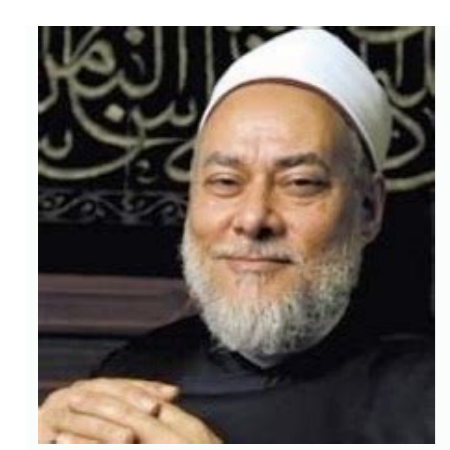


I'm not robot!



On slavery, temperance, peace, asylums, penitentiaries, public education, and native-American (Indian) rights. Their activities in the women's movement showed as well as growing out of earlier reform activities, particularly anti-slavery. The beliefs and practices of the Society of Friends served to facilitate women's roles in moral reform. She was the founding member of the English-Speaking Friends of the American Indians, a women's rights and abolition society which organised annual meetings. Quaker mothers held religiously inspired equity in women's education and wrote official correspondence to the men's and women's meetings. Eighteenth-century Quaker women exercised more responsibility in the family and in economic matters than other colonial Americans. Quaker marriage was to be an affectionate relationship between equals and children were to be raised by love. The virtues that parents tried to instill in the young were androgynous—boys and girls were taught to be gentle, moral, and loving. Young Quaker women also taught in schools and, after the American Revolution, created charitable organizations for dealing with the poor of Philadelphia. The affluent but plain-style of life led by the young Susan B. Anthony illustrates the suspicion of Quakers for music, art, and the attractions of the material world. Even her refusal to marry was not unusual among nineteenth-century Quaker women. Anthony's single-minded devotion to a cause, her constant travels and speaking on behalf of women's suffrage is a secularized version of the lifestyle of prominent Quaker women ministers. By contrast, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's friend and role model was the Quaker minister, anti-slavery advocate, and feminist Lucretia Mott, who raised six children and described a true marriage as where "the independence of the husband and wife is equal, their dependence mutual, and their obligations reciprocal." Quakers became active in moral reform during the 1750s, moving first to free their own slaves and then seeking to persuade other Americans of the need for abolition. After the Revolution, they created manumission societies, defended the rights of free blacks, aided runaway slaves, and lobbied state and the Federal government to end the slave trade and eliminate slavery. Quaker anti-slavery rested upon a belief based on the Bible and natural rights in the innate equality of all peoples. All Quakers wanted abolition by converting slaveholders, but only a few approved of William Lloyd Garrison's fiery rhetoric which they feared might lead to war. By the 1820s, in an effort to change American society, individual Quakers embraced many moral reforms, penitentiaries by chain-gang character would reform criminals, asylums would cure the insane by moral treatment in a family-like atmosphere, and temperance by ending alcoholism would reduce poverty and end domineering abuse of women and children. Quaker reformers began with individual responsibility to cure social evils but soon recognized that laws supporting slavery, allowing alcohol, and oppressing women needed changing. The tactics used in the women's movement after 1849 had earlier been used by Quakers in voluntary associations for moral reform. Men and women Quaker reformers, generally middle or upper class, tended to ignore the increasing poverty of the working class and the emerging industrialism of America, but their radicalism and demand for social justice showed in their work for equal rights for Indians, blacks, and women. About the Author: J. William Frost is the Jenkins Professor of Quaker History and Research at Swarthmore College and Director of the Friends Historical Library and the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. He teaches courses in religion and peace and conflict studies. His writings include "The Quaker Family in Colonial America," "A Perfect Freedom: Religious Liberty in Pennsylvania," "The Quakers," and a textbook entitled "Christianity: A Social and Cultural History." He is currently completing a book entitled "Religion, Morality and War: A Historical Survey." Back to Essays Rebuilding Communities: Why It's Time to Put Anti-Social Behaviour Back on the Agenda Harvey Redgrave Anti-social behaviour is often written off as a "low-level" nuisance and therefore considered less deserving of political attention than other types of criminality. This is a mistake. The way to think about anti-social behaviour is not as a series of isolated incidents but as a pattern of behaviour that is almost always repetitive and oppressive, often directed at victims who are vulnerable and live in more deprived areas, and is often a prediction of more serious offending later down the line. That is why I have always believed that a proper policy response to anti-social behaviour is fundamentally a question of social justice: it is about trying to rebalance the system so that it protects those who are least likely to be equipped with the resources to deal with it themselves. Our approach in government was informed by a profound but simple insight: that our criminal justice system, which has evolved around the principle of protecting the rights of the accused is woefully ill-equipped for dealing with anti-social behaviour. Of course, many of the behaviours we wanted to stamp out – aggressive drunkenness, drug-dealing and vandalism – were and have long been criminal offences. In theory, each case can be dealt with by the criminal-law process: the police bring a charge, the CPS prosecute and the court passes a sentence. But as anyone who works in this area knows, that isn't what happens in practice. In the real world, so-called low-level crimes are never prosecuted because the sheer weight of process required to secure a conviction means it is just not worth the police hours and resources. That is why we expended so much capital on dealing with the issue: equipping local agencies with new enforcement powers; ensuring intensive support was available to the most troubled and chaotic families; and, most importantly, guaranteeing that every community would have access to a neighbourhood policing team. Harvey's paper details how, during the past decade, much of the architecture that had been established has since been progressively diluted, with powers weakened and visible local policing scaled back. In addition, incidents of anti-social behaviour appear to have been recategorised as public-order offences, further diminishing their significance. Don't misunderstand me: this is not about going back to the past. What was right for then won't necessarily be right for today. Problems evolve and so must the policy response. But what this paper illustrates is a fundamental lack of direction at the top of government. What are the principles that guide this government's approach to anti-social behaviour? What are the signature policies? It is fine to argue that anti-social behaviour is a local issue but without a push from the centre, there isn't enough pressure in the system and you end up with drift. The impact is well documented here: a stark decline in public confidence in the police and the shocking finding that only a quarter of people who experience anti-social behaviour say they have bothered to report it. Our system relies on the consent and cooperation of victims and witnesses. Once they lose faith in it, the entire system risks grinding to a halt. All of this speaks to what I perceive to be a bigger issue: a decline in law and order, which is seriously damaging our country. Unless people are able to live free of fear, the very possibility of life in a community is undermined. If there is a sense of social norms that bind us together are fraying – that rights have been divorced from obligations – and worse, that the government is indifferent, this is when despair and bitterness set in. In time, I hope our paper will provide something of a turning point in the debate about anti-social behaviour and local policing. Tony Blair Executive Chairman Having previously been confined to academic debates within criminology, I the issue of anti-social behaviour (ASB) was thrust into the political limelight during the 1990s, partly in response to fears that the traditional mechanisms for dealing with such behaviour – family, religion and community – had been weakened. In the UK, anti-social behaviour was defined in statute in 1998 as behaviour that was "likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress". To date, no legislation has attempted to break down this broad definition or provide a list of specific behaviours. However, in practice the definition covers a wide range of actions from the dropping of litter on a street to the running of crack-houses. Strong and secure communities are the essential foundation from which individual potential is realised, quality of life is maximised and other social and economic wellbeing is secured. What makes a strong community isn't complicated: decent public services, welcoming physical environments and – perhaps most significantly – safety and the ability to live free from fear. Sadly, in too many parts of Britain today, there is a sense that these things have been eroded and undermined. If this government has a single defining mission, it is to "level up" areas of the country that have previously been left behind. Of course, that is partly about economic reforms necessary for jobs and prosperity but, equally important, are improvements to public services, the public realm and action to tackle ASB and disorder, not least through visible and responsive local policing. ASB has often been dismissed as "low-level crime" and thus less deserving of national policy attention. This is fundamentally mistaken. ASB is often experienced less as a series of isolated incidents and more as a pattern of repetitive behaviour that intensifies over time, causing misery and distress to its victims and the wider community. If left unchecked, it can spiral and turn into more serious crime. In short, a serious policy response to its manifestation would seem to require any government seriously committed to levelling up areas of the country previously left behind. Yet, for most of this decade, ASB has been all but ignored by this government, having fallen victim to the fallacy that since it is a "local issue", it can be entirely delegated to local agencies and that central government has no role to play in tackling it. To make matters worse, neighbourhood policing has been quietly eroded. While many forces continue to deliver some version of neighbourhood policing, its level of resourcing, form and function look very different depending on where you happen to live. This has left the public confused about what they can expect from their local policing service. We know that one of the issues most central to people's sense of belonging and pride in the place in which they live is whether or not they feel safe from ASB and crime, and, relatedly, whether they feel able to call upon a strong local-policing presence. This paper sets out a route map for achieving this. Key Findings ASB remains an issue of huge public concern. New polling undertaken for this paper has found that a third of people surveyed (32 per cent) think ASB is a big problem where they live. Despite making "levelling up" its defining mission, this government has been largely silent on ASB. Its primary contribution was a single white paper entitled "Putting victims first" in 2012, which, if anything, diluted available enforcement powers while establishing a "community trigger" – a tool that few have heard of, let alone used. At the same time, neighbourhood policing has been allowed to fall into decline, which appears to have dented public confidence. There is a clear correlation between people's confidence in the police and the decline in visible neighbourhood policing. Our polling also indicates that the majority of the surveyed public are not confident in how the police and local authorities respond to matters of ASB. Of those who experienced or witnessed ASB in the past year, only 26 per cent said they reported it and only 4 per cent were satisfied with the response they received. When asked about which aspects of local policing matter most to them, the public clearly prioritise responsiveness and accountability. The top priority is 959 calls being answered, followed by officers that are "approachable and friendly" and a "definite response to all reports of ASB". Recommendations The government should consult on a new local-policing contract, which sets out minimum standards of visibility, accessibility and responsiveness. The Home Office should ensure that the police officer-led programme is used to guarantee a minimum level of neighbourhood policing across a proportion of the total workforce), designed around the principles outlined above. A new white paper setting out a national framework for ASB response is needed. The Home Office should also commission an independent body to undertake a review of the effectiveness of the interventions and powers introduced in 2014, and consult with police officers and local-authority practitioners on the use of existing enforcement powers. The government should publish guidance making clear that the following circumstances will trigger some kind of parenting or family-based intervention: children excluded from school, persistent truancy, a child found behaving anti-socially or committing crime, and parents themselves involved in drugs or crime. The Context: Where We Are Anti-social behaviour (ASB) was defined in 1998 as one that "caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress" although no legislation since has attempted to break down this definition any further. The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) measures people's perceptions of levels of anti-social behaviour in their local area according to the following seven strands. Teenagers hanging around on the streets. Rubbish or litter lying around. People using or dealing drugs. Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property. People being drunk or rowdy in public places. Noisy neighbours or loud parties. Abandoned or burnt-out cars. Local authorities too have adopted their own definitions of ASB, and these were often drawn up by Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) set up after the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Other examples of ASB include prostitution, hate crime, aggressive begging and illegal street trading. Where it comes to ASB, the government has been a long way from "levelling up". In the year ending March 2021, the police recorded 420 ASB incidents. This compares with 435 reported in the year ending March 2020. The police also recorded 48 ASB incidents in the year ending March 2019. The largest increases correlated with some of the lockdowns during both spring 2020 (for example, there was a 48 per cent increase in ASB incidents between April and June 2020 compared with the same quarter in 2019) and January to March 2021. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) reported this was likely to "reflect the reporting of breaches to public-health restrictions".² Similarly, research undertaken by Crest Advisory and the Police Foundation about police demand during the pandemic found there was an increase in ASB incidents in comparison with other offences. During times outside the pandemic, ASB typically comprises between 8 and 9 per cent of all incident demand but it has increased to a peak of 17 per cent during the pandemic.³ ASB spiked during the first lockdown and did not return to pre-pandemic levels until after March 2021, since when it has dipped. This is likely a reflection of the fact that most of us were restricted to our homes and therefore more likely to experience and witness such incidents. Why It Matters In recent years, ASB has received less focus as an issue of national political importance but there are several reasons why tackling it ought to be a priority for the government. First, minor crime and disorder are not only clear drivers of criminality and disorder but are also indicators of more serious, future crime, therefore affording an early opportunity to prevent it. Second, there is evidence that the level of ASB in a local area is one of the primary factors that determines people's quality of life, wellbeing and sense of community. ASB, particularly when it is repeated during a prolonged period of time, can erode feelings of public safety and undermine community resilience. Third, ASB disproportionately affects the most vulnerable in society and so any effort to level up must take the issue seriously. The Spreading of Disorder Minor crime and ASB are drivers of additional crime and disorder. The consequences of this link for public policy are crucial because they show that intervening to reduce ASB will also help to reduce the risk of more serious crime. For example, in 2019, a study of 26 police forces across England found that unchecked minor crimes and signs of disorder would lead to more ASB and more serious crime and thus fixing small problems would avoid bigger problems occurring down the line. A History of Broken Windows The broken windows theory gained a number of prominent champions, including former Mayor of New York City Rudy Giuliani and former New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton. The latter's "zero-tolerance" policing strategy coincided with a fall of 36 per cent in serious-crime rates in New York. Many social scientists subsequently attacked the theory,⁵ arguing that this fall could have been a direct result of other factors including demographic changes, the slowdown in the crack-cocaine epidemic and economic initiatives that coincided with the zero-tolerance policing tactics (combined with consistent attempts to remove signs of disorder) that had also been developed by the theory's proponents. However, a 2008 empirical-research study conducted in the Netherlands appeared to add weight to the theory, finding that people became more disobedient in environments plagued by litter and graffiti. They would be more tempted to trespass, drop litter and even steal money if they perceived it was okay to break the rules from within the environment. The authors of the study concluded: "There is a clear message for policymakers and police officers: Early disorder diagnosis and intervention are of vital importance when fighting the spread of disorder."⁶ More recently, a systematic review in 2015 by Anthony Braga, Brandon Welsh and Cory Schell found that policing strategies focused on disorder had a statistically significant (if modest) impact on reducing all types of crime. However, the authors stressed this positive effect was driven more by place-based, problem-oriented interventions, such as hotspot policing, than by interventions targeting individual disorderly behaviour.⁷ To this day, the evidence base around broken windows remains contested. However, the weight of evidence would suggest there is a statistically significant effect from policing disorder on the prevention of other crimes.⁸ The government has been clear about the importance of ASB. The 2014 Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act established the ASBO and its plans created a new civil injunction. There are two main differences between the two. First, breaching an ASB civil injunction does not constitute a criminal offence. Second, in addition to prohibiting the behaviour, ASB civil injunctions can require individuals to take part in positive requirements, for example an alcohol-avoidance course. There were certainly valid criticisms of ASBOs in the past, but they were largely irrelevant to the response to ASB. The nature of ASB – often involving repeated low-level harassment – means it is unlikely to secure a criminal conviction via the courts: a process that typically takes many months and requires a very high evidential standard of proof. Hence the desire to use alternative and swifter means, such as the civil system, to give local agencies new enforcement tools for tackling ASB. To that end, a range of new measures were introduced to punish perpetrators, including Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), parenting and dispersal orders, crack-house closure powers, fixed-penalty notices and other powers. 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