link. However the success of such a scheme can only be made possible through improved acknowledgement by the police.
of the needs of the tourist victim and the acknowledgment and support of the problem by tourist agencies as in the Republic of Ireland and Netherlands. Current methods by which Victim Support are advised of referrals are also inappropriate and experience in both Amsterdam and the Irish Republic has found that an early introduction to the service either through telephone calls made from police stations located away from the major cities, or immediate personal referral at their offices provide the most fitting circumstances to support the victim and result in the greatest level of client satisfaction (Campbell 2002).

7.7 Summary

This chapter has identified the need for criminal justice agencies to provide appropriate services for visiting victims of crime. The European Framework Decision of 2001 has provided the outline upon which member states can develop policies to provide appropriate services for their victims. While some countries have begun to develop policies in line with the decision, the success of tourist assistance programmes in the Netherlands and Republic of Ireland can provide appropriate models. Their knowledge of the specialist needs for visitor victims combined with the understanding and cooperation by the police (following training by ATAS) and the support, in kind by appropriate service providers, have produced a structure which endeavours - and generally succeeds - in providing a service which alleviates many of the stresses experienced by the victim.
The importance of tourism to the local economy in Cornwall suggests that appropriate facilities need to be made available in order to encourage and maintain a market that is increasingly enticed by alternative locations and amenities. From additional research it would appear that tourist facility providers in the County have little regard for the impact of negative incidents on the visitor and their future plans. Statistical data clearly identifies that certain crimes are more extensive during the holiday period and visitors who are victims of crime are affected at least as much by the incident as resident victims but may not be provided with appropriate assistance. The absence of apposite contact details at the initial reporting often leads to tourist victims being left without the option of proficient support while current referral practices means that where a tourist victim may benefit from a visit by a volunteer, they may have already left the area (perhaps prematurely as a result of the incident) before contact is made.

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

This piece of research was unsuspectingly instigated during my experiences in my employment in the tourist industry when it was clear that tourist victimisation from crime was commonplace but went largely unreported (Jones 2000). Visitors (both tourists and seasonal workers) to the holiday camp where I worked were frequently victims (and sometimes offenders) of crimes including rape, attempted murder, acquisitive crimes and drug and alcohol related incidents. Again and again it was apparent that Cohen and Felson's 'Routine Activity Approach' neatly identified the circumstances of the crimes; the victim's guard was down leaving themselves (or their property) accessible to the offender.

As an undergraduate I explored the subject further and found that there was little research, but my own findings were supported by literature mostly derived from tourism academics; criminologists having almost universally failed to unearth the impact and risk of crime in this very specific but significant environment. The research relating to victimisation showed that tourists are at greater risk of becoming a victim of crime than residents in the same location; they are also less likely to report the event (for example Jud 1975; Chesney-Lind and Lind 1986; Barker et. Al. 2002). The introduction
and development of theories which relate crimes to the environment such as that from Cohen and Felson (1979) provided a worthy hypothesis for the seemingly increased likelihood of visitor victimisation. While further study is required, there is some established evidence (as indicated in Chapter One) that visitors are at greater risk of victimisation and this is further indicated in responses to the visitor victim survey described in Chapter Two and explored in Chapter Six.

Furthermore, the impact is often greater for the visitor victim (Bruinink and Slump 1997a) and their subsequent needs different from those of the resident victim (Campbell 2002), but relevant services are generally inappropriately structured to deal with these specialist needs.

My subsequent research has underlined these points. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to firstly draw together the major findings which have been identified in the previous chapters. The chapter will address those findings, where appropriate to the theoretical concepts and current policy provision. It will then conclude with a deliberation on implications for future research.
Summary and Discussion

The opening chapter of this thesis has illustrated that it is problematic for the tourism industry to endorse the notion of crime in relation to tourism when their responsibility is to promote an area as somewhere attractive for people to visit. Shifts in political ideologies, the expansion in market economies and advancement in technology have helped to broaden the choices of an expanding tourist market which can more generally afford to be discerning in their choice of destination so that news of a terrorist attack against a party of tourists or a spate of crimes against particular types of visitor often results in a significant downturn in visitor numbers to that specific location, at least in the short term. Hence tourist industry representatives tend to downplay issues of crime in their plans and promotions.

The conference in the U.S in 1976 included representatives of the industry and the notion of a link between tourism and crime was identified and explored (Nicholls et.al.1976) but literature, or rather lack of it, suggested that there was little need or interest for further research, despite crime in general being on the increase in most developed societies (Carrabine et. al 2002) and travel becoming increasingly commonplace. But in the 1990s as travel became ever more accessible and notions of globalisation politically and economically more significant, further research began to appear.
Criminologists though maintained their silence in spite of crime becoming increasingly central in the political/public market place.

Milman and Bach's study in 1993 found that people's overall sense of safety was heightened by the presence of safety devices in their accommodation, but in this instance it may be argued that, had the issue not been brought to their attention then they might not have thought about it. During field trips to hotels in Amsterdam and Cape Town where safes were available in their bedrooms, I asked fellow guests what the presence of the safes meant to them and while some felt that this added to their sense of security, the fear of others was heightened by the need to include such measures. While this was by no means a scientifically rigorous experiment, it did provide some illustration of alternative perceptions.

Similarly studies such as that by Tilson and Stacks (1997) proposed that media reaction to crimes against tourists heightens fears among potential visitors which, in turn impacts upon the economy of the area.

While existing literature indicates that visitors are more likely to be victims of crime than residents (such as Stangeland 1997; Mawby et. al 2000; George 2003), subsequent surveys appeared to show that visitors do not consider themselves to be at risk. In other words, their fear of crime while away from
home seems to be low and it is only in hindsight or when questioned that they may actually think about it. Only George's (2003) study suggests that visitors to Cape Town were particularly aware of levels of crime.

Certainly respondents to the Cornwall visitor victim survey gave little thought to levels of crime in Cornwall. There was virtually no evidence of concerns about victimisation and the temporary nature of their stay combined with an acknowledged apathy by some provided two of the three elements essential to the theory of “Routine Activity.”

The opening chapter of this work also identified the tourist offender in a number of guises including football hooligans, gamblers and sex tourists. There have been studies (as identified in Chapter one) relating to such issues but beyond these very specific categories there is little evidence of a relationship between visitors and increased levels of crime. In my own study of holiday camp crime (Jones 2000) there was evidence to suggest that both tourists and casual workers were held responsible for increased crime levels but there was little will to pursue this by the industry or police. In the case of Cornwall a number of business operators and residents (as indicated in Chapters Four and Five) considered tourists as responsible for increased levels of crime, the impact varying according to the significance of tourism in a given area, the ‘type’ of tourist and the respondent’s involvement with them.
The opportunities and risk of becoming a victim of crime or offender are grounded in the suggestion that either as motivated wrongdoer or being an appropriate target provides one element of the three that have been indicated by Cohen and Felson (1979). Certainly the ‘tourist invasion’ provides a ready source of less aware targets in an area where guardianship is seemingly less apparent and opportunities for offenders more plentiful.

The impact of tourism as demonstrated has received little comment from residents except where residents are seen to gain from their presence, their opinion of tourism is generally more positive while those who have little or no vested interest in their presence are more negative about tourists and tourism and concern for the impact of victimisation is not fully recognised by either the police or Victim Support. Moreover while there is some research from criminologists regarding commercial crime, little relates directly to such businesses in tourist areas (a noted exception is Gill et. al. 1993) but again, those businesses that acknowledged the importance of tourism to their existence were more positive than those who declared no such affinity.

Tourism academics have, over the years identified some of the issues of tourism and crime but they appear to have fallen on barren earth. The tourist industry has elected to ignore such issues and appears more concerned with countering negative publicity than with reducing the crime and disorder problems associated with the industry that they promote. Chapter one
concludes with an overview of policy implications with few strategies recognizing or addressing the impact and risk of crime to tourist victims. Exceptions do however exist with material from tourist police and victims' services overseas where the specialist needs of tourist victims have been identified and addressed. The fact that neither service exists in the U.K. suggests that neither the police nor Victim Support (let alone tourism agencies) in appropriate areas have fully appreciated the impact of crime on visitors to their region.

While Chapter one identified some of the problems that increased travel has raised in a global context, this study has focused upon a particular area of England where tourism is central to the economy of the region but a coherent analysis of its impact has been largely ignored beyond the amount of money that it generates for the region as a whole and the effects upon the infrastructure of the region. This is not, of course unique to that area as the literature identified in Chapter one has indicated. Moreover internationally, nationally and locally, little has been written with regard to its negative implications and it is an element of this that my research has endeavoured to address.

In Chapter two the various methods used to gather relevant data have been included and a description of the purpose of the individual tools that have been used to identify and illustrate the extent of the problem. The chapter
goes on to identify the problems that the use of each of the tools raised. For example the definition of a tourist led to one recipient of the visitor survey who owned a second home in the region failing to complete it because he did not regard himself as a visitor while others in the same situation did see themselves as such. As with all research such problems did not invalidate the value of the work but rather provided a clear framework for replication (see for example Sarantakos 1998; Bryman 2004).

In common with researchers across all disciplines, the use of a third party to distribute questionnaires to gather quantitative data may be marred by the lack of control over the selection of the sample, the facility to send reminders and the timing of the operationalisation. Such issues have been indicated by, among others Brunt et. al (2000) who used a particular periodical which was almost exclusively subscribed to by a limited readership. In my own research Devon and Cornwall Constabulary were cooperative in sending out questionnaires to both resident and visitor victims but there was no possibility of checking on their sampling method, or sending reminders. Furthermore, the questionnaire that was sent to the visitor victims had to be distributed quickly as some of the material was needed by an undergraduate who was keen to cover some of the same areas as myself. As a result the questionnaires were constructed in a hurry and this resulted in the inclusion of some ill-considered questions which, with the benefit of hindsight should have been replaced by more specific, open-ended questions asking about the victim's experiences. It would also have helped to ask for some identification
of where the resident victims lived to be able to categorise the respondents by location. This might have been particularly useful if there had been a sufficiently large sample from Restormel as this would have given scope for further comparison between visitor and resident victims.

Similarly, the distribution of the questionnaires for the Crime and Disorder audits in 2001 by Cornwall County Council were delayed while the Home Office wanted the Hotel Burglary evaluation to be undertaken during the peak holiday period when operators were often too busy to cooperate.

The inclusion of qualitative data from interviews with representatives of key agencies provided pertinent and absorbing material which was useful in illustrating findings from the quantitative data as well as existing research. In some instances, interviews provided responses that directed me to facets that I had not previously considered, while questioning some agencies provided them with an opportunity to air issues that had previously been ignored or given little credence. For example, the Manager from Victim Support had the opportunity to explore the role of the organisation to address the issue of tourist victimisation which she had considered but had not got on to any agenda.

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1 As already indicated, we were ultimately able to delay until September to improve response rates
2 Since our meetings she has been able to discuss the issue with the police with a view to improving services
Chapter three provided a brief overview of Cornwall, the region selected for this research, and identified the demise of its various industries and growth of tourism as a major factor in the economy of the County. The popularity of the region for tourists has grown significantly owing to a number of factors including the building of the Royal Albert Bridge, the Holiday with Pay Act (1938) and the growth of car ownership. The literature cited in chapter three not only illustrated this but also identified that the six districts of the county vary in their attraction of tourist ‘types’ and hence the facilities available. This would appear to mirror those studies by Ryan, 1993, Taylor 1999, Homel et. al 1997 and Carr 2000 among others.

It would however appear that this research is the first to explore the relationship between tourism and levels and types of crime as recorded in police data in this region. This is, to my mind an important omission in an area that depends so heavily upon one particular industry for a significant proportion of its income. It potentially has further implications for policing strategies if localised issues are not identified and debated with all pertinent agencies. This is applicable not only in Cornwall but also has implications for other, similarly placed locations both in the U.K. and elsewhere.

Established research has consistently identified a correlation between deprivation and crime and this chapter goes on to illustrate that the County’s attractiveness to tourists belies its status as an area of comparative poverty.
While levels of crime are comparatively low in Cornwall, police data did demonstrate that certain crimes in specific areas were more prevalent during the holiday period suggesting that tourism exacerbates the situation, and this was echoed in responses to the surveys and in interviews with representatives of various agencies. The issue was notably included in the Crime and Disorder Strategy for North Cornwall (see Chapter three, page 120). There is little previous research that acknowledges that while populations in such areas increase demonstrably during such times, there is reliance upon the same levels of services including policing, regardless of this phenomenon. It may be speculated that an increase, particularly in acquisitive crime, may in part be stimulated by the perceived affluence of tourists to the less prosperous resident who regards this intrusion with contempt and antagonism. This issue has been identified by, among others Ryan (1991) and Mathieson and Wall (1992) but again their emphasis is on overseas visitors in less affluent destinations. It can be argued, taking comments from local police in Cornwall, that visitors to the region are similarly targeted by the less affluent in the County.

Chapters four, five and six are closely related in that they refer, in turn to businesses, residents of and visitors to Cornwall. Each chapter identifies findings from questionnaires; in the cases of chapters four and five the impact of tourism on respondents are sought and their perceptions and experiences of crime are also established. Chapter six is directed at visitor victims of
crime and these experiences are also compared with those of resident victims.

Wherever tourism is important to the economy of a region, its implications for businesses in those areas go beyond incomes and this was explored in Chapter four. Evidence of commercial support was apparent in Dimanche and Lepetic's study (1999) by the funding of additional policing to reduce and prevent crime. In taking measures to reduce the risk to visitors and to their businesses, these business operators had recognised that tourist victimisation could seriously affect their future business but a lack of awareness/acknowledgment among businesses in Cornwall has meant that, to date they do not engage with such considerations. Only the employment of door staff at pubs and clubs provide any evidence of the need for greater vigilance but their responsibility diminishes once the customer has left the premises.

Once again, there is little research on this topic so that the full risk and impact is scarcely documented. Therefore the questionnaires that were sent to the sample of businesses in the County for the 2001 Crime and Disorder Audits provided a useful resource and responses indicated that while tourism was important to a majority of respondents, its impact varied not only in the six mainland districts but also, to varying degrees within different areas of Penwith and Restormel. For example, visitors to Penwith tend to visit rather than stay in the largest town, Penzance but rather make use of it while in the
region. They shop there and so perhaps this is why business people in the
town considered tourism to have a greater impact than respondents from
elsewhere in the district. Police crime data for the corresponding year
illustrated that total crime in the town exceeded that in the remainder of the
district in all months (April 2000 – March 2001), except in one month (August)
when levels of reported crime was almost identical in both areas. Further
research is needed to tease out the types and levels of particular crimes in
each of the locations in order to address the hypothesis that businesses are
particularly affected by crime during specific times of the year.

One particular type of crime demands further examination in Restormel where
more extreme contrasts exist regarding types of visitors and levels of crime
between the north and south of the district. Resident respondents to the
crime and disorder audit claimed high levels of anti social behaviour and
disorder in the north where numbers of younger visitors flourish. However,
police data relating to recorded incidents of disorder between April 2000 and
March 2001 indicated that in the north of the district there were 1502 incidents
of disorder compared with 2329 in the south. Levels of such incidents did not
appear to be excessively increased by the presence of large visitor numbers
and indeed police data indicates that the recorded level of disorder in the
north exceeded that in the south only between November 2000 and March
2001 when visitor numbers are lower! One possible explanation for this may
be the popularity of Newquay as a venue for hen and stag weekends
occurring at a time when there are far fewer visitors to the remainder of the
County. In the corresponding year there were almost six hundred more recorded crimes in the south of the district than in the north, contrary to findings from the Crime and Disorder respondents where victimisation for most crimes was significantly higher in the north. However a majority of those who stated that they had been victims of crime had not reported it to the police.

Failure to report crime was also identified in the evaluation of the scheme directed at burglary in a virtual community of hotels and guesthouses and described in Chapters two and four. The significance of crime in such properties is obvious in the acquisition of Home Office funding in Torbay. The study provided a valuable insight into the risk of crime in such establishments in Restormel and identified that while hoteliers were cogniscent of the risks, they were generally unwilling to engage in increased expenditure to provide improved security measures. In addition, many did not report crimes to the police, particularly if the 'victim' was the hotel; only if it involved the loss of guests' property were the police informed. Such findings reinforce earlier research in a holiday camp where it was shown that crimes were rarely reported to the police (Jones 2000). The camp was well known for problems including disorder, alcohol and drug abuse, and acquisitive and violent crimes but the organisation was unwilling to risk negative publicity and so recompensed victims wherever possible. Both victims and offenders were often young people because the facility was a popular venue for single sex groups whose members were often on holiday without parents for the first
time. Moreover, the design of the camp was such that a hedonistic atmosphere pervaded in an environment which endeavoured to provide the maximum range of facilities for the enjoyment of the customer with the minimum level of apparent guardianship. Such an atmosphere is also apparent in certain hotels and guest houses while the routine practices of staff in some properties leads to crime (as indicated in the example on page 251). Such problems are not unique in the U.K. as identified by Schoolies in Australia and reports of crime and disorder in Faliraki.

This lack of engagement is also apparent in caravan and camping parks in Cornwall where levels of theft and burglary have been shown to be higher than residential burglary (Folland 2002) and where repeat offenders have been clearly identified by the police in successive years. Such was their confidence that, during my research, an officer in Restormel showed me a photograph of one particularly prolific offender, a young local man, and he predicted that certain camp sites in the area would experience less acquisitive crime until late season that year as the man was in prison. He was absolutely correct!

This area of the research raised a pertinent and poorly considered issue. As indicated in Chapter four, security is an important feature in a community where there are limited ways to prevent illegal entry into tents or caravans. Once a perpetrator has got on to the park lack of adequate surveillance and
the constant change of population facilitates the offender and reduces the chances of detection. While some campsite organisers have strict policies relating to entry on to their parks through the distribution of coloured wristbands and employment of security personnel, others are less determined (or perhaps concerned) and do little to deter offending.

The impact of tourism on residents in Cornwall was identified in chapter five. Many indicated that they lived in what is classified as rural locations and while statistical evidence suggests that crime tends to be lower in such regions, the impact of tourism on those residents who, for much of the year live in a relatively quiet environment is such that levels of tolerance are seemingly reduced. Certainly selected chapters in Boissevain's book (1996), research by Milman and Pizam (1988) and Ross (1992) would suggest that the Cornish experience reflects that of residents elsewhere. In addition, the popularity of second homes impacts upon notions of 'community' and neighbourliness.

The findings specified in Chapter five indicate that a majority of resident respondents said that tourism was important in the area in which they lived although its impact was more profoundly felt in their most used town. A significant minority considered that tourists and casual workers from outside the area were responsible for crime and more particularly disorder in the County suggesting a considerable negative reaction to the industry. However a majority did see benefits from it through improved incomes, employment
opportunities and prosperity to the region, this in spite of almost 50.0% of respondents having a household income of less than £20,000.

It could be anticipated that incidents of crime reported by respondents to the survey were higher than the level that were reported to the police but more alarming was the experience of crime when compared with the British Crime Survey, another victim survey. Although the Crime and Disorder audit questionnaire asked about crimes against anyone in their household and the BCS relates to the individual, and the audit data related to thirteen months, levels of some crimes were considerably higher among Cornwall respondents than BCS respondents, providing an appropriate dimension for further study.

Just as chapter four identified differences between and within districts, so resident respondents to the audit survey were also not uniform in their perceptions and experiences. For example, among residents of Penwith, those who lived in Penzance were generally more concerned with given problems than those who lived elsewhere in the district and this was particularly true of drug abuse, begging and drunken people on the streets. In only one instance, that of tourists causing a nuisance, was this seen to be more problematic elsewhere rather than in Penzance although in both instances, percentages were low.
Restormel residents in the south of the district were more concerned about crime including burglary, vandalism and vehicle crime than those in the north where issues indicative of tourism such as drunken people on the streets, tourists causing a nuisance, assaults and street crime were seen as more problematic. Such findings reflect the popular perceptions of the Newquay coastal area as a magnet for young people and the attending facilities and mirrors research by Prideaux (1996) and Carr (2000). However, in the case of Cornwall such perceptions are not necessarily borne out by police data. In the case of disorder, recorded incidents were significantly higher in the south of the district in 2000-2001 in all locations except "disturbances in licensed premises". However changes in licensing laws since this research may lead to differences in the patterns of behaviour and shifting perceptions by residents thus providing further scope for research into this contentious topic. Furthermore, monthly statistics of all crimes recorded by the police were not made available for the first Crime and Disorder audit and this prevented more detailed examination throughout the County.

I have previously indicated that while the production of the Crime and Disorder audits are intended to identify issues within the CDRP and the successive strategies to indicate which 'problems' are to be addressed in the subsequent three years, the importance and impact of tourism in the six districts is barely acknowledged. This apparent lack of concern does not however appear to be reflected in the responses to the audit survey in which a

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3 As indicated in police data for the Crime and Disorder audit (2002)
significant minority of residents saw it as worsening violent crime, public
disorder, and alcohol and drug abuse. These perceptions were reflected in
people's fear of crime; throughout the County as a whole and in areas where
there were pubs and clubs, residents were unwilling to venture there at night.
Hence fear of crime among residents in specific areas remains a thorny issue.

In Chapter one, I refer to Freudenburg and Jones' study and debate
concerning social integration (in Crank, 2003) and this would appear to
provide a convincing debate regarding this point.

The impressions of those who visit the County and the effects of being a
victim of crime were explored in Chapter six where findings from the survey of
visitors who had been victims of crime in the County were analysed and
discussed. Unlike findings in the previous two chapters, only the views of
those who had reported the crime to the police could be included, as a postal
questionnaire through the police was the only method of accessing this hard
to reach group.

Hence fear of crime, no matter how remote the chances, provided a salient
indicator for service providers including representatives of the tourism industry
and the police. The literature in Chapter one and further explored in
subsequent chapters indicates that fear of crime is a familiar and increasingly
significant element of criminological research as the role of the victim
becomes progressively more important in the criminal justice processes in
England and Wales. In Chapter six, the evidence did suggest that visitors who had been victimised, while often not deterred from the area, were certainly more wary of the risk of victimisation and this is an area which demands further study in order to ascertain whether this increased fear is replicated in their home environment.

As already identified, visitors are less likely to report crimes to the police than residents, leading me to question the representativeness of a sample drawn from police statistics. This situation is not unique; Campbell's evaluation of the Tourist Victim Service in The Republic of Ireland (2002) sent questionnaires to visitor victims most of whom had been directed to the service by the police.

From responses to the Cornwall survey, few respondents indicated that they had preconceived perceptions about crime in the County. Certainly the behaviour of visitor victims was very different from residents in Cornwall regardless of age or gender, as indicated by the number of times that they went out at night and how often they visited pubs or clubs. Their behaviour also contrasted with their activities when at home, hence potentially putting themselves at greater risk from certain crimes. This contrasted with George's visitors to Cape Town (2003) where stories of crime are well documented. Elsewhere though it would appear that the notion of victimisation while away from home is one that is barely considered by the potential traveller and this
ignorance is not relieved on arrival. Tourism operators are unwilling to identify the risks and providers of support after the event are either untrained or unwilling to engage in the specialist demands of the visitor victim. So while in this country the implications of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) suggest that inter-agency collaboration is required, at the time of the research there was little evidence of such alliance beyond the statutory agencies. This lack of inter-agency collaboration was further explored in Chapter seven.

Findings in Chapter six went on to indicate that visitors to Cornwall perceived their experiences of service provision after reporting a crime differently from the resident victims. Most respondents to the visitor questionnaire had low or non-existent perceptions of crime in the County and patterns of behaviour differed not only from their behaviour at home but also from residents in the area. Views about the service they had received from the police were mixed while contact with Victim Support was minimal. This was in part because the police did not always take the relevant contact details. When this study started, all incidents were routinely forwarded on to Victim Support but, since the introduction of the Data Protection Act, 2002, at the time of reporting, victims are supposed to be asked if they want to be contacted by Victim Support and it can only be speculated that where they fail to ask, the attending police officer will tick the 'no' box in order to ensure that they have not breached a victim's request for confidentiality.
In the Republic of Ireland and the Netherlands the police, victim assistance programmes and tourism agencies, along with others described in Chapters one and seven work together to provide levels of provision appropriate to the specialist needs of the visitor who finds themselves a victim of crime. Findings in both Dublin and Amsterdam clearly indicate that while the availability of emotional and psychological support is important to all victims of crime, visitor victims require more immediate and more practical assistance. However Victim Support coordinators in Cornwall maintained that their services were appropriate to all and that refinement was not needed. Cornwall is not alone in this almost total lack of formal response by relevant agencies.

While chapter seven identified literature pertaining to the policing of tourists, the concurrence by individual officers in Cornwall as in many other locations to acknowledge and address the specialist needs of tourists seems to be through choice rather than specialist training. Even in those areas where tourist police are established, their quality of training and policies may not necessarily provide a level of service appropriate to the needs of the victim. Globally, as indicated in Chapter one, there is no consensus regarding the role of a specialist police service and poor salaries, inadequate training and a lack of understanding of different cultural norms leads to inconsistency in quality and types of service provision. Throughout my research period I have had the opportunity to speak to several police officers in U.K. and elsewhere,
some of whom were sympathetic to the plight of visitor victims while others, such as those identified in Chapter six, were less understanding.

The impact of tourism on local policies is apparent. Services that are designed for a particular population, in this instance, a rural one are then expected to deal with a vastly increased load during holiday periods. This additional strain applies to many aspects of life including roads and transportation, and this was clearly demonstrated in the questionnaires where traffic congestion was consistently identified as one of the biggest problems of tourism.

The impact is further apparent in the operationalisation of services, particularly those emergency services which must account for the entire population at any given time. In particular, the problems of policing a generally sparse region requires particularly inspired planning. During the winter months there are large areas that are virtually uninhabited such as caravan parks, camp sites and holiday centres and second homes. In addition, commercial areas which house facilities such as pubs and clubs as well as outlets targeting visitors are desolate other than at specific times through the 'closed' season. Such areas make for easy targets for acquisitive crime.
During the holiday period, the picture is very different. As this work has identified, the concentration of particular types of visitor attracted to specific locations require different patterns of policing and the presumption of problems in one area absorbs policing numbers that may leave another area depleted and therefore vulnerable. For example, during 'Run to the Sun' in May, police are concentrated in the Newquay area (Barton and James, 2003) and yet police statistics for that month showed almost as many crimes were recorded in the south of the district. It could be argued that police presence in the north reduced the risk of more incidents but this is merely speculation without further study. Again, the use of initiatives such as 'Holiday Watch' in Penwith require evaluation to determine its merits. Police statistics would again suggest that only certain crimes increase in the summer months (at least in Penzance in 2000 – 2001) as illustrated in chapter seven and the police must make operational decisions using limited resources and based on statistical evidence whilst addressing the concerns of residents in a political arena where fear of crime has a high profile in government rhetoric.

For example, there is evidence from the police data to suggest that much vehicle crime takes place in beauty spot car parks during the holiday period and while there have been poster and media campaigns the problem appears to continue unabated but the deployment of officers to often isolated areas withdraws them from more populous locations where their visibility is demanded.

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4 See for example http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/worried-about-crime/?version=2
5 See for example http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/3055378.stm
It was apparent in face-to-face interviews in Cornwall that tourism representatives and Victim Support had scant opportunity to express their experiences with the police in order to discuss and potentially develop procedures pertinent to tourists (once they have been made aware of the need). Nor did they feel able to constructively debate with the statutory agencies, such as those that represented the relevant Policy and Operations Groups on anything other than a relatively informal basis. As a consequence, policies were not developed in an environment where issues relating to tourist victims of crime generally failed to be identified.

The structure of the organisation and responses by coordinators of Victim Support suggested that the agency would not offer the standard of service required by the visitor victim. This is particularly true of overseas victims and while this research did not include them, evidence from Dublin and Amsterdam indicated that their needs could only be met by a structure different from that provided for resident victims. This is contrary to the opinions of the coordinators who were adamant in their perceptions of the organisation as an appropriate provider of support for all victims. However, membership of the EU has resulted in Victim Support National Office having to consider the needs of non-resident visitors as indicated in the European Council Framework (2001) and looked at in Chapter seven.
Evidence was also provided which showed that the police had identified the impact of tourism in specific areas of the County and subsequently initiatives such as the one implemented to police 'Run to the Sun' and the seasonal plan directed at Newquay come into existence to address the problems. Generally these initiatives are directed at disorder, but a rare instance of a scheme to reduce acquisitive crime was implemented in Penwith wherein safety and security literature was distributed through accommodation and tourist information outlets, thus demonstrating some evidence of inter-agency collaboration but absence of any evidence of evaluation means that its worth is unknown.

In Cornwall, this seemingly informal approach to tourist victims impacted upon the way they were treated not only at the time that they reported the crime but also in the aftermath when referrals to Victim Support were not offered, perhaps because of a lack of sympathy for the victim or a lack of knowledge of the potential impact of the event. In spite of this somewhat laissez-faire approach, findings from the victim surveys demonstrated that almost 80.0% of visitor victims were satisfied with the response of the police.

It might though be argued that if Victim Support did have access to the victim then the level and type of assistance on offer would not be appropriate. It was apparent through interviews with the manager in the newly structured Victim Support that there had been some consideration for a new service directed
towards the needs of the tourist victim and there had been some level of
discussion with the police. However at the time of writing, the potential for
such a scheme is still very much in a preliminary stage.

The 2001 Crime and Disorder strategies for Cornwall generally tended to fail
to acknowledge the impact of tourism on their districts due in part to a lack of
inter-agency collaboration beyond the statutory agencies. As a consequence
different agencies may not be made fully aware of the extent of any issues
which they may be able to alleviate or contribute to. This is not unique to
Cornwall and, in addition the failure to learn from the experiences in other
locations (e.g. Faliraki not heeding Blackpool's advice) leads to agencies
working in isolation and not being aware of the bigger picture. Dimanche and
Lepetic clearly identified the problem in their study and concluded that "[N]o
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. This was certainly the case in Cornwall.

The success of such schemes as ‘Nightsafe’ in some areas of the country
would suggest that closer liaison between the police, licensees and other
agencies is to be encouraged but in common with many such initiatives,
funding is often for a limited period whereupon the scheme folds.
Evidence has indicated that where policies put in place an infrastructure that controls and maintains an environment that can support the influx of visitors, there are positive outcomes for businesses and those who work in the tourist industry. Even among those who do not directly gain financially from tourism, there is a general consensus that people's income and standard of living and the area's overall prosperity benefit. That said, problems of traffic congestion, litter, the cost of housing and noise in Cornwall, as elsewhere were detrimentally affected by tourism and it may be determined that these are issues that should be explored through the implementation of policies available to the local authorities and the police.

Dimanche and Lepetic's study (1999) provides a salient lesson to those areas where reports of high crime can result in a reduction in visitor numbers and it was only through the collaboration of a variety of agencies that the trend was reversed. The risk of such a downturn to an area that depends heavily upon tourism affects all who derive a living or live in the locality and central to the ongoing popularity of such areas is the ability to police tourist behaviour.

Throughout this study, evidence of the implementation of such services has produced mixed results. In Cornwall fluctuations in populations provide the police with challenges which may/may not blind them to problems which arise at other times of the year. For example, while policing was concentrated in

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6 An excellent example of this is provided by Shearing and Stenning (1996) 'From the Panoptican to Disney World: the development of discipline' in Muncie J., McLaughlin E. and Langan M. (1996) Criminological Perspectives: A Reader, London, Sage
the north of Restormel for the main summer months, violent crime was also at its highest (at least in the year 2000-2001) in the south of the district.

The seasonality of the tourist location stretches the political imagination of the police officers who are responsible for planning services in such areas; local businesses and residents regard themselves as having a sense of ownership of the police through their payment of local community charges while perceiving those resources most visibly during the summer months as their officers are focused on tourists rather than local need.

The study by Pizam et al. (1997) identified the same issues as those indicated by the police in Cornwall with regard to the appropriate level of policing in tourist areas and the negativity of some officers towards people who fail to take responsibility for their own safety and security. Such opinions may affect a police officer's discretion when faced with an incident involving a visitor while media reports of such events as 'Run to the Sun' depict a town out of control.

Hence this research has identified that there are considerable implications for policy, academic findings and future research. The research identified that in Cornwall, rates and types of crimes vary in different areas and yet there is scant evidence from local authorities, tourism agencies, the police and Victim
Support to suggest that these issues have been adequately considered or addressed. Certainly tourism is accurately identified as a source of increased crime and disorder but police data would suggest that the situation is not as clear cut as might be assumed. For example, the problems of domestic burglary (as demonstrated in Tables 7.1, 7.3 and 7.6 on pages 262, 266 and 271) in the winter months may be related to second homes. While owners of houses are more likely to discover such problems shortly after the event, caravan owners may be less fortunate as licensing laws generally prohibit them from visiting their properties until Easter. Again counting rules by the Home Office specify how thefts from such premises ought to be recorded, Folland (2000) among others have indicated that this is not always the case.

In addition, in spite of considerable evidence in the respective audits, the lack of acknowledgement of the impact of tourism in the Cornwall Crime and Disorder strategies demonstrates reticence by the statutory agencies to explore and develop policies to allay the fears of the public. Furthermore, the failure of the police to efficiently identify and indicate crimes that have been committed against (or by) visitors in the area provides poor data to more fully recognise the problem.

The research undertaken for this piece of work has shown that crime is not uniform throughout the County and while police data indicates that there are hotspots of certain types of crime at specific times of the year, there is scant
evidence of these findings being addressed or fully understood. While there was little opportunity to relate the research to offenders, evidence elsewhere suggests that they are attracted to tourist victims, some of whom are more likely to be victimised than others (Ryan 1991, Mathieson and Wall 1992) further supporting the appropriateness of Cohen and Felson's Routine Activity Approach.

This increased risk of victimisation indicates the need for specialist services to support specific needs but there has been little evidence that such demands have been identified, let alone addressed. In addition there has been some evidence of a tension between the provision of services for local demands and that of the tourist market again with little evidence of a full appreciation of this.

Future research

I am confident in maintaining that this work has advanced the studies of Mawby et.al. (1999; 2000), in identifying levels and perceptions of tourist victims of crime while illustrating that tourist victims require a level of service not identified in Mawby and Gill's (1987) study of crime victims. Studies by Pizam et.al. (1997) and Milman and Bach (1999) among others identified the need for appropriate agencies to provide an environment that helped ensure
the visitor's safety while Rothman et al. (1979) promoted the idea of the need for specialist policing.

It is noticeable that most studies relating to tourism and crime have been undertaken overseas in areas that attract large numbers of foreign visitors while local victims are ignored. In the U.K. there is a well established service for resident victims of crime but no evidence of an appropriate facility for U.K. let alone visitor victims of crime from elsewhere. Not only do we attract significant numbers of overseas visitors on an annual basis, but events such as the 2012 Olympics are set to attract an enormous number of visitors for which, to date there is no appropriate level of support. Indeed when I e-mailed the appropriate personnel regarding the implementation of a tourist victim service the response was, "During the bid stage we did do some research which shows that levels of crime in both Sydney and Athens actually reduced during the period of the games" suggesting that in Australia and Greece (as elsewhere) police are primarily influenced by their own perceptions rather than looking at a wider picture.

Media representation of crime in tourist areas can have a significant negative impact upon the region and while terrorist attacks are most detrimental, other locations have suffered when reports of violent crimes against individuals have been circulated. Crime in Cornwall, while generally less aggressive has, nevertheless led to damaging media coverage, while visitor victims will
often return home to relate to friends and family their experiences of crime while in “such a picturesque part of the country.”

In spite of research suggesting that visitors are less likely to report a crime than residents, there is little evidence that agencies in Cornwall are aware of this. Even if they were, it is conjecture if they would be willing to engage with the police to advise tourists. The Victim Support staff who were interviewed could see no merit in altering the level or type of support for visitor victims and felt a degree of autonomy in their service. Tourism agencies continue to fail to acknowledge any responsibilities with regard to tourist victimisation, seeing it as not their job or something that they feel would deter guests if they were pre-advised. Furthermore the Data Protection Act (1998) has resulted in agencies increasingly holding on to information about their clients thus reducing the chances for support. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office and unofficial websites provide travellers with information about specific crimes in certain areas but there is nothing comparable in the U.K.

Further research is therefore required among service providers to endeavour to break the notional fear of advising visitors of the dangers of certain types of behaviour which puts them at increased risk. Evidence as indicated in chapter seven suggests that where the police have taken steps to engage with other agencies to provide advice to visitors, the presence of their logo on
the material has discouraged facility providers from putting said leaflets out. The idea of inter-agency partnership working beyond the statutory bodies as identified in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act is paramount, so that representatives of relevant agencies including Victim Support are able to have a credible voice in those areas that rely on the income generated by tourism. While such an approach would appear to benefit the tourist it may be negatively received by residents, who might argue that it is taking precious resources away from them.

The issue of an unawareness of crime while away from home is, I contend, an important one and has implications not only for those on holiday but also for anyone who is away from home for any period of time. This study has identified that crime has different effects upon tourist victims who therefore demand different solutions from the criminal justice system and Victim Support and while the study has gone only some way to identifying these solutions, it is apparent that there is a need for a more aggressive push by Victim Support if their voice is to be heard. That said, its current structure is not wholly appropriate to addressing the needs of the tourist victim.

While this piece of work has gone some way to identify some of the issues that relate crime to tourism, the perspectives of the tourist, beyond the visitor victims who responded to the questionnaire, have been omitted. Similarly, 

7 From a police officer in Bournemouth
while I have identified that the police, local authorities and Victim Support do not adequately understand or address the problems in Cornwall, such is the impact of tourism that its principles are potentially pertinent to those of areas of the country that attract large numbers of visitors.

Issues relating to crime prevention and safety, such as raising the visitor’s awareness of the potential for crime or providing a service after the event, have been addressed in few locations and the levels and types of service also vary. It would appear almost universal that those who provide the information and facilities for tourists abrogate responsibility to their clients where questions of crime prevention are concerned.

While findings from police statistical data in Cornwall in Chapter seven do not universally indicate significant increases in levels of crime during the holiday period, there is some indication of the impact of tourism on crime figures in areas that attract particular sorts of visitor. The targeting of visitors by local residents has thus far failed to identify the reasons for this and in Cornwall, with its status as a socio-economically deprived area, demands further research to establish whether the lack of other forms of employment may have some part to play.
In addition, further study has indicated that tourists are less likely to report crimes, including violent incidents and further research is required in order to redress this. Comments from members of the police would suggest that where tourist victims may have endeavoured to report an incident, lack of sympathy deriving from the victim's status may lead some officers to deter the complainant from taking the matter further, an unhelpful reaction in an area that derives much of its income from this one industry.

The growth of criminology as an academic subject has demonstrated its importance in contemporary society and in the context of tourism and crime, this piece of research has indicated that it has an important role in an ever-expanding scenario. It would therefore seem that the breadth of material accessed through the scope of quantitative surveys and breadth of qualitative data collected for the various evaluations as well as the material specifically gathered has provided me with an insight into the issues conceived beyond that illustrated in existing literature and research.
CONFIDENTIAL

This questionnaire is divided into six sections. In the first section, we would like to ask you about the area you live in and where you spend most time.

1. What is your home postcode (this will no be used to identify individuals, but only to group people into localities)?

2. Which one of the following towns do you go to most often (please tick the appropriate box)?

- Bideford
- Bodmin
- Bude
- Callington
- Camborne
- Camelford
- Falmouth
- Fowey
- Hayle
- Helston
- Holsworthy
- Launceston
- Liskeard
- Looe
- Lostwithiel
- Newquay
- Padstow
- Penryn
- Penzance
- Perranporth
- Plymouth
- Redruth
- Saltash
- St Austell
- St Ives
- St Just in Penwith
- Tavistock
- Truro
- Wadebridge
- Tavistock
- Torpoint

Please use this town in your answers about ‘most used town’

3. Why do you go to this ‘most used town’ (Please tick all that apply, on average, at least once a week)?

- for work
- shopping
- leisure activities
- live in the town

4. How do you normally travel there (Please tick all that apply)?

   In daytime       At night

   By car
   Taxi
   Bus
   Motorcycle
   Bicycle
   Walk
5. Thinking about this most used town: How much of a problem would you say the following were (Tick one box on each line)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Very Big Problem</th>
<th>Fairly Big Problem</th>
<th>Small/No Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street/public places?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking into houses?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors causing a nuisance?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the streets?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours or loud parties?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors being picked on?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the streets/public Places?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assults?</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Are there any places in this most used town you would be reluctant to go to, either in the daytime or at night?

- Daytime: □ Yes □ No
- Night: □ Yes □ No
If yes, can you say where? (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

Why would you be reluctant to go there? (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

7. Now thinking about your house/flat: what best describes the area where it is located?

A large town ☐ A small village ☐
A small town ☐ A few isolated houses ☐
A large village ☐ An isolated house ☐

Please use this in your answers about 'the area you live in'

8. How long have you lived in your present house/flat?

Less than 5 years ☐ 20 years or more ☐
5 years but less than 10 years ☐ Don't know ☐
10 years but less than 20 years ☐

9. Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the area you live in?

Very satisfied ☐ Dissatisfied ☐ Don't know ☐
Satisfied ☐ Very dissatisfied ☐

10. Is tourism important in the area you live in?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Unsure ☐

Why do you say that? (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)
11. What would you say were the best things about living here? Please tick all the answers that apply

- It's a nice house/flat
- It's got as much/little garden as I want
- It's convenient for shops etc.
- People around here are nice/friendly
- There's not much crime
- It's a nice quiet area
- I've got relatives and friends nearby
- The area is well looked after
- Local public transport is good
- The local employment situation is good

12. What would you say were the worst things about living here? Please tick all the answers that apply

- It's not a very nice house/flat
- It's got the wrong sized garden
- It's not convenient for shops etc.
- People around here are not very nice/unfriendly
- There's too much crime
- It's a noisy/disorderly area
- My friends and relatives live too far away
- The area is not well looked after
- Local public transport is poor
- The local employment situation is poor

13. Thinking about the area you live in: how much of a problem would you say the following were?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Very Big Problem</th>
<th>Fairly Big Problem</th>
<th>Small/No Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street/public places?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking into houses?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors causing a nuisance?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the streets?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours or loud parties?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Litter? □ □ □
Tourists/visitors being picked on? □ □ □
Drunken people on the streets/public Places? □ □ □
Traffic congestion? □ □ □
Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on? □ □ □
Vehicle crime? □ □ □
Assaults? □ □ □

14. Are there any places locally that you would be reluctant to go to, either in the daytime or at night?

Daytime
Yes □ No □
Night □ □

If yes, can you say where? (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

Why would you be reluctant to go there? (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)
15. Thinking about tourism, how do you think it affects the following features of life locally? Please tick all that you think improve things in Column 1 and all those that you think make things worse in Column 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourism improves things</th>
<th>Tourism worsens things</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incomes and living standards</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter, vandalism etc.</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances/public disorder</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The area's overall prosperity</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of leisure facilities</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life in general</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the next section, we'd like to ask you about your home and the way you spend your time.

16. People do a variety of things to avoid crime or minimise its effects. Thinking about your house/flat, which of the following apply at the present time? Please put a tick in the relevant box against each option.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Cannot say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have had a security survey in your home carried out by the police</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put security markings on household property</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told a neighbour when your house is usually empty</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined a neighbourhood group which aims to prevent crime by keeping a lookout for suspicious incidents</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoided leaving the house/flat Unoccupied more than necessary</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitted a burglar alarm</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. How many hours during an average day do you spend out of the home during the day time, Monday to Friday?

Less than three hours  
At least three hours but less than five hours  
Five hours or more

18. In an average week, how many hours is your home empty between 8.00 am in the morning and 6.00 pm at night, Monday to Friday?

Not at all 5-6 hours a day  
1-2 hours a day At least 7 hours a day

19. On average, how many times a week do you go out in the evening?

Never  
Once or twice  
Three times or more

In the next section, we'd like to ask you about police and policing

20. Thinking about the number of police you see in the area where you live, would you say that, generally, there are too many, too few, or about the right number?

Too many  
About right  
Too few  
Don't know
21. Do you think there are more police in this area now than there were a year ago, or fewer, or about the same?

More ☐ Fewer ☐
About the same ☐ Don't know ☐

22. Do you know any police officers well enough to talk to by name (Tick all that apply)?

Yes: respondent or relative in police ☐
Yes: close friend in police ☐
Yes: neighbour/acquaintance in police ☐
Yes: police seen through work ☐
Yes: local police seen on duty ☐
Yes: through involvement with
Neighbourhood watch, farm watch etc. ☐
No ☐

23. How far do you live from your nearest police station?

Under 5 miles ☐ 15-19 miles ☐
5-9 miles ☐ 20 or more miles ☐
10-14 miles ☐

24. Do you think that the nearest police station is close enough or too far away?

Close enough ☐
Too far away ☐
Not sure ☐

25. How easy is it to contact the police at your local station?

Very easy ☐ Difficult ☐
Quite easy ☐ Very difficult ☐

Don't know ☐

Why do you say that? (Please complete in BLOCK LETTERS)
26. People hold a range of opinions about policing in Cornwall: Could you say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People know their local police better than in big cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police here are no longer part of the local community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policing is more people-oriented than in big cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police are less friendly here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police here play a big part in the community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policing is much the same whether in you live in Cornwall or a big city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police here are more aware of local issues than are big city police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police services here are less accessible than in urban areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police in areas like Cornwall are known as people as well as officers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policing in Cornwall is worse than in most other areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police in Cornwall are part of the local community first and members of the police service second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police here take too long to respond to emergencies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police here are more approachable than in big cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the next section, we'd like to ask you for your feelings about crime.

27. How safe do/would you feel walking out alone after dark? (please answer, even if you never go out after dark)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In the area you live in</th>
<th>In your most used town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very safe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly safe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bit unsafe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unsafe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. How safe do you feel when you are alone in your own home at night?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>No one alone at night</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very safe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly safe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bit unsafe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unsafe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. Most of us worry at some time about being a victim of a crime or other problem, and we would like you to tell us how worried you are about being the victim of different sorts of incident. Please put a tick in the boxes that reflect how you feel about:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very worried</th>
<th>Fairly worried</th>
<th>Not/not very worried</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having your home broken into and something stolen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being mugged and robbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having your home damaged by vandals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having your vehicle stolen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having something stolen from your car</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being insulted or bothered by neighbours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being sexually assaulted or harassed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being involved in a traffic accident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being assaulted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being targeted because of your race/religion/sexuality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30. How likely do you think it is that the following will happen to you in the next twelve months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Very likely</th>
<th>Fairly likely</th>
<th>Not very likely</th>
<th>Not at all likely</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having your home broken into and something stolen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being mugged and robbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having something stolen from your car</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. Who do you think mostly commits the crimes locally? Tick no more than two:

- Local residents
- Casual workers from outside the area
- Tourists
- Local casual workers
- Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

32. When you think about crime locally, could you say what you base your opinion on? Please tick no more than three from the list below:

- Your/your family's personal experience
- National press
- Talking to local people
- Local press
- National television
- Published crime statistics
- Local television
In the next section, we’d like to ask you for your views on crime prevention and community safety

33. Below is a list of things that might be done in an attempt to reduce crime or improve community safety. Please tick up to five that you think are most important for the area you live in, and then the five that you think are most important for your most used town:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Better street lighting</th>
<th>Area you live in</th>
<th>Most used town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better home security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More CCTV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More police on foot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More police in cars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council-operated community patrols</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More private security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower speed limits/traffic restrictions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better public transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure car parking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More neighbourhood watch schemes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better drugs education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More drug treatment programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bye-laws controlling drinking in public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tighter controls on pub/club licensing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More employment opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better youth services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better leisure facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better regulation of tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support for parents in raising children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More treatment services for offenders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tougher sentences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
34. Please tick which of the following you think would greatly help reduce each of the following (tick as many as you want):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Car crime</th>
<th>Violence</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Disorder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better street lighting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better home security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>More neighbourhood watch schemes</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Better drugs education</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>More drug treatment programmes</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bye-laws controlling drinking in public</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tighter controls on pub/club licensing</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Better leisure facilities</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better regulation of tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tougher sentences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. Were you aware that local areas are now required to carry out regular Crime Audits?

Yes [ ]    No [ ]    Not sure [ ]
If yes, were you aware that a Crime Audit took place in area in 1998/99?

Yes □ No □ Not sure □

36. In the last three years, have you been able to comment to officials about the local crime situation?

Yes □ No □ Not sure □

If yes, can you give details? (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

37. Since the beginning of August 2000 (That is, since the summer holiday period last year), have you, or anyone else in your household experienced any of the following problems? Please tick all that apply in Column 1, and those that were reported or known to the police in Column 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Police knew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Someone broke into my house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone broke into my garage, shed, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone vandalised, or wrote graffiti on my house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had something stolen from my person or from someone else in the family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had anything else stolen that was left lying around</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulted, threatened or harassed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Been assaulted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had a car stolen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had items stolen from a car</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had car vandalised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in a traffic accident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured in an accident at work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured in the home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicious callers at home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened by a stranger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

344
38. Which of the following best describes your home type?

- Owned by you
- Rented from the Council/Housing Association
- Private rental
- Other
- Don't know

39. Are you?

- Single (never married)
- Divorced
- Cohabitting/married
- Widowed
- Separated
- Don't know

40. Do you or anyone in your household own any of the following?

- Car
- Mobile phone
- A second car
- CD player
- Video recorder
- Burglar alarm
- Home computer

41. How many overseas holidays have you taken in the past twelve months?

- None
- Two
- One
- Three or more

42. What is your sex?

- Male
- Female

43. How old are you?

- Under 20
- 20-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70 or over

44. Please tick whichever applies to your situation? (Please tick all that apply)

- Live alone
- Live with spouse/partner aged 60+ years
- Live with spouse/partner aged under 60
- Live with other adults aged 60+ years
- Live with other adults under 60
- Live with children aged 16 and under
- Don't know

45. Is anyone in your household employed in the tourist industry?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
46. How long have you lived in Cornwall?

- Born and lived here all my life
- Moved here as a child and remained here
- Moved here as an adult
- Returned here after living/working away for some time
- Retired here
- Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

47. Which of the following best describes you? (Please tick more than one if you think that is appropriate)

- White (English)
- White (Cornish)
- White (Scottish)
- White (Welsh)
- White (Irish)
- White (British)
- White (Continental European)
- White (Other)
- Black
- Chinese
- Asian
- Other

48. How would you describe your general health compare with others of your age?

- Very good
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Very poor

49. What is the combined gross income (before deductions) of your household?

- Less than £5000
- £5001-£10,000
- £10,001-£20,000
- £20,001-£30,000
- £30,001 or more

Thank you for taking the time to answer the questions. Please send the completed questionnaire back to us in the FREEPOST envelope. If you would like to be included in the PRIZE DRAW, please put the letter we sent you that has your name and address on it in the ENVELOPE with the questionnaire.

The County Council is interested in inviting more people to join its People’s Panel. They are consulted from time to time to ask their views on services provided by the County Council and issues affecting Cornwall. If you want to join the Cornwall People’s Panel, please tick the appropriate box below and return the letter we sent to you with the questionnaire.

I would like to join the Cornwall People’s Panel

Remember, you do not need to put a stamp on the envelope
Cornwall Business Crime Survey: Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIAL

This questionnaire is divided into six sections. In the first section, we'd like to ask you about your business.

1. What is the main purpose of your business (Please tick one box):
   - Manufacturing
   - Construction
   - Retail
   - Wholesale
   - Garages / Motor Trade
   - Transport / Distribution
   - Visitor Accommodation
   - Catering / Leisure
   - Financial / Property Services
   - Community / Education / Health Services
   - Warehousing / Distribution
   - Other Professional Services
   - Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

2. Which of the following best describes your business?
   - Run from home / home on premises
   - Separate business on one site
   - Small business on a number of sites
   - Part of a national/regional chain
   - Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

3. How long has the business been established on your present site?
   - Under one year
   - 1-5 years
   - 6-9 years
   - Ten or more years

4. Including you, how many people (full time equivalent) are employed in the local business?
   - Under 5
   - 5-9
   - 10-19
   - 20-49
   - 50 or more

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5. Is your business in any way dependent upon tourism?
   - No
   - Yes, to some extent
   - Yes, largely

In the next section, we'd like to ask you about where your business is situated (Please refer here to the location to which this questionnaire was addressed).

6. What is your business postcode (this will not be used to identify individual businesses, but only to group them into localities)?

7. Which of the following most closely describes your location? (Please tick one box)
   - Isolated location
   - Village
   - City / town centre
   - Town outskirts / suburbs
   - Out of town shopping area
   - Industrial estate
   - Business park
   - Market
   - Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

8. Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the area where your business is located? (Please tick one box)
   - Very satisfied
   - Satisfied
   - Dissatisfied
   - Very dissatisfied
   - Don't know

9. Is tourism important in the area your business is located? (Please tick one box)
   - Yes
   - No
   - Unsure
10. What would you say were the **best** things about the business being based here? (Please tick all the answers that apply)

- The premises / accommodation are good  □
- It's got as much / little space as we require □
- It's convenient for custom □
- People around here are nice / friendly □
- There's not much crime □
- It's a peaceful area □
- The area is well looked after □
- Local public transport / access is good □
- The local employment situation is good □

11. What would you say were the **worst** things about the business being based here? (Please tick all answers that apply)

- The premises / accommodation are unsuitable □
- It's got the wrong amount of space □
- It's not convenient for custom □
- People around here are unfriendly / not very nice □
- There is too much crime □
- It's a noisy / disorderly area □
- The area is run down / not well cared for □
- Local public transport / access is poor □
- The local employment situation is poor □
12. Thinking about the area in which your business is based: How much of a problem would you say the following were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Very big problem</th>
<th>Fairly big problem</th>
<th>Small / no problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children / teenagers hanging around on the street / public places?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary / breaking into business premises?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists causing a nuisance?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the streets?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours or loud parties?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists / visitors as victims / getting picked on?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people in the streets / public places?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims / getting picked on?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. Thinking about tourism, how do you think it affects the following features of life locally? Please tick all that you think improve things in Column 1 and all those that you think make things worse in Column 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Tourism improves things</th>
<th>Tourism worsens things</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income and standard of living</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter, vandalism etc.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances / public disorder</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District's overall prosperity</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of leisure facilities</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life in general</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the next section, we'd like to ask you about police and policing.

14. Thinking about the number of police you see in the area around your business, would you say that, generally, there are too many, too few, or about the right number?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Police</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too many</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>About right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too few</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. Do you think there are more police in this area now than there were a year ago, or fewer, or about the same?

- More [□]
- About the same [□]
- Fewer [□]
- Don't know [□]

In the next section, we’d like to ask you for your feelings about crime.

16. How concerned are you about the effect the following are having on your business:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect Description</th>
<th>Very worried</th>
<th>Fairly worried</th>
<th>Not very worried</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children / teenagers hanging around on the street / public places?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Burglary / breaking into business premises?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims / getting picked on?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*19%
17. Who do you think mostly commits the crimes against local businesses? (Please tick no more than two)

- Local residents
- Tourists
- Local casual workers
- Casual workers from outside the area
- Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

In the next section, we'd like to ask you for your views and experience of crime prevention and community safety.

18. Businesses do a variety of things to avoid crime or minimise its effects. Thinking about your business, which of the following apply at the present time? Please put a tick in the relevant box against each option.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have had a security survey in your premises carried out by the police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed in-house security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid an outside security firm to patrol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined a 'watch' scheme which aims to prevent crime by keeping a lookout for suspicious incidents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitted special security lights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitted a burglar alarm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had special locks fitted to the doors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had locks put on the windows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought a dog as a deterrent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitted CCTV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased your insurance / taken out insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anything else (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)
19. Below is a list of things that might be done in an attempt to reduce crime or improve community safety. Please tick up to five that you think are most important for the area your business is located in:

- Encourage people to occupy empty accommodation over shops / offices
- Better street lighting
- Better in-house security
- More CCTV in public places
- Improved street design
- More police on foot
- More police in cars
- Council-operated community patrols
- More private security
- Lower speed limits / traffic restrictions
- Better public transport
- Secure car parking
- More watch schemes
- Better drugs education
- More drug treatment programmes
- Bylaws controlling drinking in public
- Tighter controls on pub/club licensing
- More employment opportunities
- Better youth services
- Better leisure facilities
- Better regulation of tourism
- Support for parents in raising children
- More treatment services for offenders
- Tougher sentences
20. Please tick which of the following you think would greatly help reduce each of the following (Please tick as many as you want):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Car Crime</th>
<th>Violence</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Disorder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encourage people to occupy empty accommodation over shops / offices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better street lighting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better in-house security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More CCTV in public places</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved street design</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More police on foot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More police in cars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council-operated community patrols</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More private security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower speed limits / traffic restrictions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better public transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure car parking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More watch schemes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better drugs education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More drug treatment programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bylaws controlling drinking in public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tighter controls on pub / club licensing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More employment opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better youth services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better leisure facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better regulation of tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support for parents in raising children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More treatment services for offenders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tougher sentences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. Were you aware that local areas are now required to carry out regular Crime Audits?

Yes ☐  No ☐  Not sure ☐

If yes: were you aware that a Crime Audit took place in your area in 1998/99?

Yes ☐  No ☐  Not sure ☐

22. In the last three years, have you been able to comment to officials about the local crime situation?

Yes ☐  No ☐  Not sure ☐

If yes: can you give details (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

23. Since the beginning of August 2000 (That is, since the summer holiday period last year), has your business experienced any of the following problems? Please tick all that apply in column 1, and those that were reported or known to the police in column 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Police knew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Someone broke into the premises</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone broke into the garage, shed, or other outer building</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone vandalised, or wrote graffiti on the premises</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had anything else stolen that was left lying around</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff insulted, threatened or harassed</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff assaulted</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had a company car stolen</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had items stolen from a company car</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had company car vandalised</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company car involved in a traffic accident</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff injured in an accident at work</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson to business premises</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery at business premises</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company the victim of fraud</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
24. Were any of the incidents you mentioned in answer to Question 23, in your opinion, motivated by the race/ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation of yourself or your employees?

Yes □
No □

If you answered yes, please give details (in BLOCK CAPITALS)

We would like to finish by asking you some questions about yourself:

25. What is your sex?

Male □
Female □

26. How long have you worked in this business in your present location?

Under one year □
1-5 years □
6-9 years □
Ten or more years □

27. How old are you?

Under 20 □
20-29 □
30-39 □
40-49 □
50-59 □
60-69 □
70 or more □

28. How long have you lived in Cornwall?

Born and lived here all my life □
Moved here as a child and remained here □
Moved here as an adult □
Returned here after living/working away for some time □
Semi-retired here □

Other (Please complete in BLOCK CAPITALS)

Thank you for taking the time to answer the questions. Please send the completed questionnaire back to us in the FREEPOST envelope.
Restormel Hotelier's Questionnaire

Thank you for taking the time to talk to me about this research which is about a hotel burglary initiative that has been running in Torbay. We need to know what people outside of Torbay think about the issues raised and Restormel has been selected as an area close to Torbay that has much in common.

First, we need to know a little about your hotel/guest house (omit whichever is not applicable)

1. Name of Hotel & Postcode ........................................................................................... v2

2. Classification PROMPT RAC/AA/ENGLISH TOUIST BOARD 'Stars/Crowns' .......... v3

3. No. of bedrooms: ........................................................................................................ v4

4. Taken as an average over the year, approximately what percentage of your clientele is made up of?

   Business people ........................................... v5
   Families .................................................... v6
   Young singles .......................................... v7
   Middle-aged couples ................................. v8
   Older people .............................................. v9

5. Are they mainly group or individual bookings? ....................................................... v10

6. Is your hotel located in a commercial, residential, coastal or country environment?
   ............................................................................................................................... v11

7. Is the main access into your hotel?

   Yes                      No

   Fronting directly on to the street □ □ v12
   Via a private driveway □ □ v13
   Other (please explain) .......................................................................................... v14
8. What are your guest car parking facilities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On street parking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private car park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other (please explain) ............................................................................... v19

9. Is your hotel?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part of a chain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of a buying group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. What security does your Hotel have? SHOW PROMPT CARD D (Please tick all that apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security Measure</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCTV in reception area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCTV in public areas (restaurant/corridors etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCTV in car park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCTV in external property (i.e. pool/garden/recreation areas)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest room keys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest room electronic door cards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slot in Reception for returned keys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keys/Door cards secured out of sight of public areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window locks on guest rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window locks on other windows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel security staff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralised alarm system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand alone alarm system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central safe for guest use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolts on room doors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safes in guest rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spy holes in guest room doors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security information for guests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panic chains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now I'd like to know a little about you

11. What is your job title? ................................................................. v23

12. How long have you been in the post? ........................................... v24

13. How long have you lived in the Restormel area? ......................... v25

14. Is respondent (by observation) Male ☐ Female ☐ v26

Now, the Torbay Hotel Initiative is a Home Office Initiative launched in 2001.
SHOW PROMPT CARD 1

15. Are you aware of the Torbay Hotel Burglary Initiative? 
(If no, skip to question 17)
Yes ☐ No ☐ v27

16. If you answered yes, how did you hear about it? PROMPT AS NECESSARY
... from a hotelier in Torbay, a hotelier in Restormel, someone else ..................

17. If a similar scheme was available in Restormel, would you be interested in participating?
Yes ☐ No ☐ v29

18. Do you know about the NVQ certificate in crime prevention incorporated in an
HND/Foundation Module for Hotel and Tourism students which is due to
commence in September 2002 at South Devon College?
Yes ☐ No ☐ v101

18a. If a certificate course like this was offered in the Cornwall/Plymouth area, would you be interested in attending/sending someone from your hotel?
Yes ☐ No ☐ v30
I'd now like to know your feelings about crime in the Restormel area.

19. Thinking about the area where your Hotel is located, we would like to know how much of a problem would you say the following were (Please tick one box on each line) PROMPT CARD E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Description</th>
<th>Very Big Problem</th>
<th>Fairly Big Problem</th>
<th>Small/No Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children/teenagers hanging around on the street/public areas?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/breaking into houses?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors causing a nuisance?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street crime such as mugging or robbery?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism, graffiti and deliberate damage to property?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and poverty?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People begging on the street?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy neighbours or loud parties?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People using or dealing in drugs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists/visitors as victims/getting picked on?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken people on the streets/public places?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic congestion?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minorities as victims/getting picked on?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20. Thinking about tourism, how do you think it affects the following features of life locally? Do you think it improves the situation in Restormel, makes it worse or makes no difference? PROMPT CARD F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Tourism improves things</th>
<th>Tourism worsens things</th>
<th>Makes No difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incomes &amp; living standards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter, vandalism etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances/public order</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The area's overall prosperity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of leisure facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life in general</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. Between the beginning of March 2001 and the end of March 2002, could you say which of the following your hotel experienced? 

PROMPT CARD G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>More than once</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/theft of both guest and hotel property at same time</td>
<td></td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/theft of hotel property</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/theft from room of guest property</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of hotel property by guests</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from guests' cars parked on/around Hotel premises</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other thefts of guests' property from elsewhere in hotel</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests victims of theft elsewhere in The Restormel area</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests victim of violence within Hotel</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests victim of violence elsewhere in the Restormel area</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism in Hotel/grounds</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. If you experienced any of the responses in the previous question, could you tell me if the incidents were reported to the police?

Yes ☐
Sometimes ☐
No ☐
23. Please give details for your answer PROMPT, IF THEY SAY YES, DO THEY REPORT EVERY INCIDENT. IF NO, WHY NOT. IF SOMETIMES, WHAT IS IT DEPENDENT UPON. .................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................v146

24. Who do you think commits the crimes against local hotels? 
(please tick no more than two)

- Local Residents □ v30 Tourists □ v33
- Local casual workers □ v32 Casual workers from outside the area □ v34
- Other (Please specify) ................................................................. v35

.................................................................

25. How do you think burglary from hotels can be reduced?

.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................v148

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME
Dear Proprietor/Manager,

Re: Hotel Burglary Initiative

A scheme, funded by the Home Office, has been implemented in the Torbay area since March 2001. Its aim is to reduce burglary from hotels in that area through a conference, video and security advice as well as different levels of funding for the improvement of security in those hotels which have been identified as 'at risk.'

The University of Plymouth has been contracted by the Home Office to undertake an independent evaluation of the initiative and we are asking for your assistance. You may wonder how you can help us – quite simply, we need to know how much of a feature hotel crime is in areas other than Torbay and this is where your help will be invaluable. In order to gather the information we need, we intend to visit your area during the last week of June and first two weeks of July in order to carry out face-to-face interviews with hotel owners/managers. We appreciate that this is a busy time of the year for you and so we anticipate that the interviews will take no more than fifteen minutes.

All the information that you give will be treated in strictest confidence and your personal details will not appear anywhere in the records or report.

Due to the number (over 200) of properties that we need to visit, we cannot specify exactly when we will call but if, on first calling the time is not convenient for you then one of our interviewers will be happy to call back. Alternatively you may designate someone else to answer the questions, providing that they have worked in your hotel during the period of the initiative (March 2001 – end March 2002).

If you require any further information you may call Carol Jones on 01752 233293 during office hours and she will be pleased to answer any of your questions.

We appreciate your assistance in this evaluation, which will be used to aid the police, Community Safety Partnership and hoteliers in Torbay and Restormel.

Yours faithfully,

Professor R. I. Mawby
CONFIDENTIAL

Even if you do not cover a 'tourist' area your opinions are important to me and I would therefore be grateful if you would complete the following missing out only those questions where you are directed to do so.

1) Which Victim Support district are you Co-ordinator of? ....................................... V2

2) For how many years have you been involved with Victim Support? ....................... V3

3) And for how many of those years have you been the Co-ordinator? ........................... V4

4) Have you always been based in the area that you now represent?
   Yes ☐ 1  No ☐ 2  V5

5) If you answered no, where were you based previously?

........................................................................................................................................ V6

6) How many volunteers work within your district (including yourself)?

........................................................................................................................................ V7

7) How many paid members of staff do you have (Including yourself)?

........................................................................................................................................ V8

8) During 2000, how many referrals did your district provide a service for? (By this I mean how many victims of crime did you contact by letter, phone call or visit?)

........................................................................................................................................ V9
9) Is tourism a feature of the area in which you are the Co-ordinator?

Yes ☐ No ☐

10) If you answered yes, approximately how many tourists who were victims of crime in your area did you or your Volunteers offer support to during 2000? .........................

11) If you answered yes to question 9 but did not deal with any I could you say 'Why? (Please tick all that apply)

- Received no referrals from the Police ☐
- No-one else requested support ☐
- It is not our policy to deal with tourist victims ☐
- All tourist referrals were forwarded to the victims' home support team ☐
- We did not have the resources to respond ☐
- We do not provide support for the types of crimes reported by tourists ☐
- Other (please explain) ..............................................................

12) If you are in a 'tourist area,' in your experience what sorts of crimes are tourists most likely to be victims of? (Please tick all that apply)

- Attempted burglary from accommodation ☐
- Actual burglary from accommodation ☐
- Vandalism of accommodation ☐
- Attempted theft from a vehicle ☐
- Actual theft from a vehicle ☐
- Attempted theft of a vehicle ☐
- Actual theft of a vehicle ☐
- Vandalism of a vehicle ☐
- Theft from the person ☐
- Theft other than from the person ☐
- Common assault in accommodation ☐
- Common assault away from accommodation ☐
- Wounding in accommodation ☐
- Wounding away from Accommodation ☐
13) Please can you tell me how this compares with the crimes that local residents are most likely to be victims of?

14) Do you think that there is any difference in the impact of crime between tourists and local residents?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15) If you answered yes, how?

- Local Residents are affected more
- Tourists are affected more
- They are affected in different ways
- Don't know

16) Do you think that there should be a specialist Victim Support service for tourists?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17) During 2000 did you have referrals for local residents who have been victims of crime elsewhere - that is while they were away on holiday or visiting another area or country?

Yes ☐ 1  
No ☐ 2  

If you answered yes, could you say approximately how many and where they had been victims of crime?

Thank you for taking the time to answer this questionnaire.

Please add your name and address below (Please note that this information will not be passed on to any other person)

Name

Contact Address

Contact Telephone Number

Please return this in the reply paid envelope enclosed or alternatively hand it to me at the meeting on 24th May at St. Austell.

Carol Jones
Visitors to Cornwall 
Questionnaire

All information provided in this questionnaire is confidential. Unless otherwise stated, please tick the box that most closely corresponds with your opinion.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THERE ARE QUESTIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE PAPER, PLEASE DO NOT SKIP ANY QUESTIONS UNLESS YOU ARE DIRECTED TO DO SO. THANK YOU.

The following questions are concerned with your visit to Cornwall during which you were a victim of crime

1) Why were you in Cornwall when the crime took place?

- On holiday □ 1
- Visiting family/friends □ 2
- Business □ 3
- Day trip from home □ 4
- Educational visit □ 5
- Other (please specify) ...........................................................

1a) If on holiday, why did you choose Cornwall?..........................................................

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2) What was the village/town that you were staying in (or the nearest to your accommodation)? .......................................................... v4

3) How long was the holiday/visit (nights) ....................................................... v5

4) For how many of these were you based in Cornwall? .............................. nights v6

Please turn to Page 2

5) Which of the following best describes the type of accommodation you stayed in?
6) Who were you on holiday/ on visit with?

- Alone □ 1
- In a couple □ 2
- Family with children □ 3
- Two or more couples □ 4
- More than one family with children □ 5
- Single sex group □ 6
- Mixed group □ 7
- Organisation □ 8

7) What type of holiday /visit did you plan?

- Pre-booked through agent/operator with itinerary for entire holiday □ 1
- Pre-booked through agent/operator but with time to do 'my own thing' □ 2
- Self-booked so that I can arrange my own agenda in a new area □ 3
- Self-booked because I have been there before □ 4
- No booking, just arrived □ 5

8) Why did you choose Cornwall? Tick all that apply

- Recommended by friends/ family □ v10
- Recommended by travel agent/ operator □ v11
- Liked the literature □ v12
- Return visit □ v13
- Visiting friends/ family □ v14
- Convenient distance from home □ v15
- Other (please specify) ............................................................

9) During the daytime on your holiday/ visit, which of the following did you do? Tick all that apply

- Never □ Once □ More than Once □
- Went on guided excursions □ v16
- Went sightseeing alone □ v17
- Went sightseeing with family/friends □ v18
- Visited attractions e.g. theme parks □ v19
- Took photographs □ v20
- Talked to other tourists □ v21
- Talked to residents □ v22
- Stayed around accommodation □ v23

10) During the evening on your holiday/ visit, which of the following did you do? Tick all that apply
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>More than Once</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stayed in accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched shows etc. at accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Went sightseeing with family/friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited pubs/clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited restaurants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited friends/relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited friends/relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialised with other tourists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialised with residents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11) How many hours on average did you stay away from your accommodation during the daytime?
   - Less than 3 hours: □ 1
   - At least 3 hours but less than 5 hours: □ 2
   - 5 hours or longer: □ 3

12) How many times a week did you go out in the evening during the holiday/visit?
   - Never: □ 1
   - Up to 3 times: □ 2
   - 3 times or more: □ 3

13) If you never went out in the area where you were staying after dark, how safe do you think you would have felt if you had gone out?
   - Very safe: □ 1
   - Fairly safe: □ 2
   - A bit unsafe: □ 3
   - Very unsafe: □ 4

14) If you did go out after dark, how secure did you feel?
   - Very safe: □ 1
   - Fairly safe: □ 2
   - A bit unsafe: □ 3
   - Very unsafe: □ 4

15) What form of transport did you have use of at the time of the crime?
The following questions relate to the crime you experienced in Cornwall in 2000 that is, the crime that was reported to the police

20) Which category(ies) describe the crime(s) of which you were a victim? Tick all those that apply.

- Attempted burglary from your dwelling □
- Actual burglary from your dwelling □
- Vandalism of dwelling □
- Attempted theft from a vehicle □
- Actual theft from a vehicle □
- Attempted theft of a vehicle □
- Actual theft of a vehicle □
- Vandalism of a vehicle □
- Theft from the person □
- Common Assault in dwelling □
- Common assault away from dwelling □
- Wounding in dwelling □
- Wounding away from dwelling □

Briefly describe what happened: ...........................................................................................................
21) If the crime involved theft or burglary, please tick all the items lost

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereo/Hi-fi equipment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camera</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/Magazines</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passports</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer equipment</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purse/Wallet</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Briefcase/Bag</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit Cards/Cheque Book</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car/Van</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Phone</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car/Van Accessories</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle/Moped</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tickets</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22) How much were you affected by the crime at the time it took place?

- Affected very much 1
- Affected quite a lot 2
- Affected a little 3
- Not at all 4

23) Did you sustain any injuries as a result of the crime? Tick all that apply.

- No Injury
- Minor – bruise or black eye
- Severe bruising
- Scratches
- Cuts
- Broken bones
- Other

24) How satisfied were you with the response of the police to your experience?

- Very satisfied 1
- Fairly satisfied 2
- Not satisfied 3
- Very dissatisfied 4
- Don't know 9

Please explain your response

Please turn to Page 6
25) Following the incident, were you offered a referral to Victim Support in Comwall?

   Yes □ 1       No □ 2

   *If you answered no, please go to question no. 27*

26) If you answered yes, did you ask to be contacted by Victim Support?

   Yes □ 1       No □ 2

   *If you answered no, please go to question no. 32*

27) Were you contacted by Victim Support?

   Yes □ 1       No □ 2

   *If you answered no, please go to question no. 32*

28) If you answered yes, what form did that contact take?

   Personal visit □ 1
   Telephone contact □ 2
   Letter □ 3
   Note through the door □ 4
   Other (please specify) ...............................................

29) What assistance did Victim Support offer you? Tick all that apply

   Personal support □
   Information and advice about Insurance and compensation □
   A link with the police to know how the case was progressing □
   Suggestions as to other services you could contact
e.g. Banks, Embassies, Insurance Companies □
   Crime prevention advice □
   Anything else □
   None at all □
30) Following the incident, did Victim Support offer to contact your local branch of Victim Support to visit you on your return home?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2 □ 96

If you answered no, please go to question 33

31) If you answered yes, did you ask for Victim Support to contact you when you returned home?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2 □ 97

If you answered no, please go to question 33

32) Did they then contact you on your return home?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2 □ 98

33) Overall, how well do you feel the police kept you informed of the progress of their investigation?

Very well ☐ 1 Fairly well ☐ 2 Not very well ☐ 3 Not at all well ☐ 4 □ 99

Don't know ☐ 9

Please explain your response............................................................................................................. □ 100

34) Did this contact with the police make you feel more or less favourable to the police in general, or did it make no difference to your view of them?

More favourable ☐ 1 Less favourable ☐ 2 No difference ☐ 3 □ 101

Don't know ☐ 9

Please explain your response............................................................................................................. □ 102
35) How do you consider that the police in Cornwall dealt with the incident compared to the way your local police force might have responded?

- Much happier with Cornwall police □ 1
- Slightly happier with Cornwall police □ 2
- Much happier with police in local area □ 3
- Slightly happier with police in local area □ 4
- About the same □ 5
- Don't know □ 9

Please explain your response............................................................
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36) Has being a victim of crime in Cornwall changed your perception of the levels of crime in that area?

- Yes □ 1
- No □ 2
- Don't know □ 9

Please explain your answer.................................................................
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37) How have your future holiday plans been affected by this incident?

Please explain...................................................................................................
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377
38) Who do you think mainly commits the crimes in Cornwall? Tick no more than two

- Local residents 0 008
- Tourists □ v109
- Local casual workers □ v110
- Casual workers from outside the area □ v111
- Other (please specify) .............................................

39) When considering a future holiday destination, are there any destinations that you would not visit due to your perceptions of crime being a problem there?

Yes □ 1
No □ 2

If yes, where?................................................................. v112

If yes, where?....................................................................... v113

The following questions are asking you if you have been a victim of crime at any other time in 2000 apart from the incident referred to above

40) Have you been a victim of any of the following crimes in your local area during 2000? By local area we mean the area where you live, shop and/or work.

Tick all crimes that you were a victim of in Column 1
Tick all crimes that were reported to or were known by the police in Column 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attempted burglary from your dwelling □ v114/v127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual burglary from your dwelling □ v115/v128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of dwelling □ v116/v129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft from a vehicle □ v117/v130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft from a vehicle □ v118/v131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft of a vehicle □ v119/v132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft of a vehicle □ v120/v133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of a vehicle □ v121/v134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person □ v122/v135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault in dwelling □ v123/v136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault away from dwelling □ v124/v137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding in dwelling □ v125/v138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding away from dwelling □ v126/v139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If none of the above were reported to the police please go on to question 47

If you marked off more than one option from Column 2 in the above list, please answer questions 41 – 46 for the most recent crime reported

Please turn to Page 10
41) If you were the victim of more than one crime that was reported to the police during 2000 which was the most recent?

42) How were you affected by the crime at the time it took place?

- Affected very much  □ 1
- Affected quite a lot  □ 2
- Affected a little  □ 3
- Not at all  □ 4

43) How satisfied were you with the response of the police to your experience?

- Very satisfied  □ 1
- Fairly satisfied  □ 2
- Not satisfied  □ 3
- Very dissatisfied  □ 4
- Don't know  □ 9

Please explain your response ............................................................

44) Following the incident, were you offered a referral to Victim Support?

- Yes  □ 1
- No  □ 2

If you answered no, please go to question no. 47

45) If you answered yes, did you ask to be contacted by Victim Support?

- Yes  □ 1
- No  □ 2

If you answered no, please go on to question no. 47

46) If you answered yes, what form did that contact take?

- Personal visit  □ 1
- Telephone contact  □ 2
- Letter  □ 3
- Note through the door  □ 4

Other (please specify) ...........................................................
47) Have you been a victim of any other crime away from home during 2000? That is, a crime that you have not already referred to in any of the earlier questions.

Yes □ 1
No □ 2

**Tick all crimes that you were a victim of in Column 1**

**Tick all crimes that were reported to or were known by the police in Column 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attempted burglary from your accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v147/v160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual burglary from your accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v148/v161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v149/v162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft from a vehicle □</td>
<td>□ v150/v163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft from a vehicle □</td>
<td>□ v151/v164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft of a vehicle □</td>
<td>□ v152/v165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft of a vehicle □</td>
<td>□ v153/v166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of a vehicle □</td>
<td>□ v154/v167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person □</td>
<td>□ v155/v168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault in accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v156/v169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault away from accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v157/v170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding in accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v158/v171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding away from accommodation □</td>
<td>□ v159/v172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These questions are to provide background information that will help us to analyse the results of this questionnaire.

48) What is your sex? Male □ 1
Female □ 2

49) Which age band do you fit into? 16 – 24 □ 1
25 – 34 □ 2
35 – 44 □ 3
45 – 54 □ 4
55 – 64 □ 5
65 – 74 □ 6
75+ □ 7

50) Which of the following best describes your present home situation? Choose one

Single person without children (including widowed, divorced, separated) □ 1
Single parent family (including widowed, divorced, separated) □ 2
Single parent with children but none living at home □ 3
Couple without children □ 4
Couple with child(ren) living at home □ 5
Couple with child(ren) but none living at home □ 6 v175

*Please turn to Page 12*
51) Which of the following best describes your home type?

- Owner/Occupier □ 1
- Renting from the private sector □ 2
- Renting from Council/Housing Association □ 3  v176

52) How many hours on average do you spend out of the home during the daytime Monday to Friday?

- Less than 3 hours □ 1
- At least 3 hours but less than 5 hours □ 2
- 5 hours or more □ 3  v177

53) On average, how many times a week do you go out in the evening?

- Never □ 1
- Up to 3 times a week □ 2
- 3 times or more a week □ 3  v178

54) If you go out walking after dark, how secure did you feel?

- Very safe □ 1
- Fairly safe □ 2
- A bit unsafe □ 3
- Very unsafe □ 4  v179

55) If you never go out after dark, how safe do you think you would feel if you did go out?

- Very safe □ 1
- Fairly safe □ 2
- A bit unsafe □ 3
- Very unsafe □ 4  v180

56) Other than on holiday, how do you spend your spare time?

- Sports participation □  v181
- Gardening □  v182
- Watching television □  v183
- Reading □  v184
- Pubs/clubs □  v185
- Dining out □  v186
- Cinema/Theatre □  v187
- Bingo □  v188
- Socialising □  v189

Other (please specify)...........................................................................................................
57) Does your household have any of the following? Tick all applicable

- Video Recorder ☐ 1
- Home Computer ☐ 5
- Telephone ☐ 2
- CD Player ☐ 6
- Dishwasher ☐ 3
- Burglar Alarm ☐ 7
- Mobile Phone ☐ 4
- Satellite/ Cable T.V. ☐ 8

58) How many overseas holidays have you taken in the last 12 months?

- None ☐ 1
- One ☐ 2
- Two ☐ 3
- Three or more ☐ 4

59) In the year 2000, approximately how many weeks in total did you spend away on holiday?

60) If there is someone employed in your household, what is the occupation of the main income earner?

Please provide as much information as possible, including any qualifications held. If he/she is retired, please give details of his/her most recent employment.

- Job description/title...
- Industry/employer...
- Relevant training/qualifications...
- Retired ☐

61) What is the combined gross income (before deductions) of the household?

- Less than £5,000 ☐ 1
- £5,001 - £10,000 ☐ 2
- £10,001 - £20,000 ☐ 3
- £20,001 - £30,000 ☐ 4
- £30,001 or more ☐ 5

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return it in the reply paid envelope supplied – no stamp is required.
Resident Victim Questionnaire

All information provided in this questionnaire is confidential. Unless otherwise stated, please tick the box that most closely corresponds with your opinion.

PLEASE TAKE NOTE THAT THERE ARE QUESTIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE PAPER. PLEASE DO NOT SKIP ANY QUESTIONS UNLESS YOU ARE DIRECTED TO DO SO. THANK YOU.

1) How long have you lived in Cornwall?

- Born and lived here all my life □ 1
- Moved here as a child and remained here □ 2
- Moved here as an adult □ 3
- Returned here after living/working away for some time □ 4
- Retired here □ 5
- Other (please explain) ........................................................................................................... □ v2

The following questions relate to the crime that is referred to in the letter accompanying this questionnaire.

2) Has the experience of being a victim of this crime changed your attitude to living in Cornwall?

- Yes □
- No □ v3

*If you answered No please go on to Question no. 5*

3) If you answered yes, how has it changed your attitude?

- Feel much less secure about the place since the crime □ 1
- Feel a little less secure about the place since the crime □ 2
- Feel a little more secure about the place □ 3
- Feel much more secure about the place □ 4
- Made no difference □ 5
- Don't know □ 9 v4

*Please turn to Page 2*
4) Please explain your response ........................................................................  
..................................................................................................................  
..................................................................................................................  
..................................................................................................................  

5) Which category(ies) describe the crime(s) of which you were a victim? Tick all those that apply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Description</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attempted burglary from your dwelling</td>
<td>v41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual burglary from your dwelling</td>
<td>v42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of dwelling</td>
<td>v43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft from a vehicle</td>
<td>v44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft from a vehicle</td>
<td>v45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>v46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>v47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of a vehicle</td>
<td>v48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person</td>
<td>v49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault in dwelling</td>
<td>v50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault away from dwelling</td>
<td>v51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding in dwelling</td>
<td>v52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding away from dwelling</td>
<td>v53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Briefly describe what happened .................................................................
..................................................................................................................
..................................................................................................................
..................................................................................................................

6) If the crime involved theft or burglary, please tick all the items lost

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery</td>
<td>v54/ v64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>v55/ v65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>v56/ v66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereo/Hi-Fi equipment</td>
<td>v57/ v67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>v58/ v68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camera</td>
<td>v59/ v69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>v60/ v70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td>v61/ v71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/Magazines</td>
<td>v62/ v72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passports</td>
<td>v63/ v73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer equipment</td>
<td>v74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purse/Wallet</td>
<td>v54/ v64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Briefcase/Bag</td>
<td>v55/ v65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit Cards/Cheque Book</td>
<td>v56/ v66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>v57/ v67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>v58/ v68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car/Van</td>
<td>v59/ v69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Phone</td>
<td>v60/ v70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car/Van Accessories</td>
<td>v61/ v71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle/Moped</td>
<td>v62/ v72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tickets</td>
<td>v63/ v73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td>v74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7) How much were you affected by the crime at the time it took place?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affected level</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affected very much</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected quite a lot</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected a little</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8) Did you sustain any injuries as a result of the crime? Tick all that apply.

- No Injury
- Minor - bruise or black eye
- Severe bruising
- Scratches
- Cuts
- Broken bones
- Other

9) How satisfied were you with the response of the police to your experience?

- Very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Not satisfied
- Very dissatisfied
- Don't know

Please explain your response..............................................................................
...........................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................

10) Following the incident, were you offered a referral to Victim Support?

- Yes
- No

If you answered no, please go to question no. 12

11) If you answered yes, did you ask to be contacted by Victim Support?

- Yes
- No

If you answered no, please go to question no. 15

12) Were you contacted by Victim Support?

- Yes
- No

If you answered no, please go to question no. 15

Please turn to Page 4
13) If you answered yes, what form did that contact take?

- Personal visit
- Telephone contact
- Letter
- Note through the door
- Other (please specify) ................................................... v88.

14) What assistance did Victim Support offer you? Tick all that apply

- Personal support
- Information and advice about Insurance and compensation
- A link with the police to know how the case was progressing
- Suggestions as to other services you could contact e.g. Banks, Insurance Companies
- Crime prevention advice
- Anything else
- None at all

15) Overall, how well do you feel the police kept you informed of the progress of their investigation?

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Not very well
- Not at all well
- Don't know

Please explain your response
................................................................................................................................. v100

16) Did this contact with the police make you feel more or less favourable to the police in general, or did it make no difference to your view of them?

- More favourable
- Less favourable
- No difference
- Don't know
Please explain your response.

..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

17) Who do you think mostly commits the crimes in Cornwall? Tick no more than two

Local residents □ 1  v108
Tourists □ 2  v109
Local casual workers □ 3  v110
Casual workers from outside the area □ 4  v111
Other (please specify) .................................................................

The following questions are asking you if you have been a victim of crime at any
other time in 2000 apart from the incident referred to above

18) Have you been a victim of any other crime in your local area during 2000? By local
area we mean the area where you live, shop and/or work.

Yes □  No □

*If you answered No please go to Question no. 25*

If you answered yes tick all crimes that you were a victim of in Column 1
And tick all crimes that were reported to or were known by the police in Column 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attempted burglary from your dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual burglary from your dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft from a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft from a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault in dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault away from dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding in dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding away from dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If none of the above were reported to the police please go on to question 25

If you marked off more than one option from Column 2 in the above list, please answer
questions 19 - 24 for the most recent crime reported

*Please turn to Page 6*
19) If you were the victim of more than one other crime that was reported to the police during 2000 which was the most recent?

20) How were you affected by the crime at the time it took place?

- Affected very much ☐ 1
- Affected quite a lot ☐ 2
- Affected a little ☐ 3
- Not at all ☐ 4

21) How satisfied were you with the response of the police to your experience?

- Very satisfied ☐ 1
- Fairly satisfied ☐ 2
- Not satisfied ☐ 3
- Very dissatisfied ☐ 4
- Don't know ☐ 9

Please explain your response ..........................................................................................................................

22) Following the incident, were you offered a referral to Victim Support?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If you answered no, please go on to question no. 24

23) If you answered yes, did you ask to be contacted by Victim Support?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

24) Have you been a victim of any crime away from home (that is, not in your local area) during 2000? That is, a crime that you have not already referred to in any of the earlier questions.

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If you answered No please go on to Question no. 30
If you answered Yes tick all crimes that you were a victim of in Column 1
And tick all crimes that were reported to or were known by the police in Column 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attempted burglary from your dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual burglary from your dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft from a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft from a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual theft of a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of a vehicle</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from the person</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault in dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault away from dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding in dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding away from dwelling</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you marked off more than one option from Column 2 in the above list, please answer questions 25 - 30 for the most recent crime reported.

25) If you were the victim of more than one other crime that was reported to the police during 2000 which was the most recent?

26) Where did the crime take place (town/country) ..................................................

27) Why were you there?

   On holiday
   Visiting family/friends
   Business
   Day trip from home
   Educational trip
   Other (please specify). .............................................

28) Prior to your visit to the area where the crime took place, did you have any thoughts about the levels of crime there?

   Yes □ 1
   No □ 2

If you answered No please go on to Question 31

29) If you answered yes, did you think the level was?

   Higher than at home □ 1
   Lower than at home □ 2

Please turn to page 8
On what do you base your answer?

............................................................................................................... V106

30) Has your opinion of levels of crime changed since this experience?

Yes No

If so, how?

....................................................................................................................

.................................................................................................................... V38

The following questions refer to holidays that you have taken away from home during 2000

31) In the year 2000, approximately how many weeks in total did you spend away from home on holiday? .................................................................

32) During a typical holiday, how many hours on average do you stay away from your accommodation during the daytime?

Less than 3 hours □ 1
At least 3 hours but less than 5 hours □ 2
5 hours or longer □ 3

33) Again, during a typical holiday how many times per week do you go out in the evening?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 3 times</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 times or more</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These questions are to provide background information that will help us to analyse the results of this questionnaire.

34) What is your sex?

Male □ 1
Female □ 2
35) Which age band do you fit into?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Band</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 64</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 74</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75+</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36) Which of the following best describes your present home situation? Choose one

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Situation</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single person without children (including widowed, divorced, separated)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parent family (including widowed, divorced, separated)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parent with children but none living at home</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple without children</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple with child(ren) living at home</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple with child(ren) but none living at home</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37) Which of the following best describes your home type?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Type</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner/Occupier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting from the private sector</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting from Council/Housing Association</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38) What type of area do you live in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner-city</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39) How many hours on average do you spend out of the home during the daytime Monday to Friday?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours Spent</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 3 hours</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 3 hours but less than 5 hours</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 hours or more</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40) On average, how many times a week do you go out in the evening?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Times Out</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 3 times a week</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 times or more</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please turn to Page 10
41) If you go out walking after dark, how secure did you feel?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very safe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly safe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bit unsafe</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unsafe</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42) If you never go out after dark, how safe do you think you would feel if you did go out?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very safe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly safe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bit unsafe</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unsafe</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43) Other than on holiday, how do you spend your spare time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports participation</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching television</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pubs/ clubs</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining out</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema/ Theatre</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingo</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44) Does your household have any of the following? Tick all applicable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Device</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Video Recorder</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Computer</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD Player</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishwasher</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglar Alarm</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Phone</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satellite/ Cable T.V</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45) How many overseas holidays have you taken in the last 12 months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
46) If there is someone employed in your household, what is the occupation of the main income earner?

Please provide as much information as possible, including any qualifications held. If he/she is retired, please give details of his/her most recent employment.

Job description/title

Industry/employer

Relevant training/qualifications

Retired

47) Is anyone in the household employed in the tourist industry?

Yes ☐ No ☐

48) What is the combined gross income (before deductions) of the household?

Less than £5,000 ☐ 1
£5,001 - £10,000 ☐ 2
£10,001 - £20,000 ☐ 3
£20,001 - £30,000 ☐ 4
£30,001 or more ☐ 5

Finally as a Cornish resident we would now like you to answer the following questions regarding tourism in the area.

49) Do you think that the presence of tourists has an impact on the image of Cornwall?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If you answered No please go on to Question 51

50) If you answered yes, what effect do you think that tourism has on the image of Cornwall?

Significantly worsens the image ☐ 1
Worsens somewhat the image ☐ 2
Improves the image somewhat ☐ 3
Significantly improves the image ☐ 4

Please turn to Page 12
51) Thinking about tourism, how do you think it impacts upon the following features of life in Cornwall? Please tick all those that you think have a positive impact in Column 1 and all those that you think have a negative impact in Column 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Impact</th>
<th>Negative Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morality</td>
<td>v140/v158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income and standard of living</td>
<td>v141/v159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>v142/v160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic conditions</td>
<td>v143/v161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>v144/v162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances, Offences against Public Order</td>
<td>v145/v163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>v146/v164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>v147/v165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politeness and good manners</td>
<td>v148/v166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual permissiveness</td>
<td>v149/v167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area's overall income</td>
<td>v150/v168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's honesty</td>
<td>v151/v169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude towards work</td>
<td>v152/v170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtesy and hospitality towards strangers</td>
<td>v153/v171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual confidence among people</td>
<td>v154/v172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of leisure facilities</td>
<td>v155/v194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing</td>
<td>v156/v195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life in general</td>
<td>v157/v196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52) From the list above please say which single feature you think tourism has the biggest positive effect on and which has the biggest negative effect on life in Cornwall.

Biggest positive effect................................................................. V97
Biggest negative effect................................................................. V98

Please explain your responses...........................................................

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return it in the reply paid envelope supplied - no stamp is required.
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