

The Causes and Consequences of Community Cohesion in Wales: A Secondary Analysis

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Dr. H. Cooper & Professor M. Innes
Universities' Police Science Institute
Cardiff University School of Social Sciences
Glamorgan Building
King Edward VII Avenue
Cardiff,
CF10 3WT

Telephone: +44 (0) 29 208 75440
Email: innesH@cardiff.ac.uk, innesM@cardiff.ac.uk

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Community cohesion is increasingly afforded significance in public policy and planning as an attribute possessed by strong, healthy and vibrant communities. This study uses two large-scale surveys of the public living in Wales to empirically investigate the parameters and distribution of cohesion within diverse communities and how cohesion links with public perceptions of crime, policing and victimisation. Our key findings from the data are summarised below:

- There are healthy levels of community cohesion overall in Wales, with the majority endorsing the ‘classic’ cohesion statement of ‘this neighbourhood is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together’.
- When community cohesion is analysed using a question about being treated with ‘respect and consideration’ – a measure which we argue is more likely to tap into the nature of peoples’ interactions with strangers in their local area - we find that it is a problem for 1 in 3 living in Wales.
- This measure of ‘respect and consideration’ captures more variance in public perceptions of cohesion than the classic or commonly used measure. It also emerges more strongly in understanding crime perceptions.
- We can identify social groups and areas where community cohesion is lacking in Wales. These include respondents in social housing or in areas characterised by multiple deprivation.
- A consistent picture emerges of low community cohesiveness in the Gwent police force area (PFA), particularly among men.
- Where levels of community cohesion are compromised, there is also a perceived difficulty in mobilising community resources, that is, to take positive action when faced with a local problem. This is seen most strongly for areas with multiple deprivation and for the Gwent PFA.
- Differences in attitudes are apparent between the indigenous population of Wales and those who have migrated to live in Wales, with the former generally holding more traditionalist attitudes and the latter more open to the idea of different cultures and groups.
- There is an association between cohesion and crime outcomes concerned with: worry about being the victim of crime; levels of confidence in the police; and reported experience of victimisation, discrimination or harassment in the last five years. These findings, which are most marked using our ‘respect’ measure of community cohesion, take into account relevant social and demographic factors.
- The links between cohesion and reported worry about crime are gendered. Trust and the perceived ability of their community to mobilise are particularly important in understanding the worry perceptions of women.

- Perceptions of public trust and confidence in the police are clearly linked to the perceived cohesiveness of a community. Even where the perceived ability of a community to mobilise itself is viewed as low, evaluations of the local police are most likely to be poor.
- Positive judgements about cohesion are associated with the absence of a discrimination or harassment experience in the last five years. This association is, however, undermined for minority ethnic groups living in Wales, for non-Welsh settlers in Wales and for Welsh speakers, for whom discrimination and harassment may be a more generalised experience.
- It may be misleading to view community activism as universally positive for an individual's sense of community cohesion or overall wellbeing. Taking part in a community activity is linked to greater perceived cohesion only for men and respondents who engage in activity or who embrace the idea of working with others in the community are more likely than those who do not to report an experience of discrimination or harassment.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

Community cohesion and its conceptual cousins, social capital and collective efficacy, have been increasingly attributed a pivotal role in establishing and maintaining strong, vibrant and resilient communities. Through empirical investigation, this research aims to establish an evidence based perspective on what social and economic conditions shape the development of cohesive communities and the consequences that flow from these patterns in terms of ‘what works’ for people living in Wales, making them empowered to respond effectively to a range of antisocial, problematic and harmful behaviours. Based on a secondary analysis of large-scale survey data for Wales, the study is designed to address three research questions:

- How do levels of community cohesion vary across different community contexts in Wales and for different social groups?
- How does community cohesion relate to public perceptions and experiences of a variety of problematic and troublesome behaviours?
- What steps can policy makers and practitioners take in order to support communities in protecting, developing and rebuilding the social, economic and cultural fabric of their communities?

In addressing these questions, this research is directly aligned with some of the key objectives set out in the document ‘One Wales’ (Labour and Plaid Cymru, 2007), namely to: enhance citizenship and community cohesion; regenerate communities; reduce hate crime; discourage and address antisocial behaviour (p.26-7). The research is also timely in that its results will help to support the delivery of the All Wales Community Cohesion Strategy (Welsh Assembly Government, 2009).

This report presents key empirical findings to emerge from a secondary analysis of the Living in Wales Survey (2007) and the British Crime Survey (2007/8). The report is divided into five main sections:

1. **Conceptualising Community Cohesion.** This first section focuses on the conceptualisation of community cohesion, its measurement in these two large-scale surveys and how the data are analysed and documented in this report.
2. **Distribution of Community Cohesion for Wales.** In this section, the key survey indicators of community cohesion are used to map overall levels of community cohesion within Wales, and to draw attention to inequalities in the distribution of community cohesion based on both social group and area characteristics.
3. **Community Mobilisation.** A third section focuses on ‘community mobilisation’ - the capacity of local neighbourhoods to mobilise social resources to deal with problems and how these capabilities are associated with community cohesion. The analysis includes indicators that have been conceptualised as ‘social capital’ by research and policy makers. Social capital has much in common with community cohesion in that its focus is upon how people feel about their neighbourhood and the support it affords. We add to this a further set of measures on efficacy, broadly defined as people’s perceived power or capacity to produce a desired effect on problems in their neighbourhood, either alone (‘individual efficacy’) or with others (‘collective efficacy’).
4. **Community Cohesion and Crime, Worry and Policing outcomes.** In section 4, we examine how indicators of community cohesion are associated with key crime outcomes in three domains: personal perceptions of worry about crime; actual experience of discrimination, victimisation or harassment in the last year and public perceptions of local police performance. We analyse the data using multiple regression in order to determine if community cohesion has an impact on these outcomes over and above the effect of other known variables such as age and socio-economic status.
5. **Policy Implications and Recommendations.** The final section provides a summary of the key findings from this research and draws out a number of policy implications and action points to take forward.

1. CONCEPTUALISING COMMUNITY COHESION

The concept of community cohesion first emerged in the UK in 2001, prompted by social disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. Although its focus is often primarily one of ethnic and racial tensions within communities, it is increasingly acknowledged that community cohesion goes beyond the concept of race equality and inclusion and can incorporate other social divisions such as gender, age and socio-economic status. Area level factors are also considered important, with a Home Office report stating that ‘community cohesion can mean different things in different areas’ (p.9, Building a picture of Community Cohesion, 2003).

For Wales, the Welsh Assembly Government (2009) has adopted the UK Government definition of Community Cohesion, namely:

“Community Cohesion is what must happen in all communities to enable different groups of people to get on well together. A key contributor to community cohesion is integration which is what must happen to enable new residents and existing residents to adjust to one another”.

- *Our vision of an integrated and cohesive community is based on three foundations:*
 - *people from different backgrounds having similar life opportunities;*
 - *people knowing their rights and responsibilities; and*
 - *people trusting one another and trusting local institutions to act fairly.*

- *And three key ways of living together:*
 - *a shared future vision and sense of belonging;*
 - *a focus on what new and existing communities have in common, alongside recognition of the value of diversity; and*
 - *strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds.*

Source: The Department for Communities and Local Government in their response to the Commission on Integration and Cohesion recommendations in their report *Our Shared Future* (2008).

Building on this definition, our approach is to examine community cohesion specifically within Welsh communities, highlighting where possible the diversity within Wales and underlining any impacting factors that might be particularly relevant for understanding Welsh communities, such as the Welsh language or geography, for example. We have selected two

large-scale surveys for secondary analysis that together help us operationalise the central theme of cohesion as outlined above, namely people from different backgrounds ‘getting on well together’. These surveys are: (1) Living in Wales Survey, 2007 and (2) The British Crime Survey, 2007/8, data for Wales only. The use of two datasets permits findings to be cross-validated or contrasted where appropriate and each has particular strengths, as detailed below.

1.1. British Crime Survey, 2007/08

The British Crime Survey is a major source of information about public perceptions towards crime and antisocial behaviour in England and Wales. Carried out on behalf of the Home Office, the BCS has a nationally representative sample of private households created from randomly selected addresses from the Postcode Address File (PAF). This survey has an excellent response rate and contains detailed area-level information that permits analysis at the level of Police Force Area (PFA) within Wales, as well as rural/urban mix and an index of ward-level multiple deprivation designed for Wales. For the purposes of our analysis, a key strength of the BCS is that it includes multiple outcome measures on problematic and antisocial behaviours.

In the 2007/08 survey, the module of questions on community cohesion was asked to a randomly selected 25 percent of the whole sample. When data was selected for Wales only, this translated to the following sample sizes by Police Force Area:

<u>Police Force Area</u>	<u>N</u>
North Wales	279
Dyfed Powys	282
Gwent	246
South Wales	273
All Wales	1080

In accordance with the BCS user-guide, our individual-level analysis of this survey was weighted by INDIVWGT. Base numbers shown for the BCS are unweighted and any base of less than 50 cases was excluded from reporting. All analyses referred to in the report were statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level.

1.2. *Living in Wales Survey, 2007*

This survey was included because it is a key source of data on households in Wales. In 2007, this continuous household survey included approximately 7800 interviews across Wales from addresses randomly selected from the Postcode Address File (PAF). For this research, the survey's strengths are in offering a range of questions on values and opinions relevant to understanding community cohesion, as well as items on voluntary and community activity. This survey also yields a robust sample size of 7753 for our analysis. The grossing factor a17 was applied before reporting on data for respondents in this survey. Base numbers shown in the report are unweighted and any base of less than 50 cases was excluded from reporting. All analyses referred to in the report were statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level.

1.3. *A note about ethnicity in this analysis*

Although ethnicity and religion are two key factors in understanding community cohesion, our ability to investigate ethnic and religious differences in the Welsh data was severely limited by the size of the samples (see Table 1 below). The BCS data for Wales contained only 31 individuals who classified their ethnic group as non-white when allowing for the fact that questions on community cohesion were asked only to 25 percent of the whole sample. (It must be noted, however, that non-white groups in the full Welsh BCS sample were still too low to examine ethnicity in any detail). The Living in Wales survey permits a comparison of white and 'all' minority groups ($n=119$), but not individual minority ethnic groups in Wales. Whilst this comparison is made in the report, it is important to be aware of the limitations inherent in this approach, concealing as it does potential differences between minority ethnic groups in their levels of community cohesion. A more robust picture of ethnicity and community cohesion would require a much larger sample size or a different research method.

Table 1: Ethnicity in the two datasets:

Ethnic group	LinW, 2007	BCS, 2007/08
White	7628	1047
South Asian	54	6
Black African Caribbean	15	5
Mixed	22	3
Other	28	17
All minority groups	119	31
N (unweighted)	7747	1078

Our analysis of both surveys is exploratory in nature, meaning that we are not following any a priori model of how community cohesion might relate to social groups, areas, or public perceptions around crime. Both datasets are cross-sectional, hence we can only hypothesise on whether an observed association between two variables might be causal in nature. Questions about causality can only be addressed using longitudinal data sources.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY COHESION FOR WALES

2.1. The ‘classic’ cohesion measures

The most frequently used headline indicator of community cohesion is encapsulated by the following question ‘how far do you agree or disagree that this is an area where people from different backgrounds get on well together?’ This exact question was included in the British Crime Survey and a similar indicator can be found in the Living in Wales survey, albeit worded slightly differently. It is therefore possible to compare and contrast them here.

Figure 2.1: ‘This is an area where people from different backgrounds get on well together’

BCS, 2007/08: Wales

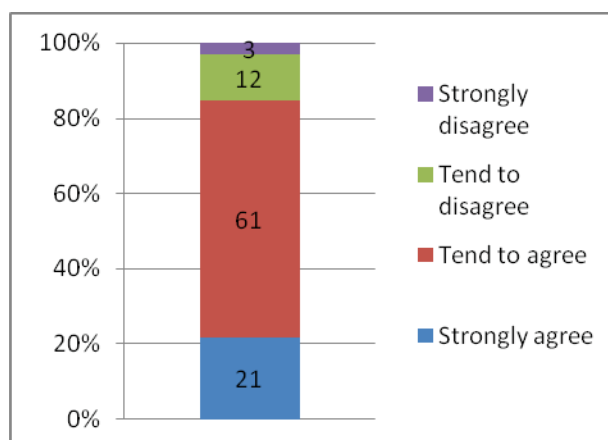


Figure 2.2: ‘This neighbourhood is a place where people from different backgrounds can live together harmoniously’

LinW, 2007

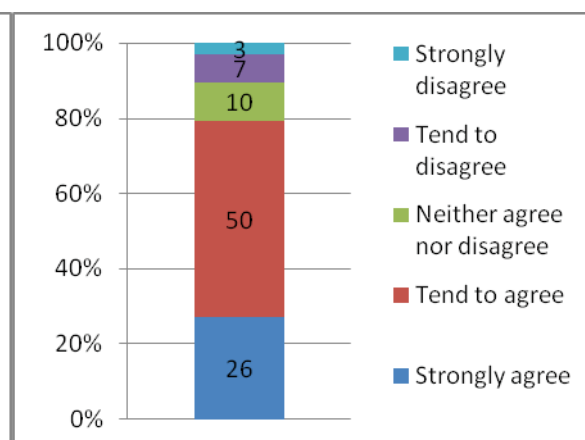
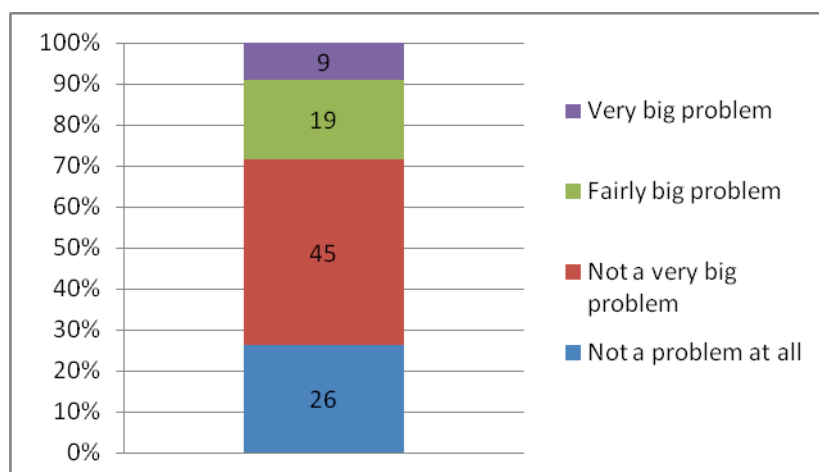


Figure 2.1 shows that overall agreement with the BCS community cohesion statement was high at 81 percent, with the majority opting for ‘tend to agree’. Only 3 percent of Welsh respondents expressed strong disagreement with this statement. The proportion endorsing community cohesion on this question was comparable to that reported in other surveys using the same measure, such as the 2005 Citizenship Survey, where 80 percent in England and Wales agreed with the same statement (NatCen, 2006).

When we focused our attention on the Living in Wales measure, we found that overall endorsement of the statement ‘this neighbourhood is a place where people from different backgrounds can live together harmoniously’ was slightly lower at 76 percent. However, 1 in 10 respondents to this question opted for a view of ‘neither agree nor disagree’ – a response option that was not available in the BCS. As a result, we find that any disagreement is actually lower than in the British Crime Survey at 10 percent, with 3 percent in each survey expressing strong disagreement with the same general premise.

Community cohesion measures seek to gauge how well people from different backgrounds get on together. One dimension that may be important here concerns public perceptions around appropriate conduct and respect from those in the local area. Indeed, the report ‘Our Shared Future’ (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007) drew attention to the potential roles of civility and mutual respect in understanding the social bonds within our communities. We can investigate this empirically using the following measure in the British Crime Survey: ‘How much of a problem in the local area is people not treating other people with respect and consideration?’ In a sense, this question is the negative or converse of the classic cohesion measures reported above. Perceiving a problem with respect and consideration could be viewed as undermining the notion of community cohesion, rather than being indicative of its presence.

Figure 2.3: How much of a problem in local area is ‘people not treating other people with respect and consideration?’



Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8: Wales

A perceived lack of respect and consideration was seen as a problem to some degree by nearly three-quarters of the Welsh sample. For approximately 1 in 10, this local area concern was rated as a 'very big problem'. Making a comparison with figures 2.1 and 2.2 above, it is evident that there was more variance in public perceptions around respect and consideration than there was in the 'getting on well together' measure. Hence, this negatively worded indicator highlights greater disharmony within neighbourhoods than the commonly used headline indicator of this concept would suggest. One explanation for this difference may be that respondents' appraisals of the notion of 'getting on well' or 'living harmoniously' are more narrowly focused on people they know or who are familiar with in their everyday life and interactions than responses to 'respect' and 'consideration'. In particular, the latter may draw upon a wider community pool of people who are familiar or unknown 'strangers'. Given our preliminary findings, we continue to use the respect measure as we develop our analysis and explore its potential along with other cohesion measures in relation to crime and antisocial behaviour outcomes. This reflects the fact that the two questions may key into different dimensions in terms of how people interpret their neighbourhood relationships and interactions, with the standard question tapping known relationships and the 'respect' question tapping views about co-present strangers.

In the remainder of this section, we begin to map the distribution of community cohesion across different social groups within Wales. As highlighted in the All Wales Community Cohesion Strategy (2009), this is a necessary step in order to help identify needs, perceptions and possible interventions to impact on levels of cohesion.

2.2. Social Group Differences

Gender differences on community cohesion were modest, but varied according to the measure used. In both surveys, men were slightly more likely than women to agree that people from different backgrounds 'get on well together' (83 percent and 81 percent) or 'can live together harmoniously' (78 percent and 74 percent). However, women were less likely than men to perceive a 'lack of respect and consideration' as a problem in their local neighbourhood (72 percent compared to 69 percent).

On all cohesion measures, there was a tendency for perceived cohesion to increase with age group. There was a steady increase for men using the measure 'people from different

backgrounds get on well together’, from 77 percent at age 16-34 to 94 percent at age 65 plus. For women, an age-related increase was most evident when using lack of ‘respect and consideration’ as an indicator, with 68 percent rating this as ‘not a problem’ or ‘not a very big problem’ at age 16-34 and 79 percent giving the same response at age 65 plus.

In both datasets, perceived community cohesion was lower for respondents who were born in Wales than for those born outside Wales. This was found using both the ‘respect’ measure of cohesion and the ‘get on well/live harmoniously’ measures and was evident for both sexes. When attitudes about equality were examined by country of birth (Wales or outside Wales), there were modest correlations showing that those respondents born in Wales were less likely to agree that:

- It is better for a country if there are a variety of different cultures (CULTURE)
- to be truly Welsh you have to be white (WELSH)
- Muslims who live in Wales make a positive contribution to society (MUSLIM)
- I would have no objection to a gypsy site being near my home (GYPSY)

Welsh-born respondents were, however, most likely to agree: it is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions (TRADITION)

Women from a minority ethnic group were most likely to agree that ‘this neighbourhood is a place where people can live together harmoniously’ (84 percent compared to 74 percent of white women). In contrast, perceived cohesion on this measure was greater among white men (79 percent) than minority ethnic men (76 percent). To help interpret this finding, we should bear in mind that minority ethnic groups are highly geographically localised, for example, in cities such as Cardiff. The overall effect of this is likely to be that neighbourhoods with a high proportion of minority ethnic residents will be fairly homogenous with regards to race or even religion, a factor that may impact on perceptions about harmonious living at a small-area level.

The data showed that community cohesion was linked to a more tolerant attitude towards ethnic diversity; respondents who agreed with the premise that it is better if there are a ‘variety of cultures’ or that ‘Muslims who live in Wales make a positive contribution to society’ were more likely to endorse community cohesion, that is, agree with people from different backgrounds living harmoniously together. The same equality data showed that

whites were less likely than minority ethnic groups to agree with the statements CULTURE, MUSLIM and GYPSY, but more likely to agree with the statements WELSH and TRADITION.

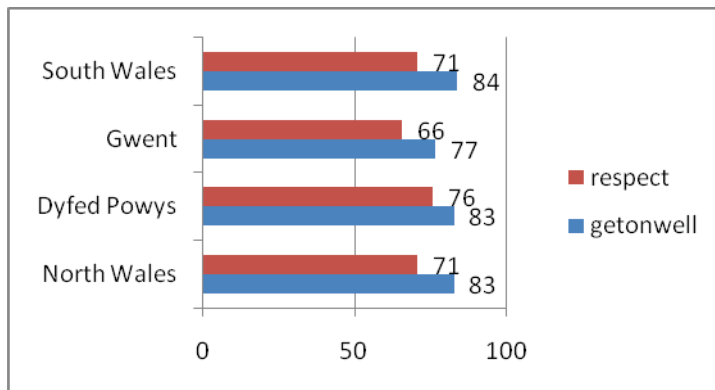
Our analysis supports the argument that housing is central to perceived community cohesion in Wales (Welsh Assembly Government, 2009). Both length of residency and housing tenure were associated with community cohesion as follows:

- BCS respondents living in social rented housing were least likely to give a positive response to the cohesion measures (73 percent), but there was little difference between owner occupiers and private renters (84 percent). It may be that the former represents both a more transient and diverse housing population, with the result that those living in social rented accommodation are perhaps less likely to know their neighbours or have neighbours in similar social circumstances to themselves. Both of these factors may serve to undermine a perceived sense of community cohesion.
- In the BCS, short-term residents of less than two years and long-term residents of twenty years or more were more likely to perceive community cohesion in their local area than other residents, which could reflect their ‘honeymoon phase’ or deep attachment to a neighbourhood respectively. In the Living in Wales Survey, there was less variation by length of residence, but the longest-term residents (20 plus years, or from birth) were more likely to agree people could live together harmoniously (77 percent) than recent arrivals of less than 2 years duration (74 percent).

2.3. Area-based differences

In the BCS, there were clear differences in community cohesion by police force area (PFA). Perceived cohesion was markedly lower in Gwent than for other PFA’s in Wales (Figure 4). Only 66 percent of Gwent respondents agreed that this is an ‘area where people from different backgrounds get on well together,’ compared with 71 percent in North and South Wales and 76 percent in Dyfed Powys. A similar pattern was evident using the respect measure; cohesion on this measure was lower at 77 percent in Gwent compared with approximately 83 percent for each of the other PFA’s in Wales.

Figure 2.4: Perceived community cohesion by Police Force Area in Wales.



Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/08: Wales

Analyses of community cohesion by the Welsh index of multiple deprivation showed that ward-level deprivation has a marked impact on public perceptions. A comparison of the ‘get on well’ measure and the ‘respect measure’ is shown in Figures 2.5 and 2.6 respectively. The general finding is of a more negative appraisal of community cohesion in the local area as the level of multiple deprivation increases. Linear gradients were evident using the ‘get on well together’ measure for men and women; agreement was lower at 78 percent for those in the most deprived wards and greater at 85 percent for the wards with the least multiple deprivation. For men and women living in the least deprived wards, issues of respect and consideration were much more likely to be rated as a non-problem or minor problem than for those living in areas characterised by greater multiple deprivation. This was especially evident for women, where 82 percent of those in the least deprived areas perceived community cohesion on this measure, compared to 63 percent of women in areas of highest deprivation.

Figure 2.5: Percentage agreeing ‘*This is an area where people from different backgrounds get on well together*’ by Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation

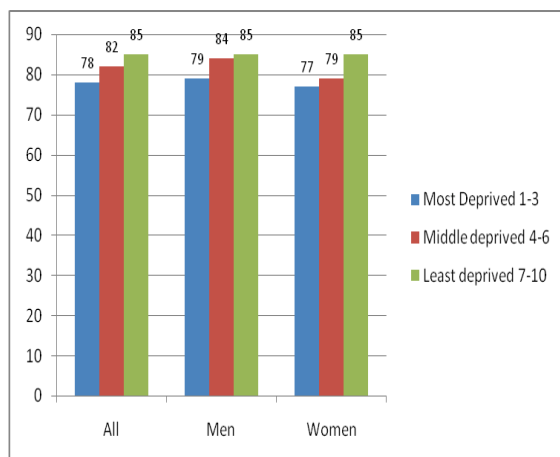
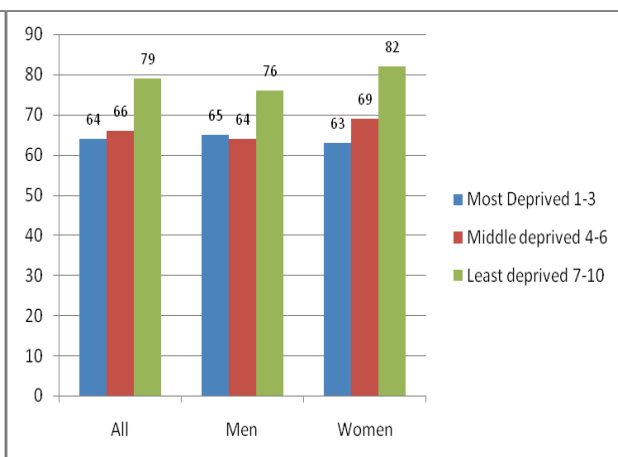


Figure 2.6: Percentage responding ‘*people not treating other people with respect and consideration?*’ is ‘not a problem’ or ‘not a very big problem’ by Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation



Source: BCS, 2007/08: Wales

Perceived community cohesion was lower in urban than rural areas on both BCS measures of cohesion. However, area type made no difference to the percentage of men agreeing ‘this is an area where people from different backgrounds get on well together’ (84 percent), although men in urban areas were less likely than those in rural areas to rate ‘respect and consideration’ as a non-problem (72 percent compared to 68 percent).

This section has examined different indicators of community cohesion and found that, whilst overall assessments of cohesiveness are high in Wales, there are key differences between social groups and at an area level. The three key messages from this part of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

KEY MESSAGES

- Measuring community cohesion in terms of ‘respect and consideration’ captures more variance in public perceptions than the commonly used measure of cohesiveness based on people from different backgrounds ‘getting on well’ together.
- We can identify social groups and areas where community cohesion is lacking in Wales. These include respondents in social housing or in areas characterised by multiple deprivation, as well as the Gwent Police Force Area. The clear association between multiple deprivation and cohesiveness shows that communities experiencing the most difficult material living conditions do not have a ‘buffer’ of cohesiveness to benefit from, but are themselves more likely to have fragmented social relationships within their neighbourhoods.
- Differences in attitudes are apparent between the indigenous population of Wales and those who have migrated to live in Wales, with the former generally holding more traditionalist attitudes and the latter more open to the idea of different cultures and social groups.

3. COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

Having examined public perceptions concerning the cohesiveness of local areas, we now focus in more detail on the perceived ability of a community to act together and effect informal social control regarding local issues – an attribute we term ‘community mobilisation’. Although community mobilisation does not explicitly feature in current working definitions of the community cohesion concept, it is our view that the capacity to mobilise is indicative of the strong, positive and resilient qualities that communities require in order to respond to challenges they face.

We construct our analysis of community mobilisation in a number of ways using the available survey data:

- Firstly, we derive a measure of perceived intervention based on whether or not respondents agree that people in their neighbourhood would intervene to respond to a number of specified local issues;
- Secondly, we derive indicators - including social trust and voluntary activity - that are commonly grouped together as ‘social capital’ to investigate the social resources of a neighbourhood available to manufacture a response;
- Thirdly, we investigate levels of efficacy, that is, the perceived ability of respondents to influence decisions or bring about change at a local level, either as individuals or as part of a collective.

Our intention here is to examine how community cohesion shapes and influences the ability of people to regulate and order the area where they live.

3.1. Perceived Intervention

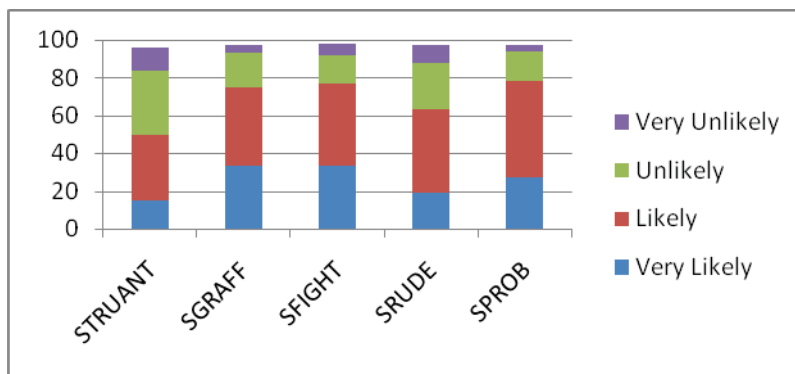
A series of five items in the British Crime Survey asked respondents how likely is it that people in their neighbourhood would do something about the following...

1. Local children playing truant? (STRUANT)
2. Children spray painting graffiti? (SGRAFF)
3. Someone being beaten up or threatened? (SFIGHT)
4. Tell a child off for being rude to an adult? (SRUDE)
5. Participate in an organisation to help solve a community problem? (SPROB)

Figure 3.1 shows how each of these issues were rated on a scale ranging from ‘very unlikely’ to ‘very likely’ by the Wales sample overall. A greater percentage perceived neighbours

would likely intervene in order to prevent graffiti or stop someone being beaten up or threatened, than for issues concerning truanting or rude children. Neighbourhood intervention on these two items concerning children was rejected as ‘very unlikely’ by approximately 1 in 10 respondents. By contrast, only 3 percent rated as ‘very unlikely’ the possibility of neighbours acting with others in an organised way to help solve a community problem: overall, nearly 80 percent perceived this as likely. This pattern did not differ by gender.

Figure 3.1: Perceived likelihood of neighbourhood intervention for local problems



Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8: Wales

It was permissible to create a summed scale from these 5 items to represent an index of Perceived Intervention¹ or PI. The resultant derived index gave a scale ranging in value from 5 (high PI) to 20 (low PI). In order to show how PI relates to other key variables in the analysis, this continuous scale was then split into categories of ‘high’, ‘medium’ and ‘low’ PI².

Social Group Differences

The PI index correlated³ with both of the BCS community cohesion indicators outlined in the previous section, namely people from different backgrounds getting on well together and people in the local area not treating others with respect and consideration. Approximately one-third of those whose responses were indicative of living in cohesive communities on these measures had a high score on the perceived intervention index.

¹ Chronbach’s Alpha=.81. Mean score 10.5.

² Based on percentage cut-offs at 33% and 66% respectively.

³ ‘Get on well together’ R²=.21, p<.001; ‘Respect and consideration’ R²= -.27, p<.01

Three in 10 women had a high PI score, a group that represents those who were most likely to perceive local people *would* intervene across a range of local problems. Perceived intervention was lower for men than for women; nearly 40 percent of men had a low PI score compared with 32 percent of women (Table 3.1). However, among men, those born in Wales were most likely to have a high PI score (28 percent). For women, 30 percent born in Wales had a high PI score which was lower than for women born in England or Scotland (34 percent) but higher than for women born in other countries (23 percent).

Our analysis showed that PI score was also associated with age, housing tenure and educational qualifications:

- Perceived intervention increased with age from 16-34 years to 65 plus for men. However, for women in the oldest age group, the percentage with a high PI score was lower and comparable to the youngest age band (16-34 years).
- Social renters were less likely to have high PI (23 percent) than owner occupiers and private renters (both 29 percent). This result is comparable to that found measuring levels of community cohesion among housing groups in the previous section.
- Respondents without any educational qualifications were less likely to have high PI than those with a qualification (24 percent and 30 percent respectively).

Table 3.1: Perceived intervention score by gender

PI Score/ Gender	Men	Women	All
High PI	26	30	28
Medium PI	35	38	36
Low PI	39	32	35
%	100	100	100
N (unweighted)	448	538	986

Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8: Wales.

Area-based differences

When each intervention question was examined by Police Force Area, there was wide variation in the percentage agreeing that intervention was ‘likely’ or ‘very likely’ (Figure 8). Dyfed Powys was the PFA with the highest percentage who felt that neighbours would intervene if someone were beaten up or threatened, to help solve a community problem, to prevent graffiti or children truanting. Dyfed Powys also had high levels of community cohesion relative to other PFA’s, especially on the ‘respect’ measure. The same overall pattern of responses across neighbourhood problems was evident for North Wales, albeit at a lower level. Whilst we might expect perceived intervention to be lower in the South Wales PFA containing the Capital, what is surprising is the way that the South Wales picture is mirrored by Gwent – a PFA that was shown to have depleted levels of community cohesion in Figure 4 (p.9). The finding that residents of Gwent were less likely than those elsewhere in Wales to believe that their neighbours would act across a range of local problems is illustrated in Figure 9 which shows that only 2 in 10 had a high PI score, far lower than for any other PFA.

- Within Gwent, there was a large gender difference in perceived intervention; only 16 percent of men had a high PI score compared with 24 percent of women.

There was a clear relationship between multiple deprivation and PI score: as ward-level multiple deprivation became greater, people were less likely to think it likely their neighbours would intervene in local issues. This was particularly marked for women, where 38 percent living in the least deprived wards had a high PI score compared with 21 percent living in the most deprived areas.

Those living in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to have a high PI score (34 and 25 percent respectively), a difference that mirrors that found for community cohesion in the previous section.

Figure 3.2: Perceived neighbourhood intervention ‘likely’ or ‘very likely’ for local problems by Police Force Area for Wales

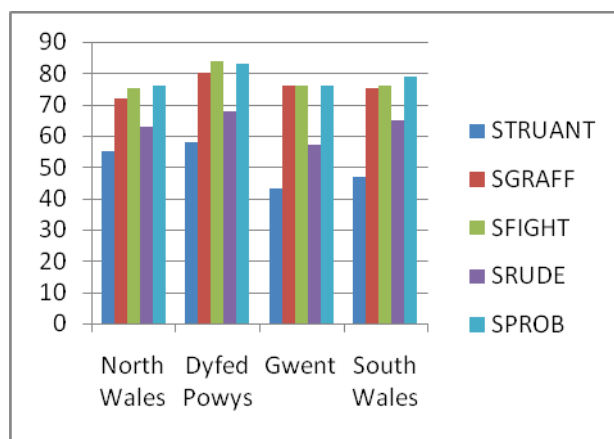
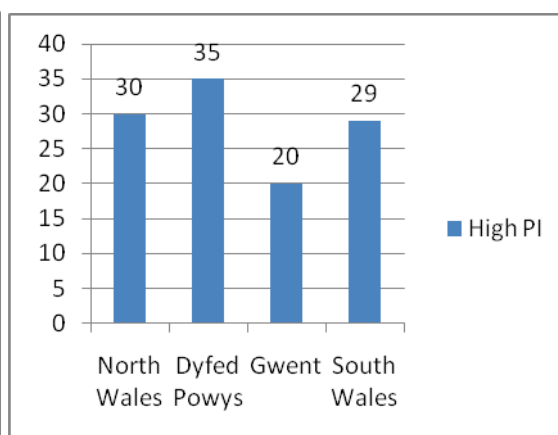


Figure 3.3: Percentage with a high PI score by Police Force Area for Wales



Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/08: Wales

3.2. Social Capital

Both the surveys in this analysis asked respondents to rate how many people they believed could be trusted in their neighbourhood on a scale ranging from ‘most people’ to ‘none at all’. Table 3.2 compares the findings for men and women in each dataset based on the percentage of respondents who report that ‘most people’ in the neighbourhood can be trusted.

- The percentage with high ‘social trust’ was 10 percent greater in the British Crime Survey (64 percent) than in the Living in Wales Survey (54 percent).
- In the BCS, men were more likely than women to adopt a trusting attitude, whereas this gender difference was reversed for the LiW survey.
- A much greater percentage of white respondents had social trust in their neighbourhood (54 percent) than minority ethnic groups (31 percent).
- In both surveys, the percentage having trust in ‘most people’ in the neighbourhood was lower for respondents born in Wales than for those born elsewhere in the UK.

Social trust was strongly correlated with the community cohesion measures ‘people from different backgrounds [get on well together⁴/ live harmoniously⁵]’ in the BCS and LinW survey. A much weaker association was found between social trust and the ‘respect’ measure of community cohesion in the BCS. This suggests that trust and cohesiveness are mutually reinforcing of one another and that having trust in your fellow neighbours is an important part of appraising the cohesiveness of the neighbourhood as a whole, particularly the mixing of different groups in a local area.

Table 3.2: Percentage of respondents who say ‘most people’ in their neighbourhood can be trusted by gender

Data/ Gender	Men	Women	All
Living in Wales	56	52	54
British Crime Survey	62	59	64
N(unweighted) LinW	3166	4587	7753
N (unweighted) BCS	489	583	1072

- Fifteen percent of respondents in the Living in Wales survey reported that they volunteered in community based groups and 3 percent in citizens groups. A slightly higher percentage of men than women were active in voluntary or community based groups (16 percent and 14 percent respectively).

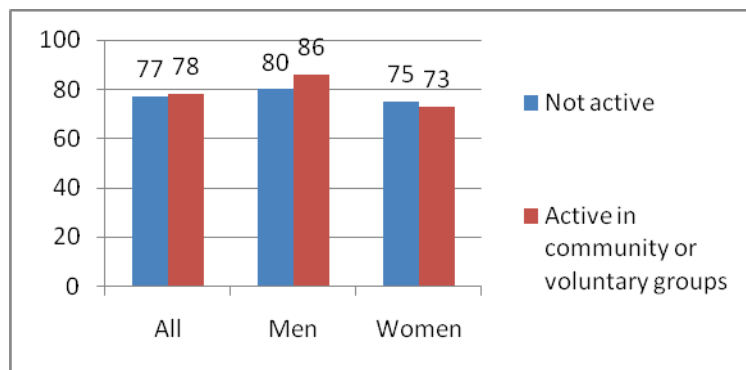
Being active in the community was associated with a more positive attitude concerning community cohesion for men but not for women (Figure 10). Eighty six percent of active men agreed ‘This neighbourhood is a place where people from different backgrounds can live together harmoniously’ compared with 80 percent of non-active men. Although the numbers in the data available do not allow us to probe in any more detail differences in the nature of community activity being undertaken by men and women, it does suggest the possibility that community activity can have a differential meaning to the individual. For example, this may be reliant to some extent on whether the activity is an extension of a personal hobby (e.g.

⁴ R²=.28, p<.01

⁵ R²=.21, p<.01

sport), is seen as an additional caring or support role, invokes feelings of enjoyment and sense of fulfillment, or is stressful and under-resourced.

Figure 3.4: Percentage of respondents agreeing that ‘people from different backgrounds can live together harmoniously’ by community activity and gender



Source: Living in Wales Survey, 2007

In accordance with other research, we found that people’s sense of belonging or attachment to their neighbourhood was strongly associated with the key indicators of community cohesion. Eighty percent of respondents who agreed that they ‘feel like they belong’ also agreed with the premise that people from different backgrounds can live together harmoniously. This percentage was markedly lower at 49 percent for those who did not feel like they belonged to their neighbourhood. Respondents who were of the opinion that they were ‘similar to others’ or that ‘friendships mean a lot’ in the neighbourhood were also most likely to endorse the notion of community cohesion. Thus, perceiving a shared identity or commonalities with those living in close proximity reinforces people’s sense of community cohesiveness.

3.3. Efficacy: individual and collective

In the Living in Wales survey, a clear majority (83 percent) agreed that they were ‘willing to work with their neighbours to improve the neighbourhood’. In the BCS, a lower percentage (76 percent) agreed with the statement ‘working together can influence decisions’. Levels of individual efficacy were much lower than collective efficacy, with only 44 percent of BCS respondents agreeing ‘I can influence decisions affecting my local area’. However, the two

were strongly linked with more than half (55 percent) of those with collective efficacy also having individual efficacy.

Respondents who endorsed the principle of community cohesion were more likely to display an attitude of collective efficacy (85 percent) than those who rejected it (76 percent).

Efficacious beliefs were associated with:

- positive attitudes concerning willingness to help neighbours, living in a close-knit neighbourhood and sharing the same values. The latter item regarding sharing the same values had more in common with efficacy than with community cohesion.
- A high score on the index of perceived intervention. Those who felt that their neighbours would intervene in a local problem were more likely to be of the belief that they could have an influence. This association was however, stronger for collective efficacy than for individual efficacy.
- Having trust in your neighbours. Of those who felt they could trust ‘most people’ in their neighbourhood, 85 percent believed they could work with others to bring about change and 51 percent felt they could make a difference as individuals, percentages much greater than for those respondents with lower levels of trust.

Social group differences

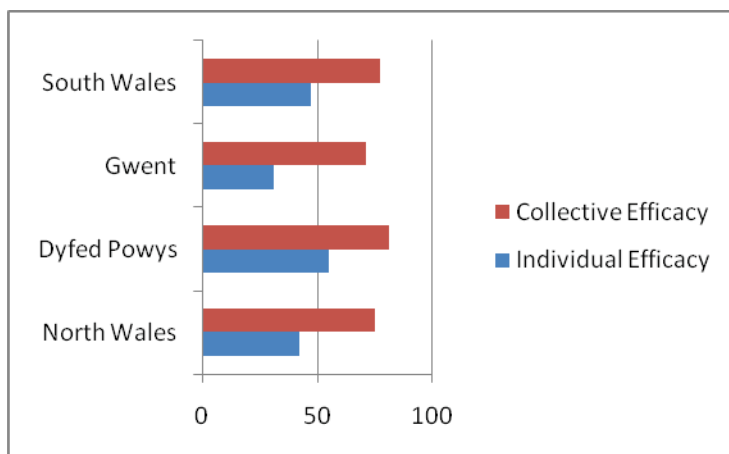
In the BCS, individual efficacy was higher among men than women, but the opposite was found for collective efficacy, with 78 percent of women agreeing that ‘working together can influence decisions’ compared to 73 percent of men.

A greater percentage of white than minority ethnic respondents in the Living in Wales survey agreed they were ‘willing to work with neighbours to improve the neighbourhood’; 83 percent and 80 percent respectively. The previous section showed that minority ethnic men, but not women, had lower levels of perceived community cohesion. In both surveys, country of birth in the UK made no difference to reported collective efficacy. Respondents born in Wales had slightly lower individual efficacy (44 percent) than other UK residents (46 percent), but greater than for those born outside the UK (39 percent).

Area-based differences

Efficacy at both an individual and collective level was lower in the Gwent PFA compared with other PFA's in Wales (Figure 3.5). Only 31 percent of respondents in the Gwent area agreed that they could personally influence decisions compared with 55 percent in Dyfed Powys – areas shown to have low and high levels of community cohesion respectively. Within Gwent, men were most disaffected with the idea of ‘working together to influence decisions’; only 67 percent of men agreed with this statement compared with 73 percent of women. This mirrors the earlier finding of much lower PI scores among men than women living in the Gwent area.

Figure 3.5: Percentage displaying attitudes of collective and individual efficacy by Police Force Area.



Source: BCS, 2007/08: Wales

- For both efficacy indicators, there was a linear association with band of the Welsh index of multiple deprivation. As the level of ward deprivation becomes greater, so they become less likely to have a belief that they can have an impact on their neighbourhood as an individual or as part of a group.
- Residents of rural areas in Wales were more likely to express efficacious attitudes than those in urban areas, and this difference was especially great for people who had been resident at their current address for less than 5 years.

This section has reported differences in community mobilisation that vary markedly and consistently with area and social group. The three key messages from this part of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

KEY MESSAGES

- Where overall perceptions of community cohesion are low, so is the perceived ability of residents to mobilise and act. Cohesion and mobilisation are likely to mutually reinforce one another, thus, cohesiveness may break down because of a perceived unwillingness of individuals within the community to take responsibility or act, but equally, the social bonds required to mobilise may be weakened or non-existent because of an overall sense that the neighbourhood lacks cohesion.
- Both cohesion and community mobilisation are structured in the same way by macro area-level factors such as multiple deprivation. This suggests that tackling poverty and deprivation will be a key factor in empowering and restructuring these communities.
- A consistent picture to emerge from our analysis thus far is that the Gwent Police Force area is one of particularly low cohesion and capacity to mobilise across a number of indicators – especially for men.

4. COMMUNITY COHESION AND CRIME, WORRY AND POLICING OUTCOMES

Having explored how community cohesion and indicators of community mobilisation are associated with individual and area characteristics, we now focus our attention on the relationship between these measures and outcomes concerning crime and anti-social behaviour in Welsh neighbourhoods. The outcomes used in this analysis can be divided as follows:

- *Personal public perceptions*: based on responses to the question ‘How worried are you about being a victim of crime?’ [Very worried, fairly worried, not very worried, not worried at all].
- *Public confidence in policing*: ‘how good a job are the police in this area doing?’ [Excellent, good, fair, poor or very poor].
- *Experience of victimisation*: Have you experienced any victimisation, discrimination or harassment in the last five years? [yes/no].

4.1. Personal Public Perceptions

Worry about being the victim of crime is a key outcome measure in the British Crime Survey. Overall in the Wales sample, we found that 1 in 3 respondents were ‘very’ or ‘fairly worried’, and 18 percent were ‘not worried at all’. The majority (52 percent) responded that they were ‘not very worried’ about being the victim of crime. In our analysis, we group together responses of ‘very worried’ and ‘fairly worried’ in order to look at public perceptions of any worry about being the victim of crime. We begin by mapping social and area differences in the distribution of this outcome measure.

Social group differences

- Reported worry about being the victim of crime was greater among women (33 percent) than men (27 percent).
- Worry was lowest for younger age groups: 27 percent reported being ‘very’ or ‘fairly worried’ at age 16-34 compared with 33 percent at age 55-64, but there was not a steady age-related increase in worry.
- Worry among adults born in Wales was 30 percent. This was greater than for adults born in the UK (26 percent), but lower than for those born overseas (41 percent).

- Reported worry about being the victim of crime was associated with: not having any educational qualifications and living in social rented housing, but the percentage reporting worry did not vary according to the length of time an individual had lived in the area.

Area differences

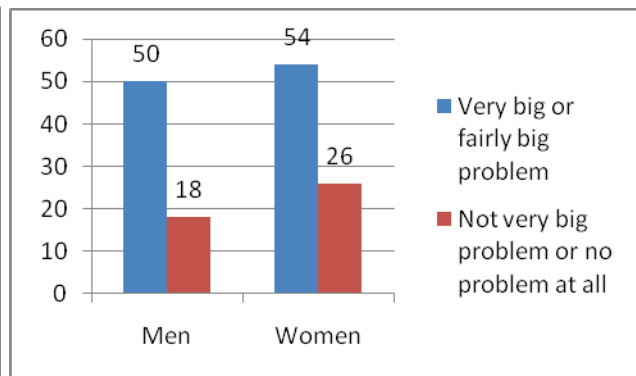
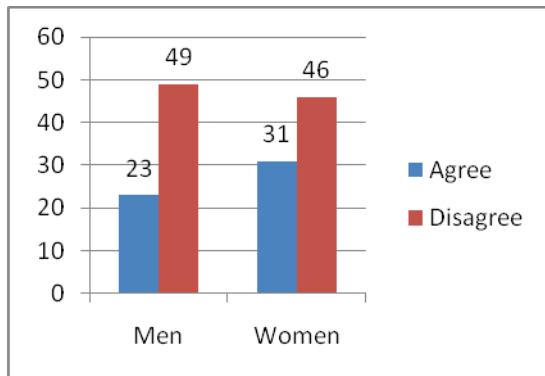
- Worry about being the victim of crime was much more pronounced for those living in wards grouped in the high multiple deprivation bands at 41 percent, compared to approximately one quarter if multiple deprivation was in the middle or low band.
- The percentage of respondents expressing worry about being the victim of crime was greater for urban than for rural residents.
- Respondents living in the Gwent and South Wales Police Force Areas were most likely to express worry about being the victim of crime; 31 percent and 38 percent respectively: worry was lower in North Wales at 26 percent and only 15 percent for respondents in the Dyfed Powys region.

Community Cohesion and Worry

Figure 4.1 shows that reported worry was clearly differentiated by the ‘classic’ measure of community cohesion, namely how well people from different backgrounds get on together. Reported worry was markedly much lower when the local area was perceived to be cohesive. This was particularly evident for men, where only 23 percent who viewed their local area as cohesive reported worry compared with nearly half of men who perceived that their area lacked cohesion on this measure. The same differences were found using ‘respect’ as a measure for community cohesion, albeit of a greater magnitude for men and women. Here, at least half of men and women who felt that a lack of respect and consideration was a ‘very big’ or ‘fairly big’ problem also reported a worry about being the victim of crime. The percentage who expressed worry fell markedly when respect and consideration was perceived to be a minor problem or not a problem at all, to 18 percent of men and approximately one quarter of women.

It is important to note that whilst we might reasonably hypothesise that less worry about being the victim of crime is a direct outcome of people feeling their local area is cohesive and that they are treated well within it, it is not the only possibility. People who feel unworried about being the victim of crime – perhaps those who have never had any victimisation experience – may use this as evidence in making judgements that their local area is cohesive.

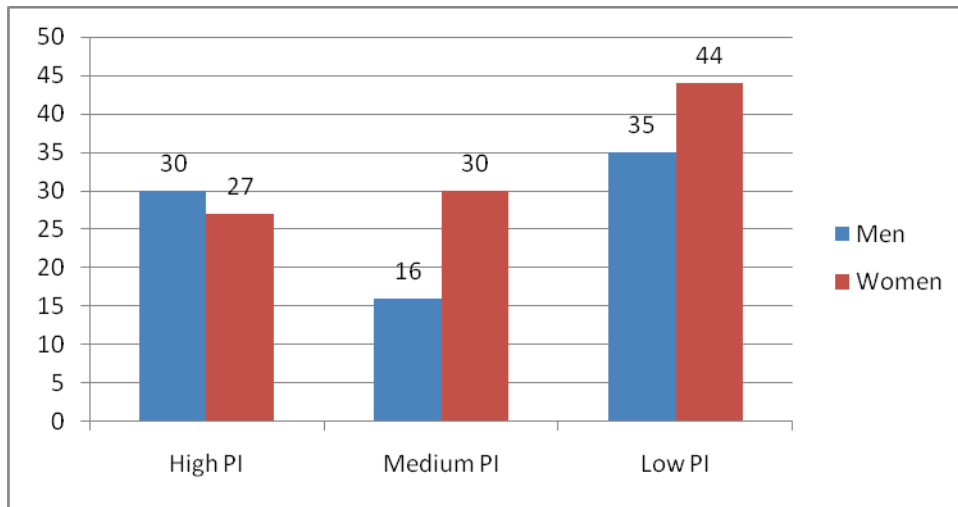
Figure 4.1:	Percentage reporting worry about being the victim of crime by responses to ‘this is an area where people from different backgrounds get on well together’	Figure 4.2:	Percentage reporting worry about being the victim of crime by responses to ‘this is an area where people treat each other with respect and consideration’
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Community Mobilisation and Worry

Figure 4.3 shows that worry perceptions are sensitive to judgements about the willingness of neighbours to intervene in local problems. This was most clearly evident for women, where the percentage reporting worry increased in a step-wise way as the perceived likelihood of intervention became lower. There was no such consistent pattern for men, but men with the lowest PI scores were most likely to express worry about being the victim of crime. The inference here is that people who believe most strongly that others in their neighbourhood would intervene or act to resolve a local problem, worry less that they personally will be a victim of crime.

Figure 4.3: Percentage reporting worry about being the victim of crime by PI score and gender.



A positive association was found in the data between having social trust and worry about being a victim of crime. As with the PI index, this association was more pronounced for women than for men. Worry was 27 percent for women who believed ‘most people’ in their neighbourhood could be trusted but was 43 percent among women whose trust was less or non-existent. The equivalent percentages for men were 23 percent and 32 percent respectively.

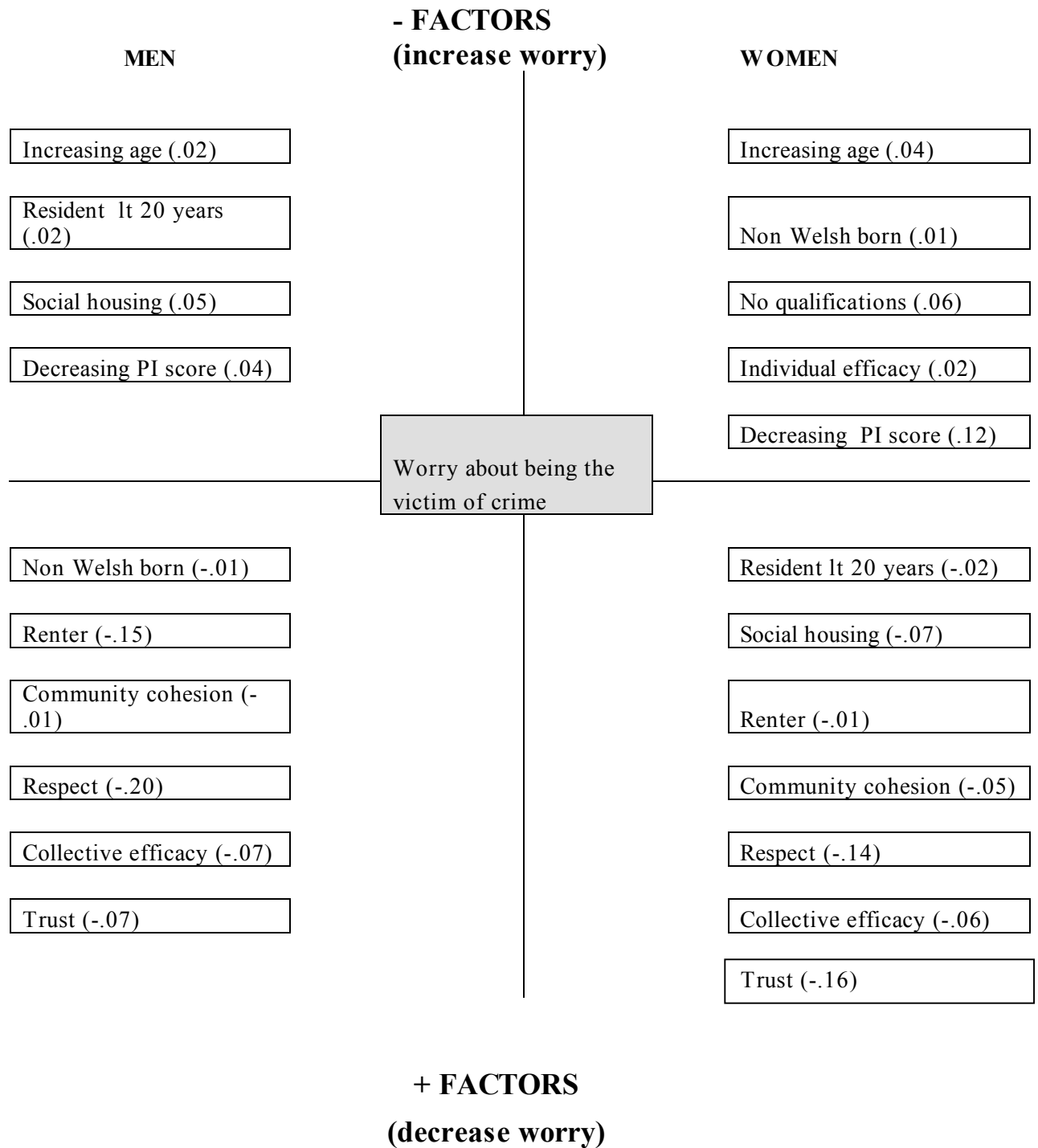
The data showed that the association between efficacy and worry was also gendered. Table 4.1 illustrates that our measure of individual efficacy, based on responses to the statement ‘I can influence decisions affecting my local area’ made no difference to worry perceptions among men. Worry was, however, greater among women who disagreed with this statement, suggesting that a sense of individual efficacy may have a bearing on worry perceptions for women. The same pattern was evident using a measure of collective efficacy – ‘by working together, people in this neighbourhood can influence decisions that affect them’. The differential in worry was of greater magnitude for women using this measure of collective efficacy than it was using an individual efficacy measure: 41 percent who felt the absence of collective efficacy reported some worry about crime, compared with 32 percent who did not. It is notable that there was no difference in worry for men by collective efficacy, replicating the findings for individual efficacy.

Table 4.1: Percentage reporting worry about being the victim of crime by individual and collective efficacy and gender.

<i>I can influence decisions affecting my local area</i> (INDIVIDUAL EFFICACY)	Strongly or tend to Agree	Strongly or tend to disagree
Men	27	27
Women	30	36
N (unweighted)	211 (M) 252 (W)	264 (M) 315 (W)
<i>By working together, people in this neighbourhood can influence decisions that affect them.</i> (COLLECTIVE EFFICACY)		
Men	27	27
Women	32	41
N (unweighted)	367 (M) 453 (W)	111 (M) 112 (W)

Taken together, these findings suggest that community mobilisation is more important in understanding the worry perceptions of women than men. There was, however, greater variance in worry using measures of community cohesion for men than for women. To more robustly investigate the factors associated with people’s reported worry about being the victim of crime, a multivariate regression analysis was carried out using the measure of ‘worry about being the victim of crime’ as the dependent variable. Given the differences between men and women reported earlier, separate models are presented by gender. The advantage of conducting this type of analysis is that we can show the impact of each factor, holding the effects of all other factors constant. The variable coefficients in the top half of Figure 4.4 show the factors that are negative for worry about crime – that is, invoke greater worry perceptions for men and women. The variables listed in the bottom half of the figure are those that are positive for worry perceptions, that is, invoke less worry about being the victim of crime for men or women.

Figure 4.4: Regression of worry about being the victim of crime for men and women



Source: BCS, 2007/8: Wales

Indicators of community cohesion had a positive association with worry perceptions for men and women, after taking into account all of the other variables in the model. Reported worry about being the victim of crime was lower among those who perceived their local area to be a place where people ‘get on well together’. People treating each other with ‘respect and consideration’ also emerged as important for this perception about crime – in-fact the size of the coefficients in the model suggest that this measure is doing more ‘explanatory’ work in the model than the ‘classic’ cohesion measure, particularly for men.

A number of community mobilisation measures had the effect of significantly reducing reported worry about crime, after taking into account the cohesion measures. Having trust in neighbours was associated with less worry, especially for women. Collective efficacy, that is, the belief that neighbours can work together, also had a positive impact for both sexes. However, we found that women (not men) who believed that they personally could influence decisions were *more* likely to express a worry about being the victim of crime. However, the key community mobilisation factor for women was their Perceived Intervention score. Women with a lower score on this measure, that is, who were most likely to feel that their immediate neighbours would not intervene to help resolve a local issue were significantly more likely to be worried about being the victim of crime. The same association was found for men, but a comparison of the coefficients for men and women in Figure 4.4 shows that was not of the same magnitude.

In addition to community cohesion and community mobilisation, a number of social group differences were significant in the model. Increasing age was associated with greater worry about being the victim of crime for men and women. Housing tenure also correlated with worry perceptions, but whereas living in private rented housing was associated with less worry for both sexes, living in social housing was associated with less worry for women but more worry for men. There was also a gender difference concerning length of residency, with long-term tenure of 20 years or more associated with less worry for men, but greater worry among women. Educational qualifications were important in shaping worry perceptions among women. Those with no formal qualifications were more likely to report worry about being the victim of crime, but education was not selected into the model for men.

Country of birth also interacted with gender to impact on worry perceptions. Women who have migrated to Wales were more likely to worry than those born in this Country, whereas the opposite relationship was evident for men.

4.2. Public Confidence in Policing

The BCS asks respondents to rate how good a job they feel the police are doing in their local area. This is employed by the Home Office as a measure of public confidence in the police and is a key performance measure for evaluating the quality of police service delivery. Overall in the Wales sample, we found that 48 percent of respondents felt local police did an ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ job. A further 35 percent rated them as ‘fair’ and 17% said either ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’. In our analysis, we group together responses of ‘poor’ and ‘very poor’ in order to identify areas where there is low public confidence in the police.

Social group differences

- There was little gender difference in public confidence with 18 percent of men and 17 percent of women rating their local policing as ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’.
- Poor ratings for the local police were lowest in the youngest age group (16-34 years) and at their highest for adults in the 35 to 54 age group at 20 percent.
- Country of birth had no impact on levels of confidence in policing.
- Low confidence in the police was associated with: not having any educational qualifications, living in social housing (22 percent rated the police as poor compared to only 8 percent of private renters). Approximately 2 in 10 long-term residents of 20 years or more rated the police as ‘poor’ and this was lower among short-term residents of less than 2 years (7 percent) and up to five years (15 percent). For middle term residents the percentage rating as ‘poor’ had gone up to 19 percent.

Area differences

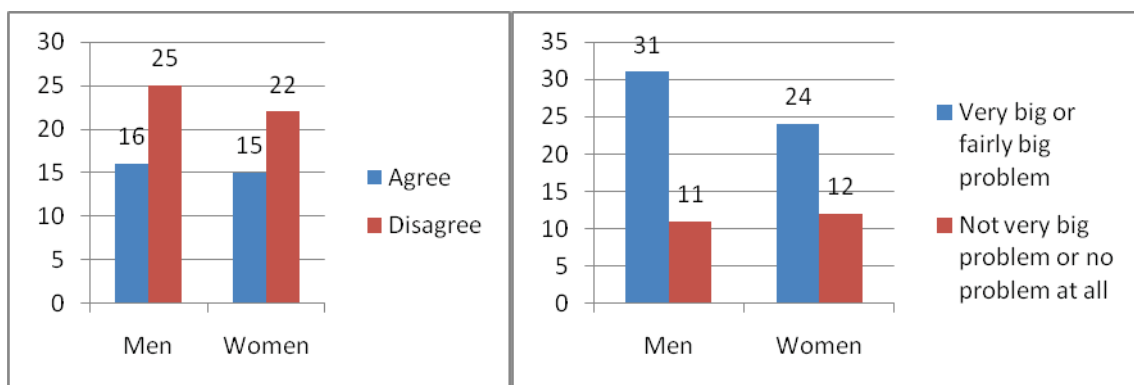
- Lower levels of confidence in the police was more pronounced for those living in wards grouped in the high multiple deprivation band at 24 percent, compared to 17 percent at middle deprivation and only 12 percent in the lowest band of multiple deprivation.
- Rural residents tended to have less confidence in the police than urban residents (18 percent versus 16 percent).

- The proportion of citizens expressing low confidence in the police was comparable across the North Wales, South Wales and Gwent PFA's at 19, 18 and 17 percent respectively. Dyfed Powys residents were less likely to have low confidence at 13 percent.

Community cohesion and confidence

Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show that confidence in the local police was associated with community cohesion, when this was measured as people 'getting on well together' or treating each other with 'respect and consideration'. Consistent with our earlier finding using a measure of worry about crime, differences were more pronounced when the respect measure was used. Approximately 1 in 10 men and women rated local policing as poor when respect and consideration were seen as a minor or non-existent problem in the local area, but this increased to around one-quarter of women and 31 percent of men when these issues were a greater local problem.

Figure 4.5:	Percentage rating local police performance as 'poor' or 'very poor' by responses to 'this is an area where people from different backgrounds get on well together'	Figure 4.6:	Percentage rating local police performance as 'poor' or 'very poor' by responses to 'this is an area where people treat each other with respect and consideration'
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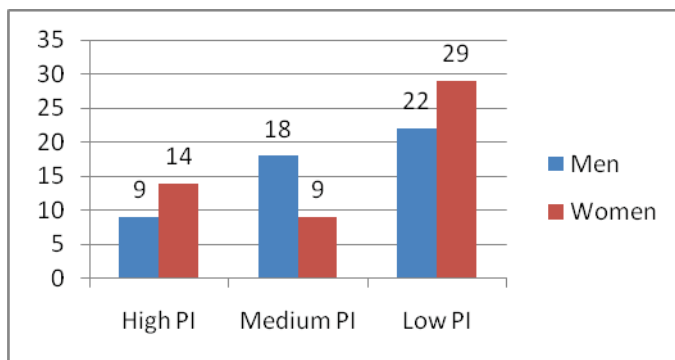


Source: BCS 2007/8: Wales

Community mobilisation and confidence in the police

The perceived willingness of neighbours to intervene in local issues was also a clear factor that shaped public confidence in policing. For men, there was a linear increase in the percentage rating police performance as ‘poor’ as PI score decreased. Women with a low PI score were much more likely to have low levels of confidence in the police (29 percent) than women with a high PI score (14 percent). This is an important finding because it shows that when people lack faith in their fellow neighbours to intervene in local problems they also appear to feel disenfranchised with the police’s ability to tackle local issues. When community mobilisation is perceived to be flawed, this extends into their confidence in policing to resolve local issues. Thus, there appears to be little ‘substitution effect’ or trade-off between community and police.

Figure 4.7: Percentage rating local police performance as ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’ by PI score and gender.



Source: BCS 2007/8: Wales

Although we don’t have a distinct measure of public trust in the police, social trust in people living in the neighbourhood was associated with public policing perceptions. Twelve percent of men and women who agreed that they can trust ‘most people’ rated low on the confidence measure compared with approximately one-quarter who had less trust in their neighbourhood.

Table 4.2 shows that when people feel they can personally make a difference in local decision making (individual efficacy) they are less likely to have low confidence in the police. Differences were particularly marked for women: 43 percent of women who don’t feel they can have a personal influence rated the police as poor compared with 21 percent of men. Again, it would appear that feelings of personal powerlessness do not translate into greater faith in local policing practices. More favourable perceptions of local police performance

were found among men and women who had faith in the collective ability of their neighbourhood to work together (collective efficacy). When collective efficacy is absent, dissatisfaction with local policing becomes much greater – particularly for men where approximately one third rate policing as ‘poor’.

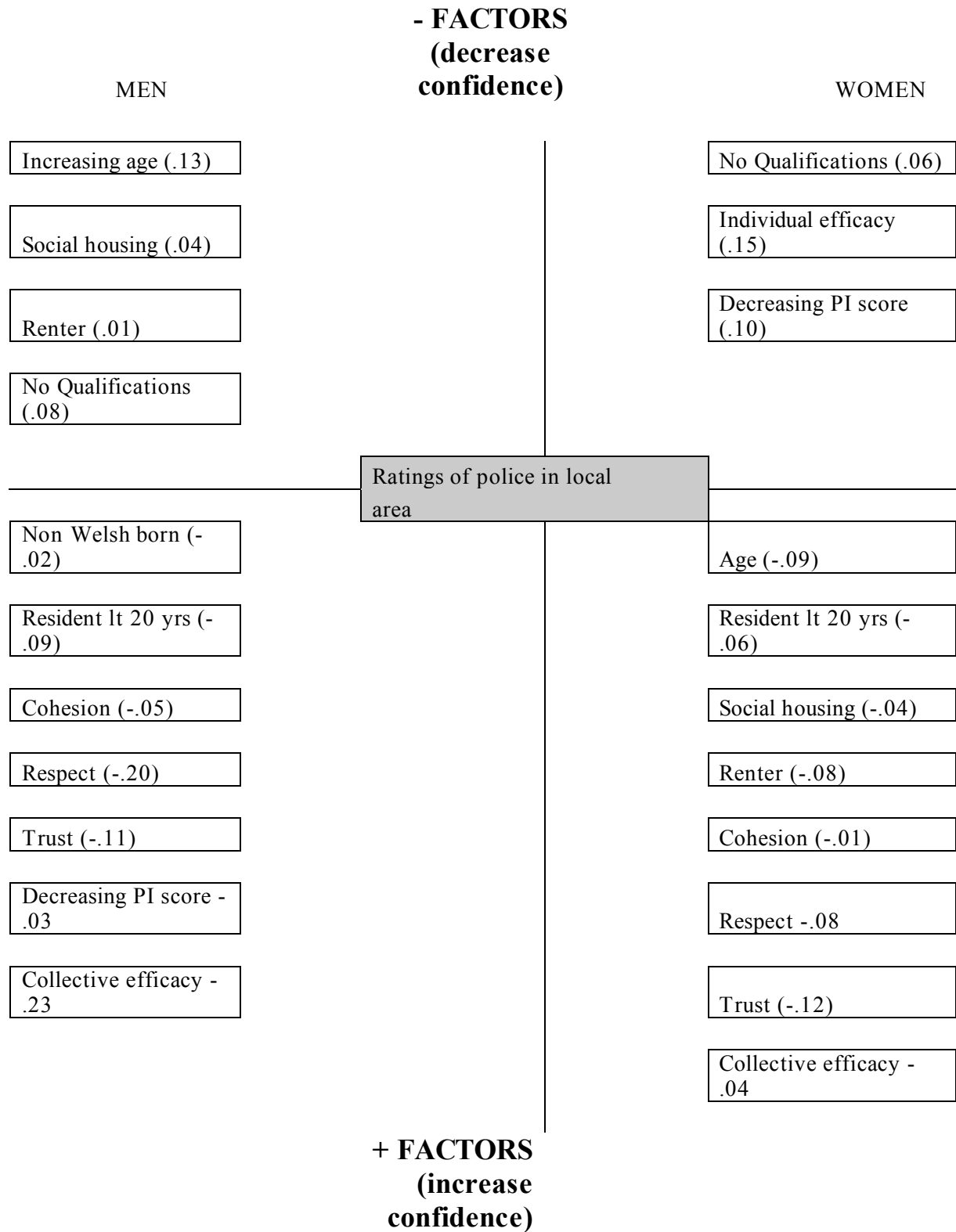
Table 4.2. Percentage rating local police performance as ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’ by efficacy and gender.

<i>I can influence decisions affecting my local area (INDIVIDUAL EFFICACY)</i>	Strongly or tend to Agree	Strongly or tend to disagree
Men	14	21
Women	28	43
N (unweighted)	211 (M) 252 (W)	264(M) 315(W)
<i>By working together, people in this neighbourhood can influence decisions that affect them. (COLLECTIVE EFFICACY)</i>		
Men	13	32
Women	14	25
N (unweighted)	361 (M) 453(W)	111(M) 112(W)

Source: BCS 2007/8: Wales

Figure 4.8 presents the results of a multivariate analysis where the outcome measure was public confidence in local policing. The model shows that indicators of community cohesion have a positive association with levels of confidence in the police, after taking into account all of the other variables in the model. Confidence in the police was higher among those who perceived their local area to be a place where people ‘get on well together’. As with the previous model on worry about crime, the notion of people treating each other with ‘respect and consideration’ emerged more strongly for policing perceptions than the ‘classic’ cohesion measure, particularly for men.

Figure 4.8: Regression of confidence in the police for men and women



Source: BCS, 2007/8: Wales

A number of community mobilisation measures were positively associated with having confidence in local policing, after taking into account the cohesion measures. Having social trust in the neighbourhood was a factor giving rise to more favourable ratings of the police for both sexes. A belief in collective efficacy meant that the police were less likely to be rated as 'poor', and the impact of collective efficacy was most pronounced in the model for men. By contrast, women who believed in their own personal ability to influence decisions were less likely to give favourable ratings of the local police once all the other variables in the model were accounted for. Individual efficacy was not selected into the model for men. In the final model, a decreasing PI score was associated with poorer ratings of the police for women, but more positive ratings for men. One possibility underlying this difference is that men who feel their neighbours are unlikely to intervene in local problems view the police as a more effective solution. For both sexes, the longest term residents (20 years or more) were most likely to have low confidence.

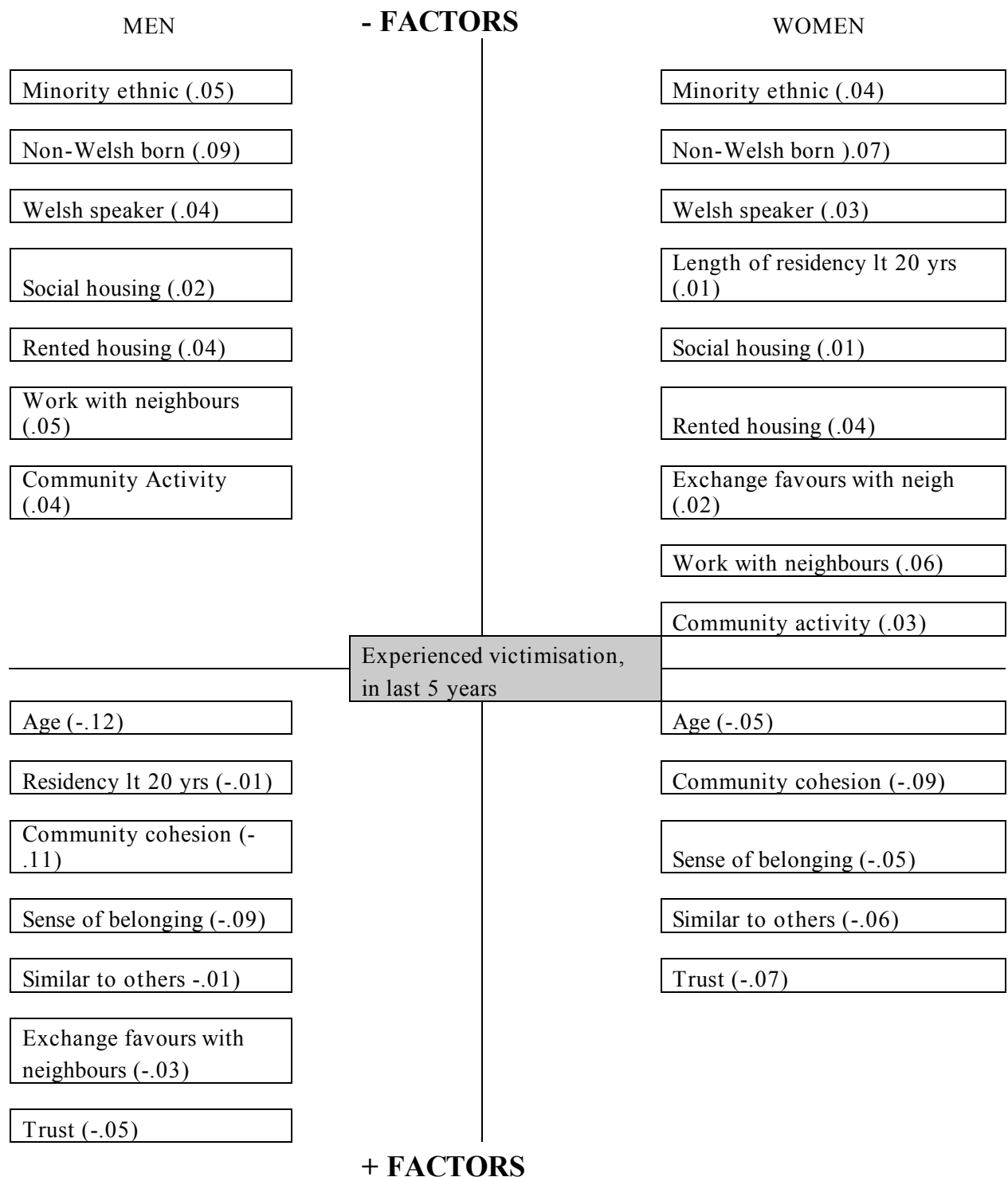
In addition to community cohesion and community mobilisation, a number of social group differences were significant in the model. Lacking any educational qualifications was associated with having less confidence for both sexes. For men, living in social housing or privately rented housing also correlated with lower confidence, but the opposite was evident for women. Poor perceptions of the police became greater for men with age, but older women had more favourable views of local policing than their younger counterparts. Finally, country of birth was a significant variable in the model for men but not for women; men born outside of Wales were more likely to have higher confidence in local policing than men born in this Country.

4.3. *Experience of victimisation*

The Living in Wales survey asks respondents if they have 'experience of victimisation, harassment or discrimination in the last 5 years'. Overall in the survey, we found that 12 percent responded 'yes' to this question. In our analysis we examine the factors associated with a positive response to this question. As with our previous analysis of the BCS, we carried out a regression analysis that included socio-demographic measures and indicators of community cohesion and mobilisation. However, owing to the larger number of minority

ethnic respondents in this dataset, we compute separate models comparing white and minority ethnic groups, as well as for men and women.

Figure 4.9: Regression of victimisation, harassment or discrimination for men and women



Source: Living in Wales Survey, 2007

Respondents who perceived community cohesion in their neighbourhood were less likely to report an experience of discrimination or harassment in the last 5 years. Attitudinal questions concerning a ‘sense of belonging’ and feelings of similarity and reciprocity had a similar positive association with this outcome. Discrimination or harassment was also more likely to be absent among those with social trust in their neighbourhood. One inference from this data is that the absence of discrimination and harassment may feed into more positive judgements about cohesiveness.

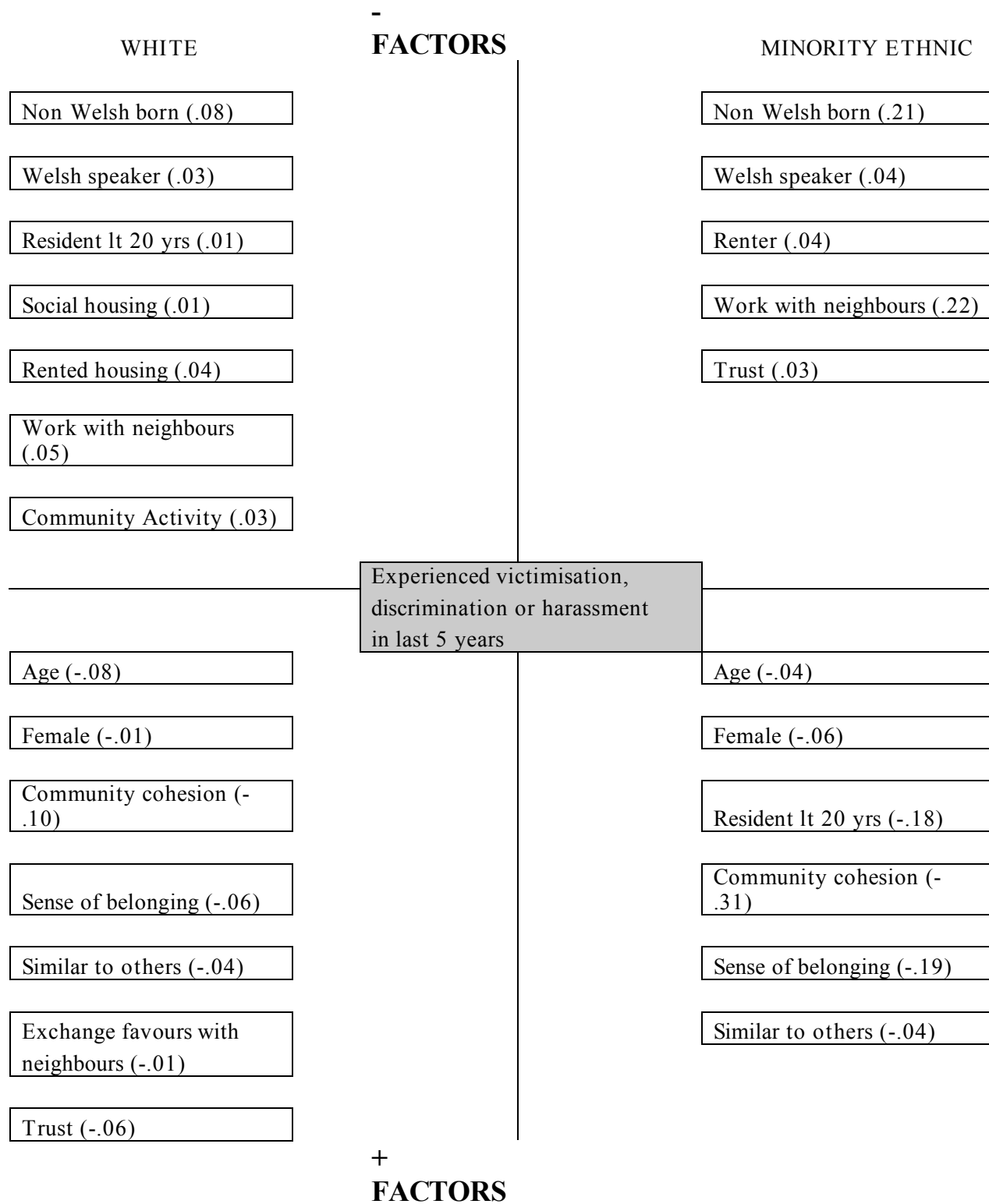
Discrimination or harassment experience was more likely among men and women who were currently participating in a voluntary community activity. Thus, ‘front line’ community workers were more likely than those who did not participate in this form of civic activity to report a negative interaction of this type. We also found that respondents who endorsed the principle of community activism – that is, of neighbours working together with a common objective (collective efficacy) were more likely to have reported an experience of discrimination or harassment.

For both sexes, an experience of discrimination or harassment was more likely to be reported among younger age groups (particularly men) and for respondents belonging to a minority ethnic group. Reported discrimination or harassment was also more common for respondents living in privately rented housing or in social housing. The two ‘Welsh’ variables were selected into the models for men and women. Those who were born outside Wales or who are Welsh speakers in this country were more likely to report an experience of discrimination or harassment than Welsh born or non-Welsh speakers respectively, although we have no information on the nature of the victimisation they experienced.

In Figure 4.10, we present multivariate regression models separately for white and for minority ethnic groups in Wales. As with the models for men and women, we find that community cohesion and feelings of belonging are associated with non-reports of discrimination or harassment over the last five years. However, the coefficients were weaker for minority ethnic groups than for whites, suggesting that judgements about cohesion may be a closer reflection or mirror of victimisation experience for whites. In a similar vein, we

found that having trust in the neighbourhood was associated with lower reported victimisation for white respondents, but not for those belonging to a minority ethnic group. It may be that minority ethnic groups are more likely to perceive victimisation or harassment even when the community in which they live is a cohesive or trusting one, implying perhaps that their victimisation experience is a more generalised one than for whites. Regardless of ethnic group, however, our analysis found that experience of discrimination or harassment was more likely to be reported for younger age groups and for men. The two 'Welsh' variables were selected into the models for whites and minority ethnic groups. Those who were born outside Wales or who are Welsh speakers in this country were most likely to report an experience of discrimination or harassment after taking into account all of the other variables in the model.

Figure 4.10: Regression of victimisation, harassment or discrimination for white and minority ethnic groups



Source: Living in Wales Survey, 2007

KEY MESSAGES

- Indicators of community cohesion are associated with more favourable outcomes in each crime domain: worry about crime; confidence in the police; and victimisation experience, net of other factors.
- The ‘respect’ measure of community cohesion has a more marked impact on these crime outcomes than the ‘classic’ cohesion measure. Our derived measure of perceived intervention is also key in understanding people’s worry perceptions about crime and their degree of confidence in local policing. Thus, both cohesion and community mobilisation have links to crime outcomes.
- Positive judgements about community cohesion are associated with the absence of victimisation experience but this is undermined for minority ethnic groups, immigrants to Wales or Welsh speakers and respondents engaging in, or engaged with, community activity.

5. POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall, our analysis of data for Wales underlines that the concept of community cohesion is worthy of public policy attention both as a positive resource in its own right for diverse communities in Wales, and as a relevant factor in understanding public perceptions of crime and policing. A focus on community cohesion can provide policy makers with valuable summary information about the social ‘health’ of an area in ways that have demonstrable impact upon other areas of everyday life. However, on the basis of our findings, we suggest that it is potentially misleading and blinkered to adopt a single item measure of cohesion in order to achieve these aims. This is for two key reasons:

- Firstly, it is not only ‘people from different backgrounds getting on well’ that is relevant, but even more important in the context of this investigation on crime outcomes was being treated with ‘respect and consideration’. We argue that the latter measure may be more likely to elicit public appraisals of their social interactions with people unknown to them, in other words, strangers in their local area. Our data confirms that the ‘respect’ measure somewhat undermines the high levels of community cohesion found when people make judgements on the basis of how well people get on together.
- Secondly, both headline measures of community cohesion based on ‘respect’ and ‘getting on well’ ignore the ability of a community to mobilise in the face of local difficulty. Our analysis has shown that public perceptions concerning community mobilisation are important in understanding perceptions about crime and community cohesion. It is not only what individuals feel about their local neighbourhood, but also the judgements they make about how those living closest to them will *act* and the values they share.

This study, using multiple indicators of cohesion and community mobilisation, shows that it is possible to use large-scale survey data that is readily available and cost-effective in order to identify parts of Wales where community cohesion is particularly lacking. The large and consistent differences reported on here between different Police Force Areas in Wales underlines that community cohesion does not have a ‘one size fits all’ solution. We can conclude from this, firstly that empirical data has a role to play in identifying area differences in cohesion within Wales and, secondly, that policy interventions to increase the cohesiveness

of communities should take a targeted and evidence-based approach. From this study, the unique profile of the Gwent PFA and of particular social groups within that community, were identified and could be further unpicked using local data and a more targeted approach.

Perhaps the key substantive finding from our study is that community cohesion, community mobilisation and their impact on public perceptions cannot be divorced from the wider social economic context of communities. In Wales, those communities that suffer from multiple deprivation are also experiencing fragmented social relationships in terms of mobilisation and cohesion – a ‘double whammy’. Deprived communities have no ‘buffer’ of cohesiveness to help bolster residents against difficult social living conditions. It is clear that residents in areas of high multiple deprivation feel disempowered, lack faith in others to intervene and are less likely to view their local police as an effective presence. A targeted strategy to increase the cohesiveness of communities in Wales must to some degree therefore acknowledge and tackle head-on how these challenges can be met within the existing economic as well as social framework.

To some degree, it may be timely for policy makers to examine more critically some of the key factors presumed to bolster community cohesion as these may be more complex than hitherto thought. From our analysis of the data, we find that participating in community activity is not a universal positive for cohesion. For women in particular, taking on a community activity may be perceived as an additional role they feel obligated to carry out, creating a ‘role strain’ for the individual even if the benefits are felt by the wider community. Our study also suggested differences in cohesiveness between Welsh speakers and non-speakers, between Welsh settlers and those born in this country. Further investigation is needed to unpick how language and culture may contribute to a source of social divide, demarcating ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ within our communities.

In summary, the three key recommendations from this study are:

- Future empirical research in this area should use multiple indicators of community cohesion and community mobilisation to better understand its impact on key areas of public policy.
- Public policy interventions concerning community cohesion should make better use of survey data and local area data in order to identify differences in the distribution of community cohesion and the associated consequences.
- Targeted community cohesion strategies must attend to the wider context of multiple deprivation and material living conditions as these are inextricably bound with the social fabric of individual communities.

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