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Neighbourhood wardens: a review of international experience

Working paper

Original citation:
Whitehead, Christine M E and Stockdale, JE and Scanlon, K and Roberts, Caroline and West, Karen (2002) *Neighbourhood wardens: a review of international experience.* LSE London Discussion Paper No. 9. The London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

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Originally available from LSE London

Available in LSE Research Online: June 2012

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Final report

Neighbourhood Wardens: A Review of International Experience

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May 2002
Enterprise LSE

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Main findings

The study, carried out for the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions, aimed to provide an overview of experience of neighbourhood warden and similar schemes across a range of other countries. We contacted some 130 people (practitioners, academics, and policy makers) across fifteen countries with an e-mail survey, and received detailed responses from most countries. Some of the responses were extremely full; others provided only limited information and/or additional contact points or references. We carried out detailed web searches, numerous telephone and some face-to-face interviews, as well as a few site visits. We also researched existing literature in the field (journals, books, and ephemeral material such as pamphlets) from several countries. Our findings in brief:

Provenance and coverage

- Warden schemes, in other countries as well as in the UK, generally arose for three main reasons. Many were ad-hoc responses (by governments or private citizens) to particular local problems, such as town-centre drinking or litter. Some, such as wardens addressing anti-social behaviour, were a way of freeing the police up from low-level monitoring and enforcement activity. Other schemes were general-purpose measures that could have some effect on a range of problems and would serve as a visible symbol of civic pride.

- The five main purposes of warden schemes today are:
  - Identifying and dealing with environmental problems
  - Countering anti-social behaviour
  - Meeting and greeting, providing information
  - Managing housing estates
  - Fostering social inclusion

- The majority of schemes are thus demand-led. However, some schemes in Europe arose partly because a funding stream was available to provide assistance to the unemployed. The funding and emerging neighbourhood problems came together into programmes to provide training and employment for particular groups and at the same time supplement police and local services.

- The areas covered by warden schemes are growing, both in terms of the number of schemes and the area covered by each one. Schemes that were originally developed to cover city centres have expanded coverage to surrounding streets or entire towns, often in response to popular demand. There is little evidence of contraction of warden schemes, except in those cases where funding has run out.

- There is some evidence that wardens are taking on a wider range of duties - if information wardens are already patrolling the streets, for example, it may be a logical step for them also to report graffiti, vandalism, and non-working streetlights.

- The vast majority of schemes employ quite small numbers of people. Most have not been replicated in other localities. None at national – in the sense of covering all localities with similar attributes.

Powers

- Most wardens have no powers other than those of any ordinary citizen (although in places such as the Netherlands and Belgium, where wardens wear uniforms similar to those of the police and are based in police stations, the public may not always realise this).

- Some wardens, particularly those who enforce specific regulations, can issue spot fines. This is the case with litter wardens in Ireland or, of course, parking wardens. However, in most cases wardens themselves have resisted efforts to grant them greater powers, fearing that this could destroy their cooperative relationship with the public and blur the distinction between them and the police.

Relations with the police and other agencies

- In most countries wardens have close relations with the police. Some are formally part of the police service. In other schemes (e.g. many American Business Improvement Districts), wardens are supervised by former police officers. In some cases the police initially saw wardens as usurping part of their role, although even in these schemes relations are now generally good.

- Wardens are usually not responsible for solving any but the most minor problems they encounter. Rather, they must report to other agencies (which might include the police, housing authorities, social services, street maintenance, etc.). These other agencies are then expected to take action on the basis of wardens' reports.

- Experience in a range of contexts has shown that action is sometimes not forthcoming—perhaps because of lack of funding or the capacity to respond, communication failure, because other agencies give low priority to reports from wardens, or because other agencies see wardens as a encroaching on their own territory. Equally wardens are often not informed about the outcomes of their reports. Such failures reduce public confidence in wardens, and prove frustrating for the wardens themselves.

Staffing and training

- There is a movement towards professionalisation of the job. Some warden schemes were originally staffed by volunteers, but this has been found hard to maintain. This approach has been hard to maintain – it is difficult to enforce strict discipline about working hours and practices on volunteers, and they often have a high "burn-out" rate. Some schemes now have a two-tier system, where volunteers are promoted to paid staff members when vacancies become available.

- Managers of schemes that were started primarily for the purpose of job creation have found that the approach has many limitations, especially as falling unemployment rates in the developed world mean that fewer long-term unemployed people have the qualifications to be wardens. Funding for such schemes is also usually time limited.

- The types of people employed as wardens are changing – in some instances to include minor offenders; in other to include more women or members of migrant groups.

- In most cases it is accepted that specific training (which may include life skills and basic education, as well as social and mediation skills) is required. In some cases qualifications have been developed which give experienced wardens access to a wider labour market.

Funding

- Funding for long-term sustainable programmes is seen to be a problem in most countries. The initial funding is usually short-term or often related to a specific programme. Even the most well-established schemes, such as those in the Netherlands and Belgium, are often not fully secure in their funding.

BIDs

- Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in the USA and Canada may be the exception to many of these "stylised facts". Although each is a local initiative, they are found across the continent. They usually provide multiple services within a legally designated (often town-centre) area—warden patrols are only one aspect of their work. The BID may also carry out street cleaning, graffiti removal, maintenance of local parks, etc.

- They are funded by local property owners within the clearly designated area. There is a clear contract to provide defined services. Although this funding generally has to be voted at regular intervals, maintaining it is generally not seen as problematic.

- Services are valued by the community. Management appears effective. There are usually good relationships with the police, although those with other agencies can be more strained. It may be that the warden approach is seen as more effective where wardens are an integral part of the organisation with contractual responsibility to solve reported problems.

- The BIDs concept is now emerging in other countries, notably the UK and South Africa. However the funding framework is not so clearly embedded in the local taxation framework in these countries.

Monitoring and evaluation

- Although warden schemes are seen as almost universally popular, there has been little large-scale formal evaluation of their costs and benefits. One oft-employed rationale for starting a scheme is that wardens will save the public purse more money than they cost. This has yet to be rigorously demonstrated in any particular case.

- Several surveys have demonstrated a decrease in fear of crime, and an enhanced perception of safety, in areas patrolled by wardens, while some have shown effectiveness measured against a range of performance indicators. Evaluations have also raised broader concerns about the role of wardens and the scope of their activities.

Implications for the UK

Certain implications, some of which have already been addressed, can be drawn from the survey for warden schemes in the UK. These include:

- most schemes arise out of local concerns – they generally cannot be imposed from above. On the other hand, the diversity of schemes makes it difficult to develop sustainable strategies;

- there is little evidence that local schemes are prepared to co-operate and fund joint working e.g. to develop consistent training programmes, unless there is a national framework in place;

- long term funding is a major issue – which appears only to have been successfully addressed in the BIDS model. The BIDs approach would be difficult to transfer directly to the UK, given our local government finance and local democracy structures;

- where schemes only have short or medium term funding, a clear strategy for sustainability needs to be in place well before the original finance runs out;

- there is little evidence that households, especially in areas which might benefit most from warden schemes, will be prepared to pay directly for such schemes;

- warden schemes are not necessarily the best vehicle for reintroducing the unemployed to the workforce;

- especially in an era of full employment, recruitment patterns may make it necessary to provide in-job education and skills instruction as well as specific warden training;

- in general, paid wardens are preferable to volunteers;

- any warden scheme is only as good as the resources of the services on which it calls. If other services cannot respond when wardens report incidents the wardens themselves will be seen as ineffective;

- expectations of wardens often exceed what can be delivered. These expectations must be managed;

- wardens themselves - and the police and the community - generally do not want wardens to have powers additional to those available to any citizen. Wardens do want support and back-up from those with such powers when appropriate;
- the growing range of civilian services within the police may make it difficult to ensure the identity of wardens and to manage both their roles and public expectations;

- warden accreditation, whether it is by the police, the local authority or another appropriate agency, is likely to be important in ensuring credibility and legitimacy.

1. The brief

1.1 The brief called for:

- an overview of international experience;
- a review of how schemes in other countries have been evaluated;
- advice from key experts;
- critical assessment of the evidence;
- concrete examples of good and bad practice; and
- a list of contacts.

1.2 It recognised that there were four main types of scheme, directed at:

- physical and environmental issues;
- anti-social behaviour;
- housing management broadly defined; and
- enhancing social inclusion.

1.3 The agreed approach included:

- a literature and website review;
- contacting international organisations and experts;
- a review of available UK and international materials;
- a comparative assessment of the findings from different countries and schemes; and
- a contact list.

2. Methodology

2.1 The methodology was inherently eclectic as the objective was to take a broad overview and to make as many relevant contacts as possible.

2.2 The details of the methodology used are set out in Annex 2.1. It involved a wide-ranging approach to contacting relevant policy makers and practitioners across the world, as well as a survey of published materials. An e-mail survey was sent to each contact, with a simplified version sent to those who did not respond immediately (copies attached at Annex 2.2 and 2.3). This blanket approach meant that the hit rate was likely to be relatively low, but should ensure that most important relevant initiatives were included.

2.3 We contacted some 130 people (practitioners, academics, and policy makers) across fifteen countries. The full list of contacts and the outcome of these contacts is attached at Annex 3.

2.4 We received detailed responses from the majority of countries including all those where we expected to find significant activity, except France. Some of the responses were extremely full; others provided only limited information and/or additional contact points or references.

2.5 We carried out detailed web searches, numerous telephone and some face-to-face interviews, and a few site visits. We also researched existing literature in the field (journals, books, and ephemeral material such as pamphlets) from several countries.

2.5 The detailed country-by-country findings are set out in Annex 4, which also lists our main contacts in each country.

3. Main findings from the survey: the range of schemes

3.1 The survey reflected a great variety of experience with respect to managing neighbourhoods and their populations. It also showed certain consistent patterns and emerging trends and issues which can be expected to be relevant within the UK policy framework. In this chapter we discuss questions about the nature of neighbourhood warden schemes under three main headings:

(i) how warden schemes are identified;
(ii) the range of activities undertaken by wardens (including coverage); and
(iii) the origins of these schemes.

Chapter 4 then sets out key issues arising from the details of schemes across the world.

The naming of warden schemes

3.2 The most immediate finding was how difficult it was to identify schemes that fell within the remit of the project. This is partly due to the wide range of nomenclature, which makes it problematic to search websites and journals effectively. More importantly it made the survey rather cumbersome – and led us to devise a second, shorter survey for initial contact.

3.3 The various terms for warden schemes used in different countries include concierges and super concierges, public space management, private policing, community justice initiatives, community wardens, street workers, litter wardens, rangers, clean teams, green teams, *stadswacht*, alley patrols, safety and maintenance patrols, *agents de veille, regies de quartier*, *animateurs* and other variations around these themes.

3.4 These names reflect the enormous range of activities carried out, from schemes which are fundamentally about housing management through to those which focus on aspects of policing. They also reflect differences in management and control (public, community, private), whether the wardens' responsibilities are tightly targeted or address a range of issues, and the method of delivery.

The range of activities

3.5 The vast majority of schemes about which we learned concentrate on environmental issues – either linked to housing-estate management or to patrols. Many of the patrols include an element of addressing anti-social behaviour and most feel their duties include developing social cohesion and, in some instances, specifically social control. A number offer particular assistance to the elderly, to homeless families or to youth, but any large-scale activity of this type is normally within other social-services-based schemes.

3.6 Often the wardens concentrate heavily on street cleaning, removal of litter and graffiti and related responsibilities (for example, Business Improvement Districts in the USA often employ specialist "clean teams"). Where these duties form only part of the warden's remit there may be some reluctance to undertake them, since some wardens view these as menial tasks. Where they are clearly the warden's core activity these

problems did not seem to arise. Other duties include meeting and greeting and providing tourist information – again this is typical of BIDs. BIDs were traditionally concentrated in city-centre and non-residential areas, but there are now many examples of the approach operating in residential areas or across whole towns.

Case study: The Downtown Alliance

The Downtown Alliance, the largest Business Improvement District in the US, covers lower Manhattan from City Hall to the Battery. It was formed in 1995 to address high office-vacancy rates and a lack of activity on evenings and weekends. (The area was so quiet after hours that a well-known television advertisement featuring bulls running down Wall Street was in fact filmed there.) The BID had a budget in 2000 of $12.2 million, of which $11 million came from a tax on property owners of 13.5 cents/square foot of commercial space.

The Alliance spends $2.6million/year on public safety, employing 64 red-uniformed "security officers" who patrol the area and give information to tourists. However, its range of activities is much wider than this - it acts almost as another level of local government, providing summer concerts, hosting IT networking meetings, planting flowers in local parks, replacing street and traffic lights with new designs, and cleaning the sidewalks. (This last function is important, because property owners in the USA are responsible for keeping the sidewalks outside their buildings clean. According to the Alliance's chief executive, the fact that the BID would provide this service was one of the main reasons local property owners were prepared to vote for it.)

3.7 At the other extreme are schemes such as the *Stadswachten* in the Netherlands and Belgium, where the emphasis is clearly on trying to rebuild social cohesion and where wardens expect to work very closely with the police in order to address anti-social behaviour issues. They may also play a positive role in providing crime-prevention information and checking the installation of security enhancements such as new locks.

In the Netherlands the *Stadswacht* (civic wardens) monitor and curb anti-social behaviour and crime together with the local police. They now operate in more than 120 municipalities. Their tasks include providing a conspicuous presence and issuing warnings, as well as acting as eyes and ears for other agencies and welcoming visitors to the municipality. Their work falls into three areas: prevention of crime; provision of information; and community services. Neighbourhood wardens are commonly used in projects aimed at preventing bicycle and car theft, improving the tidiness of municipal areas, road safety around schools, safety on public transport and surveillance on estates.

3.8 Concierge and super-concierge approaches are found in many countries. They have usually grown out of general housing-management activities. Hong Kong has attempted to sponsor Mutual Aid Committees for each block which monitor environmental problems, anti-social behaviour and crime. However their voluntary nature is making it difficult to sustain this initiative. The Netherlands government supports both *Huismeesters* and *Flatwachten* (concierges) and neighbourhood concierges focusing on safety and cleanliness. The Swedish system of super-concierges on the other hand concentrates on anti-social behaviour.

Northern Ireland's Neighbourhood Warden scheme concentrates on disadvantaged estates and addresses estate-management, environmental, breach-of-tenancy and

community liaison issues. They therefore clearly fall within the concierge rather than the patrol framework – even though they spend 90% of the time on the estates. Scotland has similar approaches

Franklin describes the situation in Glasgow, where a 24-hour concierge system was introduced in the late 1980s in a few tower blocks. By 1994 there were concierges in 91 tower blocks (one concierge per three blocks), whose tasks fell under five main headings: security and equipment checks, cleaning, repairs and environmental monitoring, block management and enforcement of tenancy conditions, and a community role. She noted that the concierges spent approximately 60% of their time at the reception desk, which they preferred to cleaning (which was seen as menial work) or security (where concierges worried they might have to give evidence against a resident or friend of a resident). (Franklin 1996)

3.9 Even though there are many examples of concierges and super-concierges taking on neighbourhood-warden-style responsibilities, the response from one of our correspondents in Denmark reflected the attitude in those countries with a history of large social sectors: "Neighbourhood wardens as you describe their function do not exist in Denmark. The police carry out this function."

3.10 The spatial areas covered by the schemes vary widely. In the Netherlands they tend to be town-wide. In North America many concentrate on city centres, while the majority of schemes in other countries cover estates, or sometimes known problem areas such as beaches. Some schemes, particularly in areas with large indigenous populations, focus on a particular user group (Aboriginals in Australia, Native Canadians in Canada).

3.11 In many instances the number of wardens is very limited – e.g., in Northern Ireland one warden may cover a number of housing estates, and only in normal office hours; in County Clare three litter wardens patrol the entire county. In other schemes – e.g. that of Utrecht – there is a relatively high density of wardens covering evenings and weekends as well as normal working times. Even here, however, the managers feel that the number of wardens is well below the optimum.

The origins of warden schemes

3.12 As has been made clear above, countries such as Sweden, Scotland and Hong Kong, which have long traditions of proactive housing management, tend not to see wardens as separate initiatives. The experience in these countries is analogous to schemes such as the Priority Estates Projects in England, Wales and Scotland. (Power, 1999) This is one reason why it was difficult to obtain relevant information from France, where concierges have been a core element in the management of *Habitations a Loyer Modere* (the equivalent of housing associations) throughout their existence. (Power, 1999) Sweden and France have both moved to introducing super-concierges in difficult areas. These are seen as having more capacity to address neighbourhood and difficult-neighbour issues.

3.13 Other schemes have grown out of older initiatives such as neighbourhood watch. Australia could be seen in this light – there are programmes across most states, but the wardens tend to be volunteers rather than paid operatives.

Case study: The Tangentyere Night Patrol, Northern Territory, Australia

The Tangentyere Night Patrol is a volunteer group established by the Tangentyere Council in Alice Springs, Northern Territory, in late 1990. The patrol is led by aboriginal ex-alcoholics who have taken courses in alcohol counselling and first aid. The group originally patrolled the aboriginal town camps over Christmas and New Year to help minimise violence using non-violent methods. These patrols proved so successful that they won support from the local community, the police and the Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islanders Commission to operate on a permanent basis in aboriginal town camps and the central business district. The members of the patrol use negotiation rather than confrontation. They regularly convey people home or to appropriate shelters or even to hospital if necessary. They endeavour to assist drunken people and provide follow-up assistance in an attempt to break the alcoholic cycle.

The patrol operates throughout the municipality, but its effects are most visible in the town centre. The Todd Street Pedestrian Mall had become virtually a "no-go" area for tourists and locals alike during the late evening because of the number of assaults and acts of vandalism committed by youths, many of whom were of aboriginal descent. Due to the activities of the patrol, in cooperation with the police, the Todd Mall has become a pleasant venue for an evening stroll. By December 1992 the police had noted a considerable reduction in criminal damage and street disorder in the town centre. The patrols have good relations with the police, who sometimes request the patrol's assistance or indeed delegate certain matters to them.

3.14 Many of the countries with a tradition of positive housing management for which we have information are also beginning to introduce specific patrol initiatives, often only at the pilot scheme stage. These are mainly in residential areas but with some examples of beaches and other problem areas. Relevant countries here include both Northern and Southern Ireland as well as Sweden and Scotland.

3.15 There are well-established large-scale national programmes of neighbourhood wardens and related patrol-based systems in the Netherlands and Belgium. In both cases they originated as schemes to reduce long-term unemployment rather than specifically to address neighbourhood problems. The first schemes concentrated on particular issues – e.g. park watchers and public transport stewards in Belgium; fare dodging and vandalism in the Netherlands. These then developed into more coherent and extensive initiatives.

3.16 Initiatives often arise as a response to particular issues, for example the Chippendale Crime Control Committee, addressing heroin trafficking in a small area of Sydney; street patrols in Ontario to encourage homeless people to come into shelters; dealing with homelessness, migrants and graffiti in Germany; litter in Dublin. These are examples of "bottom-up" schemes. Such initiatives tend to lead to a range of small schemes which have not, as yet, grown into a significant programme.

One example of a warden scheme in Germany is that of the town of Ehingen. The aims of the crime-prevention efforts in Ehingen are to make inhabitants feel safer by dealing with visible problems such as homelessness and graffiti, and to encourage the integration of foreign teenagers. There is a team of ten *freiwilligen Polizeidienst* (literally, voluntary police, or police helpers).

3.17 At the other extreme the existence of a local problem generates the capacity to raise local and community funding, sometimes in the form of local taxation. Business Improvement Areas in Canada are funded in this way. Schemes managed by the private sector necessarily require contractual funding – usually from a well-specified group of residents or businesses.

3.18 The widest coverage of schemes is to be found in North America. These are generally locally funded and initiated by the community. While they cover much of the country they do not conform to a national model; the precise form of each is determined by local organisers.

3.19 The *régie de quartier* initiative in France on the other hand has been more top-down with the objective of interpreting social policy. However these have tended to be marginalized by main service providers and have diversified into a range of environmental and employment-creation schemes.

Assessment

3.21 The range of warden schemes about which we have information covers all the aspects specified in the brief; physical and environmental issues, anti-social behaviour; housing management and enhancing social exclusion.

3.22 In the main, patrols are used directly to address the first two types of activity while concierge-style schemes concentrate on housing management, broadening sometimes into neighbourhood management. Combating social exclusion broadly defined is rarely the major objective, although some individual schemes concentrate on the problems associated with homelessness, migrants and elderly households.

3.23 The most important means of achieving social inclusion objectives has been by employing long-term unemployed people. This has been a core objective of many schemes, although it has become less important as funding and long-term unemployment have both declined.

3.24 More generally, schemes reflect a growing "commodification" of neighbourhood management – that is, activities which would previously have been undertaken voluntarily or as part of community activity are now seen as separate, and separately funded, programmes. Equally, many of the activities were traditionally carried out by local authorities or landlords, but changing priorities or cutbacks have led to the development of specific programmes.

4. Key operational issues

4.1 This study of schemes operating across the world raises a number of key operational issues. They include questions with respect to:

(i) the powers of the wardens;
(ii) their relationship with the police;
(iii) the appropriate training for wardens;
(iv) their perceived role in the community and the management of expectations;
(v) more general questions of management and reciprocity;
(vi) funding sources;
(vii) longer-term sustainability; and fundamentally,
(viii) their relation to the wider policy framework.

Powers and responsibilities

4.2 We have encountered no instances where wardens have police powers additional to citizen's arrest (although in South Africa some wardens are armed, they still carry out citizen's arrest only). In most cases wardens are not expected to use even this power. Rather, wardens rely on the power of persuasion and, where they cannot address the problem directly, report to the relevant department who can then deal with the problem. The emphasis is generally on prevention, information and assistance.

4.3 As a result wardens are, at the most, seen as complementary to the police even when they report directly to the police service. In some cases they are really seen as extensions of housing management or, more rarely, of the social services.

4.4 The pressure for giving wardens enhanced powers varies according to the type of warden in question. Those involved in environmental issues might be given some power to fine (as litter wardens have in Ireland). Those involved in maintaining social control could potentially be granted power to fine or arrest. However, in most cases the wardens themselves resist such additional powers, as do their managers, because using such powers would change the nature of their position in the community. Safety and security issues are also seen as important.

Case study: Litter wardens in County Clare

Clare County Council, like other Irish counties, employs three Environmental Patrol Wardens who cover the whole county, investigating reports of illegal dumping. They also arrange for the clean-up of black spots and for signs to be erected at these locations. Even the sight of the patrol vans reportedly acts as a deterrent to potential litter offenders. The wardens issue spot fines of €125.00 for offences they detect. If the situation warrants, the council can instigate legal proceedings under Ireland's Litter Pollution Act, 1997. Cases brought to court face possible fines of up to €1,900.00 plus costs. The council also employs litter wardens for the summer months at the beaches of Kilkee and Lahinch. They work in the evening gathering litter that accrues during the day.

4.5 What is clear is that some individuals included in the warden/patrol category are fundamentally professional, supervisory and coordinating – e.g. 'place managers' in New South Wales - while the majority are locality-specific operatives, managed by local police, estate or authority organisations.

Relations with the police

4.6 The closeness of wardens to the police varies greatly. In the Netherlands and Belgium wardens tend to be based in police stations and to wear uniforms similar to those of the police, but with different badges. At the other extreme, notably in Northern Ireland, wardens wear uniforms explicitly designed *not* to look like police uniforms. In all cases, however, the uniform is intended to make them readily identifiable as providing services to the community.

4.7 Internal supervision is often organised by the police or, in the case of the USA, by ex-police officers. Relationships with the police tend to be seen as good and the police were often involved from the inception of schemes.

4.8 Relations with the police are generally stated to be good even where there are no direct linkages – as in Hong Kong, Guernsey and Scotland. Often they are seen as undertaking complementary activities which the police cannot expect to undertake themselves. This is said to be the case in Belgium and the Netherlands as well as Canada and most schemes in the USA. There are however occasions where tensions have been noted, notably with grass-roots schemes such as the Guardian Angels. Also, while relations are usually cordial, some wardens complain that they do not enjoy a two-way flow of information with the police—although wardens report problems to the police, they never find out what use the police make of the information.

4.9 The fact that wardens have a close relationship with the police does not change their own strongly held view that they should not be enforcers, but rather part of the community, informing other responsible agencies where appropriate.

Training

4.10 Training is seen as important in most projects. The duration of training ranges from a few days in the 'classroom' and a few weeks 'on the beat' to extensive transactional training leading to a qualification which should enable wardens to obtain jobs in the wider security industry.

4.11 The Belgian wardens scheme also has a very well-defined approach, requiring a minimum of 53 hours training organised by municipalities. Those schemes that stress training often include communication, social, and negotiation skills, as well as citizenship and sometime literacy training.

4.12 Schemes in some countries offer wardens an opportunity to obtain qualifications which can be used to enter the more general labour market. The Netherlands are again an example of good practice in this respect.

Case study: *Stadswacht* in Almere, the Netherlands

Warden schemes in the Netherlands started in 1989, when unemployment was high. The policy was almost entirely focused on reducing unemployment, but also reflected growing concerns about safety. The wardens are funded by social security; their pay is initially set at minimum wage (which is only a little above benefit level), and can rise to 120% of minimum

wage. Whilst this was adequate in a period of high unemployment, the recent strength of the economy means that retention of wardens is a growing problem.

The town of Almere, with 160,000 people, has 40 wardens, 60-70% of whom are female (this proportion is consistent across urban areas; rural areas have more male wardens). They receive three to four months of training, six weeks of which is the same as that received by the police. The Almere wardens wear police-style uniforms and are located in the police station, like most Dutch wardens. They normally patrol the town centre and surrounding streets, and are strictly restricted to outside areas—security inside buildings (prevention of shoplifting, entry control, etc.) is provided by the private sector. The wardens have no powers beyond those of an ordinary citizen, and do not want them.

4.13 Most of the schemes do not regard past experience and education as particularly relevant. Some, notably in the Netherlands, are specifically aimed at the longer-term unemployed or even youth offenders. Some started off to address the problem of young male unemployment or disaffection – but there is evidence that in some warden schemes which started in this way, women now predominate. In Belgium, on the other hand, 80% of wardens are males. In the Netherlands the focus on alleviation of unemployment is now coming to be seen as a burden, since falling levels of unemployment mean that those left in the ranks of the long-term unemployed are not usually qualified for positions as wardens.

4.14 Many of our respondents recognised that it is difficult to recruit people with the range of "life skills" necessary to carry out the warden's job effectively. In most cases any deficiencies were addressed by on-the-job training rather than by external courses.

The warden's role in the community and other services

4.15 The question of education and training is linked to the warden's expected role in the community. This can range from something akin to a street cleaner (perhaps more clearly badged and uniformed than usual); through to dealing with specific environmental problems; to controlling anti-social behaviour.

4.16 In most cases their role was seen as being community friendly and providing a service which would be valued. An evaluation in Belgium, for instance, suggested that they were often the only links between the local population and the authorities. However, problems can arise, particularly when wardens report problems but no action is taken, and in those circumstances where wardens cannot deal effectively with an issue themselves – for example, when dealing with a crowd of young people.

4.17 Both of these concerns highlight the need for effective delivery: the warden system can only work well when the community knows what to expect and when those expectations are fulfilled. Managing expectations, especially given the small scale of many projects, can pose a major problem.

4.18 In a number of instances tensions have arisen with other services, notably street cleaning (USA); social services and, in France, local authority services.

Management and reciprocity

4.19 The information we gleaned has not generally been detailed enough to allow us to describe internal management structures. However, both respondents and secondary sources have highlighted particular issues. Effective management of warden schemes is seen as crucial. Given that they have no special powers, wardens' success depends on building relationships on the one hand and on ensuring delivery on the other. Only clear lines of responsibility and adequate resources can ensure that what is promised is delivered. Resources must be provided for adequate management as well as to achieve required service levels.

4.20 Closely linked is the question of reciprocity: the wardens themselves sometimes feel that they are not properly informed of what happens as a consequence of reporting problems, so that they both feel undervalued and are unable to inform others of how their service is operating.

Scale

4.21 A particularly important question relates to the scale of activity. Most schemes are relatively small and warden cover is limited to certain times of the day (often normal working hours). This reflects the emphasis on environmental issues rather than anti-social behaviour.

4.22 Where anti-social behaviour is the focus, hours are often longer including night patrols. Warden coverage may also be more intense. Even so the numbers employed are often quite small. Belgium's 75 schemes, for instance, employ 1205 wardens; Dublin has only 20 litter wardens even though they work seven days a week, night and day; some of the USA schemes are quite large especially when they involve volunteers. The issue of scale is seen as important in the Netherlands. Utrecht, for example, has 120 wardens, but even so the programme managers would prefer to have around 700.

Funding

4.23 Funding ranges from large national programmes (sometimes with additional EU funding) as seen in the Netherlands and, to a lesser extent, Belgium, to the use of volunteers (Australia) and customer payments (Hong Kong, private schemes in UK, USA, and South Africa). Private schemes in Hong Kong, for instance, depend on an identified management charge levied on occupants. In the Netherlands and Belgium, national funding has been supplemented by local taxation and community charges.

4.24 The BIDs projects in the USA and Canada - of which there are at least 3000 examples – are all privately managed. They work in close co-operation with the police and mainly depend on funding from compulsory levies on local property owners, supplemented by local and in some cases national grants.

4.25 As we have already noted, some funding comes from social security/unemployment programmes. This is particularly the case in the Netherlands but also applies, for instance, in Sweden where the *Overvarare* programme addresses the problems generated by challenging families.

Sustainability

4.26 Many of our respondents were concerned with funding. In some countries schemes are paid for by relatively large-scale time-limited funding, aimed at eliminating particular problems. This has then run out (or will do). The schemes that cannot find other funding then are unable to continue at anything like the same level. This has occurred in Scotland, where funding for particular 'Better Neighbourhood' schemes was originally for three years. The Netherlands is also facing problems in shifting to mainstream funding rather than a national grant and a dependence on welfare-related payments to wardens.

4.27 Funding streams, and problems, are also associated with whether wardens can achieve long-term employment. When the funds have included funding to address long-term unemployment, jobs are often intended to be short-term, training people for mainstream work in security and environmental management.

4.28 The exception here seems to be the well-established North American schemes, which tend to be funded by budgets subject to five-year reviews. These are the only schemes which have proved so far to be sustainable into the longer term.

Case study: Downtown Watch in Winnipeg, Canada

Downtown Watch ambassadors have been patrolling the City of Winnipeg's downtown core since 1995. Easily identified by their red-and-black uniforms, they are trained in non-confrontational mediation techniques. They provide directions, administer first aid, guide street people to available resources, and act as eyes and ears for the Winnipeg Police Service. In the summer, four of the ambassadors patrol the neighbourhood on bicycles, allowing them to respond to calls faster. In October 1999, volunteers were added to the programme. The volunteers patrol with experienced ambassadors, providing a higher number of ambassadors throughout the zone and at special events. They receive the same training as all Downtown Watch ambassadors and when a paid position becomes available, it can be readily filled by a trained volunteer.

4.29 Some countries have national organisations that disseminate information about good practice. This is particularly relevant in the USA where the city-based programmes are privately managed. It applies at a much lower level in Sweden where there is a state agency – the Swedish Agency of Crime Prevention – which provides information but is not involved in particular schemes. In the Netherlands the nationally funded overarching organisation of *Stadswacht* schemes was disbanded when the funds ran out, although several local schemes are now trying to create a replacement – indeed there is some evidence that central government would like to recreate a control body.

Assessment

4.30 The key issues are therefore very similar across countries and types of scheme: the need for clear, well-defined objectives; a well-specified role for wardens which is understood by police, other services and the community; reasonable resources and particularly communication lines to ensure delivery; appropriate training; limited but

well-supported powers; clear relationships with other professionals, notably the police and social services; proper management of community expectations; adequate and sustained funding.

4.31 A rather different issue is the extent to which schemes relate to wider policy initiatives. The majority of projects have been conceived as responses to particular problems rather than manifestations of a well-formulated policy. Only now are the wider strategies being developed. In the Netherlands, for instance, the government is clarifying that wardens should concentrate on external spaces and are not to be involved in internal management. This definition excludes concierges – a view which is generally consistent with evidence from other countries.

4.32 Another area of concern, particularly relevant to the UK at the moment, is the growing confusion about the potential roles and powers of wardens compared to other groups such as community support officers, who tend to be more closely linked to policing services.

5. Evidence on evaluations

5.1 In most countries warden schemes are seen as successful and there are pressures to expand them. However, these attitudes are not generally based on objective assessments but rather on perception and community acceptance. Wardens are usually seen either as a necessary general service or as a way to address specific community problems.

5.2 The vast majority of evaluation efforts have been in the form of local surveys of recognition and satisfaction. Some schemes are benchmarked by crime and anti-social behaviour figures, but usually to a very limited extent. These performance indicators are often not directly related to the scheme's responsibilities or mission statement.

5.3 The majority of evaluations have found that public perception is positive and that certain types of environmental and anti-social problems have declined (New South Wales and independent research in the Netherlands and England). The French evaluation of *régies de quartier* appeared to regard survival as success.

5.4 There have been output-related evaluations in some countries. In Belgium, for instance, a recent evaluation showed that wardens contribute to a better quality of life and provide links between the local population and the authorities. They were less effective at meeting social inclusion objectives because of lack of time.

5.5 There have been some value-for-money assessments, but they have usually related to employment objectives rather than to goals such as crime reduction – this applies particularly in the Netherlands and to a lesser extent Belgium. There have been small evaluations of cost savings e.g. in Scotland.

5.6 Most evaluations have focused on process indicators (how many wardens, how many hours spent patrolling) rather than on results or value for money.

Don Robertson took part in the evaluation of a 'community guides' pilot programme two years ago in Sydney. Two local councils (one rural, one Sydney suburb) each took on a small team of four to six young people to promote community safety and crime prevention throughout their neighbourhoods. Results were disappointing – there were recruitment difficulties, poor definition of roles, and over-control by local authorities. Whilst there were some benefits for the 17- to 20-year-old age group, these were not lasting.

In some places (New South Wales, the Netherlands, England and Wales) fuller evaluations are now being commissioned but results will not be available for some time.

5.7 Overall, then, evaluation has been limited and process-oriented. Sometimes there are performance measures against a narrow range of indicators. There have been very few attempts to measure costs and even fewer to assess cost savings and the relation between costs and benefits. Indeed, England and Wales seems to be in the forefront of evaluations.

6. Implications for the UK

This survey of experience of neighbourhood wardens and related schemes across the world raises a number of issues for the UK, which might be addressed when developing the programme across the country. Some point to factors that have already been taken into account within the Neighbourhood Wardens Unit's existing strategy. Others may help to develop that strategy further. Still others suggest pitfalls to avoid. All are simply indicative and should be assessed in context - especially given the extent to which neighbourhood warden schemes are often only in their early stages of development and have not been subject to detailed evaluation.

Initiating and sustaining schemes

It is clear that most schemes arise out of local concerns and cannot be imposed from above. This is not to deny the value of demonstration projects and good practice guides – which can clearly help turn a local initiative into reality. But it does say that without clearcut local interest and preparedness to work in partnership they have little chance of becoming successfully embedded.

On the other hand the wide diversity of approaches that can arise when initiative is left wholly to local initiatives can make it more difficult to develop sustainable strategies and effectively to transfer lessons between schemes.

One of the reasons for this is that there is little evidence that local schemes have the capacity to co-operate among themselves and particularly to fund joint working even where there are clear potential benefits – e.g. in developing consistent training programmes. Here there are obvious benefits to a national framework and funding as has been recognised by the Neighbourhood Wardens Unit approach.

A major concern in almost all schemes which we learned about was how to maintain funding, and how to transpose short term approaches into sustainable programmes. Most have only project specific funding with a fixed life – moving schemes into mainstream programmes has proved very difficult indeed.

Where funding is known to be time limited it is particularly important to develop a strategy for continuation – or exit – well before the end of the funded period.

Schemes in some countries, and indeed some UK schemes, have been funded by direct payments by those expected to benefit. Especially where these schemes address the problems of large households have little capacity to pay and may not see enough personal benefit.

The exception to this has been the BIDs model – which depends on regular funding voted by the local community. In the main, that community includes business as well as households and BIDs are anyway often in relatively affluent neighbourhoods. Perhaps because this is part of a generally accepted approach to funding local initiatives there seems to be little problem in obtaining continuing funding as long as the schemes are seen to provide the services expected. It also provides an in-built monitoring system.

Staffing and Training

Schemes in some European countries have been initiated as much to provide a way into the labour market for the longer- term unemployed. This approach has often proved too inflexible and can result in situations where the scheme cannot be staffed because the categories are too limited.

On the other hand, some of schemes initially based on this approach have turned to other types of staff, including inmigrants, women entering the labour market for the first time and young offenders.

In many countries the situation now is very different from when the schemes were originally set up, in part because unemployment levels are now lower. Current recruitment patterns often make it necessary to provide in-job education including language, literacy and numeracy skills as well as warden-specific training.

The depth and extent of training programmes varies greatly between schemes. In many contexts it has been recognised that mediation and negotiation skills are particularly relevant. Appropriate qualifications, especially ones that can enable wardens to obtain other community and security related positions.

There is considerable experience across countries in the use of volunteer wardens. Most suggests that it is extremely difficult to provide consistent and sustainable coverage and that management costs may outweigh the apparent gains from free labour inputs.

The quality of warden services

Many warden services depend on wardens reporting problems to other agencies – refuse collection, environmental services, the police etc. If these services do not have the capacity or incentive to respond effectively, the warden service is itself seen as ineffective.

Many schemes report that community expectations are far greater than can be realised – especially on a day-to-day basis. This can, and does, lead to a level of disappointment, which can undermine the wardens' position. Schemes that work well have very clearly defined responsibilities and careful management by those who have the capacity to allocate resources to complementary activities.

It is equally clear that wardens themselves often receive inadequate feedback from the other agencies – which undermines their own confidence and longer-term capacities.

The evidence that we were able to collect gives little indication of the appropriate level of warden activity likely to generate the best results. Utrecht, which is seen as having one of the highest concentrations of wardens, does not regard that level as adequate to achieve their objectives.

In general schemes are very small and their value seems to lie as much in reassurance as in direct results. But without appropriate resourcing, such reassurance may turn out to be relatively short-term.

Warden powers and relations with other services

Very few of the examples that we examined give wardens additional powers over and above those available to any citizen. A few have on the spot fining powers. There was no evidence that wardens wanted additional powers. They do however want support and back-up from those with the relevant powers when appropriate.

There is a growing proliferation of civilian services assisting the police, e.g. community support officers in the UK. This may make it difficult to ensure a clear identity for the local wardens service and to manage public expectations, as well as the relationship between the range of different services.

Warden accreditation, whether by the police, the local authority or another appropriate agency, appears to be an important mechanism for increasing warden credibility and legitimacy.

Annex 1: Country reports

Australia

Australia has approximately 100 schemes, of which about 60 are community-based night patrols in Aboriginal communities. Policy regarding warden schemes varies from state to state; there is no central policy.

Aboriginal patrols originated in the early 1990s in remote areas of the Northern Territory and are generally community-based, grass-roots initiatives, operating on a consensus basis. These are funded by local or state government and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission. Some are run entirely by women, and cover issues such as intoxication, drug and alcohol, anti-social behaviour, family violence, petrol sniffing, and graffiti. Some take people to sobering-up shelters. Others police no-alcohol by-laws in remote communities. Some of the schemes work closely with police, while others are very autonomous. The patrols have no police powers, and are usually volunteers.

The New South Wales Attorney General's Department is in the process of commissioning a formal evaluation of the aboriginal patrols programme in that state. Preliminary evaluation of early patrols, run entirely by volunteers, suggested that public perceptions of the patrols were very positive and juvenile crime rates in some areas had declined, but that patrols were operating inconsistently because of volunteer burn-out. The fuller evaluation, which will begin in May, should produce evaluation tools including a standard data-collection instrument to track patrol clientele and usage, hours of operation, type of activity, etc.

At the other end of the spectrum there are relatively well-structured youth-outreach programmes in urban areas, or the "Place Managers" of New South Wales. These are people who are appointed to co-ordinate the activities of government agencies and others in specific localities or suburbs. The size of the area covered ranges from the local neighbourhood to the town or local government area. The place managers address specific problems on public-housing estates, or co-ordinate activities such as anti-crime or anti-drugs initiatives. They are funded by a range of government agencies, including local councils and state government departments.

There is a growing debate in Australia about private policing initiatives. Groups have been setting up "Community Justice Initiatives"—for example, the Chippendale Crime Control Committee in Sydney, organised by last year by a group of 20 Sydney hoteliers and retailers. They hired a private security firm to carry out foot patrols between 4 p.m. and 4 a.m. weekdays, and 24 hours on weekends, focusing particularly on eradicating heroin dealing in the area. Residents were offered the service for free.

Information provided by Dr Jan Baker, Attorney General's Department
Harry Blagg, University of Western Australia
Prof Bill Randolph, University of Western Sydney
Don Robertson, University of Western Sydney
Rick Sarre, University of South Australia

Belgium

The Belgian government has created and funded several types of scheme that fall under the general heading of wardens. These include:

- Park watchers, who monitor green public spaces. They have no police powers, and are co-ordinated by the local police.

- Neighbourhood assistants or 'stewards on public transport'. They are usually supervised by the bus or tram company.

- Schemes for the unemployed. Long-term unemployed are engaged to carry out maintenance or security duties in deprived neighbourhoods, in order to free up the regular services.

- City guards, or *stadswachten*. These are very similar to neighbourhood wardens in the UK. The following discussion refers to these.

Cities that want to launch a warden project must get the approval of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Employment. In 2000, the federal government set aside a budget of approximately £1.5m for cities to run warden projects. There were 1205 wardens employed in a total of 75 schemes.

Wardens have no powers beyond those of an ordinary citizen. The schemes give priority to those who have been unemployed for two years or more and to those aged 40 or over. Most wardens are male; about 85% are of Belgian origin. Meerkens describes the conditions of employment as follows:

> "Neighbourhood wardens employed through a security and community contract or a prevention contract receive a tax-free payment on top of their normal unemployment benefit. This amounts to 7,950 Belgian francs for a 53-hour week (around £125). Contract cities pay 50 per cent of costs themselves, with the federal government paying the remainder. … (Cities) are also given a certain amount of resources to support their neighbourhood scheme (15,000 Belgian francs --- about £230 – for each neighbourhood warden). This primarily pays for the warden's uniform, equipment and training.
>
> Wardens wear distinct purple uniforms that distinguish them from police officers. The uniform consists of a purple jacket with a reflecting strip on the sleeves, a white shirt, a purple sweater, black gloves, a grey pair of trousers for the summer and a black pair of trousers for the winter. Wardens are also free to wear a black cap. In several municipalities, neighbourhood wardens are provided with mobile phones for safety reasons.
>
> All wardens must receive a minimum of 53 hours training, preferably before they start work. The municipality organises training, with the help of the neighbourhood wardens' co-ordinator. Training courses vary between areas, but generally cover:
>
> - Penal law

- Morals and ethics
- Language and tourism
- Communication skills
- Local services and authorities
- First aid
- Assertiveness training
- Training in social skills; and
- Rights and duties of a neighbourhood warden

The training emphasises communication and the social skills of the warden. Other important themes include dealing with conflicts, observing and reporting. Training varies depending upon what the wardens are expected to do in each area.

Neighbourhood wardens are always deployed in teams of two, unless their safety is guaranteed by other means, such as when they are in permanent radio contact or when they are working in a sufficiently protected area. Wardens can only be deployed on a voluntary basis between 6 p.m. and 7 a.m. during the weekend. The Minister of Interior and the Minister of Employment must give their consent to allow wardens to be on duty between midnight and 5 a.m.

(…)

A recent evaluation by the Permanent Secretariat for Prevention Policy showed that, in areas where neighbourhood wardens are deployed for the prevention of petty crime, the levels of these types of crime have been reduced. The evaluation showed that neighbourhood wardens also contribute to a better quality of life. In areas lacking social facilities, neighbourhood wardens constitute the only link between the local population and the municipal and urban authorities. Citizens have also reported that problems are solved more quickly when they are reported to wardens. The evaluation showed that there has only been limited success in moving the unemployed into work. This was largely because neighbourhood wardens' co-ordinators lacked the time to help with this objective." (Meerkens pp 25-26)

All wardens schemes in Belgium are governed by national policy, which is administered by the Ministry of the Interior.

Information provided by Anne Meerkens, Ministry of Interior

Canada

Canada was the originator of the concept of Business Improvement Areas (known as Business Improvement Districts in the USA, where the idea has taken root). These often feature wardens whose duties include cleaning, acting as eyes and ears for the police, and providing information to visitors. Their salaries are funded by the taxes levied on property owners within the BIA. For example, The Street Ambassador Program in Ottawa was established to assist merchants in the Byward Market and Rideau Street areas with transient population problems such as aggressive panhandling and loitering. "Ambassadors", who wear uniform shirts and name tags, also provide information and assistance to tourists. The program is jointly funded by the merchants and the Ottawa Police Service. In Winnipeg, Downtown Watch ambassadors provide directions, administer first aid, guide street people to resources, direct tourists, and report incidents to the police service. In October 1999 volunteers began to patrol with experienced wardens. The volunteers receive the same training as the paid wardens and when a paid position becomes available it can be filled by a trained volunteer.

In addition to BIAs, there are many special-purpose warden-type schemes operating in different areas of Canada. In Ontario, for example, the government funds street patrols to encourage homeless people to come into a shelter; in Saskatoon the police department works with Parent Patrols who patrol local playgrounds and parks. In Toronto the Anishnawbe Street Patrol, started in 1989 when four homeless native Canadians died on the streets of the city, is a mobile service which searches out the homeless, providing them with food, clothing and medical care, and helping them to hospitals and shelters. It operates five days a week from 5:00 p.m. to 1:00 p.m.

Many university campuses across the country have instituted safety patrols. For example, McGill Walksafe is a non-profit, student-run volunteer organisation in Montreal, Quebec. The service provides men and women of the McGill University campus and surrounding neighbourhoods with an escort at night. The University of Ottawa has a Foot Patrol Service (FPS). It escorts (on foot or by vehicle) individuals or groups to their destinations; patrols the campus; and informs the university's Protection Services of any problem or incident. Foot Patrollers are recruited by the Students' Federation and trained by the University of Ottawa Protection Services. They are volunteers, and wear uniforms and carry two-way radios.

Canada has neither national nor provincial or territorial policy frameworks for neighbourhood warden-type activities.

Information provided by Mark Irving, National Crime Prevention Centre

Denmark

The information received dealt with social housing management generally. According to Nielsen, "neighbourhood wardens as you describe their function do not exist in Denmark. The police carry out this function." He adds that there is a branch of the Guardian Angels run by one of the large insurance companies, but this does not operate in the social housing sector.

Information provided by Gert Nielsen, National Federation of Social Housing
Jesper Nygard, KAB Bygge-og Boligadministration
Hedwig Verstergaard, Danish Building and Urban Research

England and Wales

In England and Wales there are more than 300 schemes (public and private) currently operating. About 200 have been funded by central government for limited trial periods. The schemes range from concierges on public housing estates to neighbourhood patrols paid for by groups of residents. The most common goals are reduction in crime and the fear of crime, quality-of-life improvement, and environmental improvement. The government-funded schemes fit within a national policy framework set out in the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal, the Urban and Rural White Papers, and he Home Office Crime Reduction Programme.

The most detailed descriptions of warden schemes in England and Wales are to be found in Jacobson & Saville (1999) and Stockdale, Whitehead & Gresham (2001).

Housing-based schemes

Concierges are an example of housing-based warden-type schemes. According to the DTLR, "In an effort to improve the management and security of high rise blocks, where demolition or disposal is not an option, landlords have increasingly turned to schemes involving some form of in-block presence such as concierges or to technological aids such as closed circuit television, or to a combination of the two." From 1992 to 1995 the Safe Neighbourhoods Unit carried out an evaluation of fifteen such schemes--five intensive concierge schemes, where personnel were based in each block; three technology-based schemes; and seven dispersed concierge schemes, where personnel were based in just one of a group of blocks. They concluded that "intensive concierge schemes tended to be the most effective, either in achieving improvements in management, security and resident satisfaction in reasonably problematic circumstances or in containing problems in the most difficult circumstances. They are also relatively expensive…. Concierge schemes (whether intensive or dispersed) were also seen to be at their most effective where the problems of a particular block mainly emanated from outside. These were commonly blocks with mature and elderly populations where crime and antisocial behaviour was being perpetrated by non-residents." (DTLR 1998, pp. 1-3)

The schemes studied were paid for by the respective local authorities or by an additional charge on the rent. Cost varied enormously – the most expensive scheme cost five times as much as the cheapest. While local authorities assumed that the activities of concierges would produce savings that would offset their running costs, there was little evidence of large-scale savings. Concierges carried out different functions in different areas. Some were wholly security-oriented, guarding entrances and watching screens all day, while others provided a form of community care function.

The DTLR concluded that "it is difficult to come to any other conclusion but that some form of in-block staff presence should be regarded as normal management practice for high rise blocks." (DTLR, pp 6-7)

Not all housing schemes are local-authority based; registered social landlords run over 50 warden schemes funded by central government. The Peabody Trust's supercaretaker scheme is considered an example of its kind.

BIDs-type schemes

The government is expected to introduce legislation soon that would permit the establishment of Business Improvement Districts here. The Circle Initiative is a programme to pilot five private-sector-led BID-type partnerships across central London. These two-year schemes are funded with £4.6m of SRB money. The five areas concerned are Bankside, Coventry Street, Holborn, Lower Marsh, and Paddington. Some, but not necessarily all, will include a patrol element.

Holborn is already running a pilot "ranger" scheme that commenced in December 2001. The scheme is centred on Holborn Tube Station and covers a mainly commercial area of central London, focusing on keeping the area clean and safe and assisting visitors. Three rangers provide a visible daytime presence (8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.) and welcome to the area. They patrol locally, monitoring and reporting problems to relevant authorities, and will soon have an information kiosk. Their training includes information about the local council, police, security personnel and business. The Holborn rangers' uniform consists of a bright orange baseball cap with the Holborn logo and the word "ranger" as well as a uniform fleece, jacket, and trousers. Relations with the police are good; the Holborn rangers will soon be located in the Holborn police station. The rangers are managed by Chubb Security Personnel Ltd.

Outside London, Coventry was a pioneer in introducing a BID-type operation in the city centre. The City Centre Company Coventry Ltd. is a private company set up to manage the city centre. It receives funding from Coventry City Council, its own membership scheme and other sponsorship and partnership arrangements. The CCC employs uniformed personnel as "ambassadors" to assist visitors, shoppers and retailers; all are also trained in first aid. They have direct radio links to a central monitoring room, and can be deployed where and when needed throughout the city centre and its car parks (which the CCC operates). The ambassadors provide a back-up service to the police, and can assist in arresting shoplifting suspects when called in by retailers. Their obvious presence is meant to act as a deterrent to criminal and anti-social behaviour.

Public patrol schemes – not housing based

There is a plethora of other patrol-type schemes. The DTLR and Home Office now fund 85 Neighbourhood Warden and 123 Street Warden schemes; in addition, there are other schemes funded through different sources such as Training and Enterprise Councils or the European Social Fund. (Neighbourhood wardens are generally housing-based; street wardens, who start patrolling in Spring 2002, will give more emphasis to improving environmental quality, including in non-residential areas, by tackling nuisances such as graffiti and litter.) Government-funded schemes are usually known as community, neighbourhood or street wardens. Duties include patrolling, community liaison, acting as eyes and ears for community police and local authorities, reporting and fast-tracking environmental and housing repairs, school liaison, working with schools and young people, safety awareness and reassurance of elderly people and vulnerable groups. There are generally few required qualifications other than good interpersonal skills. Wardens are encouraged to follow accredited courses leading to qualifications such as the National Vocational Qualification in Customer Care. Wardens in most government-funded schemes work shifts covering daytime and evenings until around 10:00 p.m. Many work Monday-Friday only, though a few cover weekends.

One of the larger schemes is that of Manchester, where about 22 City Centre Rangers are employed to act as ambassadors for the city and to report on matters requiring maintenance or attention.

At the other end of the spectrum, the one small scheme in West Sussex employs two wardens, who usually work eight-hour shifts covering evenings and weekends. The scheme, which is funded by the DTLR and GOSE, is aimed at community development, youth work, and "community problem solving" in this rural village. Wardens wear a casual uniform consisting of black trousers and shoes and a blue jacket with a neighbourhood wardens insignia. Peter Squires of the University of Brighton recently carried out an evaluation of this scheme, measuring benefits through surveys, stakeholder interviews, analysis of crime/incident data, and warden activity logs. The evaluation concluded that "There has been a significant reduction in crime, particularly criminal damage and anti-social behaviour. Overall numbers of crimes recorded have fallen, particularly burglaries, thefts from vehicles, other thefts and criminal damage, and the police have begun to notice a clear reduction in the number of incidents brought to their attention from the village. Judging by our residential survey, approximately one third of the community report feeling safer as a result of the wardens' presence in the village." (Squires 2002) However, no exit strategy had yet been developed, and the scheme had raised high expectations that might be hard to fulfil. In addition, Squires told us that wardens on the scheme shared some of the concerns of those in larger programmes. In particular, they complained that they fed a great deal of information to the police but seldom saw much coming back and didn't always know what the police did with the information.

There are other schemes not funded by central government. In Norwich, for example, parking attendants employed by the city enforce parking and loading restrictions, but also report environmental issues like abandoned vehicles, dog fouling, litter, flytipping and graffiti.

Private schemes

The Sunday Telegraph reported recently on a scheme in Kensington, where local residents pay up to £1000/year for the services of a security guard who patrols the area with an Alsatian. The scheme has been running for a year in Eldon Road, Stanford Road and Victoria Road. According to the article, "The guards work for Crown Protection Services, a north London company which boasts that many of its staff have experience in the police or Armed Forces and that all are qualified bodyguards. Subscribers can call a 24-hour operations room to report any suspicious activity." (Foggo 2002) Guards have a civilian's power of arrest only. A local spokesman claimed that nearly 95 per cent of the residents were "on board". The scheme was reportedly set up in consultation with the area beat officer of the Metropolitan Police, and groups in other areas of London are considering setting up their own schemes on this model.

Lesley Noaks describes a scheme operating on new estate (a mixture of private and public housing) on the perimeter of a city in SE England (Noaks 2000). The estate has approximately 4000 homes, and a population of 12,000. It contracts with a private firm to provide security patrols; each household can subscribe individually. Until 1997 the guards worked only in private-housing areas, but subsequently offered their services to residents of public housing as well. They offer foot and car patrols from 11:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m., and an on-call service at other times. The guards publish a regular newsletter and make weekly housecalls to collect subscriptions.

At the beginning 600 households joined, paying £2/week (pensioners £1). Of subscribers, 74% saw the street presence as the most important thing, viewing regular patrols as a deterrent to crime. Some 92% were satisfied or very satisfied with the service, while 76% thought crime had fallen. Relations with local police were somewhat strained; there were no formal channels of communication, and a reluctance on the part of police to acknowledge the role and contribution of private officers.

Evaluation

Government-funded neighbourhood warden schemes are evaluated by Crime Concern and Social Development Direct; formal evaluation of street wardens will begin soon. The evaluations include baseline and end-line quality-of-life surveys, as well as monitoring of police incidents, call-outs, and crime statistics.

Stockdale, Whitehead and Gresham (2001) is an evaluation of eight Neighbourhood Warden schemes, carried out for the DTLR.

Information provided by Maureen Adams, Housing Corporation
Aaron Cahill, National Housing Federation
Dr Julie Grail, Central London Partnership
Susan King, DTLR
Ruth Lucas, Local Government Association
Peter Squires, University of Brighton
Richard Turkington, Housing Vision
Alvin Wade, Peabody Trust

France

The principal warden-type activity in France is *régies de quartier* (neighbourhood management).

The first *régies de quartier* schemes were set up in early 1980s. As of 1995 there were 20 or so. Experimental schemes were funded by the *Commission nationale de développement social des quartiers.* They were originally conceived as a way to promote "integrated social policy" - the direct participation of local inhabitants in the provision of services and housing maintenance, interfacing with social landlords and municipalities. This role was problematic; they were marginalised by the main service providers and looked for additional roles. They diversified into other areas of local service provision, such as collection and maintenance of supermarket trolleys, garden maintenance etc. During 1990s, however, they also took on the added mission of employment creation (particularly youth employment). There was some criticism of the assumption of this secondary mission, questioning whether this was meaningful employment that was likely to get young people into the wider labour market. A further criticism concerned the extent of community participation -- did they really represent the community at large?

A ten-year evaluation of *régies de quartier* was carried out in the context of the 1995 *plan urbain* (urban plan). This evaluation concluded that *régies de quartier* had been deemed successful merely because they exist, but there has not been any in-depth evaluation of their various functions of technical management, social insertion, and community participation.

Germany

Neighbourhood wardens in Germany are part of the *Soziale Stadt* (social city) policy, and in most cases are recruited from the ranks of the unemployed.

The jobs were not advertised; rather, individuals were approached directly and asked whether they would like to participate. The police helpers undergo a special training scheme and wear a uniform very similar to that of the police (the differences are so minor that most people would not know the difference). They are paid a salary, and work mainly in the evening. There has been no formal evaluation, but the programme is popular with citizens. Relations with the police are good, since they are considered to be part of the police.

The situation is somewhat different in eastern Germany, where young wardens are often aggressive and right-wing, and can be a problem themselves.

Information provided by Heike Ruf, City Superintendent of Ehingen
Thomas Knorr-Siedow, *Institut fur regionalentwicklung und strukturplanung IRS*

Hong Kong

The Hong Kong government sponsors, for each block of flats, a Mutual Aid Committee that promotes building management, neighbourliness, and citizen participation in government-launched campaigns (such as the 'Fight Crime Campaign' or the 'Clean Hong Kong Campaign'). These are voluntary associations of residents and landlords, not patrol organisations, but they do monitor and report on environmental problems, anti-social behaviour, and crime. Since their establishment in the 1970s the MACs have been slowly withering, despite the fact that the government has provided temporary community organisers to try to revive them.

Private-sector housing management or concierge services are purely commercial activities funded by users through management fees. Community officers and property officers, who are all trained in housing management to degree level, wear suits and work office hours. Their duties include supporting housing management, community protection/security, monitoring and reporting on the state of the local environment and on anti-social behaviour and crime. They try to secure resident co-operation through persuasion, reporting problems directly to the police and environmental services. Relations with the police are considered to be good.

There have been no formal evaluations of these schemes.

Information provided by Ernest Chui, University of Hong Kong
Jimmy Mak, Goodwell Property Mangement
Marco Wu, Deputy Director of Housing

Ireland

Ireland has several types of warden scheme. Five pilot community warden schemes, funded by the Department of the Environment, have just begun; they will run for three years at a cost of 3.8m euros. The overall national strategy regarding wardens is "An Action Programme for the Millennium." The wardens will help tourists and the elderly, support Neighbourhood Watch schemes, and enforce legislation regarding matters such as litter and dog licenses. The objective is to enable the police to concentrate on crime control.

In addition, some areas already have litter wardens. Dublin City, for example, has 20 full-time litter wardens, working seven days a week, night and day; they issue spot fines. County Clare Council employs three Environmental Patrol Wardens who cover the whole county and investigate reports of illegal dumping. They can also issue spot fines. Similar schemes appear to run across all Irish counties.

Beach wardens are found in some seaside counties, where they patrol the coastal area in jeeps and monitor litter and traffic, implement the foreshore bylaws, oversee preservation of the dunes, provides tourist information etc.

Dublin City is currently considering a warden scheme to address traffic congestion during peak periods; there is some suggestion that the scheme may extend to monitoring and reporting on the state of local environments.

Information provided by Karen Cullinan, Clare County Council
Susan Glennon, Dublin City Development Board

The Netherlands

The Netherlands has a sophisticated system of warden-type schemes operating at several different levels.

The *Huismeesters* (house masters or concierges) work within blocks of flats, focusing on safety and cleanliness. Their pay is subsidised by the state for the first three years. Neighbourhood concierges, also known as area wardens or estate guards, do similar work but cover an entire neighbourhood. This scheme began in the mid-90s as an extension of the *Huismeester* scheme. The *Flatwachten*, or flat guards, were introduced in the mid-1990s in high-rise flats in Amsterdam. Their job is to patrol the corridors, parking garages, etc. for safety reasons. Their salary is paid by the housing association. *Wijkonderhoudsploegen* are neighbourhood cleaning teams.

The main precursor of patrolling wardens in the Netherlands was the introduction in 1984 of VICs (*Veiligheid, Informatie, Controle*--"safety, information, control" in Dutch) on public-transport systems in three major cities. Some 1200 wardens, drawn from the ranks of the young unemployed, were deployed in an effort to combat fare-dodging and vandalism. Studies carried out a few years after their introduction showed that fare-dodging and violent incidents had both fallen significantly, with a somewhat smaller drop for vandalism.

The success of this programme acted as a stimulus for the founding in 1989 of the best-known Dutch scheme, "Dutch government takes the view that supervisory officials without formal police powers can make an effective contribution towards the control of common forms of crime, at a lower cost than traditional police forces and with relatively few adverse consequences such as violence and escalation of the potential for conflict in interactions with members of the public." (Hauber et al p. 199) Hauber also notes that "the police were not entirely welcoming in relation to these developments and launched the office of police patroller in 1990" in order to make citizens feel more secure. (Hauber et al p. 200) Police patrollers hold the lowest rank in the executive service of the force; they patrol in pairs and carry out duties such as traffic control. As members of the police force they can carry out searches, use force, and write tickets, unlike civic wardens.

In most areas the wardens have only the powers of an ordinary citizen. Wardens pass on information to the police by daily reporting. An umbrella organisation, the Dutch Civic Warden Foundation (*Stichting Stadswacht*) was created in 1992 to oversee their development; it closed at the end of 2001 due to shortage of funds. (National government, which originally financed it, decided that it should be financed by local government--local government, however, could not or would not do so.) Some of the local groups, led by Almere (see below), are setting up a new umbrella organisation.

Jobs as wardens are given to the unemployed, who then earn a salary slightly higher than unemployment benefit and can build up some job experience. The government pays an amount equal to unemployment benefit (the European Social Fund subsidised some of the schemes in the late 1990s), and the employer has only to pay the extra wage on top. Civic warden jobs were created this way, as well as other jobs aimed at furthering the public good such as hospital assistants. When the scheme was introduced ten years ago it was meant only for people who had been unemployed for at least three years. Later this restriction was relaxed to one year, because the labour market was improving and it was becoming harder to

find candidates who fulfilled the minimum requirements for employment as wardens. In fact, some local organisations have been shut down due to lack of candidates or shortage of funds. Some schemes are trying to make their wardens regular employees paid by local government, although this has not happened yet.

All civic wardens wear uniforms; about 70% wear the national warden uniform developed by the Dutch Civic Warden Foundation, which is very similar to a police uniform.

In some areas the density of wardens is very high. In Utrecht, for example, there are 138 wardens for a city with a population of about 250,000. The local authorities there, however, say that ideally they would like to have 700. The director of the warden programme in Utrecht believes that the scheme would be ineffective if there were fewer wardens.

We visited the town of Almere, population 160,000, which has 40 wardens. They are 60-70% female and often born outside the Netherlands (this is typical in urban areas). They are trained for three to four months; six weeks of this training is the same as the police receive. They wear police-style uniforms, and are normally located in police stations. They patrol from Monday to Saturday from 9:30 to 18:00 and on Thursday and Friday evening until 21:30. They also patrol on Sundays when the shops are open and during special events. They are responsible for outside areas and public spaces, rather than the interior of buildings. They have no powers apart from those of an ordinary citizen, and do not want them. The wardens have some concern about lack of feedback from the police and local authority.

Dutch schemes are evaluated in a four-year phased study by the Home Office and Ministry of Social Welfare, which focuses mainly on their effectiveness as employment vehicles. Hauber et al carried out research into the quality of civic wardens' interactions with the public, and their effect on fear of crime in the areas where they operate. Interestingly, they found that "When asked about the powers of supervisory officials, only 7 out of 69 citizens (10%) were aware of the fact that city wardens do not possess any special powers." (Hauber et al p. 209) Some 78% of city-centre shoppers interviewed were aware of the wardens, and more than one-third claimed to feel safer as a result of their activities; the percentage was higher amongst women. In addition, "at the locations in question, other evaluations indicate that petty crime has dropped during the working hours of city wardens in many municipalities." (Hauber et al p. 215)

Information provided by Lise-Lotte Brente, Stadswacht Stichting Stadstoezicht
Alex van de Westerlo, Stichting Stadswacht Helmond
Frank Wassenberg, Delft Technical University
Klaas Wolzak, Director, Stichting Veiligheidszorg Almere

Visit to Almere Police Station, 14 February 2002

Northern Ireland

The Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) currently employs in its New Neighbourhood Warden Scheme 24 wardens who manage, on average, 2-3 estates each. The wardens are full-time members of staff and form part of the district office staffing structure. The posts are funded by the NIHE and are not dependent on grant aid. The first tranche of wardens took up post in July 2001. The NIHE is currently advertising for a further 13, and expects to have more than 40 by 2003/04.

The wardens work on the most disadvantaged estates, where they are the eyes and ears of the housing manager. They spend up to 90% of their time on the estates for which they are responsible. Their duties cover four main areas:

- Estate management issues -- inspection and monitoring of voids, accompanied viewing of properties, reporting abandoned properties
- Environmental issues -- working with council staff on illegal dumping, abandoned cars, management of green open space, organising local litter collections, input to planned environmental improvement schemes
- Breach of tenancy issues -- wardens are the first point of contact in reporting anti-social behaviour or nuisance. They will where appropriate liaise with police over more serious issues (policing is a sensitive issue in Northern Ireland, and not all wardens will link in to the local police). They report issues of noise, etc. to council environmental health officers.
- Community liaison -- the warden is the link between housing managers and the community. They visit elderly and vulnerable residents and will call in assistance from other agencies where appropriate. Each warden has a mobile phone, the number of which is given to each resident on the warden's estate.

Wardens wear a casual 'uniform' consisting of a blue fleece top and cargo pants; they do not want to be perceived as 'police on the cheap.'

The NIHE has as yet introduced no performance standards or agreed evaluation methodology, since the programme started only last July. Feedback to date is positive -- housing management has improved and the community perceives a real commitment to community safety.

Information provided by Frank Mulhern, Northern Ireland Housing Executive

Scotland

Warden schemes in Scotland are funded under two programmes: The Working for Communities Pathfinders programme (ending in March 2002), and the Neighbourhood Services Fund (2001-4).

Two examples of schemes funded by the first of these programmes are the Cultenhove for Change estate caretakers and the Dawson Estate Management Initiative estate wardens. They were funded for a period of three years, ending March 2002. Both schemes aimed to improve the environment of their neighbourhood and address anti-social behaviour. They both work in areas of predominantly public housing, with some owner-occupiers and private renting.

The Cultenhove for Change service aims to provide support to vulnerable members of the community. There is one estate warden plus an assistant. The warden's duties include monitoring and reporting of faults (e.g., litter, abandoned tenancies); carrying out of minor repairs; removal of graffiti and broken glass; liaison with tenants and support for new tenants; working with other agencies to support tenants; budgetary control of equipment; and provision of progress reports. The Dawson Estate Management scheme employs one estate caretaker, whose duties are similar to those in the Cultenhove scheme. Wardens in both schemes wear a uniform consisting of a sweatshirt with a project logo. Work hours are daytime Monday through Friday, though wardens living locally are sometimes called upon out of hours. Relations with the police in both cases are seen as informal, but good. Recruiting and retaining high-quality staff has been a problem. There has also been some conflict with local authority staff who carry out housing repairs and cleansing about how far the wardens' duties should extend. Evaluation of the schemes consisted of a residents' survey and estimation of cost savings to the local authority (Cultenhove), and interviews with partner organisations and wardens (Dawson estate).

In addition to these wardens schemes, Scotland has pioneered the use of concierges in tower blocks. Their duties may include staffing the reception desk, operating the door and CCTV cameras, patrolling the premises, providing information and advice on council services, and providing general assistance to tenants.

Information provided by Alison Brown, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit
Mary Taylor, University of Stirling
Dr. Rebekah Widdowfield, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit

Singapore

The only specific example of warden-type schemes we found in Singapore is the Green Rangers, who do environmental work at neighbourhood level. Apart from that, the information received dealt with community development organisations and civic groups, rather than wardens.

Information provided by from Ooi Giok Ling, Institute of Policy Studies

South Africa

South Africa has adopted the North American system of Business Improvement Districts, calling them City Improvement Districts. Johannesburg has five CIDs, set up from 1993 to 1999 under the auspices of the Central Johannesburg Partnership, a nonprofit corporation formed by local business partners. These CIDs cover an area totalling about 50 blocks, or 10% of the inner city. Services provided include security, street cleaning, vending management, and miscellaneous maintenance tasks such as painting light poles and electric boxes.

One exceptional feature of the wardens employed by the Johannesburg CIDs (known as security officers) is that some are armed. The Central Improvement District CID, for example, employs 43 unarmed security officers, three armed supervisors, one controller and one site manager; the South West Improvement District employs 28 unarmed wardens and three armed supervisors. In the past year, Central CID officers have been responsible for 140 citizens arrests. Some security officers have been seconded to the council and trained in the enforcement of city by-laws. The security officers reportedly have a good relationship with the police and other private security companies operating in the area (of which there are many). They wear uniforms with high-visibility yellow hats, belts, and arm bands. In addition to security officers, the CIDs employ teams of cleaners who supplement council work in their areas, cleaning pavements and removing illegal posters.

Evidence seems to suggest that the incidence of crime has fallen in areas covered by CIDs. The first Johannesburg CID was the Central Improvement District, created in late 1993. "In 1992 that area averaged 27 muggings a month; in all of 1997, by contrast, it had only three. … Almost every category of crime has dropped in the Central Improvement District: Armed robberies in 1997 were down 63 percent from the year before, muggings were down 73 percent, and pickpocketing was down 80 percent." (Peron 1999)

Private security patrols—often armed--abound in South Africa because of the high crime rate. For example, "in Kensington, a middle-class Johannesburg suburb, residents have contracted with a private security firm, for armed protection. The firm hired abut 90 previously unemployed men to patrol the streets, covering some 3,500 homes. Each street has its own bank account, and residents contribute to pay for the guard on the street." (Peron 1999)

Sweden

The one questionnaire received from Sweden discussed crime and fear of crime in not-for-profit housing in Sweden, but the policies proposed in response did not include warden schemes. Tim Brown pointed out that supercaretakers in large Swedish social housing estates are mainly aimed at tackling anti-social behaviour.

Information provided by Dr Tim Brown, De Montfort University
Tomas Lindencrona, Swedish Association of Municipal Owned Housing

USA

The USA has an enormous multiplicity of warden-type schemes--to be expected in a large country whose subnational levels of government have very strong autonomy. There is little in the way of federal policy regarding wardens schemes.

BIDs

Business Improvement Districts, or BIDs, operate in many of the country's largest cities. These encompass defined areas (usually, but not always, downtown) within which property owners are obliged to pay a tax supplement. The f unds received go to paying for local environmental improvements and often for some type of warden scheme. Most of these schemes target nuisance and quality-of-life issues, i.e., public drunkenness, street disorder, theft from autos, aggressive begging, etc. Training in the larger programmes generally lasts four to six weeks.

One example of a BID warden scheme is that of Baltimore. There the Downtown Partnership BID employs two types of wardens: Public Safety Guides and Clean Sweep Ambassadors. They are all trained to be eyes and ears for the police. In addition to cleaning they monitor and report problems such as burned-out street lights, potholes, etc. The program works closely with the local police department -- all of the supervisors are retired police officers, and much of the training for new hires is done through the police department.

The job description of the Public Safety Guide is as follows: he is responsible for patrolling an assigned area of downtown Baltimore to deter and report criminal activity, report any suspicious behaviour to the dispatcher, supervisor, or the Baltimore City Police, and to respond to emergency situations by notifying the proper response agency. Responsible for assisting shoppers and visitors in the downtown area and providing directions and information regarding Baltimore history and points of interest.

Duties:

- Patrols an assigned area of downtown Baltimore to deter and report criminal activity
- Reports any suspicious behaviour to dispatchers, supervisor or Baltimore City Police via radio dispatch
- Maintains a working rapport with city police officers working in the assigned area
- Completes written reports of any suspicious activities during patrol
- Retains current information regarding basic crime-prevention techniques
- Responds to emergency situations and notifies proper authorities
- Renders emergency medical assistance as needed and radios for emergency response teams when needed
- Assists disabled motorists
- Maintains citizen contact and refers individuals to a host of government and private-sector service providers
- Completes written reports of any emergency situation during patrol
- Maintains Red Cross basic first-aid and CPR certification
- Must wear assigned uniform
- Maintains clean and neat uniform including jacket, pants, shirt, hat, gloves, boots, and belt

- Must dress appropriately for current weather conditions

All wardens are uniformed. The Public Safety Guides work seven days a week: 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. in the summer, shorter hours in winter. Evaluation is through a formal survey process that measures the public recognition of the program and the visibility of employees. All guides complete daily log sheets, the information from which is regularly tabulated.

In terms of cleaning, the wardens actually carry out the cleaning which had been the responsibility of the city's Department of Public Works. That Department considered the warden scheme to be an insult, and refused to clean areas where wardens were working. In the end a division of labour was agreed, so that the DPW was exclusively responsible for some areas and the BID wardens for others.

Private patrols

Private warden-type services abound. For example, Starrett City, a 153-acre apartment complex in a high-crime area of New York City, has 56 residential buildings containing 5881 apartment units. As of 1986 it had a 54-person private security force, including 34 officers with general patrol duties a six-officer dog unit, and a five-officer 'anticrime' unit which patrolled in civilian clothes. (Benson p. 153 et seq) Rossmoor, a private development for the elderly covering about seven square miles in Walnut Creek, California, is protected by a 22-man private security force. It maintains a guard post at the only entrance to the complex and responds to approximately 900 calls per month. This unarmed force is approximately the same size as a city force handling that number of calls. (Benson p. 157)

Grassroots activity

The US also has a long and varied history of grassroots warden-type activity that is not officially sanctioned and has, in some cases, shaded into vigilantism. Such grassroots initiatives included, for example, patrols to protect blacks and civil-rights workers in the South in the 1960s, and the Maccabees, a group founded by Hasidic Jews in Crown Heights (New York City) in 1964. They had 120 volunteers patrolling in radio-equipped cars from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. to deter violence against the neighbourhood's Jewish population. By 1966 the crime problem had diminished to the extent that the patrols ceased. (Benson 1998)

Carlson describes the case of Mantua Against Drugs, founded by Herman Wrice in Philadelphia to eliminate crack houses in his neighbourhood. Every Thursday night he and like-minded neighbours would march, armed with bullhorns and wearing hard hats, and gather in front of a crack house. When users arrived they would sing "Drugs are no good, drugs are no good," and prevent them from entering the house. They found that after a few weeks of this treatment the residents of many crack houses were ready to move or change their behaviour – perhaps in large part because of embarrassment. Although Mantua Against Drugs as an organisation received no government funding, Wrice was sent by the Department of Justice to other communities, including Taylor, Texas and Marion, Illinois, to help them set up similar programmes. (Carlson 1995)

Perhaps the best-known example of a grassroots organisation is the Guardian Angels, founded in 1979 by Curtis Sliwa and 12 friends to patrol the New York City subways. Kenney writes that in 1987 there were 40 active chapters in the US and Canada, with an estimated membership of up to 5000. Kenney conducted formal research into the effect of the Angels

on the fear of crime amongst night-time subway riders, and found that while most interviewees expressed support for the idea of the Guardian Angels, only a minority had personally seen them patrolling. He also notes that "while the Guardian Angels certainly deserve credit for making many passengers feel saver due to their presence, they must also accept responsibility for contributing to the overall sense of a system out of control." (Kenney p. 99)

Information provided by Bill Hughes, Center City District, Philadelphia
Stacy Irving, Center City District, Philadelphia
Natalie Pearl, San Diego State University
Frank Russo, Downtown DC Business District
Rana Sampson
Tom Yeager, Downtown Partnership of Baltimore, Inc

Annex 2.1: Methodology

This study is based on questionnaires sent to international experts and practitioners, library and web research, and field visits.

We sent a detailed questionnaire (attached) to some 68 international experts, whose names were suggested to us by the DTLR or with whom we were familiar from previous research. The initial list of recipients can be broken down as follows:

	Nature of interest		
Country	**Academic**	**Policy**	**Practitioner**
Australia	6	2	0
Canada	0	0	1
Denmark	0	2	0
England/Wales	1	8	0
France	1	1	0
Germany	1	0	2
Hong Kong	1	4	0
Ireland	0	2	4
Northern Ireland	0	0	2
Netherlands	2	1	5
Scotland	3	1	0
Singapore	2	0	0
Sweden	0	1	0
USA	1	0	14
Total	**18**	**22**	**28**

We asked each respondent to recommend other experts in their country, or to forward the questionnaire directly to them. We then contacted these experts. The final number of questionnaire recipients was 120. Recipients who did not return their questionnaires were further contacted at least twice; after the second contact if there was still no reply they were sent a simplified questionnaire (attached).

From these contacts we received a total of 64 replies:

Country	**Total number of questionnaires sent**	**Replies received**
Australia	9	8
Belgium	6	2
Canada	4	1
Denmark	3	2
England/Wales	25	15
France	6	0
Germany	9	4
Hong Kong	5	4
Ireland	8	5
Netherlands	13	8
Northern Ireland	2	1

Scotland	9	4
Singapore	2	2
Slovenia	1	1
Sweden	2	1
USA	16	7
Total	**120**	**65**

We also visited a warden scheme in Almere, the Netherlands, and attended a presentation by the Circle Initiative on the work of the BIDs-type schemes in London and the lower Manhattan BID.

Library and web research showed that there is a relatively small body of academic and other writing in this field. Finding the material is complicated by the fact that there is no agreed nomenclature; some 30 different search terms were used in an effort to find all relevant literature.

Annex 2.2: Full questionnaire

London School of Economics E-mail questionnaire
On Neighbourhood Warden schemes

Dear Colleague,

We are carrying out research across the world on neighbourhood warden schemes on behalf of the UK Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR). We understand that you may have a policy interest in this area, and would be very grateful for your expertise. We would like your help in doing two things: 1) reviewing the attributes of schemes and best practice; and 2) putting together a list of experts on neighbourhood warden (or similar) schemes. These experts will be practitioners, policy makers or academics in the field.

It might be helpful to explain what we mean by neighbourhood warden schemes. We are interested in semi-official neighbourhood initiatives established for one or more of the following: 1) support for the management of housing estates; 2) to monitor and improve the state of the local environment; or 3) to monitor and curb anti-social behaviour and/or crime. Overseas colleagues may know such schemes as concierges and super concierges, public space management initiatives, private policing initiatives, community justice initiatives, community wardens, street workers, litter wardens, clean teams, green teams, stadswacht, alley patrols, safety and maintenance patrols, agents de veille, animateurs etc.

The immediate purpose of the research is a) to build a list of experts who may wish to be involved in a good practice exchange of expertise network. There will be a conference in May, organised by the UK Neighbourhood Renewal Unit on neighbourhood warden schemes, which it is hoped will be a starting point for international cooperation. and b) to produce a background paper for this conference, based on evidence on global best practice.

We would be very grateful if you could take 15/20 minutes to answer the following questions, by inserting your responses into the email and returning them either to myself, or to *k.j.scanlon@lse.ac.uk <mailto:k.j.scanlon@lse.ac.uk>* as soon as possible, ideally by **Friday 8th February** at the latest.

Not all of the questions may be applicable to you, depending on the nature of your interest or involvement in this topic. If this is the case, please answer as many as you can, providing as much information as possible. If we haven't got the right person, we would be grateful if you could forward this questionnaire to the appropriate person in your organisation.

Section 1. *About you*

1) What is your job title? Please also give your full contact details.

2) What is your interest in neighbourhood warden (or similar) schemes?

a) involvement in a particular scheme
b) policy
c) academic
d) other (please describe briefly)

Section 2. *About schemes in your country with which you are familiar*

3). Please give a brief description of schemes in your country with which you are familiar, stating what their objectives are and how they are funded.

4). Do these schemes fit within a national, regional or local policy framework for neighbourhood warden-type initiatives. If so, please state for each scheme which policy framework is applicable.

5). Do you know of any schemes that have been closed down or were not successful? If so, was it due to lack of interest, lack of funding or some other reason.

6). Do you know of any plans to expand neighbourhood warden (or similar) schemes. If so, please give brief details.

Section 3. *This is about specific schemes that you have worked on or are familiar with. (If you are familiar with many similar schemes, please answer questions 7-19 for one typical scheme. If you are familiar with many different types of scheme, we would be grateful if you could answer questions 7-19 for each type. If you personally are unable to answer these detailed questions about specific schemes, please go to section 4.)*

7) In which of the following areas do the schemes you know about operate? Please tick as many as apply.

a) residential neighbourhood
   public sector estate
   private sector development
   mixed public/private communities
b) commercial neighbourhood
c) open public space (parks etc.)
d) other (please specify)

8) For each of the above, at which of the following are the schemes aimed? Please tick as many as apply.

a) supporting housing management
b) community protection/security
c) monitoring and reporting on the state of the local environment (e.g. litter, street lighting etc.)
d) monitoring and curbing anti-social behaviour and/or crime
e) other - please give details

9) Does your scheme have additional objectives such as combating social exclusion, providing employment or fostering better community relations with the police? If so, please give details.

10) Please give a brief description of the wardens, indicating what they are known as, what their typical duties are, what formal qualifications they are required to have, and what training is given to them.

11) Do the wardens have a uniform? If so, please describe briefly.

12) Does the scheme operate 24 hours a day all week or only particular times of the day or week (if so when)?

13) How are the schemes funded? Please tick as many as apply, and indicate who the chief funder is.

a) local government
b) European or international funding
c) voluntary sector
d) Business Improvement Districts
e) housing occupants
f) other (please specify)

14) How long is the scheme funded for?

15) What additional powers do the wardens have?

a) direct reporting to the police
b) direct reporting to environmental services
c) direct reporting to social services
d) the power to issue fines
e) direct powers of arrest
f) only citizen's arrest powers
g) other (please specify)

16) How would you describe the relationship of the wardens with the police?

17) To your knowledge has there been any formal evaluation of your scheme? Please describe briefly.

18) How are the scheme's benefits measured?

19) Please describe any specific difficulties the schemes have encountered and how they have been dealt with.

Section 4. *About experts on neighbourhood warden schemes*

20). Please give us names and contact details of any experts in the field of neighbourhood warden initiatives you know of. These can be experts on specific schemes or in government, local government, academe, policy advocacy, or the voluntary sector etc.

21). Please pass this questionnaire on to anybody else you think appropriate.

Thank you very much for your time. Please indicate whether you would like a summarised report of our research and whether you would mind if we contacted you again.

Thank you very much indeed for your help. If you have any questions about this research, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my colleagues, Dr. Kathleen Scanlon

(K.J.Scanlon@lse.ac.uk <mailto:K.J.Scanlon@lse.ac.uk>) and Dr. Karen West (K.West@lse.ac.uk <mailto:K.West@lse.ac.uk>).

We look forward to hearing from you.

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Annex 2.3: Simplified questionnaire

Dear

We wrote to you recently about some research we are carrying out at the London School of Economics on community strategies for managing crime, anti-social behaviour, housing and the environment across the world. This research is on behalf of the UK Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR), who are interested in gathering information about international schemes similar to the neighbourhood and street warden schemes, which have recently been introduced in the UK. The immediate purpose of the research is: a) to build a list of experts who may wish to be involved in a good practice exchange of expertise network. There will be a conference in May, organised by the UK Neighbourhood Renewal Unit on neighbourhood warden schemes, which it is hoped will be a starting point for international cooperation; and b) to produce a background paper for this conference, based on evidence on global best practice.

We understand that you have an interest in this area and were wondering if you could contribute to this research by giving us some information about schemes that you know about. The types of scheme that we are interested in community strategies established for one or more of the following: 1) support for the management of housing estates; 2) to monitor and improve the state of the local environment; or 3) to monitor and curb anti-social behaviour and/or crime. Overseas colleagues may know such schemes as **concierges and super concierges, public space management initiatives, private policing initiatives, community justice initiatives, community wardens, rangers, street workers, litter wardens, clean teams, green teams, stadswacht, Aufpasser, alley patrols, safety and maintenance patrols, agents de veille, animateurs, régies de quartier etc**.

We would be grateful if you could spend a few minutes to answer the following 4 questions. Ideally we need responses by **Friday, 15th February.** Please e-mail responses to k.j.scanlon@lse.ac.uk

1) *About you*

Your name and contact details.

What is your interest in neighbourhood warden (or similar) schemes?

a) involvement in a particular scheme
b) policy
c) academic
d) other (please describe briefly)

2) About schemes with which you are familiar

Please give a brief description of schemes with which you are familiar, stating what their objectives are and how they are funded. (Please give as much detail as you are able.)

3) About the national policy context

Do these schemes fit within a national, regional or local policy framework for neighbourhood warden-type initiatives? If so, please state for each scheme which policy framework is applicable.

4) About other experts on neighbourhood warden schemes that you know

Please give us names and contact details of any experts in the field of neighbourhood warden initiatives you know of. These can be experts on specific schemes or in government, local government, academe, policy advocacy, or the voluntary sector etc.

Finally, please forward this e-mail to anybody else you think could help us.

Thank you very much for your time. Please indicate whether you would like a summarised report of our research and whether you would mind if we contacted you again.

Caroline Roberts and Dr Karen West.

Annex 3: List of contacts (policy and practitioners only)

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Note: We looked at many websites in the course of the research. The following list includes only those whose information was used in the preparation of this report; it is not a comprehensive list of all websites examined.

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Central Johannesburg Partnership

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