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Original Citation

Hirschfield, Alex (2007) Surveillance from all angles? Some observations and comments. In: Scottish Institute for Policing Research First Annual Conference, 12 September 2007, Edinburgh, Scotland. (Unpublished)

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Surveillance from All Angles ? : Some Observations and Comments

*1st Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR)
Annual Conference*

12th September 2007, Pollock Halls, Edinburgh

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Applied Criminology Centre



University of
HUDDERSFIELD

What is Surveillance ?

“ the processes of observing what happens in different locations and contexts and converting such observations into both intelligence and situational assessments directly linked to action and interventions

Surveillance of What ?

- Individuals (Victims, potential victims, offenders, potential offenders)
- Groups of individuals (co offenders, gangs, networks)
- Biometrics of Individuals (e.g. voice, fingerprints)
- Buildings (external and internal)
- Items of Property (electronic goods, mobile phones)
- Bags, packages, containers
- Means of Transport (on buses, trains)
- Places and spaces (town centres, streets, car parks, estates)
- Cyberspace

Forms of Surveillance

- Visual
- Voice
- Signal
- X rays and scanners
- Thermal
- Smell
- Chemical
- Radioactivity
- Biological
- Electronic (email, credit card/ bank transactions, downloads, web use)
- Documentary
- Telephony

Why ?

- Intelligence gathering
- Monitoring and tracking
- Public reassurance
- Guardianship & Deterrence
- Crowd control
- Identification of suspects
- Identification of Offenders
- Apprehension [before/during/after an offence]
- Economic Gain
- Personal Satisfaction

By Whom ?

- Police
- CDPR
- British Transport Police
- Customs and Excise
- Bus companies
- Banks
- Business Watch
- DSS / Inland Revenue
- Burglars
- Terrorists
- Fraudsters
- Bank Robbers
- Neighbours

Additional Considerations

- Differences in deployment of technologies (explicit, covert, concealed devices, miniaturisation)
- Different response time windows (immediate reaction to live events – studied responses – replays- analysis of visual images)
- Different ethical perspectives on surveillance

Stages in Surveillance

- A Design & specification of technology
[Overt, Covert, detection or deterrence ?]
- B Targeting and Deployment
- C Prioritisation & Interpretation of Surveillance images and data
- D Communication & Data Sharing
- E Police/ Practitioner Responses
- F Offender Response
- G Public Response

A Theory for Each Stage

Theories about:

- the reasons for surveillance [benign or oppressive ?]
- the role of surveillance [reassurance, crime detection, crime prevention]
- **offender response and behaviour** [defiance, avoidance, desistance]
- surveillance and crime reduction [how does surveillance impact on crime ?]
- **places and crime opportunities**
- criminal networks and organised crime
- **terrorism**
- public perceptions, risk and fear
- victims and vulnerability
- **crime displacement**
- community cohesion and support for surveillance
- **perception and cognition** [How does one distinguish the unusual from the mundane from a plethora of images?]
- inference of intentions from human movement (gait, gesture, motion)
- knowledge and action
- governance, power and control

Crime Theories

- **Routine Activities Theory**

[Convergence of motivated offender, suitable target & absence of capable guardian]

- **Rational Choice Theory**

[Offenders select crime targets by weighing up risks of being caught, costs/effort involved against the reward]

- **Crime Pattern Theory**

[Emphasis on crime-prone locations – departure/arrival points (nodes), journeys between them (paths) and borders between neighbourhoods (edges)]

- **Social Disorganisation Theory**

[Residents share few common interests and don't look out for each other]

General Theory of Crime Attractors, Generators & Detractors

Crime Generators: *Places that bring people together and create crime opportunities for offenders who also happen to be there (e.g. a bus terminal, a school)*

Crime Attractors: *locations, sites, properties specifically targeted by offenders (e.g. red light districts, crack houses)*

Crime Detractors: *a location that discourages offenders and offending (e.g. sites with good natural surveillance, strong cohesive communities)*

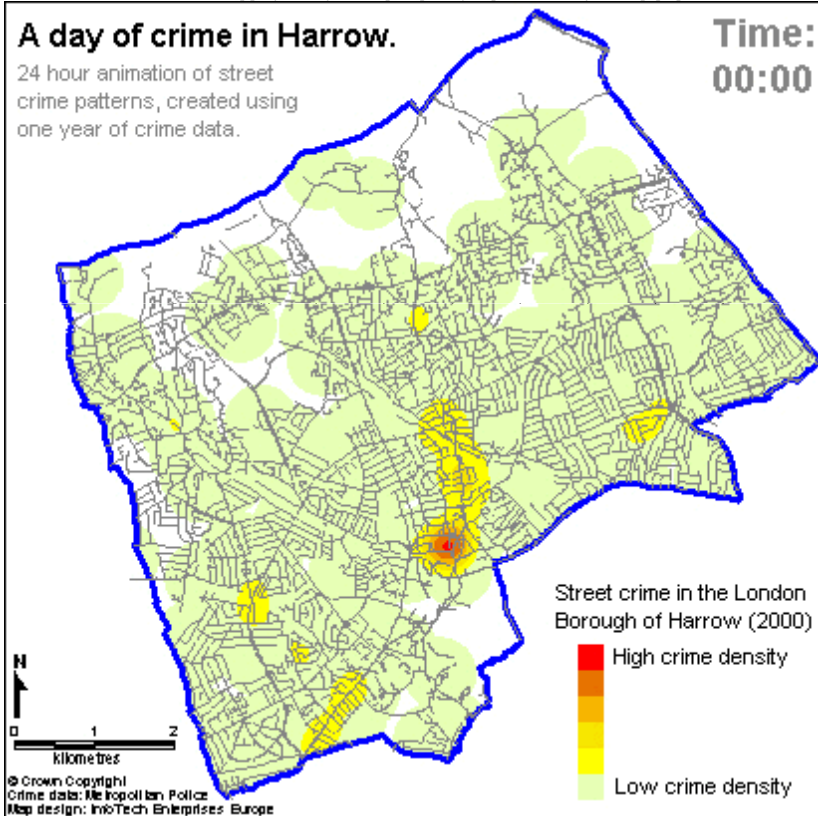
‘Urban areas can be viewed as a ‘patchwork of crime generators, crime attractors, crime detractors, and neutral areas’ Brantingham and Brantingham (1995)

Explain these Patterns ?

A day of crime in Harrow.

24 hour animation of street crime patterns, created using one year of crime data.

Time:
00:00



A day of street crime in part of inner London.

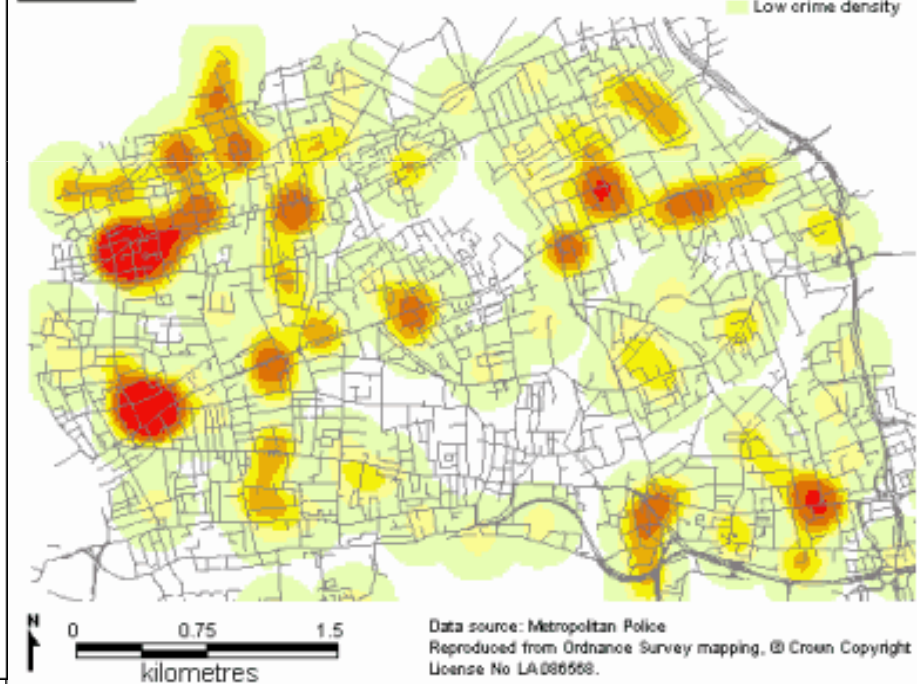
Map design: InfoTech Enterprises Europe 2002.

00:00

Legend

High crime density

Low crime density



Routine activities theory

Cohen & Felson, 1979

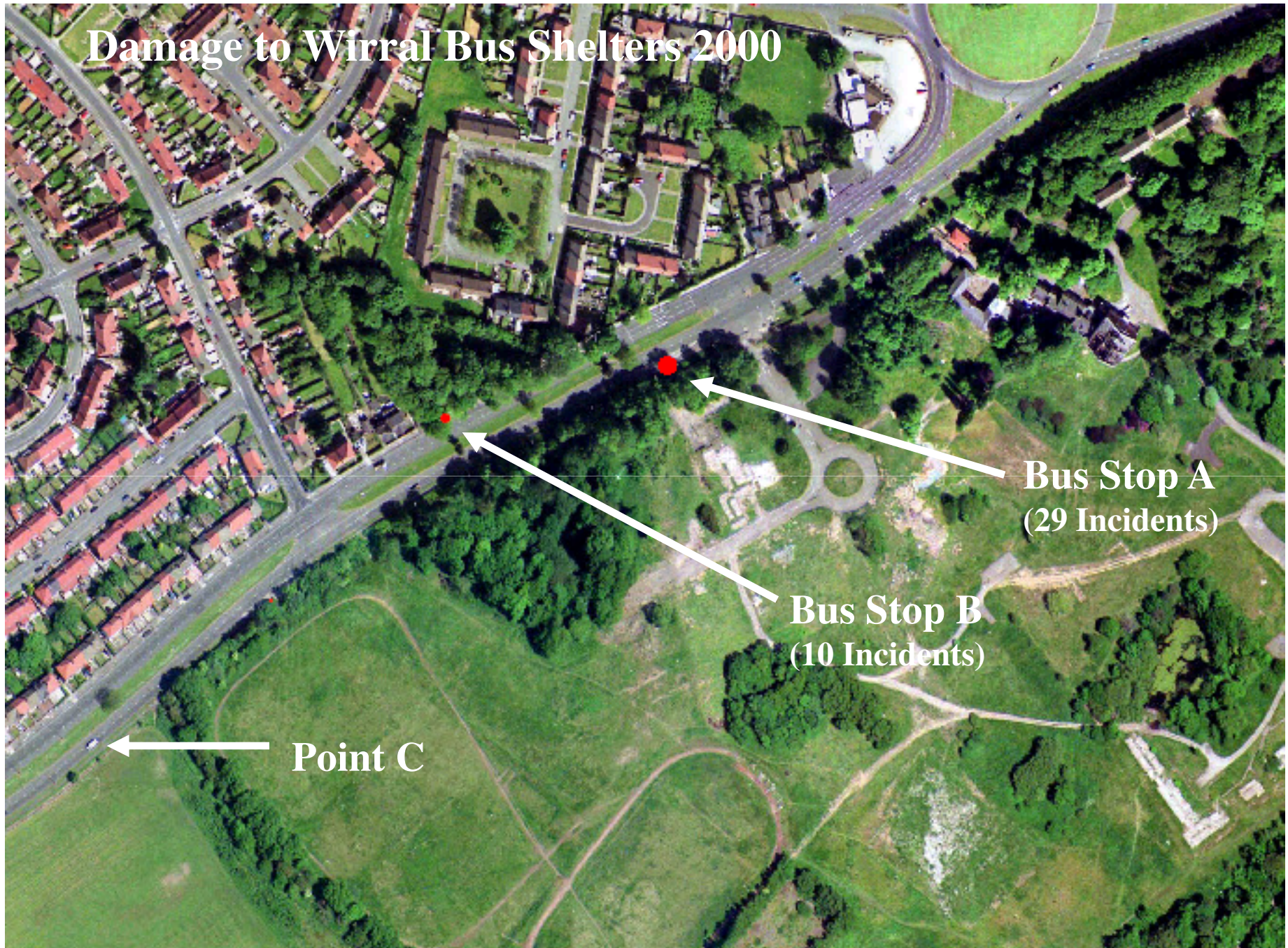
A Suitable Target

A Motivated Offender

Crime

Lack of capable guardians

Damage to Wirral Bus Shelters 2000



Theory	Insights Provided	Surveillance Implications
Routine Activities Theory	Crime Opportunities	Identify times and locations where guardianship is weak
Rational Choice Theory	Offender Decision Making and Behaviour (Benefits versus Risks)	Target Known MOs, suspects & Offenders (especially prolific offenders)
Crime Pattern Theory	Patterns of movement down paths, across nodes along edges	Monitor transport corridors, bus routes, journeys to crime, ANPR
Crime Attractors, Generators, Detractors	Venues, service delivery points, events that bring people together	Bars, stations, Taxi ranks, night clubs, shopping malls
Social Disorganisation Theory	Residents share few common interests. Unable to look out for each other or supervise young people	Anti social Behaviour, criminal damage to street furniture and cameras, Indifference/ hostility towards police
Broken Windows	Dereliction & neglect, signals to offenders that nobody is control	Surveillance to support crackdowns and zero tolerance
Strain Theory	Criminal behaviour triggered by demoralising impact of societal inequalities	Target affluent areas bordering disadvantaged communities

CRIMINAL OFFENDERS

- Nearly everyone commits crime at some point
- Most offenders travel relatively short distances to commit crimes
- Offenders commit crimes within their 'awareness spaces'
- Offenders pick easy, familiar opportunities – one reason for repeat victimisation
- Offenders tend to be generalists
- Risk to offenders is being caught after the act

TERRORISTS

- Generally far fewer offences & offenders
- Use regional, national and international networks
- Terrorists gain knowledge of situations with which they are unfamiliar
- Terrorists seek opportunities that will maximise publicity, impact and fear.
- Terrorists tend to be specialists
- Risk to terrorists is being caught before the act

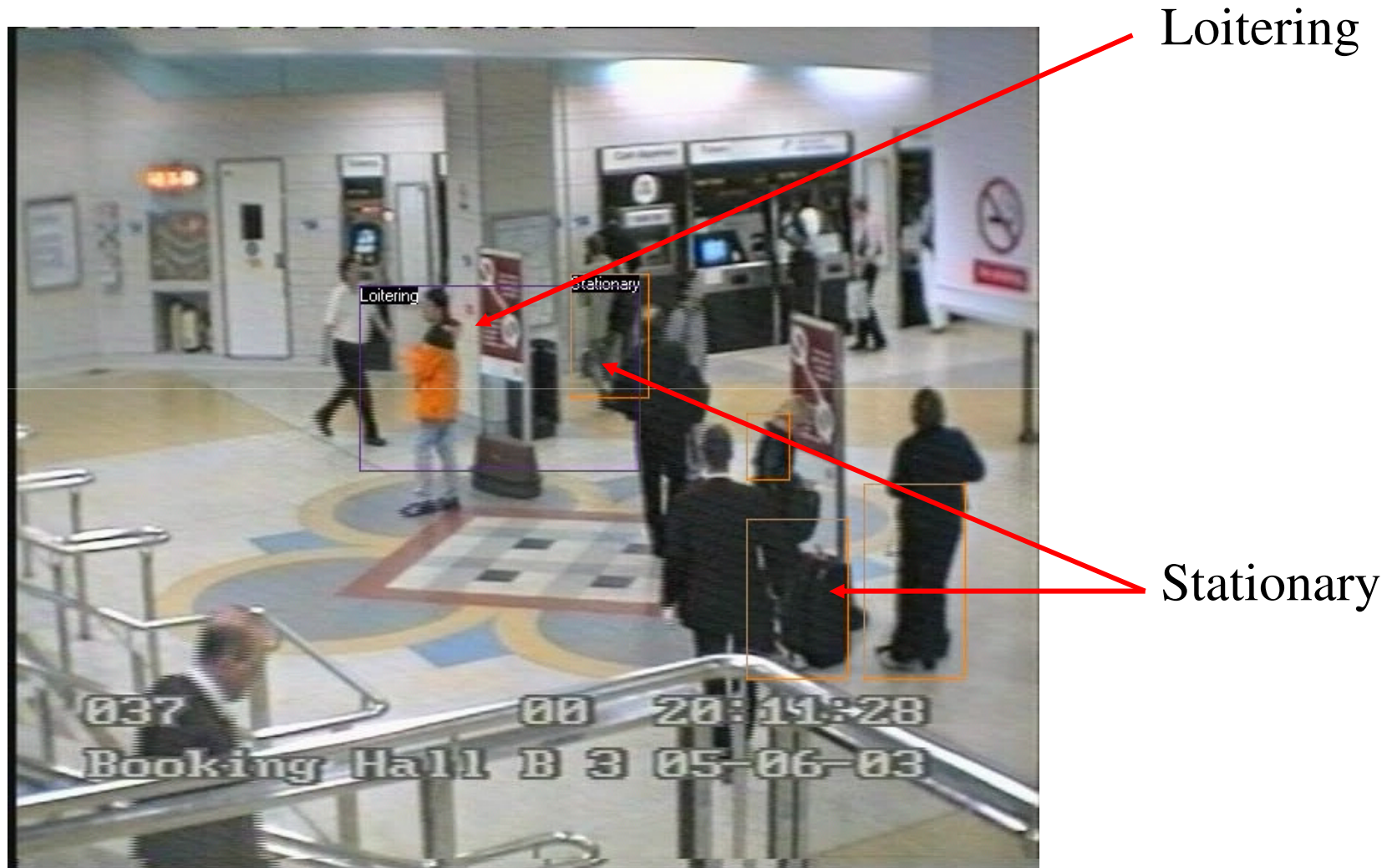
Is There a Difference ?

	Crime	Terrorism
Motivated Offenders	Economic Gain Personal Gratification Risk vs Reward	Harm to system, social/ cultural, ethnic groups Ideology/ Religion
Suitable Targets	Property Cash Vulnerable people	Symbolic buildings/ places People in/ near to them (Indiscriminate) Establishment figures Those “colluding” with the enemy
Capable Guardians	Residents, Visitors Employees Surveillance systems Patrols (wardens, police)	Residents, Visitors, Employees Surveillance systems Patrols (wardens, police) Religious Communities

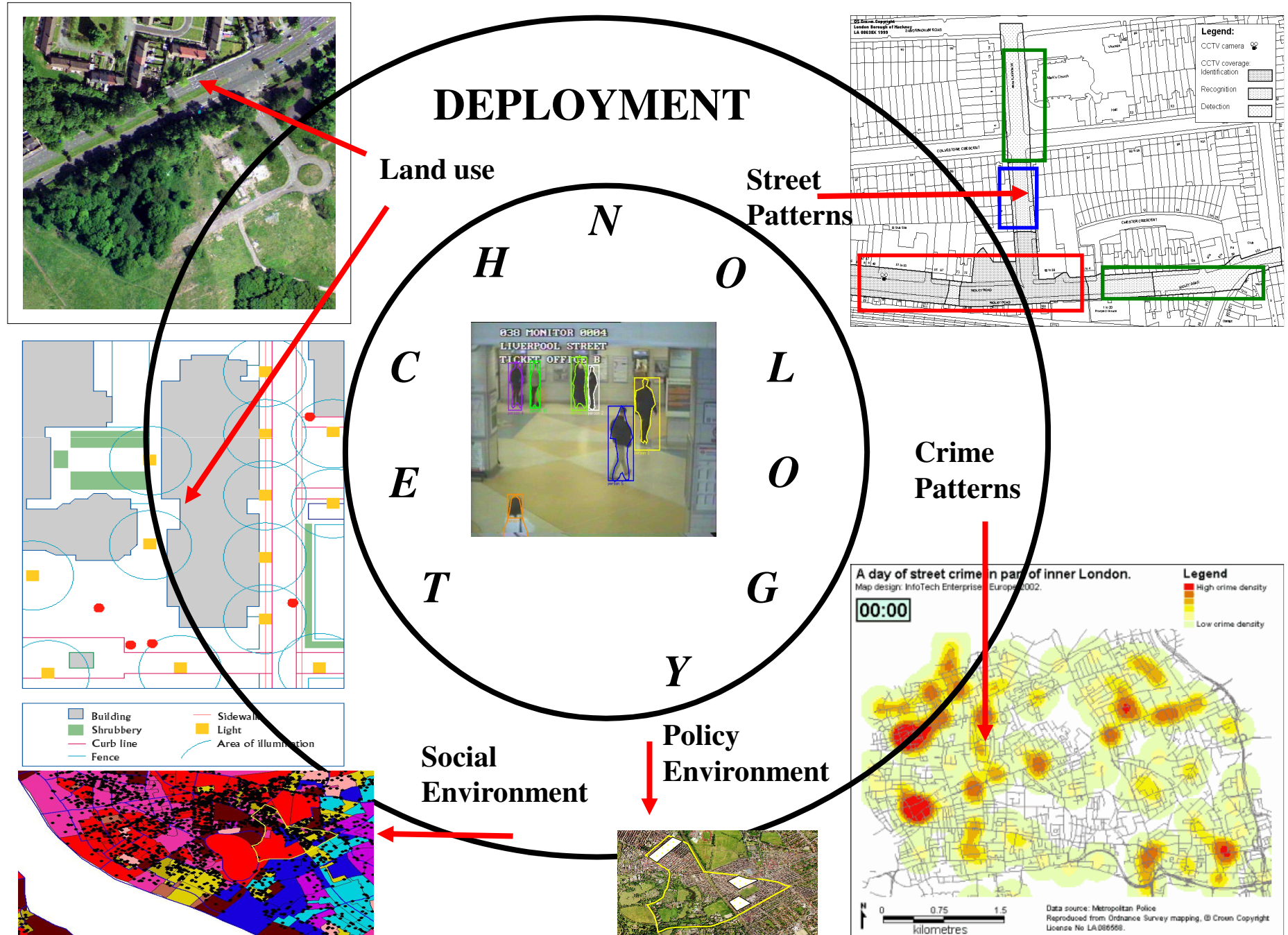


Prof. Tom Troscianko (Bristol)

Illustrative Example



Dr. Sergio Velastin (Digital Image Research Centre - Kingston)



EVALUATION

MANAGEMENT

OFFENDER MOs

DATA SHARING

DISPLACEMENT

NATIONAL
INTELLIGENCE
MODEL

DIFFUSION OF
BENEFIT

SKILLS

DETECTIONS

TRAINING NEEDS

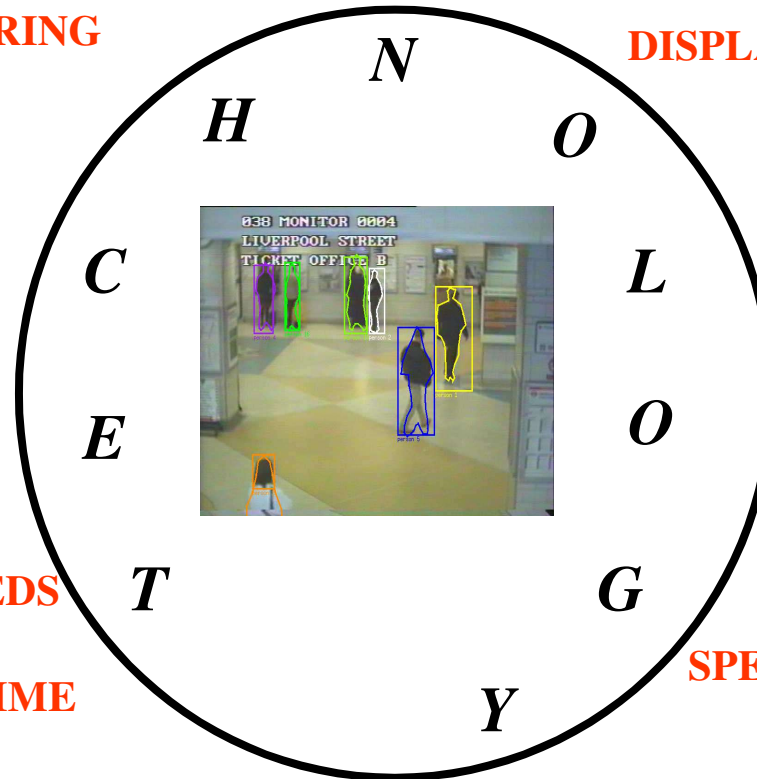
SPEED ON ENQUIRY

FEAR OF CRIME

CRIME REDUCTION

ETHICS

COST
EFFECTIVENESS



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