

BELIEFS ABOUT CCTV

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From Dagens Nyheter, June 9



- Obviously, the police believe strongly in effectiveness of CCTV.
- What can we learn from research evidence?

Police set high hopes to new super-cameras

All other measures haven't worked. 55 advanced cameras on house-walls have filmed everything that have occurred in three disadvantaged centre areas during four weeks.

However, the new legislation, putting on restrictions, is a threat. But we will appeal.

Outline

- Own experiences evaluating CCTV
 - Process and results
- Swedish experiences
- Systematic reviews of CCTV
 - Campbell Collaboration
 - EMMIE Concept
- The police view
 - Conversation with officer in charge at upper police bureaucracy
- Concluding reflections

Oslo evaluation

- Impressed by UK colleagues Oslo police wanted CCTV surveillance by Oslo central railway station.
- Aim – to reduce criminality and increase feelings of safety.
- Norwegian politicians hesitant to accept CCTV by police because of integrity threats.

Condition for Oslo CCTV trial – an evaluation study

- Requirement by Norwegian Department of Justice.
- To be carried out by the Police University College.
- I was in charge of the project.
 - Found and hired a researcher for the job.
 - Oslo police funded the project.
- After discussions – agreement with Oslo police to conduct an impact evaluation.
- Focus on effects on crime and feelings of safety.

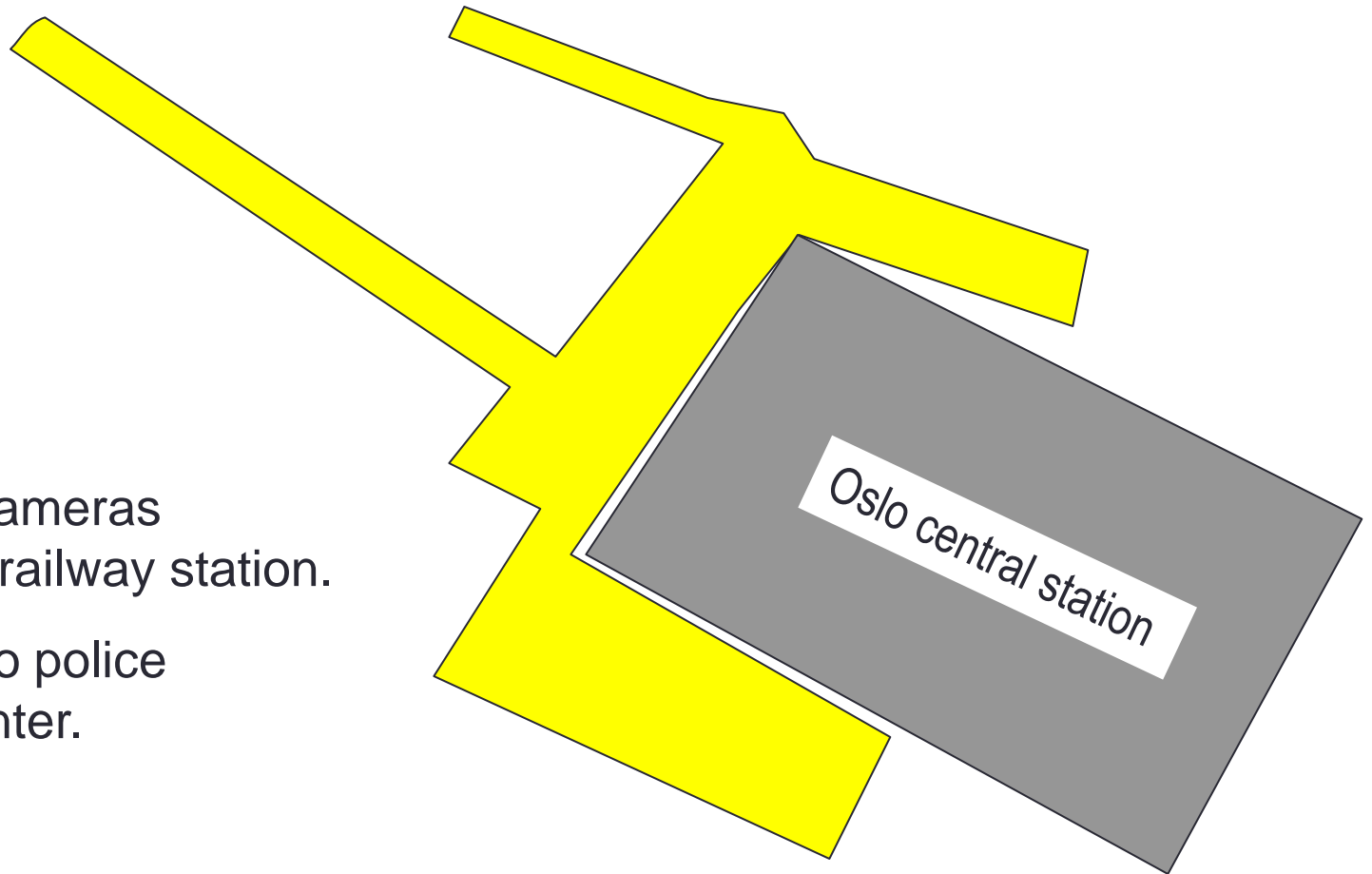
On daily basis about 70,000 persons pass the area.

Central Railway Station – Oslo S



Map over surveilled area

Karl Johan's street



System: 6 cameras
operated at railway station.

Links to Oslo police
dispatch center.

Displacement areas

Experimental area

Central station

Control area



Three sub studies

Pre and post evaluation designs

1. Structured interviews with shopkeepers in area covered by the CTTV-surveillance (experimental area).
2. Time series analyses of police incident log.
3. Times series of crimes reported to the police.

Summary of results

Winge & Knutsson, 2003

- More incidents detected in surveilled area.
- Indication of reduction of robbery/theft from person and bicycle thefts.
- No signs of crime displacement.
- No change in perception of criminality by shopkeepers.
- Indication of improvement in perception of public order.
- Positive attitudes to CCTV-surveillance.
- Continued belief in its efficiency – but decreased.

Main conclusion

Assumed strong effects on feelings of security and on crime could not be substantiated.

And then.....

- Oslo police did not accept the result.
- CCTV surveillance continued.
- National Police Directorate required a new evaluation, but did not inform the Police College.
- Oslo police had no idea about what they wanted to be evaluated.
- No evaluation conducted.
- According to the Director of the National Police Directorate enthusiasm for CCTV in other cities decreased.
- CCTV scheme now closed down.

Swedish evaluations of CCTV

- 6 reports from the Swedish National Council for Crime prevention
 - 1 meta review 2007 (Welsh and Farrington, a Campbell Collaboration review).
 - 3 evaluation studies
 - 2003 – Malmö. Somewhat mixed results
 - 2009 – Landskrona no-effect
 - 2015 – Stockholm no-effect (preliminary findings 2013 and 2014)

Stockholm study

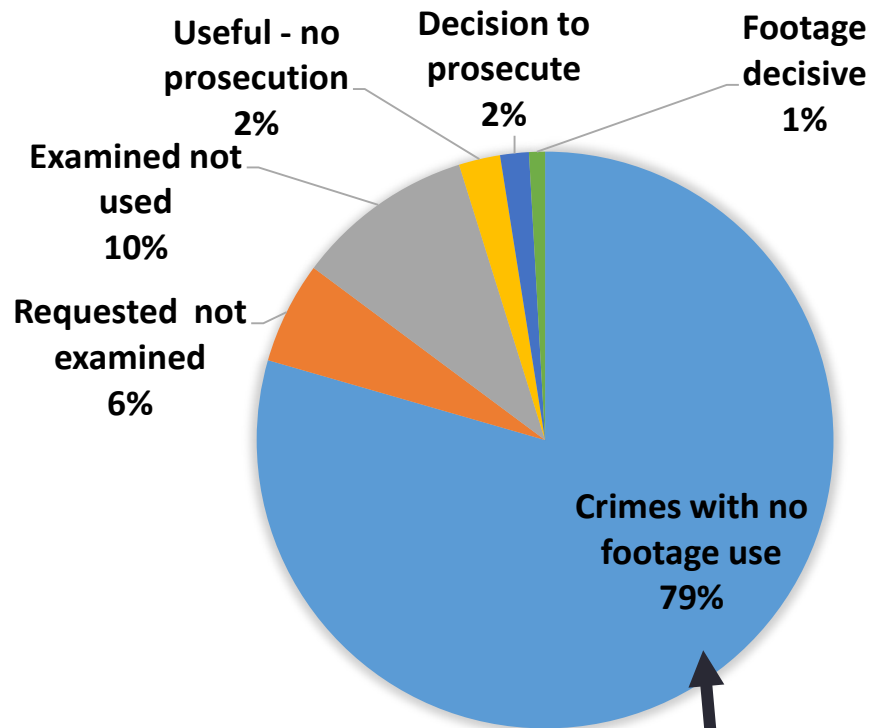
- CCTV in two centre city areas (7 resp. 9 cameras).
- Aim – prevent crimes, increase feelings of safety, and increase clear-ups.
- Permission for 3 years – condition evaluation by NCP.
- CCTV active in nights, and active monitoring at dispatch centre during weekend nights.

Results in short

- Crime decreased in surveilled areas, but also in the 7 control areas. Interpretation – part of general crime drop. Conclusion: no effect.
 - NB - on average only 3 target type crimes reported per place and weekend night.
- Most people did not know the areas were surveilled but believed CCTV was effective.
- Police positive to CCTV.
- And clear-ups?

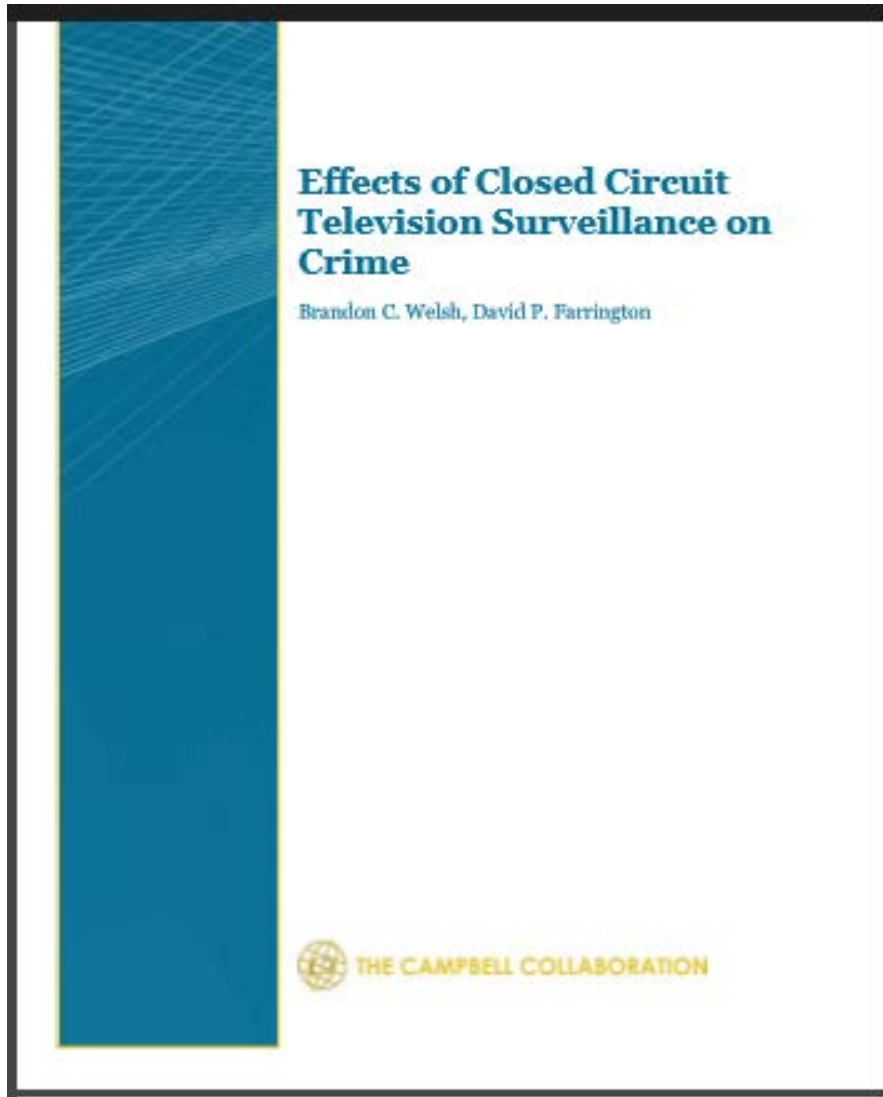
Contribution to clear-ups

n=560 crimes reported during monitored time in CCTV surveilled areas.



There are (must be) cleared-up crimes among these.

Systematic Review



- Welsh and Farrington (2008). n=41

“The studies included in this systematic review indicate that CCTV has a modest but significant desirable effect on crime, is most effective in reducing crime in car parks” (p. 18).

Table 7

Meta-Analysis of CCTV Evaluations in City and Town Centers

Evaluation	RES	95% Confidence Interval	P
All 20 studies*	1.08	0.97-1.20	ns
15 UK studies*	1.11	0.98-1.27	ns
5 other studies*	0.97	0.83-1.13	ns

Table 10

Meta-Analysis of CCTV Evaluations in Car Parks and Other Places

Evaluation	RES	95% Confidence Interval	P
All 6 studies*	2.03	1.39-2.96	.0003

RES=relative effect size

Systematic review via EMMIE concept covering 41 evaluation studies

- E = Effects found.
- M = Mechanisms identified (how a measure works).
- M = Moderators identified (conditions needed to activate mechanisms).
- I = Implementation (what was found to be needed to put the measure in place).
- E = Economy (costs and returns on costs of the measure).

See <http://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit>

Effect

- *How effective is it?*
- Overall, the evidence suggests that CCTV can reduce crime.
- Significant reductions in vehicle crime and property crime.
- No evidence of an effect on violent crime. No signs of displacement of property crimes.

Mechanism

- *How does it work?*
 - A. Deterring criminals by increasing their perception of the risk of getting caught;
 - B. Increasing the actual risk of getting caught;
(Four more indirect mechanisms described).
- However, none of these potential mechanisms are empirically tested and the authors note that this should be done.

Moderators

- *In which contexts does it work best?*
- There is good evidence that CCTV effectiveness varies considerably by context.
- The effect was non-significant in city and town centre, public housing and public transport.
- CCTV appears most effective in a car park setting.

Implementation

- *What can be said about implementing this initiative?*
- Types of camera tested in the studies varied.
- The technical specification of cameras should be considered during implementation.
- Most of the successful CCTV systems involved active monitoring of the cameras, typically by security personnel (i.e. not the police).

Economic considerations

- *How much might it cost?*
- No information on costs of CCTV in the reviews.
- Estimate: more than £250 million (approximately \$500 million) of public money was spent on CCTV over the 10-year period of 1992 to 2002 in the UK.

What about the Swedish police?

Conversation with the officer in charge of developing the National CCTV Concept at NOA – National Operative Unit.

- CCTV works better than research indicates. (Had not read the NCP Stockholm report.)
- Too narrow focus on preventive effects.
- Immature technique evaluated. Technical progression last 7-8 years make the systems far better.
- Useful for operative purposes; documenting occurrences.
- However, the police inclined to be “operative”. Bad at tedious tasks like creating effective processes and routines.

Cont.

- Had systematically checked police systems for CCTV footage. Built his opinion from cases he had encountered – in essence an anecdotal approach.
- As to the 55 cameras in 3 disadvantaged areas – dedicated officers in charge. No plans to use these camera systems to evolve lacking processes and routines.
- No firm plans for evaluations.
- Go for full-scale implementation with no prior on site trials. 23 disadvantaged areas. About 1 million SEK per CCTV set.
- Displeased with proposal for new Kamerabevakningslag (Camera Surveillance Law). Too restrictive; e.g. four weeks and then mandatory application for permission.

Upper police bureaucracy

- In 2009 requirement from the government to establish an evaluation unit
 - To find out what works.
 - For police to become a learning organization.
- After 6 month the National Police Board deserted what they had stated to the Government.
- In the 2015 major police reform remnants of the evaluation unit became an organizational headache. Maybe non-existent?
- But Swedish police invest in Evidence Based Policing.
 - Police leaders follow the Masters Program in Cambridge run by Lawrence Sherman.

CCTV – an easy sell?



Reinforced by recent events many believe in CCTV's efficiency.

- The Stockholm April 17 terror attack where footage almost immediately was available and terrorist soon afterward was apprehended.
- Sexual assaults during rock festivals – big issue last year, fewer reported crimes this year.
- These instances are used by the police.
- Security industry lobbying.
- My worry – another 25 mill. SEK down the drain?