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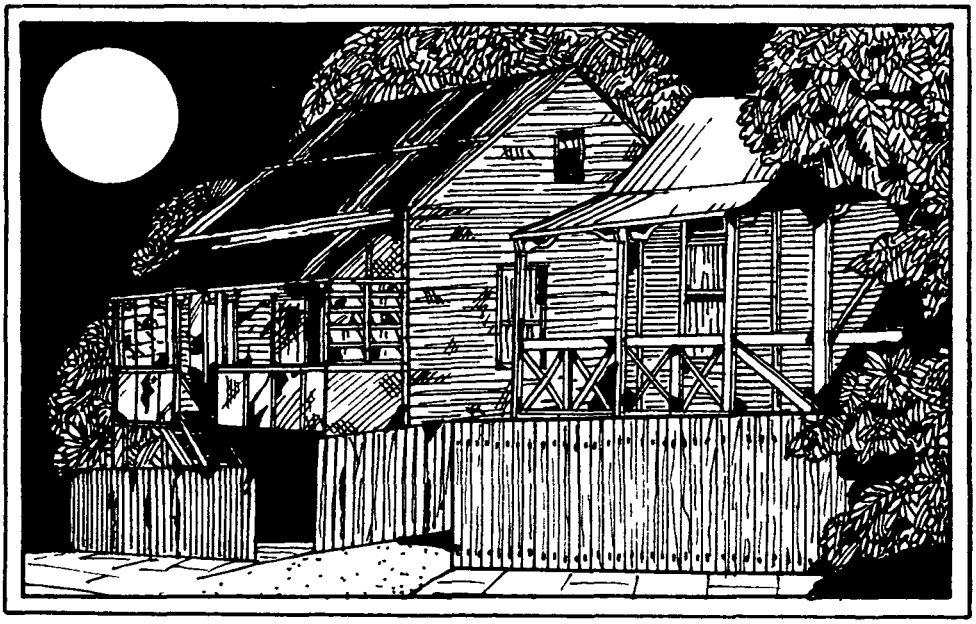
Crime Perception and Victimisation of Inner City Residents



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CRIME PERCEPTION AND VICTIMISATION

OF INNER CITY RESIDENTS

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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

This study follows on from an earlier survey carried out in Spring Hill, an inner city Brisbane suburb, in 1980 (See Minnery and Veal, 1981). At that time three main reasons were given for investigating the crime rate and residents' perception of crime in Spring Hill:

. it was an inner city residential suburb undergoing land use and demographic changes common in many similar Australian settings;
. the Brisbane City Council was then preparing a Development Control Plan (DCP) for the suburb;
. Spring Hill was felt by many people outside the suburb to have a high crime rate.

Since then the Spring Hill Development Control Plan has been implemented. It was the first DCP prepared in Queensland and took force in 1981. DCPs enable local authorities to prepare special town planning, land use and design guidelines for an area, based on a detailed understanding of its special characteristics and problems. Spring Hill was undergoing "gentrification" as more affluent households moved in to what was a generally less affluent but historic suburb. The changes involved both the renovation of old houses and the demolition of houses and related facilities to make way for units (some of which were high-rise). There was also considerable pressure for the development of office and other commercial buildings. The

DCP divided the suburb into "precincts" in each of which there was a preferred dominant land use. For people in the residential precincts greater security against non-residential invasion was offered. Accordingly the attraction for new residents increased. One aim of the plan was to try to reverse the then current population decline, to "bring people back to the inner city".

In 1986 the whole Brisbane town plan is being reviewed as part of the continuing statutory review process. Council intends combining the DCP for Spring Hill with that developed later for the neighbouring suburb of Petrie Terrace. The plan has led, in the years since its introduction, to increased renovation of older houses and to the construction of new houses (including town houses) designed to enhance the historic physical character of the area. Spring Hill has become increasingly upmarket. The population structure has changed accordingly.

A short-coming of the original 1980 survey was that it covered a single suburb in isolation. There was no possibility of matching results with comparable areas. This current survey overcomes that difficulty by re-surveying Spring Hill as well as a comparable inner city suburb, Paddington. No suburb can be exactly like another, but Paddington is also undergoing "gentrification", albeit at a slower pace and without direct City Council intervention.

An investigation such as this cannot be carried out in isolation. A number of people and groups helped in different ways. The Department of Planning and Landscape Architecture at the

Queensland Institute of Technology, through the Head of Department, Phil Heywood, offered both encouragement and practical help. The project was administered through Q Search, the Institute's research and consulting arm. Considerable use was made also of the Institute's computing facilities. The interviewers from Field Facts (Queensland) did their work in a thoroughly professional manner, as did the rest of the firm.

The results, of course, depend mainly on the people in Spring Hill and Paddington who agreed to be interviewed. Without their assistance the survey could not have taken place. My thanks to them. My wife, Linda, helped substantially in the analysis and typing and in other ways too numerous to mention.

The project was supported by a generous grant from the Australian Criminology Research Council. The views expressed are, however, the responsibility of the author and are not necessarily those of the Council.

John Minnery

Brisbane,
October, 1986.

SUMMARY AND MAIN CONCLUSIONS:

The investigation covered a number of areas. Firstly much of it fitted within the general environmental approach to crime studies. Secondly, it extended beyond these limits to include attitudinal and perceptual material. Thirdly, a major element in the study was the relatively specific areas of crime victimisation, reporting rates and reasons for non-reporting. And fourthly, there was a partial investigation of the Queensland Police Department's security advice service. This summary will be organised according to these four headings.

Firstly, both Spring Hill and Paddington contain substantial components of lower-class residents, although the general residential class and status pattern is, as is common in Brisbane, somewhat mixed. The relevant literature would thus lead one to expect some contrast in the opinions of residents, as was in fact the case The reason for choosing Spring Hill and Paddington was influenced by both the basic theses of the urban ecology school and later empirical studies which relate social characteristics, including crime, to location within the city.

The changes occurring in both Spring Hill and Paddington, but especially in Spring Hill, identify them as "transitional" suburbs, a classification which has certain implications for crime rates and perception. However, the general expectation of high crime rates and resident concern for crime was not fulfilled. The survey showed that specific physical planning

activities by public authorities were felt to have less impact on changes in crime rates than the changing social status and population of the suburbs.

People's perception of crime in an area, in terms of environmental "clues", is connected with their perception of the area as a whole. The study showed that both physical and social cues were used, but especially social cues.

Secondly, people did indeed feel that their suburb was less crime-affected than other similar suburbs (even though the two suburbs surveyed were being compared, in part, with each other). They did accept that the level of crime was increasing, and that the main type of crime was changing, with greater emphasis on crimes against property. Spring Hill, in particular, was felt to be less crime-affected than was the case in 1980. There appeared to be a positive impact from the controls and directions imposed through the Spring Hill Development Control Plan.

Between 1/3 and 1/2 felt special actions were needed by the police, including greater patrolling activity and greater accessibility to policemen/women.

Thirdly, just over 1/3 of the households had been affected by crime over the previous twelve months. Crime victims were unlikely to transpose their experience onto their attitude to the suburb. Recent arrivals tended to be more affected than older residents, and there were some correlations between type of crime and other factors (e.g., renovated houses were slightly more

often burgled). The most common crimes were nuisance calls, theft, and breaking and entering. The rates of non-reporting varied enormously according to the type of crime, with nuisance calls being the least reported. The most common reasons given for not reporting incidents were that the matter was too trivial, or that little could be done. There was a reluctance to report incidents suspected to involve children. There was also a general reluctance to approach the police. The police were felt to be busy enough as it was, or in some cases there had been previous unhappy experiences by respondents.

Fourthly, although burglary and breaking and entering were seen to be the main crimes affecting the two suburbs, less than one third of respondents wanted the police to carry out a security inspection. People seemed happy with the current level of security of their dwelling. Given the general opinion of the level of crime in the suburbs, this was not unexpected.

Overall, the investigation supported a number of hypotheses in the literature; but gave an impression at odds with most research on crime in inner city areas. This may be because of the nature of crime (and the perception of it) in Brisbane or it may relate to the nature of the suburbs themselves. A comparison with a non-inner suburb would go some way towards clarifying this divergence. A number of possible avenues for crime prevention agencies to gain community support are indicated by the study.

Of course an investigation like this one will expose problems which it was not designed to address. A number of such areas for

future research arose here:

. the kinds of crimes which people feel are "serious" and not so serious;

. the relationship between crime "seriousness" and reporting;

. the impact of the age of offenders on reporting;

. the apparently low impact of police educational campaigns, at least in relation to perception of their impact on crime rates;

. the occasional expressions of distrust for the (Queensland) police;

. the specific links between the changing social status of an area on perceptions of crime there; and

. the seeming reluctance barrier facing many people with reasons to report crimes to the police.

CHAPTER ONE:

CRIME, PERCEPTION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER ONE: CRIME, PERCEPTION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

1.1 OVERVIEW

Ours is an increasingly crime-conscious society (Radzinowicz and King 1977). Differences over time, and in data-gathering and classification procedures make it difficult to ascertain whether or not there is "more" crime than there used to be. There is also the well recognised difficulties in matching official and reported crime statistics with crime occurrences (e.g., Cohen and Land 1984). It can be established reasonably reliably, however, that certain types of crime are on the increase. And there can be little doubt that crime, its origins and incidence, is a growing preoccupation for laymen and specialists alike. Crime figures commonly in the newspapers and on television. People fear the rise in crime as an increasingly unavoidable part of modern living (Garofalo 1977).

The increases in certain types of crime are seen to be linked in some way with the increase in urbanization of our society. These changes have clear implications for crime prevention and criminal justice. Croft maintains that

> "... in the modern industrial state the old supposedly cohesive factors of society have been greatly eroded and so many people neither know nor care about their neighbours. The system of criminal justice has been adapted to fit and is a reflection of a complex industrial state as opposed to a collection of rural villages; and involves local and centralised features." (Croft 1979).

The nature of these linkages, adaptions and relationships is the

focus for an increasingly large body of research and theory.

The size of modern urban concentrations and their demographic characteristics has been the starting point for much empirical work. Earlier researchers developed theories concerned with the psycho-social effects of combinations of these and their implications for criminal behaviour.

Durkheim's famous gemeinschaft/gesellschaft dichotomy was perhaps the earliest direct statement of the difference between rural and urban attitudes. Very briefly it was seen that the original pre-industrial village situation was one of accountability, cohesion and the sublimating of personal desires to a common goal. One's role in life, with its concomitant responsibilities towards other members of the community, was clearly defined from birth to death. City life, by contrast, meant a loss of clearly defined expectations and duties. Activities tended to be carried out on an individual basis, the kin and friendship network lost its basic validity, with a consequent weakening of goals and norms, a condition Durkheim called "anomie".

Work based on this approach has been concerned with such factors as the breakdown of the extended family and implications in terms of isolation from social mores. It included also assumptions about the loss of direction and control by individuals, and their uncertainty about where they fitted into society. Such theories sought mainly to explain criminal or antisocial behaviour ("what causes criminals").

A related approach but one with a different and primarily geographic focus has been concerned with plotting the incidence of crimes throughout urban and rural areas but most particularly within different parts of the metropolitan area. The relationships of various crime rates to population concentration and socio-economic factors is explored ("what causes crime").

A third area may be seen as the overlap between the two. It is concerned with examining the way in which the demographic structure/size factors have brought about certain built forms in the city and how behaviour is affected by these forms -- for example, the possible encouragement of potentially criminal behaviour (or at least irresponsible or "uncaring" behaviours) as well as ease of access to goods in areas whose physical layout makes people perceive them to be unguarded.

A fourth and most recently-developed area of study is not so much concerned with developing explanatory mechanisms for criminal behaviour as exploring the implications that perceptions of crime have for city dwellers. That is, whether or not fear of crime inhibits or changes people's lifestyle.

The four approaches mentioned here are recognised as together covering only part of the totality of criminological research. Each is a macro- approach to crime, concerned with groups and areas rather than individuals and specific locations. This report deals only with the macro- approach. Background literature and research from each of the four will be discussed below.

1.2 SOCIAL GROUP APPROACHES

Braithwaite (1979) describes the work of seminal researchers in the field of criminality and social class as follows:-

> "Cloward and Ohlin ... maintain that if delinquency is to result from the desire to achieve a cultural goal then *two* things are necessary. First, like Merton, they say that the legitimate means for achieving the goal must be blocked; but second, illegitimate means for achieving the goal must be open. Within any given community there may or may not be a system of illegitimate opportunities (a criminal subculture). If, for instance, a lower-class adolescent who does not have legitimate access to success goals available to him is sent to live in a very respectable middle-class suburb, he may find no illegitimate opportunities available either. There will be no criminal-role models and criminal-learning structures, no delinquent gangs to provide social support for delinquency, and tight informal control operating within the community. Thus having either legitimate paths to success goals open or illegitimate paths closed may be enough to prevent an adolescent from becoming delinquent." (p.71).

He notes that Cloward and Ohlin (1960) suggest delinquency is more probable under certain circumstances.

> "The most important of these '... is the attribution of the cause of failure to the social order rather than to oneself, for the way in which a person explains his failure largely determines what he will do about it.'" (p.72).

There is significant evidence to show that delinquents are drawn predominantly from lower socio-economic classes across a variety of Western industrialised nations. A major causal factor is seen to be, as indicated above, the unevenness of access to the mainly materialistic goals held by the wider society, although this in

itself is rarely a sufficient condition alone. Class differences are clearly evident in the accommodation patterns of the older, larger cities at least. Certain of these lower socio-economic class areas are seen to support a subculture which perhaps shares the same goals as the wider society but perceives as legitimate and reasonable very different means of attaining them.

A large amount of work has been done in this area. It is of more immediate interest to this report to point out that a solution to the problem favoured by many researchers is spatial. Braithwaite (1979) summarises:

> "On the basis of opportunity theory, it was hypothesised that to encourage lower-class people to live in lower-class areas is to encourage people with a strong predisposition to crime to live in areas where there is every chance that they will have opportunities to express that predisposition. Thus it was suggested that policies to discourage class segregation would reduce crime. However, there is an alternative prediction: that when lower-class youth live in middle-class areas, they experience community tension and norm conflict, which, in fact, increases their criminality." (p. 170).

However, social class mix is not necessarily beneficially related to factors other than crime. There is sometimes a tendency to develop "them and us" feelings, or for racial disharmony to develop. Social homogeneity in suburban neighbourhoods is often a prerequisite for social cohesion.

Braithwaite examined cross-cultural and Western data in an attempt to resolve this divergence of opinion. He concluded that:

> "Together, these studies lend some support in Western societies for the predictions that the impact on crime of being lower class is greater for those living in lower-class areas than for inhabitants of middle-class areas, and that cities which segregate their poor have higher crime rates." (1979, p.171).

Braithwaite thus (after further examination) cautiously advocates social mix as a possible solution. This is not to belittle the dangers mentioned previously. Other researchers as well as Braithwaite stress the importance of "getting the mix right", both in qualitative and quantitative terms.

Table 1.1 (derived from Braithwaite) indicates that this social class linkage has some basis in Brisbane data as well:-

Table 1.1: Area and Class-Specific Delinquency Rates: Brisbane, 1969 - 1973

Male juvenile delinquency rate per 1000 relevant population

Social class of area	Social class			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
High	9.9	16.8	39.0	19.2
Medium	12.6	18.4	47.9	21.6
Low	20.2	32.3	72.4	46.9
Total	12.6	22.0	55.8	30.4

(Source: Braithwaite (1979), Table 7.3, p. 151)

1.3 SPATIAL APPROACHES

This second area of analysis, concerned with locational and spatial aspects of crime, has a long history. It has been developing for at least 100 years. Booth in 1891 was establishing the locations of both crime and poverty in England.

Perhaps the best-known contribution in the early part of the century was that of the Chicago school of human ecology of the 1920s. Generally, this school recognised areas within cities that were different in density, demographic structure and land use, and that these tended to follow a zonal pattern. This structure was analysed in conjunction (Shaw and McKay, 1942) with delinquency rates. It was shown that delinquency rates declined sharply from the city centre, simultaneously with other phenomena such as rate of dilapidation of housing, rental (as opposed to home ownership) rates, ethnicity, and associated socio-economic variables. Similar patterning and relationships were seen to hold across a number of American cities (e.g., Carroll and Jackson 1983). A more recent study by Bartlett (1980) indicates the possibility of similar patterns occurring in Brisbane, at least for juvenile delinquent behaviour.

The attempt to find the crucial variables to bring about greater predictive power brought in the techniques of factor analysis. Correlation exercises followed by multiple regressions explored the relationships between delinquency and factors such as sub-standard housing, overcrowding, and ethnicity. Lander (1954) found that home ownership and ethnicity were important indicators of delinquency, and he concluded that the degree of social cohesion which he found was typically low in areas where there was only tenuous committment in the form of home ownership, length of residence, and a variety of cultural factors.

However, this relationship was found not to hold throughout cases

tested by other researchers in the area (see for example Schmid's study of Seattle, 1960). The Factor Analytic School, and to a certain extent the Human Ecology School along with it, was subjected to much criticism, particularly the social cohesion or "anomie" linkage. For a while, this total line of analysis fell into disrepute.

But it is an immediate "commonsense" intuitive response, and the data still seems, provocatively, to suggest that there is something in the idea that some environments provide more opportunity than others for crime, or produce more criminal responses to a situation, and that the nature of these environments has common factors.

Davidson (1981) summarises some of the contributions that the ecology and factor analytic schools have made. These are as follows:-

> "(i) The city centre is the primary area of precipitating opportunity." (p. 89). Not only is there more to steal, within walking distance, in terms of goods, cars, etc, but people from all backgrounds are brought regularly and legitimately to the city.
>
> "(ii) Industrial and commercial zones form a second type of precipitating area." (p. 90). Notably, those areas that are fringed with run-down residential areas, presumably residential areas for criminals. Davidson says "in these areas, too, premises would be smaller and less secure - more attractive to casual theft than modern slab-sided factories segregated from housing by planning regulations". (p. 90).
>
> "(iii) Inner city residential areas have a high concentration of offender residences but a high proportion of the offences are also committed there." (p. 90).

Here, Davidson discusses the need to differentiate between what he terms the "residual" and the "transitional" areas. The residual areas are best represented by the traditional English working class suburb, or slum, of which Bethnal Green is the most famous researched example. These neighbourhoods are seen to be characterised by a closely-knit supportive subculture that includes as one of its social mores a contempt for the laws that regulate the wider culture. In contrast, transitional areas do not have cohesive social networks and are characterised rather by social disorganisation, the symptoms of this being high turnover rates, a demographic structure biassed towards non-family units and a high proportion of rental accommodation.

Both these types of areas are seen to be high "producers" or at least harbourers of criminals as well as locations where relatively large numbers of crimes take place. Davidson notes differences between them which he summarises as follows:-

> "For youth in the residual area, crime may be normal behaviour during adolescence; for the inhabitant of the transitional area, crime may reflect failure to achieve adequate economic or social status. In the residual areas it is rarely a plea for help; in the transitional areas it quite often is". (p. 91).

Davidson goes on to discuss other types of inner city areas, that is, new housing estates and suburban residential areas. These are seen, in the British context, to be much lower than other types of city area in crime and criminal residence rates excluding, notably, British public-sector housing estates and suburban transitional areas.

It is obviously erroneous to lump all crimes and thus criminals under the one head. Different crimes do not follow the same locational pattern. It has been found, for example, that a large proportion of crimes of violence against the person are committed by people known to the victim. The behaviour of an older, experienced burglar has a different pattern to that of a young burglar. There are also the considerable problems associated with definition of area and location with regard to the collection and sorting of crime statistics, and the meaningfulness of the arbitrary boundaries assigned. Willingness to report crimes will also vary from area to area.

O'Donnell and Lydgate (1980) find considerable fault with the current means of parcelling and comparing crime statistics on the grounds that realistic inter-area comparisons are not possible if the areas have uneven potential for different types of crimes to be committed. For example, areas with fewer houses do not offer as much scope to vandals and housebreakers as those areas that have a major housing component. They suggest a means of weighting statistics to correct for this. They conclude by suggesting that it may equalise police work loads if land uses (and thus different types of crimes) are more mixed within any given small area.

Rand (1984) suggests that the city form of today is different to that of 20 or so years ago:-

> "In this [former] model, the role of the central city was minimised, mainly serving as a government complex, service centre, and the headquarters for a limited number of manufacturing enterprises... The city now

> has shifted to an emphasis on service industries (finance, insurance, real estate) with radical consequences for its spatial behaviour... with workers commuting to just about everywhere in the city, entertainment and service businesses grow up in diverse locations to serve them. These new magnets further pull people away from home at night and attract large numbers of tourists. Taken together, these factors result in a situation that is tailor-made for robbery in these new entertainment and commercial zones, as well as for burglaries of the now unattended homes in dispersed residential districts." (p. 18)

This would tend to suggest that the old area-specific spatial model must surely be less applicable as applied to cities of the last decade or so. One could assume, for example, that the greater travel mobility of citizens in general would open up new areas of opportunity for criminals. However, recent data still shows a surprising adherence to a spatially predictable pattern when one considers that category which still constitutes the bulk of crimes - delinquency/petty theft/ breaking and entry; that is the "opportunity" crimes.

On this subject, Davidson has this contribution:-

> "Christchurch [New Zealand] and Hull are similar in size and in incidence of crime, including burglary. Compared to shoplifting, burglary is much more localised: few burglars travel outside the main cluster of offending immediately to the east of the [Christchurch] city centre. Very few burglars travel to the richer districts of the north and west of the city: likewise very few choose victims in the same street... These links, however, involve not just distance but also consideration of direction and of the environment of origin and destination." (p. 68).

Finally, Pamela Irving Jackson (1984) has attempted to test whether this opportunity theory is still applicable or not to modern cities which, apart from other features, are much larger

than previously experienced. It was felt that size differences must make some sort of qualitative differences to city life, especially the presence or absence of crime. The results of the study are summarised below:-

> "This work refines and supports Cohen and Felsen's (1979) argument that the dispersion of activities away from the home [as is typical of large cities] impacts positively on the crime rate by increasing the convergence in time and space of an offender, a suitable target and the absence of guardians capable of preventing the violation." (p. 172).

1.4 ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACHES

The geographic approach to the analysis of crime makes in some ways a natural progression to the newer area of environmental influence (rather than environmental determinism) in the analysis of crime rates. This is the school of thought that would see crime rates being affected by the physical design of the area. Jane Jacobs (1961) is one of the notable predecessors of this idea -- as Murray (1983) summarises it, she maintained that people would defend themselves against crime, given the appropriate physical framework. These ideas were developed to a greater degree of detail by Newman (1972), with his concept of "defensible space". Murray summarises the defensible space theory as consisting of three related propositions, namely;-

- territoriality -- proper design can establish real and symbolic barriers to define territory;
- natural surveillance -- "eyes on the street"; and

. image and milieu -- a run-down housing project looks vulnerable, for example.

This theory arrived at a time when there was widespread general gloom over what was perceived to be the inevitable decay of the intimate network of neighbourliness as an consequence of city living, with high mobility, smaller families and impersonality of relationships. Thus the new theory brought a ray of hope. There was extensive exploration and empirical testing of the theory, leading to a more realistic approach which took account of the fact that although physical design could achieve results it was not guaranteed to do so. There was sufficient evidence to indicate that physical design could be one of the variables affecting crime rates but that taken by itself it was neither necessary nor sufficient.

The results of studies involving defensible space concepts varied greatly. For example, one 3-year project (Asylum Hill, in Hartford, Connecticut, quoted in Murray, 1983, pp. 113 ff.) that instigated then monitored the results of design change to increase feelings of cohesion found that although there were direct increases in the "use of neighbourhoods, ability to recognise strangers, intervention in suspicious circumstances and positive perception of neighbours against crime" the actual crime rates did not decrease.

Murray sees defensible space theory's most valuable contribution as an appreciation of the fear of apprehension as the most critical factor in deterring would-be criminals. Merry (1981),

in a study involving conversations with criminals resident in an area found that their concern was not for "symbolic barriers" -- these were of negligible importance -- but that the presence or absence of "nosy people" and busybodies, people who were likely to actively interfere and investigate, was important, as was that crucial factor of whether or not one's escape route was likely to be cut off. That is, areas that are accessible to major traffic routes or large blocks of non-residential land use (places to hide) offer more potential than a snug residential enclave screened from major roads.

Murray concluded "that the effectiveness of defensible space design features depends crucially on the pre-existing social environment and that as a general rule defensible space theory applies least to places with the worst crime problems." (p. 121).

This conclusion seems to mesh in with Davidson's discussion of the two types of crime intensive areas, transitional and residual suburbs.

Murray's conclusions are of considerable interest. He felt that in low crime areas, new designs incorporating defensible space elements were worth considering, but

> "In other, more difficult environments, the problem comes down to the two faces of defensible space. Where neighbours are allies, measures that make it easier for them to see who comes and who goes from each other's homes may serve as an important burglary control function. In neighbourhoods where the neighbour may well be the burglar, the same measure can be a menace." (1983, p. 122).

1.5 PERCEPTION OF CRIME

Finally, the perception of crime - whether fear of crime itself inhibits the actions of city dwellers to the extent that it seriously affects the quality of life (Garofalo 1977, Lavrakas 1982, Maxfield 1984). This approach has recently gained importance in relation to effects on the more obviously disadvantaged groups, such as the elderly (e.g., Goldsmith and Goldsmith 1976, Markson and Hess 1980), but also on urban residents in general. It is somewhat different from the ideas of "perception" in Henschel and Silverman (1975), but is nonetheless both important and interesting. A study by Craik and Appleyard (1980) forms an coherent link between the environmental approaches above and the present approach to crime perception. Their study used a technique (Brunswik's Lens Model) which combines objective and subjective factors to explore how urban residents interpret the city, and to ascertain whether or not there was a set of "signs" or "cues" that were commonly used to "read" whether or not, and to what extent, an area was, for example, seen to be plagued by heavy traffic conditions; of a certain socioeconomic status; or populated by residents who were fearful of/concerned about crime. The study was an extensive one, involving a cross section of San Francisco streetscapes.

The results of most interest to this study are described by the authors as follows:-

> "The ecologically valid cues for resident's concern about crime appeared to include

1) manifestations of the concern, such as incidence of defensive signs (e.g. 'keep out', 'beware of dog') and number of grilles on windows and doors;
2) signs of instances of asocial behaviour (e.g. graffiti, illegally parked cars);
3) hints of an excessively public and difficult-to-defend residential setting (e.g. widths of sidewalks, pedestrians walking through, number of bus stops);
4) poor maintenance of public and private areas; and
5) lack of attributes indicative of relative affluence (e.g. number of trees, exterior decoration." (p. 80).

The study did not have crime as its essential focus; rather the development of an environmental coding system. Thus, we do not know how the crime-fearful suburbs, as indicated by the environmental cues, matched with the actual crime statistics of these areas. Exploration of this topic by other researchers has indicated that the correlation between actual crimes committed and residents perceptions of crime rates plus anticipation of criminal activity is often quite low. In some instances, people have been found to be most fearful in places where, objectively, they have had least to fear. Conklin (1975), in quoting a 1971 report by Furstenburg (Baltimore) found this. Also, Gordon, Riger and Lebailly (1980) in their study of crime, women and the quality of urban life found that actual rates of rape were imperfectly related to the perceived risk of rape, and that there was great variation in the relationship between fear and actuality throughout several neighbourhoods. Their study also found much to support the view that overwhelmingly women in the city, especially elderly women living alone, are leading increasingly more restricted lives because of the fear of crime even though, statistically, certain groups within this category are at low risk.

Davidson (1981) makes a very valuable distinction between the fear of crime and the perception of crime rates of an area. His example succinctly summarises the difference:-

> " Middle-class suburban residents may acknowledge low local crime rates but may be sufficiently afraid to protect their homes from burglary." (p. 117).

It is also a widely-made observation that unless an individual is highly critical of his community he would tend to feel that it was safer and more crime-free than others.

Finally, a study by Katzman (1980) looked at residential mobility -- a practical response to crime rates more open to the average householder. He found, however, that risk of crime or perceived or feared risk of crime was not at all a major influence on house occupancy patterns. Crime could, however, possibly hasten or at least underline or contribute to the decline or "criminal aura" of an area by the fact that householders would take pains to avoid an area that had this reputation.

1.6 BRISBANE AND QUEENSLAND

Some general background on crime in Brisbane and Queensland is presented as an aid in understanding the context of the study. As is common in other countries, general crime figures in Queensland have increased over the years, as shown in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: General Crime, Brisbane and Queensland (*)

	Total offences (Qld)	Total offences (Bris.)	Bris./Q'land (%)	% offences cleared
1978-79	105,519			
1979-80	118,051	56,176	29.9	51
1980-81	128,489			
1981-82	138,489	65,851	47.5	53
1982-83	156,658			
1983-84	175,685	81,443	46.4	52
1984-85	180,660			

(Source: ABS Reports 4502.3: Queensland Law and Order; and Queensland Police Department Annual Report 1985).

The Queensland Commissioner of Police, in his 1985 Annual Report, noted that for the twelve months between July, 1985 and June, 1986, reported general crime rose by 2.8% over the previous year; but that this was a lower rate than the 12% increase the previous year. The rate of increase for serious crimes was 3.2% (better than the 9% the previous year). Despite the excellent clear-up rate in the State he felt that the "crime picture in Queensland continues to cause concern" (p. 1).

Two points of relevance to the findings of this study were the fact that, "after a marked reduction in most categories last year, juvenile criminal activity showed an across-the-board increase this year." (p. 1). Overall there was an increase of 17.7% in the number of recorded offences with juvenile involvement. Young offenders committed 55% of all cleared offences in breaking and

entering, 43% of stealing offences, 31% of receiving stolen property and 29% for malicious damage (pp. 1-2). There may be biasing factors in these results, including the fact that younger, more inexperienced offenders might be caught more easily than older offenders, but nonetheless the fact remains of a high apparent involvement of young people in crime. As the survey results show there was a similar concern by the residents interviewed.

The second main point of relevance was related in the Annual Report to juvenile crime but also has wider relevance. The Commissioner noted that,

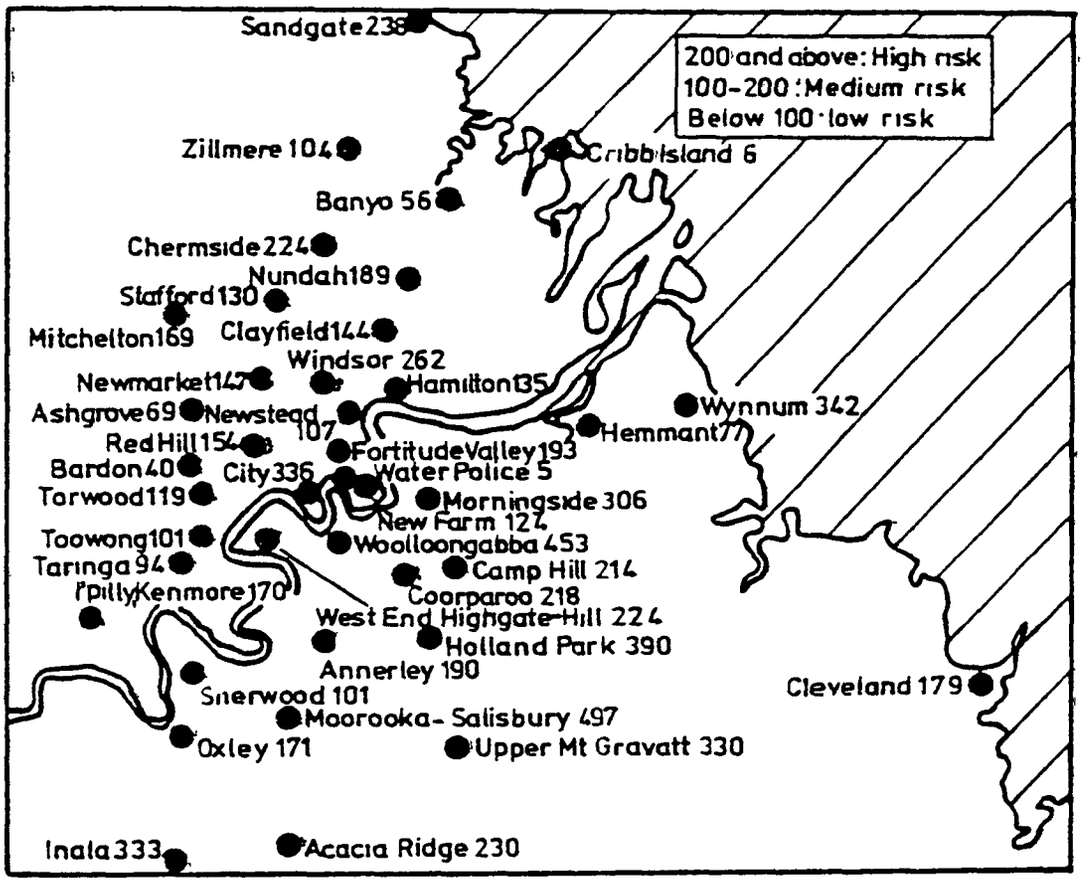
> "There is increasing evidence that our modern lifestyle is a major contributory factor to juvenile problems. Greater freedom for young people, lack of parental guidance and supervision and the economic climate with high unemployment have all had their effect on some members of our young generation." (p. 2).

Similar comments were made by many of the people interviewed in Spring Hill and Paddington in the survey, although they did not always relate their comments only to juvenile crime.

Given the high percentage of Queensland's reported crime in Brisbane (Table 1.2) studies in Brisbane have significance for the whole State.

The present study joins a number focussing on Brisbane. Some, like that of de Gruchy and Hansford (1980) have a very specific focus. But clues to patterns can be derived from a number of sources. The map shown in Figure 1 is an example. It shows the

Breaking and Entering Offences, 1978



MAP SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF BREAKING AND ENTERING OFFENCES THROUGHOUT BRISBANE IN YEAR ENDING JUNE 30. 1978.

Source: Courier Mail 23 July 1978

(Redrawn and shown in Veal, 1980, p. 46)

1

1978 incidence of breaking and entering offences reported to the police in Brisbane.

Initially it would seem that the expectation of this kind of crime being a lower-class residential area phenomenon is borne out in Brisbane (see also Table 1.1 above).

Taking as a high-risk classification suburbs with 200 or more offences, we can identify Windsor (262), Wynnum (342), Inala (333), Holland Park (390), Morningside (306), and Moorooka-Salisbury (497). Inala could perhaps be seen as a Brisbane version of a residual area with a sub-culture of its own, as could perhaps Holland Park. Woolloongabba and Windsor could be seen as "areas in transition", with fringe decay and mixed uses. Spring Hill does not appear on the map as a separate place, but is included within the City figure. At least for this type of offence the Spring Hill/Paddington part of the city appears not to be a high-risk place. Clearly further information would be needed before any substantial hypotheses could be developed from these figures: large numbers may reflect large numbers of houses potentially available as crime sites rather than merely large numbers of crimes, and smaller numbers could come from areas with mixed land use (thus biasing the result for places like Spring Hill).

Similarly, Bartlett's study (1980) and the earlier study of Spring Hill (Minnery and Veal 1981) indicate possible patterns.

Points from both the general literature and the earlier studies of Brisbane which are thought to be of particular relevance for this study include:

. the difference between reporting rates and crime occurrences;

. household characteristics and perception of crime;

. neighbourliness, visiting and perception of crime;

. ideas of the relation between social change and crime;

. the nature of "residual" and "transitional" areas;

. environmental "cues"; and

. the implication that inner city areas have a particular crime problem.

These and other points of interest will be developed in the body of the report.

There were a number of points made in the literature which could not be explored in the present survey but which seem to deserve future attention. One is that of the scale and homogeneity or hetrogeneity of a residential area (both in terms of land use and of social characteristics) and whether there is a relationship with crime levels. Some interesting findings are reported from elsewhere, but the local applicability is a matter of conjecture.

CHAPTER TWO:

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER TWO: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The method used in this survey is based on that used in the original Spring Hill survey in 1980 to ensure basic compatibility, but there have been a number of improvements.

Firstly the questionnaire, although based on that used in 1980, has been considerably extended. Secondly, in cooperation with the Queensland Police Department a question relating to residents' knowledge of, and desire for, a security inspection by the police, was included (See Chapter Three, Tables 3.30-3.32). And thirdly, as this survey was to be analysed by computer rather than by hand it was considerably more sophisticated. A copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix A.

The 1980 survey was of dwellings and households in Spring Hill, a Brisbane inner city residential suburb subject to considerable development pressures. Rapid and substantial changes were occurring, in terms of office encroachment, "re-vitalization" and renewal of houses, and the gradual replacement of lower status residents by non-residential uses or by higher status households. The Brisbane City Council was, in 1980, in the process of developing special land use policies for the area. The 1980 survey anticipated those policies and their implementation. By 1986, some years after the policies had been implemented, the time was ripe for a re-evaluation. But a problem with the 1980 survey had been its lack of direct comparison with other similar suburbs. The question arose as to whether the conclusions more

widely applicable, or whether they should be confined to Spring Hill? As it stood the question was unanswerable. Thus, this present survey re-evaluated the situation in Spring Hill but also sought a suburb which was in crucial characteristics like Spring Hill. As explained below, the comparison suburb chosen was Paddington.

A random sample size of about 15% of the universe of dwellings was chosen as being both suitable and within the limits imposed by resources. It was also about the same proportion as that used in the original Spring Hill survey. The latest reliable dwelling counts were those of the 1981 Census of Population and Housing; but it was obvious that the housing situation had changed since 1981 -- in fact, one of the major reasons for undertaking the investigation.

For comparative purposes the surveys were confined to the two suburbs of Spring Hill and Paddington as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The suburb of Spring Hill covered the same area in 1986 as it did in 1980. This differs from the areas used by the Queensland Police Department for the collection of information on reported crime. Spring Hill is included as part of the City Division and as part of the Fortitude Valley Division. Most of Paddington comes within the Red Hill Division but some is within Torwood. Direct comparisons using statistics of reported crime were thus, in practical terms, impossible.

Because of the likely changes between 1981 and 1986, detailed

counts of dwellings distinguishing houses, units and flats (but excluding private and licensed hotels) were undertaken in both suburbs. This gave a total of 741 dwellings in Spring Hill and 2832 in Paddington. The overall sample size was matched to this universe. The completed samples contained 475 (17%) dwellings in Paddington and 118 (16%) in Spring Hill. Areas of non-residential land use were noted on the survey maps used to record the count of dwellings and were excluded from the sample selection process.

The specific sample was chosen on a city block basis. Blocks in Brisbane, and particularly in the two suburbs surveyed, are extremely irregular. They vary considerably in both size and shape. In the two suburbs, but particularly in Spring Hill, they vary also in the proportion of residential to non-residential uses. Each block was given an identifying number. A quota of dwellings was then chosen from it proportional to the sample size. A point on the block was chosen randomly and noted on a map of the block. Interviewers were instructed to start from that point and then to work anti-clockwise selecting dwellings at random until the block quota had been filled. They were to try to obtain interviews, as far as was possible, from every fourth or fifth dwelling. Resource constraints restricted the use of call-backs so the households chosen for interview had necessarily to be available on the interview days.

The interviews themselves were conducted, as a first choice, with the senior female of the household -- the person most likely to be the confidant of household victims of crime. Where the senior

female could not be interviewed (for example, both suburbs have a high proportion of migrants, and many of the older people are unable to speak English) another senior person, preferably female, was chosen.

As will be seen from the table of household structure (Table 3.6) both suburbs had a high proportion of households other than the "traditional" couple with children. This is a function of their inner city location. Interviewers were thus frequently unable to find a "senior female". In such cases the person most likely to know details of the household's experience of crime was chosen. It should be noted that interviews were not conducted using the more usual "head of the household". Because of this, collection of data on household income and other social indicators would have been difficult. Thus, in a trade-off between gaining information on crime and information on background household data a deliberate choice in favour of crime data was made.

The interviews were conducted by professional staff from Field Facts (Queensland). They were conducted over two consecutive weekends, on the May 31st and June 1st, and June 7th and 8th, 1986. Interviews were checked by supervisors to ensure all questions had been answered, and again by the author before the questionnaires were forwarded for encoding. The two open-ended questions were also coded at this stage.

The questionnaire results were punched into data files for the DEC-10 computer of the Queensland Institute of Technology, and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

(SPSS). The first run was used to check the accuracy of the data punching. A few small corrections were made by reference back to the original questionnaires, and the main data then analysed.

The questionnaire centred around three main areas of interest. The first was that relating to perceptions of crime rates and of changes in these. Questions in this section asked people how they thought crime rates in the suburb had changed over time, how they thought the crime rate in the suburb compared with that in other similar suburbs, and what they thought the influence of a list of factors might have been. The second major part asked about actual victimisation of people in the household and whether the crimes had been reported to the police. And thirdly, at the request of the Queensland Police Department there was a question on people's awareness of, and interest in, the Department's security inspection and advice service. Of course, underlying these areas of interest were a series of questions requesting relevant background information. A copy of the questionnaire used is included as Appendix A.

CHAPTER THREE:

SPRING HILL AND PADDINGTON SURVEY RESULTS

CHAPTER THREE: SPRING HILL AND PADDINGTON SURVEY RESULTS:

3.1 THE TWO SUBURBS IN 1981:

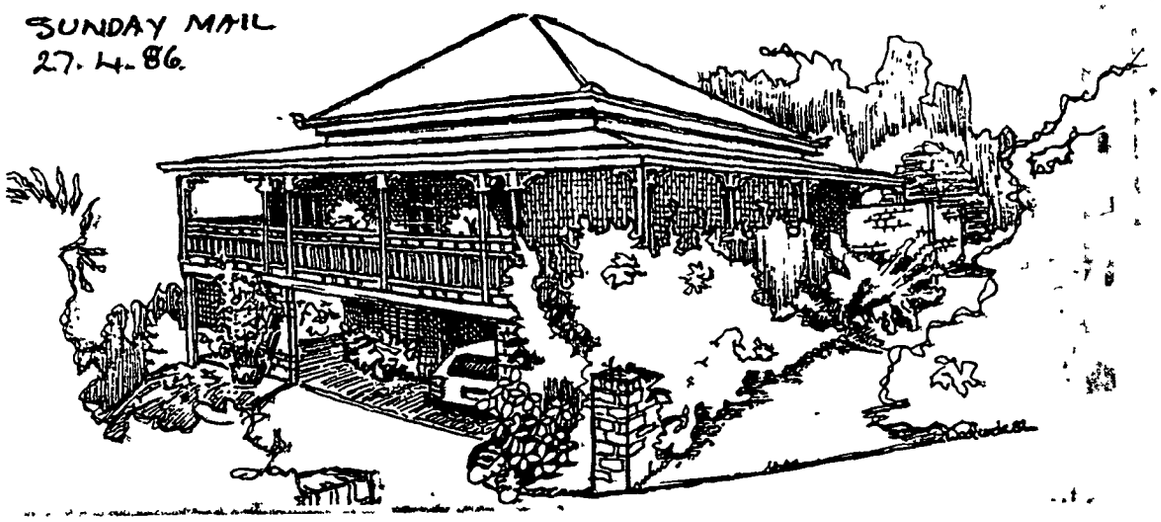
The two suburbs are both inner city residential areas, although as Figures 2 and 3 show, Spring Hill is closer to the city centre than is Paddington. Something of the history of Spring Hill is given in Minnery and Veal (1981) and a summary contained in Chapter Five below.

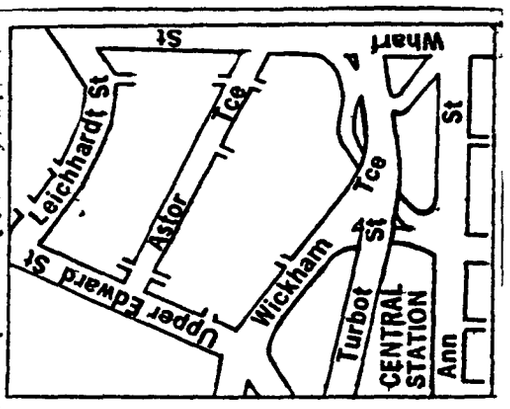
Tables 3.1 to 3.5 below compare the populations of the two suburbs as reported in the 1981 census of population and housing. The surveys being discussed here were carried out at about the same time as the 1986 census and so the 1981 information is five years out of date. It is, however, the only information of its kind available.

The census information shows that of the two, Paddington is closer to the "average" pattern shown for the whole of Brisbane Statistical Division. But in many crucial indicators both show similarities which in turn distinguish them from the rest of Brisbane.

All that's Paddington isn't small

SUNDAY MAIL
27.4.86





City street to become a 'semi-mall'

A SPRING Hill street will become a "semi-mall" under an agreement between Brisbane City Council and a Brisbane developer.

Seymour Developments will spend $350,000 to widen and pave the footpaths and landscape Astor Terrace.

The plan to improve pedestrian facilities and restrict traffic in the street will be announced today by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Atkinson.

Seymour Developments, a major owner of land on both sides of Astor Terrace, has been negotiating to win approval for the project since 1984.

The developer also plans to include large plazas in the project. The move will play a major part in creating pedestrian links through the city.

The plaza will link with Wickham Terrace and people will be able to follow walkways from Spring Hill, through Central Station to the city centre and the Queen Street Mall.

Families like Spring Hill too

SUNDAY MAIL 20.4.86

life for Spring Hill

2

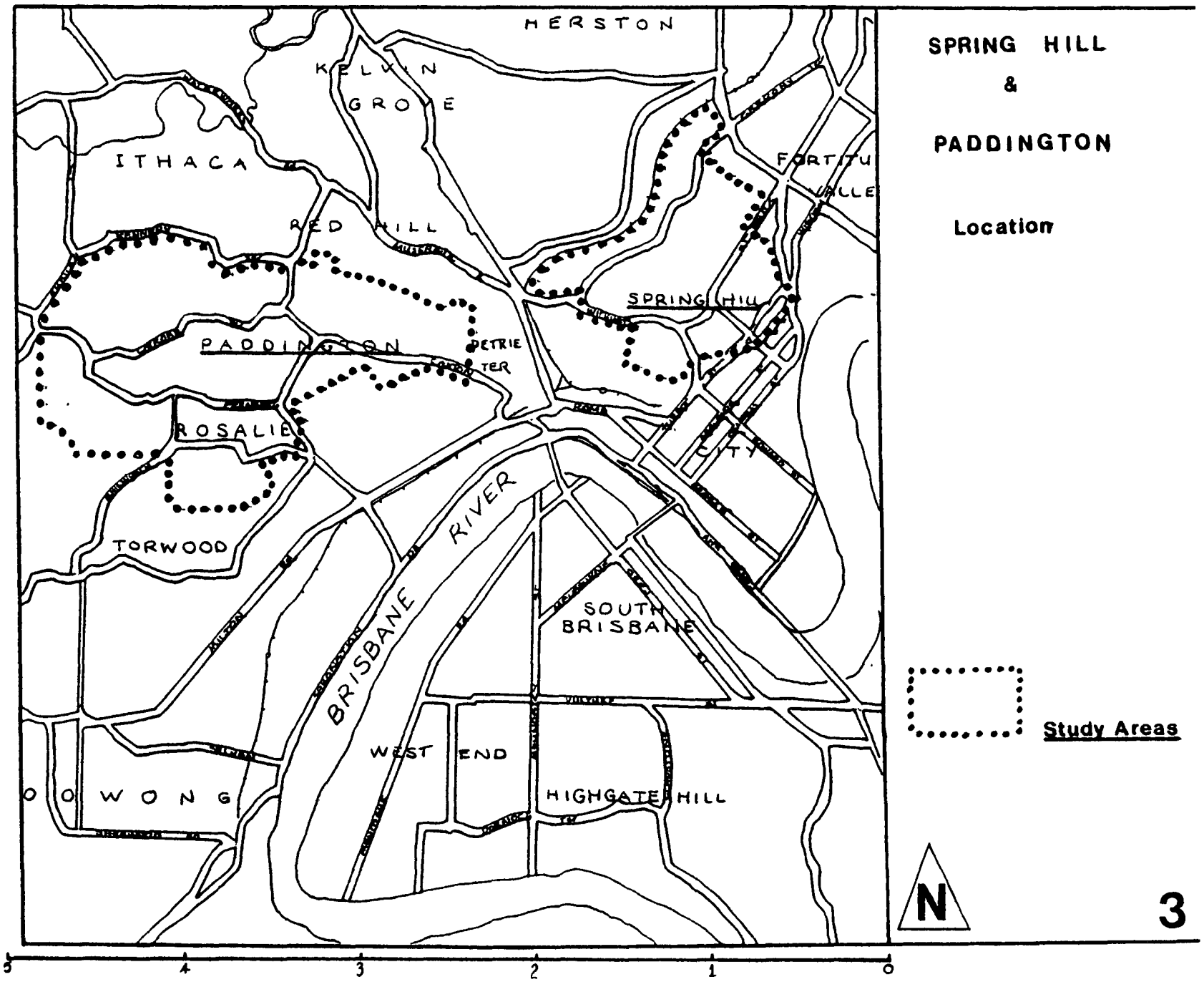

HERSTON
KELVIN GROVE
ITHACA
RED HILL
FORTITUDE VALLEY
SPRING HILL
PADDINGTON
PETRIE TER
ROSALIE
CITY
TORWOOD
BRISBANE RIVER
SOUTH BRISBANE
WEST END
HIGHGATE HILL
O O W O N G
SPRING HILL
&
PADDINGTON
Location
Study Areas
N
3
5
4
3
2
1
0

Table 3.1: Comparison of Spring Hill and Paddington (1981)

	Spring Hill	Paddington	Brisbane Stat.Div.
Total persons	3 583	6 901	1 028 527
Total households	1 105	2 829	331 915
Persons/household	3.24	2.44	3.09
Males:Females	141:100	96:100	97:100
% Australian-born	63.2	75.2	80.8
% Overseas-born	28.6	22.1	18.1
% Aborig. and TSI	1.1	2.2	0.6
% "Other"	7.1	0 5	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1981 Census of Population and Housing)

The single major criterion used to choose Paddington as a suitable comparison with Spring Hill was its occupational structure. No suburb can be exactly like another, but of all the inner city suburbs, Paddington was the most like Spring Hill in this regard. The comparative occupational structure is shown in Table 3.2 below. Paddington is more like Spring Hill than are any of the other inner city suburbs, although even then Spring Hill had a higher proportion of professional and technical people, but a smaller proportion of clerical workers and tradesmen, than did Paddington. Spring Hill, in fact, appears to have a greater division between affluent and poor.

Table 3.2: Comparative Occupational Structure (1981)

Occupation	Spring Hill (%)	Paddington (%)	Brisbane Stat. Div. (%)
Professional/Tech.	20.3	18.9	13.8
Administration, etc	5.9	3.6	5.3
Clerical	16.6	20.0	20.4
Sales worker	5.8	7.8	9.9
Tradesmen	17.5	25.3	28.2
Service etc	11.8	13.5	8.7
(Other and N/S)	22.1	10.9	13.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1981 Census of Population and Housing)

The employment structure of the two suburbs is shown in Table 3.3. As can be seen, Spring Hill had a higher proportion of unemployed than Paddington, but both had more than the Brisbane "average". In very broad terms the two suburbs are similar. Both have above "average" levels of wage and salary earners and a higher proportion in the labour force.

Table 3.3: Employment Structures (1981)

	Spring Hill (%)	Paddington (%)	Brisbane Stat. Div. (%)
Wage/Salary earner	40.8	44.4	37.5
Self employed	1.8	2.8	2.8
Employer	1.5	1.5	2.1
Helper, unpaid	0.2	0.1	0.3
Unemployed	8.3	4.1	2.5
Total labour force	52.6	52.9	45.2
Not in labour force	47.3	47.1	54.8
	99.9	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1981 Census of Population and Housing)

Although they are similar, it cannot be said that the social patterns in the two suburbs are the same. There are also differences in the pattern of dwelling occupancy between the two:

Spring Hill has much fewer owner-occupiers and conversely many more renters. The proportions of the different kinds of household ownership are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Nature of Dwelling Occupancy (Households) (1981)

	Spring Hill	Paddington	Brisbane Stat.Div.
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Owner	13.2	34.1	32.7
Purchaser	2.8	17.8	36.6
Own/purchaser undef.	0.5	1.2	1.8
Tenant - hous. auth.	1.0	0.1	3.7
Tenant - other	63.2	41.0	20.3
NEI	3.8	3.0	2.7
Not stated	15.5	2.8	2.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1981 Census of Population and Housing)

And again in very general terms, Paddington is much more of a middle income suburb than is Spring Hill, although Spring Hill has fewer people listed as not having an income and more listed as having incomes over $22 000 (See Table 3.5). Spring Hill can be seen as more of a suburb of contrasts. Perhaps Spring Hill's higher proportion who did not state their income is also significant.

Table 3.5: Personal Income (1981)

	Spring Hill	Paddington	Brisbane Stat. Div.
	(%)	(%)	(%)
None	7.8	9.1	12.8
$4000 and below	29.7	26.9	24.2
$4001 - $12000	30.3	40.9	36.1
$12001 - $22000	13.8	17.7	18.5
over $22001	5.3	2.4	3.3
N/S	13.1	3.0	5.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1981 Census of Population and Housing)

As can be seen from these various tables the population in Spring Hill in 1981 was almost half that in Paddington. Spring Hill's population had in fact decreased by 539 (from 4122 to 3583) between 1976 and 1981. This is less than the decrease between 1966 and 1976 of approximately 2400. Spring Hill's population decline appeared to have slowed down by 1981. Paddington's change over the same periods was from 8480 (1971) down to 7852 in 1976, and to 6901 by 1981. Paddington's decline had accelerated slightly in the two intercensal periods.

In summary, in most significant ways the two suburbs are alike, but in others they are dissimilar.

The ways in which they are both similar, and are both different from the pattern in the Brisbane Statistical Division include:

. a higher proportion of non-Australian born people, and of Aboriginals (although Paddington has fewer overseas born, and more Aboriginals than Spring Hill);
. high proportions of professional and technical people, and of service employees, but lower proportions of tradesmen;
. higher proportions of wage and salary earners, lower proportions of people not in the work force, and higher rates of unemployment;
. high proportions of rented accommodation;
. a greater proportion of people in the lower income and middle income groups, and conversely smaller proportions in the higher income brackets.

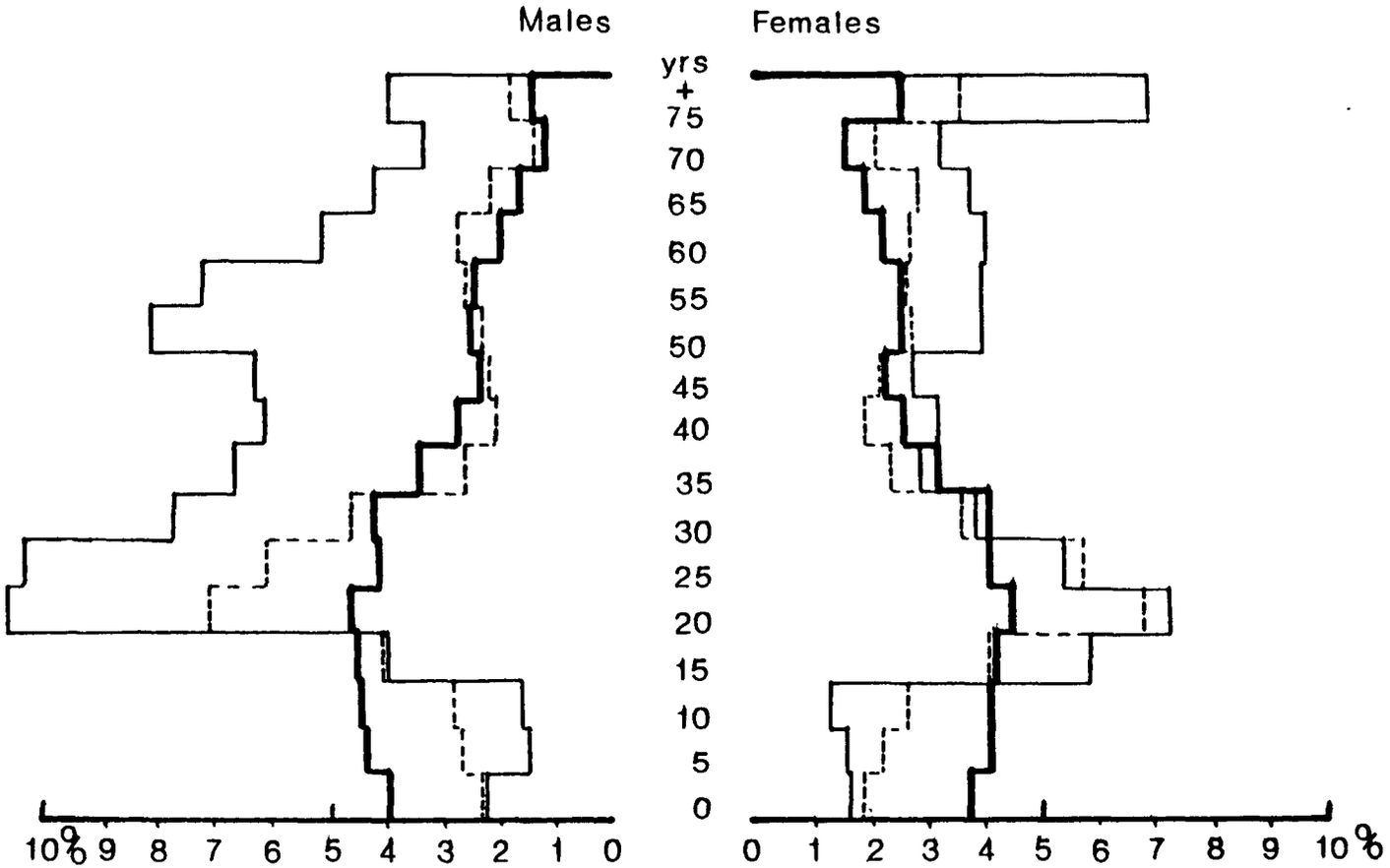
The two suburbs showed some dissimilarities in that:

. Spring Hill's household size of 3.24 is higher than that of Brisbane as a whole (3.09) and very significantly higher than that for Paddington (2.44);
. there was a much higher proportion of tradesmen in Paddington than in Spring Hill;
. the unemployment rate in 1981 in Spring Hill was double that in Paddington;
. Paddington had a much higher proportion of owner-occupiers, and conversely a lower proportion of renters than Spring Hill;
. Paddington had a higher proportion of middle income earners.

In general terms, Paddington appears closer to the Brisbane "average" than Spring Hill, but both are together significantly different from the overall pattern.

Figure 4 shows the population structures for the two suburbs, again compared with that for the Brisbane Statistical Division. The imbalance of males to females in Spring Hill is immediately apparent. Both suburbs have an older population profile than does the BSD. Two other important characteristics can be seen as well. Firstly both have a very much smaller proportion of children of school age and below, reflecting the generally lower proportion of young families, but there are more children in Paddington. And both have significantly higher proportions of young working aged people (20-30 years). Spring Hill's "bulge" in the retired male and close to retired male (ie, 50 upwards) is also worthy of attention.

Population Structures 1981



Spring Hill

Paddington

Brisbane Stat. Div.

4

3.2 CHANGES SINCE 1981:

Both Spring Hill and Paddington have undergone change since 1981. Spring Hill has been the focus of a Development Control Plan, implemented in 1981 by the Brisbane City Council. DCPs were made possible by changes in the Queensland Local Government Act in 1980. They enable a town planning authority to produce a plan, including policies, guidelines and supporting information, for an area needing special attention. In effect, a DCP overrides the normal land use zoning requirements. Spring Hill was the first area in Queensland to have such a plan. It was historically a residential area but because of its proximity to the city centre had attracted government, office and commercial developments. The DCP divided the suburb into a number of precincts where specific uses were to dominate: some commercial and some residential. In the residential areas there were normally restrictions on the type of development so that new buildings would fit in with the historical character of the existing houses. Similar restrictions and guidelines were placed on non-residential buildings in some precincts. Thus, since 1981 Spring Hill has been subject to controlled "gentrification". The renovation and upgrading of housing, as well as the establishment of new housing, has been encouraged by the Brisbane City Council. There have been new units built, new architect-designed houses (some award-winning), and a number of substantial renovations of historic houses. Many of the historic dwellings were workers cottages or other similar smaller dwellings. These are attractive to single people, couples without children or couples with small families who want to spend time and money in upgrading

their house. Sprinkled along the ridges of the suburb are also more substantial mansions, many of which have also been renovated (although some have become offices, art galleries and the like).

In Paddington there has also been "gentrification", but it has been slower and not subject to specific town planning controls. The suburb is located close to the city and close to main bus and traffic routes. It also has an interesting hilly topography with fine views of the city, many substantial older dwellings and a settled, treed appearance. Thus, it has attracted city workers looking for rental accommodation, young couples looking for houses to renovate, and investors looking for either sites to redevelop or houses to refurbish. It is not subject to the same pressures for office development as is Spring Hill, although new offices and upmarket shops have been built in and near existing shopping areas.

Both Spring Hill and Paddington have a substantial population of older established residents who have lived in their present home for many years.

3.3 THE TWO SUBURBS IN 1986:

We turn now to the background information on residents and households obtained in the 1986 questionnaire survey. The diversity of the populations within the two suburbs is shown in the tables below. The range of household types is shown in Table 3.6. Both suburbs demonstrate the kind of populations expected in inner city suburbs: high proportions of single person, and

single parent, households and high proportions of people sharing rented accommodation (peer groups). The "other" category included structures like brothers or sisters sharing a dwelling, grandparents with grandchildren, and so on.

Assuming the survey is representative of the total population the reduction in average household size in Spring Hill between 1981 and 1986 is indicative of the change to couples and small families from shared houses, the pattern expected from "gentrification".

Table 3.6: Household Structure (1986)

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	No.	%	No.	%
Single person	88	18 5	36	30.6
Single parent family	34	7.2	7	5.9
Group of sing. parent families	1	0.2	--	--
Couple without children	103	21.7	19	16.1
Couple with child/ren	106	22.3	11	9.3
Extended family	16	3.4	6	5.1
Peer group	76	16.0	26	22.0
Other	51	10.7	13	11.0
	475	100.0	118	100.0
Mean household size:	2.63		2.26	
Modal household size:	2		2	
Median household size:	2.38		2.06	

Thus, whilst in both suburbs the average household size was about two persons, in Paddington there was a greater spread of sizes, and a greater proportion of large households. In Spring Hill, for example, 85.6% of the households were of three or fewer people, whilst in Paddington 76.6% were that small.

The high proportion of rented accommodation identified in the census results in 1981 are reflected also in the survey sample

five years later. However, the proportion of owner/purchasers has increased in both suburbs (from 16.5% to 33.1% in Spring Hill; and 53.1% to 58.7% in Paddington). The increase in Spring Hill is marked, although it is from a smaller base value.

Table 3.7: Dwelling Ownership

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	No.	%	No.	%
Rented	190	40.0	79	66.9
Owned/buying	279	58.7	39	33.1
Other	6	1.3	---	----
	475	100.0	118	100.0

As would be expected the more recent arrivals in both suburbs tend to live in rented rather than bought accommodation. This pattern is more pronounced in Spring Hill then in Paddington. Spring Hill clearly acts more as an inner city, transient settlement area than does Paddington. Nonetheless the proportion of owner/purchaser recent arrivals is significant, although the proportion in Spring Hill is less than half that in Paddington.

Table 3.8: Dwelling Ownership and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Rented	60.6	19.7	83.1	47.2
Owned/buying	38.6	78.7	16.9	52.8
Other	0.8	1.7	----	----
	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

Close to half of the households in both suburbs had been there for over 5 years, and 30-38% for ten years and over. But almost one quarter in each suburb had been resident for less than one

year. The pattern of a mixture of both long-term residents and recent arrivals is reinforced. Both are long-settled suburbs undergoing more recent change.

Table 3.9: Length of Residence

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Less than 1 year	21.5	23.7
1 to 4 years	28.2	31.4
5 to 9 years	12.4	14.4
10 years and over	37.9	30.5
	100.0	100.0

The people who had moved to the suburb within the last five years were asked to choose from a given list the three main reasons they moved there. The results are shown in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Reasons for Moving to Suburb

	Paddington % of mentions			Spring Hill % of mentions		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Recent improvements	0.2	0.6	1.5	--	--	4.2
Housing investment	6.7	1.9	2.3	0.8	2.5	1.7
Close to city	21.3	7.8	3.8	33.1	9.3	0.8
Low crime rate	0.2	0.2	0.6	--	--	--
Close to work	8.6	13.1	3.4	7.6	14.4	3.4
Close to school	0.6	2.7	0.6	0.8	1.7	--
Good pub. trans.	0.8	2.9	6.1	0.8	4.2	3.4
This dwell. avail.	3.4	4.0	2.7	2.5	6.8	3.4
Near friends/relat.	1.3	2.5	2.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Rent. accom. avail.	1.9	3.2	3.6	--	2.5	4.2
Near services	0.2	0.8	2.5	0.8	1.7	1.7
Cheap to buy	0.2	0.8	1.3	--	--	0.8
Cheap to rent	0.8	1.9	4.0	3.4	4.2	5.9
Other reason	3.2	1.9	3.4	5.9	2.5	3.4

The overwhelming first reason given, in both cases, for locating in the suburb was its proximity to the city. The most important second mention is proximity to work. There is a slight

preference for Paddington over Spring Hill as an investment opportunity. Neither the recent improvements in evidence from both private and public actions, nor the expectation of a low crime rate, appear to be very significant -- neither is as often mentioned as is the availability of the particular dwelling.

Both suburbs are seen as of average friendliness or more friendly. The proportions for the two suburbs are remarkably similar, in fact. Very few respondents felt their suburb was unfriendly.

Table 3.11: Opinion of Friendliness of Suburb

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Very friendly	16.8	16.9
Friendly	48.0	39.8
Average	33.1	31.4
Unfriendly	1.9	3.4
Very unfriendly	---	---
Don't know	0.2	8.5
	100.0	100.0

Interestingly enough this opinion is not reinforced by apparent visiting patterns. In both suburbs, around half of the respondents visited others in the block infrequently ("not often") or not at all.

Table 3.12: Frequency of Visits in Neighbourhood

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Frequently	19.6	20.3
Sometimes	28.4	25.4
Not often	27.6	24.6
Never	24.2	29.7
	99.8	100.0

It is interesting to decompose the responses for the previous few questions by length of residence in the particular suburb. If we distinguish long term residents from new-comers as being those who have lived in the suburb for more than, or less than, five years, the following details emerge.

Table 3.13: Friendliness and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Very friendly	12.7	20.9	12.3	22.6
Friendly	48.3	47.7	44.6	34.0
Average	36.0	30.1	29.2	34.0
Unfriendly	2.5	1.3	4.6	1.9
Don't know	0.4	---	9.2	7.5
	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

Clearly there is some ambiguity in interpreting this table. Longer term residents are more definite about the suburb being "very friendly" but fewer of them call it only "friendly". The difference between Paddington and Spring Hill is also ambiguous.

Table 3.14: Frequency of Visits and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Visit frequently	19.1	20.1	21.5	18.9
Visit sometimes	32.6	24.3	23.1	28.3
Not often visit	23.2	31.8	20.0	30.2
Never visit in block	24.6	23.8	35.4	22.6
	99.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
(No answer	0.5)			

Again no clear pattern emerges from this table. This is somewhat different from the pattern expected in such "transitional" suburbs (Davidson 1983). The expectation is of greater cohesion, identified with friendships and visiting patterns, amongst longer-term residents.

3.4 OPINIONS ON CRIME:

This section reports the opinions of households on the level and type of crime in their suburbs. There is a limited comparison with data on reported crime for the two police Divisions which cover the suburb of Paddington. The survey also asked about actual victimisation and resultant reporting of crime. This information is contained in Chapter Four.

As shown in Table 3.15, some 35% of those in Paddington and 28% of those in Spring Hill thought that the general level of crime had increased over the last five years or so. But only a very small proportion of those questioned (between 4% and 8%) thought that the rate in their suburb was higher than in other similar suburbs (Table 3.16). The two were generally felt to be much the

same as, or lower than, other similar suburbs in terms of their crime rates, although few in Spring Hill felt that their suburb actually had a lower rate than elsewhere. One gains an impression of a population which does not see its inner city location as conducive of crime. Significantly almost 20% of those in Spring Hill felt that the level of crime there had decreased over the last five years, the time of significant action by the Brisbane City Council and others. Only about 5% of those in Paddington felt there had been a decrease. About 35% of people in the two suburbs thought the level of crime had remained much the same.

Table 3.15: Has There Been a Change to the Level of Crime?

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Increased greatly	7.8	5.9
Increased	27.4	22.0
Decreased	5.1	14.4
Decreased greatly	0.2	5.1
Much the same	35.4	34.0
Don't know	24.2	18.6
	100.1	100.0

Table 3.16: Comparison of Crime With Other Similar Suburbs

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Here higher	3.6	7.6
Here much the same	34.3	37.3
Here lower than others	49.0	38.2
Don't know	13.1	16.9
	100.0	100.0

Table 3.17 relates opinion on the level of crime to length of residence in the two suburbs. Broadly speaking there is a

tendency for either more recent arrivals to feel that the level of crime in the two suburbs has increased or for more of them to feel that it has definitely decreased, except that in Spring Hill more long term residents feel there has been a decrease. The generally higher proportion of Spring Hill residents who feel the crime rate has decreased has already been commented upon. It seems likely that perceptions have been influences by changes in the kind of environmental "cues" discussed by Craik and Appleyard (1980). The kind of activity associated with "revitalization" and "gentrification", along with positive initiatives by the Brisbane City Council, seem to have had an impact on residents' perceptions of crime.

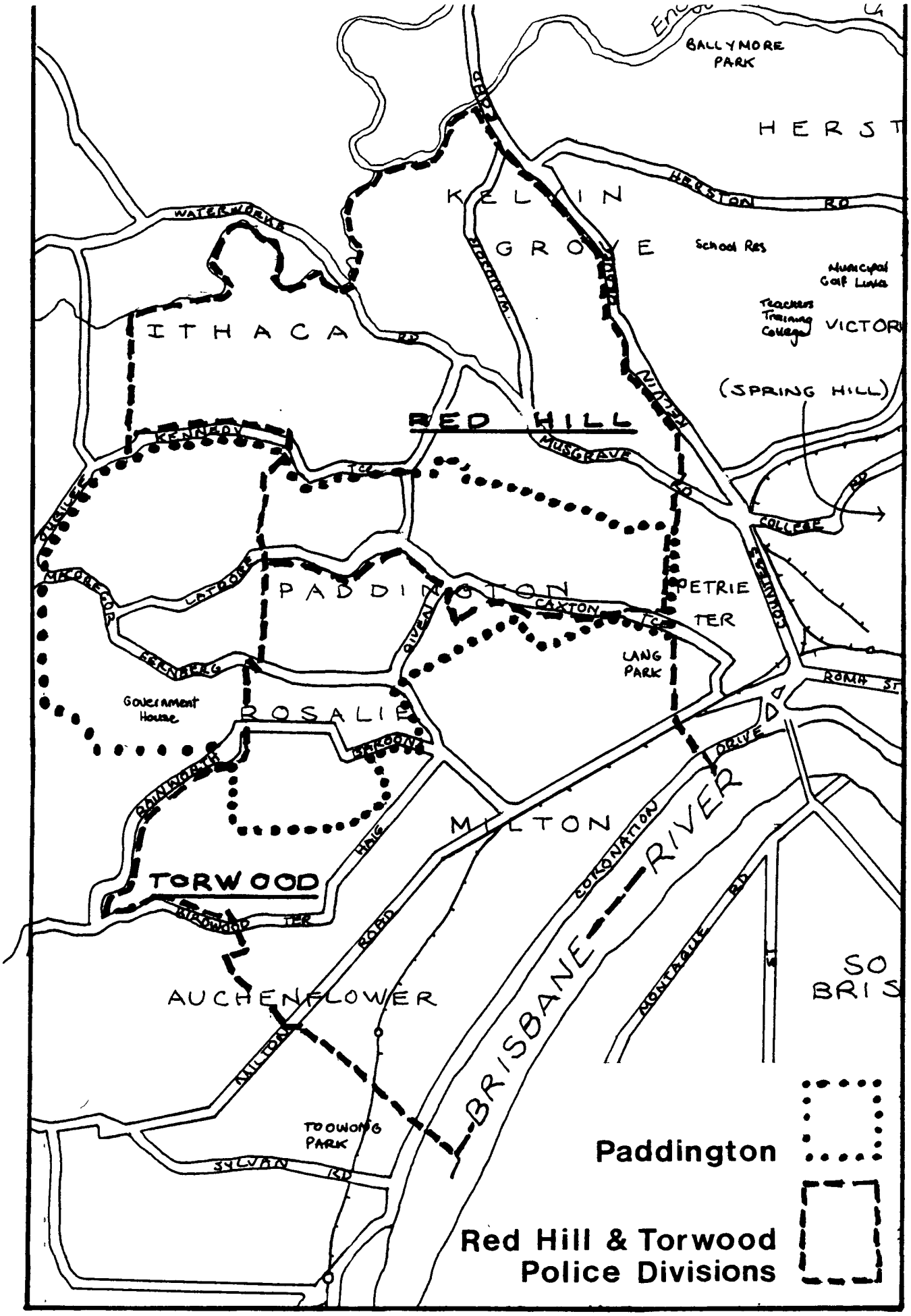
Table 3.17: Opinion on Level of Crime and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Increased greatly	3.0	12.6	6.2	5.7
Increased	20.3	34.3	16.9	28.3
Decreased	4.2	5.9	12.3	17.0
Decreased greatly	---	0.4	4.6	5.7
Much the same	30.5	40.1	30.8	37.6
Don't know	42.0	6.7	29.2	5.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

An attempt was made to relate some of the factors considered above to the household's experience of different types of crime. No consistent or clear pattern emerged. However, it was clear that different types of crime were associated to a greater or lesser degree with different opinions. Details of the results or the attempts at identifying inter-relationships are given in Appendix B.

Some crime statistics were made available by the Queensland Police Department for the Police Divisions of Red Hill and Torwood. The census suburb of Paddington includes parts of the areas of responsibility for these two stations. The boundaries are nowhere near the same (as Figure 5 shows) but if there had been major changes in reported crime in those two Divisions over the years it would be from people many of whom would be living in Paddington. Table 3.18 below shows that figures for crime reported to the two Divisional stations over the last five years. The table shows that the pattern is one of general fluctuation from year to year rather than of a steady increase or decrease over the five years. In Red Hill, serious assault has tended to decrease, whilst breaking and entering of shops and other premises, malicious damage and fraud have tended to increase. In Torwood serious assault has increased, as have breaking and entering of dwellings, shops and other premises, as well as of fraud. Other crimes seem to have fluctuated more from year to year within the five-year period than between the start and the end of the period.

These fluctuations are as would be expected in such small areas. At this level an upsurge of, say, malicious damage over a year could be the result of one person or a particular small group moving into the area. Table 3.19 below shows the figures for the two Division combined. At this level, the lack of any clear trends is even more apparent. For most of the crimes shown there was an increase in 1982-1985, over 1981-82, but the numbers had dropped by 1985-86. Breaking and entering of premises other than dwellings, and malicious damage, appear to have increased over


BALLYMORE PARK
HERST
HERSTON RD
KELVIN GROVE
School Res
Municipal Golf Links
Teachers Training College
VICTOR
(SPRING HILL)
WATERWORKS
ITHACA
RD
RED HILL
KENNEDY
MUSGRAVE
COLLEGE
PADDINGTON
PETRIE TER
CAXTON
LANG PARK
ROMA ST
Government House
ROSALIE
MILTON
TORWOOD
AUCHENFLOWER
BRISBANE RIVER
CORONATION DRIVE
MONTAGUE RD
SO BRIS
TOOWONG PARK
SYLVAN RD
Paddington
Red Hill & Torwood Police Divisions

5

the whole period. Of course these are statistics of crimes reported, or becoming known, to the police and as Chapter Four shows, many incidents are not reported.

Table 3.18: Number of Reported Offences, Red Hill and Torwood, 1981-2/1985-6

	1981-2	1982-3	1983-4	1984-5	1985-6
	RED HILL				
ASSAULT					
Serious assault	10	10	14	7	5
Minor assault	18	19	20	19	13
ROBBERY	2	18	2	1	3
RAPE, ATTEMPT. RAPE	1	1	-	3	1
BREAKING & ENTERING					
Dwellings	199	189	121	247	160
Shops	25	40	41	46	51
Other premises	38	24	48	38	54
MALICIOUS DAMAGE	42	48	60	111	71
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	39	50	39	52	41
STEALING (excl. mot.veh.)	239	274	254	256	245
FRAUD	15	26	19	28	36
	TORWOOD				
ASSAULT					
Serious assault	8	7	5	5	10
Minor assault	7	19	14	8	12
ROBBERY	2	1	3	2	4
RAPE, ATTEMPT. RAPE	-	-	-	1	1
BREAKING & ENTERING					
Dwellings	76	109	108	151	111
Shops	17	16	15	41	35
Other premises	34	22	88	80	56
MALICIOUS DAMAGE	45	41	56	69	51
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	47	50	55	72	51
STEALING (excl. mot.veh.)	210	226	215	230	196
FRAUD	9	19	17	12	19

(Source: Correspondence from QPD, 3rd September, 1986)

Table 3.19: Offences: Red Hill and Torwood Divisions, 1981-1986.

	1981-2	1982-3	1983-4	1984-5	1985-6
ASSAULT					
Serious assault	18	17	19	12	15
Minor assault	25	38	34	27	25
ROBBERY	4	19	5	3	7
RAPE & ATTEMPT. RAPE	1	1	-	4	2
BREAKING & ENTERING					
Dwellings	275	298	229	398	271
Shops	42	56	56	87	86
Other premises	72	46	136	118	110
MALICIOUS DAMAGE	87	89	116	180	122
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	86	100	94	124	92
STEALING (excl.mot.veh.)	449	500	469	486	441
FRAUD	24	45	36	40	55

(Source: Derived from Table 3.18)

Given these crime statistics, and the confusion of apparent trends, what do people in the two areas feel of their suburb in relation to other suburbs? In particular, what effect does length of residence have upon this opinion? An outline is shown in Table 3.20 below.

Table 3.20: Suburb Comparison and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Here higher	2.1	5.0	9.2	5.7
Here much the same	32.6	36.0	47.8	24.5
Here lower than others	52.6	45.6	29.2	49.0
Don't know	12.7	13.4	13.8	20.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In Spring Hill all residents tend to feel the suburb either is much like other similar suburbs in its crime rate or has a lower crime rate. Older residents are much more convinced that the rate is lower, whilst more recent arrivals tend to think it is

much the same. In Paddington the impression is even more overwhelmingly that the crime rate is lower than, or much the same as, similar suburbs although here there is a slight preponderance of more recent arrivals who feel the rate is definitely lower.

Perceived changes to the level of crime had persuaded some, although not many, people to think seriously about moving to another suburb. Eight people in Spring Hill (7%) and 12 in Paddington (3%) had thought of moving. The number concerned is very low. It reinforces the general perception of the two suburbs as areas felt to be without a serious crime problem.

Respondents who thought there had been a change in the level of crime were asked to say whether or not they thought specific factors from a list presented to them had influenced this change. The results are shown in Table 3.21.

Table 3.21: Perceived Influences on Changes to Level of Crime

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Increase	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
Factor:	% feeling	yes	% feeling	yes
New buildings	23.5	36.0	30.3	34.8
Level of maint.	38.2	48.0	33.3	60.9
Police patrols	42.4	44.0	54.5	13.0
Low cost housing	24.2	20.0	42.4	30.4
Brisbane trend	78.7	36.0	54.5	43.5
Level of traffic	24.2	24.0	33.3	17.4
Attent. by BCC	13.3	12.0	15.2	13.0
Chang. soc. status	71.5	76.0	69.7	73.9
Police ed'n prog.	13.3	32.0	9.4	17.4
H'hold security	40.0	72.0	63.6	52.2
Street lighting	36.6	48.0	21.9	26.1
Type people mov.	49.7	84.0	59.4	73.9
Other	33.9	17.4	30.3	39.1
	(N=165	=25	=33	=23)

What this table means is that, for example, of the 165 people in Paddington who thought the general level of crime in the suburb had increased or had increased greatly (together shown in the table as having increased) in the last five years of so, 23.5% felt that the quality of new buildings had had an influence on that change, and of the 25 who felt the level of crime had decreased (combining those who felt it had decreased and those who felt it had decreased greatly) over the period, 36.0% felt the quality of new buildings had affected that change.

Thus the factors which those who felt there had been an increase of crime in Paddington most agreed upon as having influenced this were the general trend in Brisbane, the changing social status of the suburb and to a lesser extent the type of people moving to Paddington. In Spring Hill it was the changing social status, the level of household security (presumably the low level) and the type of people moving into the suburb.

The factors those feeling that the level of crime in Paddington had decreased were most agreed upon as being influential were the type of people moving to the suburb, the level of household security (presumably the high level) and the changing social status of the suburb. In Spring Hill it was the type of people moving in, the changing social status of the suburb and the level of home maintenance.

The factors which people felt had little direct influence were the level of Brisbane City Council attention, and police educational programmes. There was also some ambivalence about

other factors, including levels of traffic and of street lighting, as well as the influence of low cost housing.

This tabulation has special significance for crime prevention agencies and others interested in obtaining public support for crime prevention activities. The residents of both Spring Hill and Paddington clearly feel that the changing social status of their areas has an ambiguous influence on the level of crime there. It was seen as both a significant influence in increasing but also in decreasing the level of crime. Other factors were seen as having a more direct one-way influence. Residents in both suburbs were inclined to feel that the kind of people moving into the suburbs (presumable related to the "gentrification" trend) was more likely to have an influence in reducing the level of crime. Similarly the level of household maintenance was, in Spring Hill, seen as an influence in reducing crime. Conversely, the low level of police patrols (commented on in an earlier question) was seen as a factor in the increase in crime in Spring Hill. In Spring Hill residents felt that the level of home security there was a factor leading to an increase in crime. Paddington residents, on the other hand, felt that household security was a factor leading to the decrease.

Respondents were also asked whether they thought there had been a change in the main <u>type</u> of crime found in their suburb over the last five years or so, whether or not they felt there had been a change in the <u>level</u> of crime. Table 3.22 shows the results.

Table 3.22: Has There Been a Change in the Main Type of Crime?

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Yes	19.4	39.8
No	50.5	39.0
Don't know	30.1	21.2
	100.0	100.0

Clearly Spring Hill residents were more inclined to the view that there had been a change. A greater proportion of Paddington residents were either convinced there had not been a change or were uncertain as to whether or not there had been a change.

There were significant differences between the opinions of those who had lived in the suburb for some time and those who were relatively recent arrivals. Long term residents in Paddington were more inclined to the opinion that there had not been a change in the type of crime, whilst those in Spring Hill were less certain as to whether there had been a change of any significance.

Table 3.23: Change in Type of Crime, and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes	15.3	23.4	32.3	49.1
No	39.8	61.1	38.5	39.6
Don't know	44.9	15.5	29.2	11.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Respondents who felt there had been a change in the type of crime, irrespective of their feelings about changes to the level

of crime, were asked to identify the type of change they felt had occurred.

Table 3.24: What Kind of Change in Type of Crime?
(asked only of those who felt there had been a change)

	Paddington Crime against:			Spring Hill Crime against:		
	Person	Prop.	Other	Person	Prop.	Other
This type of crime has:-	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Incr. a lot	11.4	36.6	6.5	6.4	17.0	6.4
Increased	27.3	41.9	8.7	25.5	46.8	2.1
Decreased	6.8	6.5	---	17.0	10.6	2.1
Decr. a lot	1.1	2.2	---	6.4	2.1	---
Don't know	53.4	12.9	84.8	44.7	23.4	89.4
	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
	(N=88)	(=93)	(=92)	(N=47)	(=47)	(=47)

Thus, from Table 3.22, around 40% of Spring Hill respondents thought there had been a change in the type of crime over the last five years or so, but only about half that number thought similarly in Paddington. Table 3.24 shows that in Paddington there was a stronger feeling that crimes against property had increased and to a lesser extent crimes against the person. In Spring Hill although there was also a feeling that both crimes against property and the person had increased, the feeling was less direct. There was also an identifiable feeling that there had been a decrease in both types of crime, but particularly crimes against the person.

Obviously people have some source of their opinions about the level and type of crime occurring in the suburb. Table 3.25 below shows the source respondents gave for their opinions on crime.

Table 3.25: Sources of Opinion on Crime
(more than one answer possible)

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Neighbours and friends	38.3	34.7
No personal experience of crime	46.3	31.4
Person/household has suffered	23.6	32.2
Others known to have suffered	31.6	34.7
Radio, t.v. or newspapers	32.8	16.9
Other	5.3	7.6

Apart from the fact that people in Spring Hill appeared more likely to have been personally affected by crime, the most interesting difference is the much lower proportion of people in Spring Hill who listed the various news media as sources of opinion on crime. Overall, it is apparent that no single source of opinion predominates, although personal knowledge or personal contacts rate highly as sources of opinion. Any campaign aimed at changing opinions on crime would have to take into account this strong personal source.

All respondents were asked whether they thought that, whatever the level and type of crime in the suburb, special actions by the police were needed. The results are shown in Tables 3.26 and 3.27. There was no significant difference between long term and short term residents. Those who felt some special action was required were asked to identify the type of action. Their responses are summarised in Table 3.28.

Table 3.26: Is Special Police Action Required?

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Yes	36.4	48.3
No	56.4	45.8
Don't know	7.2	5.9
	100.0	100.0

Tables 3.27: Police Action Required and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes	35.2	37.7	49.2	47.2
No	58.1	54.8	44.6	47.2
Don't know	6.8	7.5	6.2	5.7
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1

Table 3.28: What Special Action(s) are Needed?
(more than one answer possible)

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
More patrols by car	24.2	33.1
Patrols by police on foot	12.8	21.2
Educational campaigns by police	11.8	6.8
Home security advice	13.7	13.6
More police stations	7.2	5.9
Longer station opening hours	14.3	9.3
More policemen/women	13.3	10.2
Neighbourhood watch schemes	21.5	23.7
Security marking of goods	8.6	9.3
Other actions	5.9	5.1

Clearly the support for additional police action was stronger in Spring Hill than in Paddington, although in both suburbs there is an ambivalence over whether extra action is in fact required Table 3.26). Those who felt there was a need for extra action generally appeared to favour additional patrols (particularly by car, but also on foot) and neighbourhood watch schemes. In Spring Hill there was more support for patrolling, presumably as

a way of increasing the visible police presence as a deterrent to crime; but support for neighbourhood watch schemes was roughly similar in both suburbs. These schemes appear to be regarded favourably.

Respondents were asked to nominate what they thought was the main crime affecting their suburb (Table 3.29).

Table 3.29: The Main Crime in the Suburb

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
No problem crimes	13.3	11.0
Don't know	8.0	5.1
Against the person:		
Assault	0.6	6.8
Robbery with violence	0.4	0.8
Rape, attempted rape	0.2	0.8
Nuisance calls	0.2	---
Other crime against person	2.3	5.1
Against property:		
Vehicle theft	0.4	1.7
Stealing, theft	11.4	14.4
Vandalism	3.6	2.5
Burglary, break./enter.	58.1	50.8
Other crime against prop.	1.5	0.8
	100.0	100.0

Three particularly significant figures emerge from Table 3.29. Firstly, there is an important proportion in both suburbs who feel there is no particularly problematic crime in their locality. Secondly, crimes against property appear more of a concern than crimes against the person. And thirdly, the two most notable crimes against property are felt to be stealing and theft, and burglary and breaking and entering, but particularly the latter. This was felt to be the main crime in the suburb by

around half of those who felt there was in fact a main crime. The figure is remarkably consistent between the two areas.

As shown in Chapter Four, nuisance calls are in fact the most frequently occurring offence. Thus, the respondents' concept of the "main crime" appears to relate more to seriousness than to frequency.

Attention should be drawn to the high relative proportion of Spring Hill residents who mentioned assault and other crimes against the person as the "major crime". This is an area which requires special attention.

3.5 SECURITY ADVICE SERVICE

At the request of officers of the Queensland Police Department a series of questions relating to the security inspection and advice service offered by the Department as a free community service (and notice of which appeared on milk cartons delivered in the Brisbane area as part of a publicity campaign during the period of, but unrelated to, the survey -- see Figure 6). The three tables below show the responses.

Table 3.30: Awareness of QPD Security Advice Service

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Aware of the service	36.8	35.6
Not aware of the service	59.8	64.4
Not sure	3.4	----
	100.0	100.0

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This is clearly an area where better publicity is needed. Between half and two-thirds of those asked were not aware of the service.

Table 3.31: *Did Respondent Want Such an Inspection?*

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Yes	28.4	31.4
No	66.3	65.2
Not sure	5.3	3.4
	100.0	100.0

A significant proportion (about 30%) of the people asked would like a security inspection carried out. But on the other hand, about double that number specifically did not want a security inspection. The reasons given varied considerably:

Table 3.32: Reasons For Not Wanting an Inspection
(Of those answering "no" or "not sure")

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Could not afford suggestions	7.9	4.9
Criminals will break in anyway	9.1	13.6
Have already had such an inspection	4.4	3.7
Landlord would not allow changes	2.1	4.9
Satisfied with exist. secur. level	49.1	49.5
Not interested	11.2	8.6
Other	16.2	14.8
	100.0	100.0

The answers here identify three major problems faced by the Police Department in gaining public acceptance for their service. The first is that many people in the areas investigated do not feel the service is necessary or required. The second is the fatalism implied in the high response rate to the suggestion that no matter what action the householder or the police took,

determined criminals would break into their dwelling anyway. The third is that in both areas almost half of those who did not want a security inspection suggested that the present level of security in their dwelling was satisfactory. The dilemma for the Police Department is that to change this opinion a campaign indicating that houses could be unsafe because of inadequate security would be necessary -- an approach which is unlikely to gain the Department a great deal of community support. Of course, it may be that security levels are in fact totally satisfactory in a great proportion of these dwellings. Previous questions identified the level of home security (in Paddington) and the level of home maintenance (in Spring Hill) as factors felt to have reduced the level of crime.

Most of the information relating to actual victimisation is contained in the next Chapter, but here some simple comparisons are made between households members of which had been victims of crime in the twelve months preceding the survey and households which did not contain people affected by crime over that period. It was felt that there would be some relationship between victimisation and other opinions. As is explained more fully in Chapter Four, however, victimisation included being affected by incidents the victims themselves may have felt to be "trivial".

Although those who had not been victims of crime in the last twelve months tended to be more certain that they did not see the need for any special actions, victimisation had an ambiguous effect on whether victims felt the need for special police action (Table 3.33). Similarly there was no clear identification by

crime victims of the need for a security inspection (See Table 3.33).

Table 3.33: Victimisation and Desire for Police Action

	Paddington(*)		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Special police action:				
needed	46.8	53.2	54.4	45.6
not needed	29.5	70.1	33.3	66.7
don't know	26.5	73.5	28.6	71.4
Police Dept inspection:				
wanted	34.5	65.2	48.6	51.4
not wanted	36.5	63.5	40.3	59.7
not sure	28.0	68.0	50.0	50.0
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

(*) Paddington figures do not total 100% because of "don't know" responses.

Note: figures to be read horizontally for each suburb

Some analyses of those who wanted or did not want a police inspection of their dwelling produce interesting results.

Table 3.34: Whether Inspection Wanted, and Other Characteristics

	Paddington Inspection..			Spring Hill Inspection..		
	Want.	Not Want.	Not Sure	Want.	Not Want.	Not Sure
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Dwelling:						
owned/buying	30.5	64.1	5.4	28.2	61.5	10.3
rented	24.2	70.5	5.3	32.9	67.1	----
In suburb for:						
< 1 yr	30.4	63.7	5.9	25.0	71.4	3.6
1-4 yrs	28.4	67.9	3.7	43.2	56.8	---
5-9 yrs	37.3	59.3	3.4	17.6	82.4	---
10+ yrs	24.4	68.9	6.7	30.6	61.1	8.3
Opinion of crime rate:						
incr. greatly	27.0	67.6	5.4	14.3	85.7	---
increased	33.1	56.9	10.0	34.6	61.6	3.8
decreased	33.3	62.5	4.2	41.2	52.9	5.9
decr. greatly	100.0	----	----	33.3	50.0	16.7
much the same	22.0	75.6	2.4	22.5	77.5	---
don't know	31.3	64.4	4.3	40.9	54.6	4.5
Type of dwelling:						
ordinary house	27.7	66.1	6.2	28.1	68.4	3.5
renovated house	34.2	63.3	2.5	28.6	57.1	14.3
new house	27.8	61.1	11.1	----	100.0	----
town house	28.6	71.4	----	33.3	66.7	----
unit	28.2	69.2	2.6	31.6	68.4	----
flat	20.0	76.0	4.0	47.1	52.9	----
other	----	----	----	33.3	66.7	----

Note: figures total horizontally for each suburb

Table B.7 in Appendix B relates desire for a police security inspection with experience of particular types of crime. As would be expected, victims of burglary and vandalism are more likely to respond that they would like such an inspection, although the impact is stronger in Spring Hill than in Paddington. The impact is, generally, less strong than one would expect. This may be because those who have had experience of these crimes may already have had a security inspection or have taken extra security precautions.

3.6 RESPONDENT SUGGESTIONS

The survey also asked, in an unstructured open-ended question, what actions could be taken by the police, other authorities and the community to reduce the level of crime in the suburb. A summary of the results is presented in Table 3.35 below.

Table 3.35: Suggested Actions to Reduce Crime

	Paddington		Spring Hill		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Action by authorities other than the police	105	16.5	21	15.4	126	16.3
Specific action by police and/or justice	218	34.3	58	42.6	276	35.8
Actions by community &/or parents	189	29.7	27	19.9	216	28.0
Actions by indiv. households	100	15.7	19	14.0	119	15.4
Other action	24	3.8	11	8.1	35	4.5
	636	100.0	136	100.0	772	100.0

In both suburbs the major suggested area of action was that within the jurisdiction of the police and justice agencies. The suggestions included more severe penalties, greater police presence in the suburbs and greater availability of police. There was also a strong feeling that the reduction of crime rates needed actions by the community, and specifically parents. Suggestions here included greater parental control of children, greater community interaction, neighbours keeping an eye on neighbours' houses and a general need for greater concern for fellow humans. Action by other authorities included actions to improve the environment, such as improving streets, and the need for better education in schools in areas relating to crime; but an exceptionally common response was the need to provide jobs (and to a lesser extent recreational opportunities) for

unemployed youth. Actions by individual householders related mainly to suggestions for improving household security: locking all doors, leaving a light and radio on when out, locking possessions away, and so on.

The next Chapter deals specifically with victimisation and reporting of incidents rather than with opinions.

CHAPTER FOUR:

VICTIMISATION AND REPORTING

CHAPTER FOUR: VICTIMISATION AND REPORTING

4.1 CRIME VICTIMISATION

A central part of the survey was the question of whether members of the household had been victims of crime in the twelve months previous to the survey. In overall terms, some 37.1% of all respondent households had been victims of criminal activity over that period. The proportion was higher in Spring Hill than in Paddington (43.2% as against 35.9%; see Table 4.1). A note of caution should be sounded at this stage. Necessarily the questionnaire asked a single person about the experience of crime of the whole household. Related opinion questions were asked of this person on behalf of the household. So the "victims" below are victimised households rather than individuals.

Table 4.1: Household Victimisation Rates

	Paddington	Spring Hill
	(%)	(%)
Yes: had been victims	35.6	43.2
No: had not been victims	64.2	56.8
Don't know	0.2	---
	100.0	100.0

Some rather puzzling relationships emerged from the cross-tabulation of the structure of the households which had and those which had not been affected crime over the last twelve months (See Table 4.2). In each case the table should be read by comparing the overall proportion of those who had been affected by crime with the proportion of those in the specific category

who were affected. It appears that in Spring Hill those least likely to be affected were extended families and couples without children. In Paddington, the least affected households were those consisting of single persons and couples without children. It is highly unlikely that these structures themselves explain the difference. It is more likely to be the result of related factors which were not investigated (such as, possibly, security arrangements on dwellings occupied by professional couples, or the poverty of possessions often associated with elderly single people).

Table 4.2: Crime and Household Type

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not Affect.	Affected	Not Affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Single person	21.6	78.4	38.9	61.1
Single parent fam.	38.2	61.8	71.4	28.6
Couple without child.	33.0	67.0	31.6	68.4
Couple with child.	42.5	57.5	54.5	45.5
Extended family	37.5	62.5	16.7	83.3
Peer group	48.7	50.0	57.7	42.3
Other	29.4	70.6	30.8	69.2
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

There were also significant differences according to the length of residence in the suburb, as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Victimisation and Length of Residence

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	<5yrs	>5yrs	<5yrs	>5yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes, affected	44.1	27.2	47.7	37.7
No, not affected	55.5	72.8	52.3	62.
D/K	0.4	----	----	----
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Overall	49.7	50.3	55.1	44.9

Thus, there are proportionately greater numbers of victims of crime amongst more recent arrivals than amongst older residents. The difference is not as great in Spring Hill as in Paddington, but is nonetheless raises questions as to why the difference is apparent. The analysis in Chapter Three showed that people resident for less than five years in the suburb tended to be renters rather than owner/buyers, particularly in Spring Hill (see Table 3.8). A link between recent arrival in the suburb, renting accommodation and victimisation appears likely.

The second part of this link is shown in Table 4.4. Households renting accommodation were more likely to be victimised. There were significant differences between the two suburbs. In Paddington, the difference between the proportion of those renting and those who owned or were buying did not relate greatly to whether or not they had been victims of crime over the last twelve months (38.4% for renters as against 33.7% for owner/buyers; so there was a slight bias in favour of owner/buyers). In Spring Hill the general level of victimisation was higher, but the differential between the two groups was

slightly greater, again with renters being more affected than owners/buyers.

Table 4.4: Victimisation and Dwelling Ownership

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Dwelling rented	38.4	61.1	45.6	54.4
Dwelling owned/buy.	33.7	66.3	38.5	61.5
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

As would be expected those who had been affected by crime tended to be the same as those who felt the suburb was less than friendly. The differential was less in Spring Hill than in Paddington. However the direction of any causality between these two sets of characteristics is purely speculative.

Table 4.5: Victimisation and Opinion of Friendliness

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Very friendly	30.0	70.0	45.0	55.0
Friendly	34.6	65.4	38.3	61.7
Average	38.9	60.5	45.9	54.1
Unfriendly	55.6	44.4	75.0	25.0
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

Victims of crime appeared not to transpose their individual or household experience onto the suburb as a whole, at least in terms of a change to the level of crime. The pattern shown in Table 4.6 is thus rather ambiguous.

Table 4.6: Victimisation and Opinion of Change in Crime Level

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Level incr. greatly	40.5	59.5	100.0	----
Level increased	49.2	50.8	46.2	53.8
Level decreased	29.2	70.8	29.4	70.6
Level decr. greatly	100.0	----	50.0	50.0
Much the same	30.4	69.0	45.0	55.0
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

Crime victims were more likely to feel that there had been a change in the type of crime in the suburb over the last five years or so, as shown in Table 4.7, although the difference is not great.

Table 4.7: Victimisation and Opinion on Change in Type of Crime

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
Change in type of crime...	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes	48.9	51.1	48.9	51.1
No	35.8	64.2	43.5	56.5
Don't know	26.6	72.7	32.0	68.0
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

But victims were much more likely to feel that the level of crime in the suburb was higher than that in similar suburbs than were those not affected. As Table 4.8 shows the difference was quite large. Thus, becoming a crime victim is unlikely to make a person think that local crime is increasing or changing in type,

but is likely to affect the way the victim looks at his suburb in comparison with other suburbs.

Table 4.8: Suburban Crime Comparison and Victimisation

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
This suburb higher	76.5	23.5	66.7	33.3
Here much the same	42.9	57.1	40.9	59.1
This suburb lower	30.5	69.1	42.2	57.8
Don't know	24.2	75.8	40.0	60.0
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

This difference is reflected in the proportions of those who had thought seriously of moving out of the suburb. As Table 4.9 below shows, a far greater proportion of those who have considered moving have been victims of crime over the last twelve months. It should be noted that the numbers considering moving were relatively small (8 in Spring Hill and 12 in Paddington) so the percentages should be treated with some caution. Nevertheless the results tend to support rather than refute the hypothesis than there is a link between crime victimisation and a tendency to consider moving from the suburb. In overall urban terms, however, the tendency becomes significant only when households actually move as a result of criminal behaviour and the number is larger.

Table 4.9: Considered Moving, and Victimisation

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Have considered moving	83.3	16.7	87.5	12.5
Have not consid. moving	43.3	56.7	37.2	62.8
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

No really clear picture emerged from comparing victims and dwelling type. Proportionately more people in town houses and renovated dwellings were affected in Paddington, and more people in new houses and "other" dwellings in Spring Hill. In Paddington, units were the least likely to be affected, and in Spring Hill, town houses. Town houses in Spring Hill, and many units in Paddington, are new with modern security arrangements. These security arrangements are more likely to deter "casual" crime.

Table 4.10: Victimisation and Type of Dwelling

	Paddington		Spring Hill	
	Affected	Not affect.	Affected	Not affect.
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Unrenovated old house	32.9	66.8	45.6	54.4
Renovated old house	45.6	54.4	42.9	57.1
New house	33.3	66.7	50.0	50.0
Town house	71.4	28.6	16.7	83.3
Unit	30.8	69.2	42.1	57.9
Flat	36.0	64.0	41.2	58.8
Other	----	----	66.7	33.3
Overall	35.6	64.2	43.2	56.8

The tables in Appendix B relate experience of particular types of crime to various opinions. People affected by crimes such as burglary, theft of a motor vehicle and ordinary theft tended to feel that the level of crime in the suburb had increased and that the suburb had a higher crime rate, more in fact than did those who had not been victims of these types of crime (See Tables B.1 to B.8).

4.2 CRIME INFORMATION:

An important part of the questionnaire followed up in detail the household's experience of crime over the last twelve months. In each case an attempt was made to find who in the household had been affected and their age and sex, how many occurrences of the crime there had been, and how often the events were reported to the police. If any of the incidents had not been reported the respondent was questioned on the reasons for non-reporting. Two notes of caution need to be sounded over the results. Both relate to the fact that one person, usually the senior female, was being asked about the whole household's experience of crime. So firstly, some incidents may not have been reported by the victim to the respondent (assuming the respondent was not the victim). And secondly, the reasons for non-reporting would be those understood by the respondent. In general it is felt that a considerable degree of confidence can be placed in the results but they are clearly likely to be subject to some degree of uncertainty, over and above the usual problems identified by researchers in asking direct questions about experience of crime.

In this section the separation of Paddington and Spring Hill results is collapsed. The number of incidents of some kinds of crime are small. Greater reliability is given to the results if the totals for the two suburbs are combined. Appendix B gives a more detailed breakdown of the types of crime involved. Each table in the Appendix is derived from a cross-tabulation of the type of crime with other factors, such as the respondent's opinion of the friendliness of the suburb, their opinion of the crime rate in the suburb, and so on.

Overall, some 220 out of the total of 593 households in the two suburbs (i.e., 31.1%) had individually or collectively been victims of crime in the last twelve months. One household respondent was unable to say whether there had been occurrences of crime over that period or not.

Responses to the question about non-reporting are summarised in Table 4.17 at the end of this section; but Appendix C gives the interviewer's recording of the respondent's response for each incident and type of non-reported crime. These responses are given in full detail so as to make available greater information. The reason for the non-reporting of crimes is a significant question in criminological research, as is the question of reporting rates. The information is given here as an aid to further research. No claim is made for its universal applicability; but the responses are felt to be reliable

representations of the opinions and responses of the populations in Spring Hill and Paddington.

Assault:

No attempt was made to distinguish major from minor assault. Over the twelve months, in the two suburbs, there had been 19 incidents of assault. Thirteen of these had been single occurrences, but there were three reports of two occurrences to the one person. There were in total 16 victims of the 19 assaults, 14 of these were male, and two female. The age profile of the victims is significant:

Table 4.11: Age Profile - Assault Victims

Age group	Number of victims
0-19	2
20-29	6
30-39	4
40-49	2
50-59	1
60+	1
	16

In other words this appears to be a crime which affects all age groups. There is a slight preponderance towards young and middle-aged victims, and as noted above, towards males.

Although there were 19 cases of assault, only eight (42%) were reported to the police. Four of these reports were from two of the "double victims", so only four of those affected by single assaults (out of 13) reported the incident to the police.

Reasons for not reporting assault included that the victim felt the assault was not serious enough, or that they felt nothing could be done anyway. Two responses appear, at face value, to reflect badly on the Queensland police force (one said the assault had been carried out by the police -- but the nature of the incident was not investigated in the survey).

Robbery

Only one case of robbery with violence was reported. This occurred to a male aged 20-29. The incident was reported to the police.

Rape and attempted rape:

There was also only one report of this crime. The woman involved was in the 0-19 age group, but the incident was not reported to the police. In this case the members of the household said they handled the situation themselves. The impression was given to the interviewer that the attacker was known to the victim and the household, and that action which did not involve the police satisfactorily resolved the issue.

Nuisance calls:

These were amongst the most frequently occurring incidents, but also amongst the least often reported. From reasons given for

not reporting the events it appeared that the term "nuisance call" was understood by respondents to include a wide variety of events, ranging from apparent continuing wrong numbers to pranks by children to calls with more sinister overtones. A total of over 500 incidents were mentioned over the twelve month period. It seems that there is considerable "bunching" of this type of activity. Most of those affected were affected more than once, as Table 4.12 shows.

Table 4.12: Incidents of Nuisance Calls

Number over 12 months	Number of occurrences
1	8
2	14
3	8
4	2
5	8
6	6
7	2
8	2
10	4
12	3
25	1
30	2
80	1
100	1
	62

Obviously the larger numbers are estimates. But it is certainly significant that of the 62 households affected, 54 were affected more than once. The relatively high incidence of two calls to households is a little puzzling. By the very nature of this kind of activity it is difficult to characterise the person affected - it may depend merely upon who picks up the telephone at the time. Many respondents did specify personal characteristics for

those affected, however. The results are shown in Tables 4.13 and 4.14 below.

Table 4.13: Sex and Nuisance Calls

Sex	No. affected
Male	10
Female	38
More than one person	9
Whole household	5
	62

Table 4.14: Age and Nuisance Calls

Age group	No. affected
0-19	4
20-29	17
30-39	10
40-49	7
50-59	5
60+	5
More than one person	9
Whole household	5
	62

But although there were over 500 incidents mentioned there were only 48 recorded reports to the police (a rate of lower than 10%). There were multiple reportings, as there were multiple incidents, but the highest number of reportings from the one household was six compared with the highest number of calls being 100.

The reasons given for not reporting nuisance calls covered practically the whole gamut of responses, but the predominant reasons were that nothing could be done about it and/or that the calls were not serious (this was often linked to a suspicion that the calls were from children). Some people had contacted Telecom

rather than the police, and some took action of their own (some of these after advice from Telecom). This included the keeping of a whistle near the telephone to discourage nuisance callers, and merely putting the telephone down when called.

Motor Vehicle Theft:

Twelve households had been affected by motor vehicle theft in the twelve months prior to the survey. Ten of the households indicated one such incident, and two households identified two cases, making a total of fourteen thefts. All but two thefts were reported to the police (i.e., 86% were reported). Most of those affected were males in their twenties (67% were males; 50% were aged 20-29yrs and 25% were 30-39). This makes motor vehicle theft one of the crimes with the highest reporting rate.

Fraud and False Pretences:

Only one incident was mentioned, and this affected more than one person in the household concerned. It was reported to the police.

Stealing and Theft:

This was a much more common occurrence. Some 113 incidents were mentioned by 74 households. One additional household, associated with a restaurant, mentioned "over 100" cases in the last year of petty theft of restaurant cutlery etc. 51 of the households had

been affected once, 13 twice, 6 three times, and two each had been affected four and five times (in addition to the "over 100" example). Excluding the restaurant case, 52 of the incidents were reported (46%). Of these reports, thirty of the individually affected households reported the one case impacting on them (41%), seven of the thirteen examples affected twice reported both, one of the six of those affected three times, and one of the two affected four times reported the incidents.

It was possible for respondents to identify the sex and age of about two thirds of those affected. The results are shown in Table 4.15 below.

Table 4.15: Sex and Age of Victims of Stealing/Theft

Sex	(%)	Age	(%)
Male	30.7	0-19	5.3
Female	30.7	20-29	30.7
>1 person	6.7	30-39	14.7
Whole h'hold	32.0	40-49	2.7
	100.1	50-59	5.3
		60+	2.7
		>1 person	6.7
		Whole h'hold	32.0
			100.1

Almost 40% of the incidents affected multiple members of the household, particularly households as a whole. Where individuals could be identified, they were equally male and female, but predominantly in their twenties and to a lesser extent in their thirties.

Reasons for non-reporting again included a large proportion relating to the trivial nature, or small scale, of the theft. Many also felt that there was little chance of the stolen goods being recovered so that the effort of reporting the incident to the police was not worth while. Money, especially, was felt to be almost untraceable and so theft of it not worth reporting. But some responses were from people who felt they themselves were in some way to blame -- they had left their car unlocked, or they would be unable to identify the goods even if the goods were recovered. At least two responses, at face value, reflect unkindly on the police, one of these based on previous experience of reporting (see Appendix C).

Vandalism:

Thirty households were affected by 47 incidents over the twelve months. Only nineteen (40%) of the incidents were reported. Twenty households were affected but once, and only 10 of these reported the incident. Eight households were affected twice but only one household reported the incidents twice, and the one household affected eight times reported to the police only once. One other household had been affected three times.

Again, a common reason for not reporting the incidents was their perceived trivial nature. It was apparent also that many victims felt the vandalism was the work of local children and so were reluctant to report the matter. A general theme which began to emerge throughout the responses was the frequency with which

children were thought to be involved in crimes like nuisance calls and vandalism and the reluctance of respondents to report children to the police. Greater efforts by the participants in the criminal justice system to counsel children and divert them from the "hard core" of punishment avenues appears needed, as well as greater efforts by the police to show the community their sympathy for special non-criminal treatment of children.

Burglary, and Breaking and Entering

78 households had been affected, 21 of these more than once (14 twice, 5 three times and 2 three times). In total there were 110 incidents, of which 85 (77%) were reported to the police.

Non-reported incidents were felt to be minor, or involving non-identifiable goods (particularly money). Once again, some people felt children were involved, and this led to a reluctance to call in the police. There were a number of people who were in fact unsure whether anything had been taken at all. One household had reported previous incidents and were very unhappy with methods used by police to search for fingerprints, feeling their house had been messed up and made practically impossible to clean (see Appendix C). It appears this is an area where methods with less disruptive influence on the household are to be encouraged.

Other crimes:

A great range of types of incident were included under this heading. In some cases they were unsuccessful attempts at crimes listed above (e.g., attempted theft). Twenty households claimed to have been affected by these other crimes, there being a total of 53 incidents. 17 of the incidents were reported (32%).

The reasons for not reporting were as varied as the incidents. No clear pattern emerged.

4.3 NON-REPORTING

Table 4.16 below summarises the incidence and reporting rate of crimes in the two suburbs.

Table 4.16: Incidents of Crime, and Reporting Rates

	Paddington			Spring Hill			Total		
	No.of incid.	No. rep.	% rep.	No.of incid.	No. rep.	% rep.	No.of incid.	No. rep.	% rep.
Assault	8	2	25	11	6	55	19	8	42
Robbery	1	1	100	--	--	--	1	1	100
Rape,att.rape	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	-	--
Nuis. calls	401	36	9	113	12	11	514	48	9
Mot.veh.theft	13	11	85	1	1	100	14	12	86
Fraud	1	1	100	--	--	--	1	1	100
Theft	184	33	18	28	19	68	212	52	25
Vandalism	38	17	45	9	2	22	47	19	40
Break/enter	77	64	83	33	21	64	110	85	77
Other	34	11	32	19	6	32	53	17	32
	758	176	23	214	67	31	972	243	25

As has been discussed above the rate of reporting of crime varied considerably according to the type of crime involved. The number

of some crimes, such as rape, fraud and robbery were so small that reporting rates are unreliable. There was a degree of consistency between the results for the two suburbs, but there were also some interesting differences. Nuisance calls were the least frequently reported in both places, followed by theft. Theft was more often reported in Spring Hill than in Paddington. Breaking and entering had a quite high reporting rate in both suburbs, but vandalism generally was reported in less than half the occurrences. Assault was generally poorly reported, but the base number of incidents was small.

The reasons for the differences between the two suburbs are purely speculative, but it is likely the crimes against property (vandalism, breaking and entering) reflect the higher proportion of owners in Paddington and is generally of a more settled nature.

The reasons given for non-reporting in Paddington also tend emphasise the suspected role of children. There is a greater proportion of children living in Paddington. This implies there is likely to be a higher reporting rate in future if it was felt action taken against child offenders was likely to be appropriate to both the less serious nature of the crime and the age of the offender.

There were many different reasons given for not reporting of crimes. It should perhaps be emphasised that often more than one reason for not reporting the incident(s) was given by the single

respondent. The discussion on reasons for non-reporting below relates to each single identifiable reason, so that some answers by the one respondent for the one crime are split into two or more "reasons". Appendix C lists the answers as they were given.

The single most common reason given for not reporting the crime to the police was that the crime was too trivial, too minor, or not important enough (See Table 4.17).

One can derive from the answers listed in Appendix C the main reasons that crimes are in fact reported to the police. One is the hope of recovery of stolen goods; but conversely if the value of the goods is low or no particular significance is attached to them this then becomes a reason for not reporting. A second reason is the hope of punishment of the wrong-doer. This reason is more complex. It could include revenge motives or motives related to punishment-based rehabilitation of the wrong-doer. Some respondents clearly felt that punishment would lead to better future behaviour by wrong-doers. For some of the crimes listed, punishment was apparently considered relevant only for major occurrences. Again the marked reluctance to report some of the incidents where children were involved reinforces this. A third reason is the general sense of duty, that crimes should be reported. Where they were not it was apparent that some form of individual rationalization was necessary: the statement that the police were already busy enough, that in some way the crime was the victim's fault, or that nothing could be done anyway. A fourth was that crimes should be reported to a relevant

authority, although this was not necessarily the police. The reporting of nuisance calls to Telecom was a case in point.

One gains the impression from the listing of reasons for non-reporting that (a) the police department is seen as already heavily loaded dealing with serious crimes, that (b) the local police stations is not a place to be approached lightly, that (c) there are some people who have been to the police to report a past incident and have come away unhappy with their treatment, and that (d) there is a small number of people who do not trust the Queensland Police Department.

A summary of the kinds of reasons given for not reporting crimes is given in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Reasons for Non-reporting

	Paddington		Spring Hill		Total	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Too trivial or minor	58	37.4	14	30.4	72	35.8
Pol. couldn't do anything	31	20.0	11	23.9	42	20.9
Reported by others	1	0.6	--	----	1	0.5
Own action taken	15	9.7	5	10.9	20	10.0
Bad exper. with/don't trust, police	11	7.1	2	4.3	13	6.5
Afraid of reprisals	3	1.9	--	----	3	1.5
Prob. children, don't want to punish	7	4.5	3	6.5	10	5.0
Too confused or upset	2	1.3	--	----	2	1.0
Other	27	17.4	11	23.9	38	18.9
	155	99.9	46	99.9	201	100.1

For comparison, the results of a survey by Biles and Braithwaite (1979) are shown in Table 4.18. Their categories are re-grouped where appropriate so that a direct comparison can be made.

Table 4.18: Comparison of Reasons for Non-reporting

	B & B (*)	Total (this surv.)
	(%)	(%)
Did not want to take the time	1.7	
Too trivial	29.8	
	31.5	35.8
Police couldn't do anything	15.2	
Not sure offenders would be caught	1.3	
	16.5	20.9
Reported by others	7.7	
Police discovered incident	0.9	
	8.6	0.5
Police would not bother and bad exper. with police	6.5	6.5
Did not want to harm/punish	2.6	
Offenders probably children	3.6	
	6.2	5.0
Too confused or upset	0.9	1.0
Could handle it him/herself; own action	6.3	10.0
Afraid of reprisals	1.3	1.5
Thought it was private matter	5.2	---
Fear of insurance problems	0.0	---
Other	16.9	18.9
	99.9	100.1

(*) From Biles and Braithwaite 1979, Table 3, p. 349.

In broad terms there is general agreement between the two sets of data. The most common response was that the offence was too trivial, or not worth the time, followed by an uncertainty that the police could actually do anything or catch the offender. The degree of reporting by others, or of the police themselves discovering the incident, is much smaller in the current survey. The proportion of people who took their own action is also higher in the survey (many of these were people affected by nuisance calls). The responses of "did not want to harm/punish" and "offenders were probably children" are combined in the table as they were often combined in responses to the survey.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPRING HILL, 1980 AND 1986

CHAPTER FIVE: SPRING HILL 1980 AND 1986

As was noted in the report on the 1980 survey (Minnery and Veal, 1981), Spring Hill is one of Brisbane's oldest inner city residential suburbs, with dwellings being constructed there as early as 1860. It is located to the north of, and within walking distance to, the city's central area. Residential lot sizes are relatively small with a predominance of lots ranging from 506 square metres (20 perches) down to 202 square metres (8 perches). Residential streets are narrow, compared with the rest of Brisbane, but are typical of inner city suburbs with the reservation widths of some streets as narrow as 7 and 5 metres. A large proportion of the existing housing stock was constructed between 1860 and 1940 and the majority of this housing consists of timber cottages originally built for working class families. As is a common pattern in Brisbane the houses on the tops of the ridges are larger than those further down the hill. Many of the valley areas originally housed workers from the Brisbane docks when these were on the central stretches of the river. There was a large movement of population when the docks were shifted down-stream.

The fact of small houses on small lots has made the acquisition of land by private developers somewhat difficult in the past. The generally small size of house has made renovation for small households more feasible than that for larger groups.

Several interesting comparisons can be made between the results

of the survey carried out in 1980 and that reported in the rest of this report.

The population in the suburb had decreased by some 2,400 people in the ten years from 1966 to 1976; but by only 539 between 1976 and 1981. Thus the rate of population decline appears to have slowed. The 1976 population of 4,122 had decreased by 1981 to 3,583.

Some of the characteristics of the suburb noted in the 1976 census remained true in 1981. In comparison with the Brisbane City population, there was:

. a very small proportion of children (aged up to 10 years, or even up to 15 years);
. a disproportionately large number of males of working age, from 20 upwards;
. a higher proportion of males in the 40 and over age groups, but especially over 55;
. a much higher proportion of elderly persons, both male and female, but an even greater proportion of females over 75;
. a greater proportion of unemployed; and
. a greater proportion of renters.

However, the decline in the rate of decline of population between 1966-1976 and 1976-1981 leads one to hypothesise a gradual stabilization of the population, which would be apparent by 1986. The impact of the various town planning initiatives in the 1980s would have a similar effect. Some, although not strong, support for this is shown in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Length of Residence, 1980 and 1986

	1980	1986
	(%)	(%)
Less than 1 year	27.0	23.7
1 to 4 years	29.1	31.4
5 to 9 years	14.3	14.4
10 years and over	29.6	30.5
	100.0	100.0

The table indicates a gradual stabilization of the population. The proportion of very recent arrivals is lower in 1986 than in 1980, and the proportion of those who have been there for 1-4 years is slightly greater. The proportion of long-term (over 5 years) residents remains much the same.

Matched against the 1980 survey, by 1986 Spring Hill residents felt that their suburb compared more favourably with other similar suburbs in terms of its level of crime (See Table 5.2). Fewer felt the rate was higher, and more felt it was lower. A smaller proportion felt the level was much the same as in other similar suburbs, but there were many who felt unable to express an opinion. The overall impression is that by 1986 the suburb was seen to be less affected by crime than other similar suburbs, or that people there were less aware of crime.

Table 5.2: Comparison With Other Suburbs, 1980 and 1986

	1980	1986
Level of crime here is, compared with other similar suburbs...		
	(%)	(%)
More than	12.1	7.6
Less than	36.3	38.1
Same as	49.0	37.3
Don't know/no response	2.6	16.9
	100.0	99.9

A direct comparison of the rates of household victimisation between the 1980 and 1986 surveys is not possible. It was found in 1980, when the survey asked for incidents over the last five years or so, that respondents had difficulty remembering back that far (the "trivial" incidents were more likely to be overlooked) and that an unknown proportion of events occurred outside Spring Hill before respondents moved to the suburb. To reduce these problems (although it is recognised that they are inherent in the nature of the survey and cannot easily be totally overcome), the 1986 survey asked about incidents over the last twelve months. Thus, the 1986 survey could be expected to include a greater number of smaller scale occurrences, but a smaller overall number of occurrences.

In 1980 some 67% of households interviewed claimed they had not been affected by crime over the last five years. In 1986 the figure for households not affected over the last twelve months was 57%. The difference is perhaps not as great as one would have expected, but it is difficult to say with any certainty what figure should have been expected.

Table 5.3: Type of Crime, 1980 and 1986.

	Spring Hill		Paddington
	1980	1986	(1986)
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Assault	13	10	4
Robbery	5	-	1
Rape, attempted rape	2	-	1
Nuisance calls	12	20	21
Car theft	5	1	5
Fraud	2	1	-
Theft	20	21	27
Vandalism	15	9	10
Breaking and entering	20	31	24
Other	6	6	7
	100	99	100

Table 5.3, which records the proportion of incidence-types, shows that there was a substantial increase in the proportion of nuisance calls noted. This is likely to have been influenced by memory factors, as the analysis of reasons for non-reporting of crime (See Chapter Four) identified a large proportion of victims who feel the offence is "trivial" or not worth pursuing for other reasons. But the decrease in the proportion of all other crimes except breaking and entering (and to a lesser extent theft) is worthy of note, particularly the drop in the proportion affected by vandalism. Again, memory factors may have been at work, but the pattern does raise some interesting hypotheses. The change in the vandalism/breaking and entering proportions is what one would expect with "gentrification", particularly where the main residential changes are in renovating older houses (with generally less substantial security) rather than in the building

of new security-rich dwellings. The percentages for Paddington in 1986 are included for comparison.

Table 5.4: Source of Opinions on Crime, 1980 and 1986

	1980	1986
	(%)	(%) who gave as source
Neighbours, friends	15	22
Personally affected	10	}
Family affected	1	} 20
Others in area affected	7	22
Opinions in "media"	10	11
Other	15	5
"No experience of crime"	42	20
	100	100

Thus, in 1986, more households derived their opinion on crime from the fact that they had been directly affected by crime or knew of others in the areas that had been affected, The opinions of neighbours and friends appeared to be more influential as well. There was also a smaller proportion who responded that they had no experience of crime in the suburb, or who felt that an opinion on crime was inappropriate because there was little crime. Newspapers, radio and television remained at much the same relatively low level.

A comparison between 1980 and 1986 respondents of the reasons for not reporting incidents of crime is contained in Chapter Four.

In general the responses from the two surveys indicate that although there was a general feeling that the level of crime in the suburb had increased over the last five years (see Table 3.17) Spring Hill was less affected by crime than other similar

suburbs. The favourable impression of their suburb was even stronger in 1986 than in 1980.

In Chapter Three respondents noted that the influences they thought had had the greatest impact in decreasing the rate of crime (see Table 3.21) were the changing social status and the type of people moving into the area. The general level of house maintenance and the level of individual dwelling security was also thought to have had an influence. The level of police activity, as indicated by the level of patrols and police educational programmes, was not thought to have been a significant influence in decreasing crime, neither was the attention paid to the suburb by the Brisbane City Council, despite the considerable and highly visible work it has done in improving roads and generally making the suburb more liveable. Its controls and directions through the Spring Hill Development Control Plan may not be accorded to it by the population.

Two main implications emerge from this. One is that, at least in this case, the responsibility for making the suburb less crime ridden than other similar suburbs is not allocated to the police or to the local authority. It is seen as part of a social change brought about by the changing social status and the type of people moving to the suburb. If either agency would like to gain community support for reducing crime in the suburb they would have to demonstrate the links between their work and the changing social status of the area (or to reducing crime directly). The second is that "gentrification" brings about a change in the type of crime an area can expect. There is a possibility that

nuisance calls will increase in importance, although this particular activity is thought here to have been influenced mainly by memory factors. But there is likely to be an increase in breaking and entering. Both Spring Hill and Paddington residents in 1986 felt that breaking and entering was the main crime in their suburbs. Table 8 in Appendix B shows that people in renovated, as against unrenovated houses, were more likely to be affected by burglary and breaking and entering.

Table 5.5: Reasons for Non-reporting, 1980 and 1986

	1980	1986
	(%)	(%)
Did not want to take the time Too trivial	40	30.4
Police couldn't do anything Not sure offender would be caught	7	23.9
Reported by others Police discovered incident	--	----
Police would not bother, and bad experience with police	3	4.3
Did not want to harm/punish Offenders probably children	--	6.5
Too confused/upset	--	----
Could handle it him/herself	3	10.9
Afraid of reprisals	7	----
Thought it was a private matter	--	----
Fear of insurance problems	--	----
Other	40	23.9
	100	99.9

A word of caution needs to be sounded before considering this table. In 1980, the events considered were type-occurrences (the number of times a type of crime had occurred and the number of times this type had been reported). In 1986 the reporting of the crime related to actual incidents. Also, in 1980 the survey

asked about occurrences over the last five years, in 1986 over the last twelve months.

But if we note only the reasons where there is a very large difference between the figures for the two periods, we see that (a) there were fewer reports of the events being considered trivial, or too unimportant; and (b) there appeared to be a drop in faith in the police's ability to do anything about the crime. The differences in the two sets of figures should be treated as leading to hypotheses to be explored rather than to definite conclusions, however.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND-CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 STRUCTURE

Three main aspects of criminological research were approached in this report: 1) the behavioural and perceptual matters which affect victims and potential victims of crime, including attempts at relating these perceptions and opinions to the environment within which people live; 2) actual victimisation as it occurs in specific residential areas, and the reporting of incidents to the police; and 3) opinion about a specific police initiative. This Chapter will summarise the main findings of the survey in each of these three areas.

6.2 PERCEPTIONS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

It was expected that the two suburbs surveyed, Spring Hill and Paddington, would fit within Davidson's (1981) "transitional" model. Both suburbs are undergoing change, so that one would expect there to be environmental "cues" for residents and non-residents which would lead to expectations of high crime rates. In fact residents' opinions, although affected by these clues, were not of high crime rates, at least not as compared with other similar residential areas. It is felt that at least some of this difference results from Brisbane's peculiarly mixed social structures within most older residential suburbs. The hypothesis was developed that changes in environmental "cues" over the last

five years or so in Paddington and Spring Hill have led to changing perceptions of both crime rates and types of crime (although these ideas were approached through indirect data).

The suburbs are undergoing population changes, Spring Hill under the umbrella of a Development Control Plan. Both Paddington and Spring Hill have a mixed population of long-term residents and more recent arrivals. The occupation and employment structures reflect both their inner city locations and their changing population structures. Both have a high proportion of renter households. The location close to the city centre is reflected in the reasons recent arrivals gave for locating in the two suburbs. Both suburbs were felt by residents to be fairly friendly places.

Residents of both suburbs felt that although the local levels of crime had either increased or stayed much the same over the last five years their own suburb was less crime affected, or at least much the same as, other similar suburbs. There is some confirmation here of the hypothesis that unless an individual is highly critical of his community he would tend feel that it is safer and more crime-free than others. The point needs to be made that a "similar suburb" for Spring Hill was Paddington, and for Paddington, Spring Hill.

Spring Hill residents, or the crime rate, or both of these, seem to have been influenced by the changes effected under the auspices of the Development Control Plan over the last five years

or so, although residents appeared not to be aware of this as a City Council initiative. There had been an increase in the proportion feeling Spring Hill compared favourably with other suburbs since the 1980 survey. Few people in either Spring Hill or Paddington had seriously considered moving because of the crime rate.

Factors which were felt to have had a strong influence on the level of crime were the changing social status of the area and the kind of people moving there (as well as the recognition that the suburbs were not immune from the overall Brisbane trend). Street lighting, police educational programmes, police patrols and the level of home maintenance were felt to have a generally positive, but much smaller, influence. More people in Spring Hill than in Paddington felt there had been a change in the main type of crime there, seen mainly as an increase in crimes against property, in both suburbs. The main sources of opinions about crime appeared to be direct experience or lack of experience (either lack of personal experience of crime, or a direct knowledge of victims) or the opinions of friends and neighbours. Those in Paddington had less personal experience of crime, but those in Spring Hill relied less on media opinions.

Only between 1/3 and 1/2 of residents felt special action was needed by the police. The actions wanted were mainly more patrols, by car and to a lesser extent on foot, neighbourhood watch schemes, more accessibility to policemen/women and stations, and home security advice. Spring Hill residents were

more in favour of special action than were Paddington residents. Being a victim of crime did not seem necessarily to increase the desire for special police action. Burglary and breaking and entering were seen as by far the most serious crimes affecting the two suburbs.

6.3 VICTIMISATION AND REPORTING

Just over 1/3 of the households interviewed had been victims of criminal activity over the twelve months previous to the survey. The proportion was higher in Spring Hill than in Paddington. More recent arrivals tended more frequently to be victims than did longer-term residents, the difference between the two groups being greater in Paddington than in Spring Hill. People in rented accommodation tended to be slightly more prone to becoming victims of crime. Crime victims were generally unlikely to transpose their experience into a feeling of unfriendliness about the suburb, but they were likely to think there had been a change in the type of crime there. Victims were also more likely to feel the local crime rate was higher than in other similar suburbs. Although the base numbers were small, people who had considered moving were more likely to have been victims of crime. There was no clear overall relationship between type of dwelling and victimisation, although renovated houses in both suburbs were more likely to have suffered breaking and entering than unrenovated houses.

The most common crimes were nuisance calls (514), theft (212) and breaking and entering (110 over the last twelve months). The average reporting rate was 25%, with the lowest rate (9%) for nuisance calls. There was only one incident each of robbery with violence and of fraud, and both were reported to the police. The one incident of attempted rape was not reported. Motor vehicle theft and breaking and entering tended to be the other crimes most often reported.

In Spring Hill there appeared to have been a reduction in the proportion of victims of vandalism between 1980 and 1986, but a proportionate increase in breaking and entering, as well as in nuisance calls. The increase in nuisance calls probably relates to memory factors rather than actual occurrences.

The overall reasons for reporting or non-reporting varied considerably. They varied between the two suburbs, and amongst the various categories of crime. More crimes against property were reported in Paddington, possibly reflecting the higher home-ownership rate. The younger age profile was reflected, however, in one of the reasons for not reporting crimes: the fact that the suspected perpetrators were children. Overall the four main groups of reasons for not reporting crimes to the police were 1) either the value of the goods was small, or the hope of recovery was seen as too small, 2) punishment of offenders was not felt to be appropriate, given either the "trivial" nature of the crime or the youth of the suspected offenders, 3) that the police were already busy enough, and 4) that, particularly for nuisance

calls, an authority other than the police (e.g., Telecom) was the appropriate agency to inform. There were also a number of respondents whose reasons for not reporting crimes reflected badly on their past experience with the police, or on their negative opinion of the Queensland Police Department.

The survey creates a picture of two inner city residential areas undergoing change as a result of their location close to the city centre, but not unduly fearful of crime. Residents accept that there is crime and the rate is increasing but feel that their suburbs are still less crime-affected than other similar suburbs. A similar survey in a non-inner suburb would help to test the wider applicability of the findings.

6.4 POLICE DEPARTMENT SECURITY SURVEY

About 35% of respondents were aware of the Queensland Police Department's security inspection service; about 30% said they were interested in having such an inspection carried out. Conversely, over 60% were not aware of the service and about 65% did not want such an inspection. The main reason for not wanting an inspection was the feeling that the existing level of dwelling security was adequate. A number of other reasons were also given, including a relatively high response indicating a fatalistic acceptance that criminals would break in no matter what was done. Victimisation did not necessarily increase the probability of wanting a security inspection, nor was there a

clear relationship between desire for an inspection and a number of other factors.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE USED

CRIME PERCEPTION SURVEY

Paddington	1	
Spring Hill	2	(1)

Quest. No._____ (2)(3)(4)
Crd#1:(5.1)

Introduction: We would like to find your opinions about crime in this suburb, and to find ways of helping to reduce any crime there is. Your responses are totally anonymous and all answers are treated as confidential. The survey is being carried out by the Queensland Institute of Technology and the Australian Institute of Criminology. Your assistance would be greatly appreciated.
(Interviewer: seek responses from the senior female in the household, or the person most likely to know about the experience of crime of all members of the household)

Question 1: Firstly, as background information, could you please tell me the approximate ages and the sex of all the people who normally are part of this household *(Interviewer: use the codes on Card A)*.

(6)

Person Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	>9	
Male/ F'male	____ (8)	____ (9)	____ (10)	____ (11)	____ (12)	____ (13)	____ (14)	____ (15)	____ (16)		(7)
Age Group	____ (17)	____ (18)	____ (19)	____ (20)	____ (21)	____ (22)	____ (23)	____ (24)	____ (25)		
Resp-ondent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		(26)

Question 2: Which term best describes the structure of this household? *(Interviewer: Show Card B)*.

single person only	1	
single person with child/children	2	
group of single parent families	3	
couple without children	4	
couple with child/children	5	
family plus older relations	6	
unrelated peer group	7	
other	8	(27)

Question 3: Is this dwelling rented by those living here, or owned or being bought by them?

rented	1	
owned/buying	2	
other	3	(28)

Question 4: How long have you lived in this suburb? *(Ask of respondent only)*

less than 1 year	1		
1 to 4 years	2		
5 to 9 years	3	*Go to*	
10 years and over	4	*Question 6(a)*	(29)

Question 5: *(If in suburb less than 5 years)* What were the three (3) main reasons for your moving to this suburb? *(Show Card C, and record first three mentions).*

	Mention 1	Mention 2	Mention 3	
recent improvements in the suburb.....	1	2	3	(30)
investment value of the housing.....	1	2	3	(31)
close to the city.....	1	2	3	(32)
low crime rate.....	1	2	3	(33)
close to work.....	1	2	3	(34)
close to children's school.....	1	2	3	(35)
good public transport.....	1	2	3	(36)
this specific dwelling available.....	1	2	3	(37)
friends/relations live here.....	1	2	3	(38)
rented accomodation available.....	1	2	3	(39)
close to services.....	1	2	3	(40)
cheap to buy.....	1	2	3	(41)
cheap to rent.....	1	2	3	(42)
other *(Specify)*.....	1	2	3	(43)
.....				
(No second or third mention....)		8	9	(44)

Question 6(a): *(Ask all)* How would you describe the general attitude of the people in this suburb: very friendly, friendly, average, unfriendly, or very unfriendly?

very friendly	1	
friendly	2	
average	3	
unfriendly	4	
very unfriendly	5	
don't know	9	(45)

Question 6(b): *(Ask all)* How often do you usually visit other households in the suburb (including those in this block)?

frequently	1	
sometimes	2	
not often	3	
never	4	
other	5	
don't know	9	(46)

Question 7(a): *(Ask all)* Thinking now about the general level of crime in the suburb do you think the level of crime has changed at all over the last five years or so? If so, in what way?

increased greatly	1	
increased	2	
decreased	3	
decreased greatly	4	
much the same	5	*Go to Question 8(a)*
don't know	9	*Question 8(a)*

(47)

Question 7(b): *(If a change noted)* We would like to find whether you think each of the things listed on the card *(Show Card D)* have influenced this change in the general level of crime here: *(Response required for every point)*

	yes	no	don't know	
the style of new buildings	1	2	9	(48)
quality of home maintenance	1	2	9	(49)
level of police patrols	1	2	9	(50)
amount of low-cost housing	1	2	9	(51)
just part of a general Brisbane trend	1	2	9	(52)
volume of traffic	1	2	9	(53)
attention paid by City Council	1	2	9	(54)
changing social status of area	1	2	9	(55)
education programmes by police	1	2	9	(56)
security actions by householders	1	2	9	(57)
street lighting	1	2	9	(58)
the type of people who move here	1	2	9	(59)
other *(Specify)*	1	2	9	(60)

.....

.....

Question 8(a): *(Ask all)* Do you think there has been any change in the type of crime here, as distinct from any changes in the general level of crime here, over the last five years or so?

yes	1	
no	2	*Go to Question 9(a)*
don't know	9	*Question 9(a)*

(61)

Question 8(b): *(If change noted)* What types of crime do you think have increased or decreased? Do you think they have changed a lot or not very much?

	increased a lot	increased	decreased	decreased a lot	d/k	
Crime against the person (e.g., assault, rape)	1	2	3	4	9	(62)
Crime against property (e.g. vandalism, burglary)	1	2	3	4	9	(63)
Other *(Specify)*.....	1	2	3	4	9	(64)

Question 9(a): *(Ask all)* Thinking now of the present general level of crime in the suburb, do you think it is more serious than, less serious than, or much the same as the rate in other similar suburbs *(e.g., Petrie Terrace, New Farm, Spring Hill, Paddington).*

higher then	1		
much the same as	2		
lower than	3	*Go to*	
don't know	9	*Question 10*	(65)

Question 9(b): *(If level higher or same)* Has the recent level of crime in the suburb caused you to think seriously of moving to another suburb?

yes	1	
no	2	
don't know	9	(66)

Question 10: *(Ask all)* On what do you base your opinions of the general level of crime in this suburb? *(Show Card E; more than one answer possible).*

neighbourhood/friends' opinion.....	1	(67)
no personal experience of crime.....	1	(68)
have suffered personally/ household has suffered.....	1	(69)
others in area known to be affected.....	1	(70)
opinions in newspapers/radio/T.V.	1	(71)
other *(Specify)*.....	1	(72)

.....

Question 11(a): *(Ask all)* Whatever your opinion of the level of crime in the suburb, do you think it is sufficient of a problem to warrant special action by the police?

yes	1		
no	2	*Go to*	
don't know	9	*Question 12*	(73)

Question 11(b): *(If yes)* What kind of special action would you like to see? *(Show Card F; More than one answer possible)*

Card 2
Rpt Sub: (1)
Rpt Q: (2-4)
Crd#2: (5.2)

more car patrols.....	1	(6)
patrols by police on foot.....	1	(7)
educational campaigns.....	1	(8)
advice on home security.....	1	(9)
more police stations.....	1	(10)
police available longer hours...	1	(11)
more policemen/women.....	1	(12)
neighbourhood watch scheme.....	1	(13)
security marking of goods.....	1	(14)
other *(Specify)*.....	1	(15)

.....

.....

Question 12: *(Ask all)* Thinking now in general of the crimes which sometimes do occur in this suburb, which one type do you think is most of a special problem here, if any? *(One response only)*

(16)

no problem crimes	1
don't know	9

(17)

assault	1
robbery with violence	2
rape, attempted rape	3
nuisance calls	4
other crime against person *(Specify)*	9

.....

(18)

motor vehicle theft	1
fraud, forgery, false pretences	2
stealing, theft	3
vandalism	4
burglary, breaking & entering	5
other crime against property *(Specify)*	9

.....

Question 13(a): *(Ask all)* Are you aware of the Queensland Police Department's Crime Prevention Advice Service?

Yes	1
No	2
Not sure	3

(19)

Question 13(b): *(Ask all)* Would you like a police department crime prevention officer to carry out a free inspection of your dwelling and give you security advice?

Yes	1	*Go to Question 14(a)*
No	2	
Not sure	3	

(20)

Question 13(c): *(If no, or not sure)* Could you please tell me the one main reason why you would not like, or are unsure about, a crime prevention inspection *(Show Card G; one answer only)*.

I may not be able to afford what he/she recommends.....1
criminals will break in whatever I do 2
I have already had such an inspection and have fitted the devices recommended.....3
my landlord will not allow me to change/fit locks.....4
I am satisfied with the existing level of security of my dwelling.....5

I am not interested *(try to find why not)*.....6

.....

other *(Specify)*.....8

.....

(21)

.....

Question 14(a): *(Ask all)* Have you or other members of this household been victims of any of the kinds of criminal activities listed on the card *(Show Card H)* in the last twelve months (i.e., since May, 1985)?

yes	1	
no	2 *Go to*	(22)
dont' know	9 *Question 16*	

Question 14(b):
***(If yes)*:** Could you please tell me:
(a) what type of crime was involved,
(b) who in the household was affected
(c) how many times they were affected over the twelve months, and
(d) whether the events were reported to the police.....

(a) Type of crime	(b) Age & sex of *person (see card H)* Age	Sex	(c) No. of times *affected* Number	(d) No. of times *reported* Number
assault	___ (6)	___ (7)	___ (8)(9)	___ (10)(11)
robbery with violence	___ (12)	___ (13)	___ (14)(15)	___ (16)(17)
rape, attempted rape	___ (18)	___ (19)	___ (20)(21)	___ (22)(23)
nuisance calls	___ (24)	___ (25)	___ (26)(27)	___ (28)(29)
motor vehicle theft	___ (30)	___ (31)	___ (32)(33)	___ (34)(35)
fraud, forgery, etc	___ (36)	___ (37)	___ (38)(39)	___ (40)(41)
stealing, theft	___ (42)	___ (43)	___ (44)(45)	___ (46)(47)
vandalism	___ (48)	___ (49)	___ (50)(51)	___ (52)(53)
burglary/break.& enter.	___ (54)	___ (55)	___ (56)(57)	___ (58)(59)
other *(Specify)*.....	___ (60)	___ (61)	___ (62)(63)	___ (64)(65)
.....				
.....				

Card 3
Rpt Sub: (1)
Rpt Q: (2-4)
Crd#3: (5.3)

Question 15: *(Ask only if any of the crimes in Question 14 were not reported to the police; and try to link to each incident...)* Could you please tell me why some of these crimes were not reported to the police?

.....

.....

.....

.....

..... (66)

..... (67)

..... (68)

..... (69)

..... (70)

..... (71)

..... (72)

..... (73)

Question 16: What suggestions do you have for actions by the authorities, residents, the police or other concerned people which you feel would help to reduce the incidence of crime in the suburb?

.....

.....

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.....

.....

..... (74)

..... (75)

..... (76)

..... (77)

..... (78)

..... (79)

Thank you very much for your time and assistance.

Interviewer: note information on next page:

Type of dwelling:	detached house: old, unrenovated	1
	detached house: old, renovated/being renovated	2
	detached house: new	3
	town house (attached, with garden)	4
	unit (attached, no garden)	5
	flat (divided house)	6
	other	7

(80)

Interviewer name:.....

Date of interview:.....

Supervisor name:.....

(Any other relevant information given during interview....)

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APPENDIX B

CRIME TYPE AND VARIOUS RESPONSES

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APPENDIX B: CRIME TYPE AND RESPONSE.

Tables B.1 to B.8 below show crosstabulations of responses to opinion questions with whether or not people in the household had been victims of certain types of crime over the past 12 months or so. "Don't know" responses are excluded. In some cases the number of responses were too small to be significant. In cases where there were less than 10 households affected, no crosstabulation is shown. This was the case for assault (8), robbery (1) rape/attempted rape (1), and fraud (0) in Paddington, and assault (8) robbery (0), rape/attempted rape (0), vehicle theft (1), fraud (1), vandalism (7), and other crimes (5) in Spring Hill.

In each case the tables should be read by comparing percentage of households which, in the suburb in question, responded in a certain way with the comparative percentage who had been affected by the particular crime. For example, in Table B.1, 16.9% of the Spring Hill respondents as a whole, and 16.8% of all those in Paddington, felt their suburb was "very friendly"; but in Spring Hill those who had been affected by nuisance calls were proportionately more likely to call the suburb "very friendly" (i.e., 25.0% of those who had been affected, compared with 15.7% of those who had not been affected). A reverse, but less divergent, relationship can be seen for Paddington.

Table B.1: Friendliness of Suburb

	Very Friendly (%)	Friendly (%)	Average (%)	Unfriendly (%)
Nuisance calls:				
SH: affected (N=16)	25.0	37.5	25.0	6.3
SH: not affec. (N=102)	15.7	40.2	32.4	2.9
P: affected (N=46)	15.2	52.2	28.3	4.3
P: not affec. (N=429)	17.0	47.6	33.6	1.6
Vehicle theft:				
SH: affected (N=1)				
P: affected (N=11)	0.0	54.5	27.3	18.2
P: not affect. (N=464)	17.2	47.8	33.2	1.5
Stealing:				
SH: affected (N=17)	23.5	35.3	23.5	5.9
SH: not affec. (N=101)	15.8	40.6	32.7	7.9
P: affected (N=58)	8.6	43.1	43.1	5.2
P: not affec. (N=417)	18.0	48.7	31.7	1.4
Vandalism:				
SH: affected (N=7)				
P: affected (N=23)	13.0	43.5	34.8	8.7
P: not affect. (N=452)	17.0	48.2	33.0	1.5
Burglary:				
SH: affected (N=25)	16.0	32.0	36.0	12.0
SH: not affect. (N=93)	17.2	41.9	30.1	1.1
P: affected (N=53)	15.1	41.5	39.6	3.8
P: not affect. (N=422)	17.1	48.8	32.2	1.7
Other crimes:				
SH: affected (N=5)				
P: affected (N=15)	13.3	46.7	40.0	0.0
P: not affect. (N=460)	17.0	48.0	32.8	2.0
Totals:				
Spring Hill (N=118)	16.9	39.8	31.4	3.4
Paddington (N=475)	16.8	48.0	33.1	1.9

Table B.2: Opinion on Change of Level of Crime:

	Incr. great.	Incr.	Decr.	Decr. great.	Same
Nuisance calls:					
SH: affected (N=16)	25.0	12.5	0.0	6.3	37.5
SH: not affect. (N=102)	2.9	23.5	16.7	4.9	33.3
P: affected (N=46)	2.2	28.3	4.3	0.0	41.3
P: not affect. (N=429)	8.4	27.3	5.1	0.2	34.7
Vehicle theft:					
SH: affected (N=1)					
P: affected (N=11)	0.0	54.5	9.1	0.0	27.3
P: not affect. (N=464)	8.0	26.7	5.0	0.2	35.6
Stealing:					
SH: affected (N=17)	29.4	29.4	5.9	5.9	17.6
SH: not affect. (N=101)	2.0	20.8	15.8	5.0	36.6
P: affected (N=58)	10.3	43.1	6.9	0.0	24.1
P: not affect. (N=417)	7.4	25.2	4.8	0.2	36.9
Vandalism:					
SH: affected (N=7)					
P: affected (N=23)	4.3	30.4	4.3	0.0	21.7
P: not affect. (N=452)	8.0	27.2	5.1	0.2	36.1
Burglary:					
SH: affected (N=25)	16.0	20.0	16.0	4.0	36.0
SH: not affect. (N=93)	3.2	22.6	14.0	5.4	33.3
P: affected (N=53)	18.9	49.1	1.9	0.0	15.1
P: not affect. (N=422)	6.4	24.6	5.5	0.2	37.9
Other crimes:					
SH: affected (N=5)					
P: affected (N=15)	6.7	60.0	0.0	6.7	26.7
P: not affect. (N=460)	7.8	26.3	5.2	0.0	35.7
Total:					
Spring Hill	5.9	22.0	14.4	5.1	33.9
Paddington	7.8	27.4	5.1	0.2	35.4

Table B.3: Change in Type of Crime:

	Yes	No
Nuisance calls:		
SH: affected (N=16)	43.8	43.8
SH: not affected (N=102)	39.2	38.2
P: affected (N=46)	19.6	50.0
P: not affected (N=429)	19.3	50.6
Vehicle Theft:		
SH: affected (N=1)		
P: affected (N=11)	18.2	72.7
P: not affected (N=464)	19.4	50.0
Stealing:		
SH: affected (N=17)	52.9	29.4
SH: not affected (N=101)	37.6	40.6
P: affected (N=58)	25.9	53.4
P: not affected (N=417)	18.5	50.1
Vandalism:		
SH: affected (N=7)		
P: affected (N=23)	34.8	43.5
P: not affected (N=452)	18.6	50.9
Burglary:		
SH: affected (N=25)	32.0	48.0
SH: not affected (N=93)	41.9	36.6
P: affected (N=53)	39.6	45.3
P: not affected (N=422)	16.8	51.2
Other crimes:		
SH: affected (N=5)		
P: affected (N=15)	53.3	33.3
P: not affected (N=460)	18.3	51.1
Total:		
Spring Hill	39.8	39.0
Paddington	19.4	50.5

Table B.4: Comparison with similar suburbs:

	Here higher	Here similar	Here lower
Nuisance calls:			
SH: affected (N=16)	6.3	37.5	37.5
SH: not affected (N=102)	7.8	37.3	38.2
P: affected (n=46)	2.2	41.3	52.2
P: not affected (N=429)	3.7	33.6	48.7
Vehicle theft:			
SH: affected (N=1)			
P: affected (N=11)	0.0	54.5	45.5
P: not affected (N=464)	3.7	33.8	49.1
Stealing:			
SH: affected (N=17)	23.5	47.1	11.8
SH: not affected (N=101)	5.0	35.6	42.6
P: affected (N=58)	5.2	44.8	43.1
P: not affected (N=417)	3.4	32.9	49.9
Vandalism:			
SH: affected (N=7)			
P: affected (N=23)	8.7	34.8	39.1
P: not affected (N=452)	3.3	34.3	49.6
Burglary:			
SH: affected (N=25)	8.0	36.0	48.0
SH: not affected (N=93)	7.5	37.6	35.5
P: affected (N=53)	18.9	52.8	24.5
P: not affected (N=422)	1.7	32.0	52.1
Other crimes:			
SH: affected (N=5)			
P: affected (N=15)	0.0	33.3	40.0
P: not affected (N=460)	3.7	34.3	49.3
Total:			
Spring Hill	7.6	37.3	38.1
Paddington	3.6	34.3	49.1

Table B.5: Has respondent considered moving
(Not asked of all respondents)

	Yes	No
Nuisance calls:		
SH: affected (N=6)		
P: affected (N=20)	10.0	90.0
P: not affected (N=157)	6.4	93.0
Stealing:		
SH: affected (N=11)	36.4	63.6
SH: not affected (N=40)	10.0	90.0
P: affected (N=28)	14.3	85.7
P: not affected (N=149)	5.4	94.0
Vandalism:		
SH: affected (N=4)		
P: affected (N=10)	10.0	90.0
P: not affected (N=167)	6.6	92.8
Burglary:		
SH: affected (N=11)	45.5	54.5
SH: not affected (N=40)	7.5	92.5
P: affected (N=37)	13.5	86.5
P: not affected (N=140)	5.0	94.3
Total (N=177):		
Spring Hill	15.7	84.3
Paddington	6.8	92.7

Table B.6: Are special police actions required?

	Yes	No
Nuisance calls:		
SH: affected (N=16)	56.3	43.8
SH: not affected (N=101)	47.1	46.1
P: affected (N=46)	41.3	54.3
P: not affected (N=429)	35.9	56.6
Vehicle theft:		
SH: affected (N=1)		
P: affected (N=11)	54.5	36.4
P: not affected (N=464)	36.0	56.9
Stealing:		
SH: affected (N=17)	76.5	23.5
SH: not affected (N=101)	43.6	49.5
P: affected (N=58)	51.7	41.4
P: not affected (N=417)	34.3	58.5
Vandalism:		
SH: affected (N=7)		
P: affected (N=23)	47.8	47.8
P: not affected (N=452)	35.8	56.9
Burglary:		
SH: affected (N=25)	52.0	40.0
SH: not affected (N=93)	47.3	47.3
P: affected (N=53)	64.2	35.8
P: affected (N=422)	32.9	59.0
Other crimes:		
SH: affected (N=5)		
P: affected (N=15)	26.7	66.7
P: not affected (N=460)	36.7	56.1
Total:		
Spring Hill	48.3	45.8
Paddington	36.4	56.4

Table B.7: Whether police security inspection wanted:

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Nuisance calls:			
SH: affected (N=16)	37.5	62.5	0.0
SH: not affected (N=102)	30.4	65.7	3.9
P: affected (N=46)	23.9	76.1	0.0
P: not affected (N=429)	28.9	65.3	5.8
Vehicle theft:			
SH: affected (N=1)			
P: affected (N=11)	27.3	72.7	0.0
P: not affected (N=464)	28.4	66.2	5.4
Stealing:			
SH: affected (N=17)	17.6	76.5	5.9
SH: not affected (N=101)	33.7	63.4	3.0
P: affected (N=58)	31.0	65.5	3.4
P: not affected (N=417)	28.1	66.4	5.5
Vandalism:			
SH: affected (N=7)			
P: affected (N=23)	43.5	52.2	4.3
P: not affected (N=452)	27.7	67.0	5.3
Burglary:			
SH: affected (N=25)	44.0	52.0	4.0
SH: not affected (N=93)	28.0	68.8	3.2
P: affected (N=53)	30.2	67.9	1.9
P: not affected (N=422)	28.2	66.1	5.7
Other crimes:			
SH: affected (N=5)			
P: affected (N=15)	13.3	73.3	13.3
P: not affected (N=460)	28.9	66.1	5.0
Total:			
Spring Hill	31.4	65.3	3.4
Paddington	28.4	66.3	5.3

Table B.8: Crime and dwelling type:

	Unrenov. house	Renov. house	New house	T. House & unit	Flat	Other
Nuisance calls:						
SH: affected (N=16)	50.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	18.8	6.3
SH: not affect.(N=102)	48.0	13.7	2.0	20.5	13.7	2.0
P: affected (N=46)	63.0	13.0	4.3	10.8	8.7	0.0
P: not affect.(N=429)	64.8	17.0	3.7	9.6	4.9	0.0
Vehicle theft:						
SH: affected (N=1)						
P: affected (N=11)	45.5	27.3	9.1	0.0	18.2	0.0
P: not affect.(N=464)	65.1	16.4	3.7	9.9	5.0	0.0
Stealing:						
SH: affected (N=17)	58.8	5.9	0.0	23.5	5.9	5.9
SH: not affect.(N=101)	46.5	12.9	2.0	20.8	15.8	2.0
P: affected (N=58)	55.2	22.4	3.4	17.2	1.7	0.0
P: not affect.(N=417)	65.9	15.8	3.8	8.6	5.8	0.0
Vandalism:						
SH: affected (N=7)						
P: affected (N=23)	56.5	30.4	4.3	9.7	0.0	0.0
P: not affect.(N=452)	65.0	15.9	3.8	9.7	5.5	0.0
Burglary:						
SH: affected (N=25)	48.0	20.0	4.0	20.0	8.0	0.0
SH: not affect.(N=93)	48.4	9.7	1.1	21.6	16.1	3.2
P: affected (N=53)	54.7	30.2	3.8	5.7	5.7	0.0
P: not affect.(N=422)	65.9	14.9	3.8	10.2	5.2	0.0
Other crimes:						
SH: affected (N=5)						
P: affected (N=15)	66.7	13.3	13.3	0.0	6.7	0.0
P: not affect.(N=460)	64.6	16.7	3.5	10.0	5.2	0.0
Total:						
Spring Hill	48.3	11.9	1.7	21.2	14.4	2.5
Paddington	64.6	16.6	3.8	9.7	5.3	0.0

APPENDIX C

REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING CRIME

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APPENDIX C:

REASONS FOR NON-REPORTING:
[(*) - those not reporting more than one type of crime]

C.1 ASSAULT:

Spring Hill:

. Too many of them and they could have said I did or said anything and I had no witnesses
. I didn't feel they could do anything. I didn't think that it was a major crime
. No use (*)
. Police wouldn't have done anything. Gone before reported (*)
. Aimed at one person in household (along with stealing) - household seem to know who it is and they think they can deal with it themselves (*) [comment by interviewer]

Paddington:

. You can't trust Queensland police - you have no comeback on them - they don't have a proper police complaints tribunal - they don't set a good example (*)
. (assault on handicapped son) Not reported as I didn't want to make a fuss as they will do more to him. When son pushed down in Rosalie shopping centre people shouted at those people. I only heard about it afterwards.
. (attempted) I managed to talk him out of it and running away (*)
. Not that serious (*)
. Harassed by drunk aborigines on Given Terrace while jogging and felt not serious enough to report to police
. Was carried out by a police officer

C.2 RAPE, ATTEMPTED RAPE:

Paddington:

. Not that serious - there were people at home - handled it ourselves (*)

C.3 NUISANCE CALLS:

Spring Hill:

. I just hang up in their ear

. They weren't to an extent that they caused any great stress to

the family. Had the calls disrupted my family I would have called the police
. They weren't calls of a shocking or hostile nature. More a case of children playing games so I didn't report them.
. Contacted Telecom and they also just thought it was kids as no-one spoke.
. Didn't think there was any need, just thought these were practical jokes by some kids
. Didn't report them as they always hang up - make "stupids of themselves". Police wouldn't do anything.
. No use (*)
. Know who does it (*)
. Didn't believe they could do anything to help (*)
. Just put it down to stupid kids (*)
. I didn't feel that the police would be able to assist me at the time of the obscene call but after the vandalism [reported] and break and enter [reported] I decided to report the incident
. Not much they can do - police have other more important things to do (*)
. Calls probably my age [60+]. I just took it as a matter of course, as they come and go. A lot of calls are to see if you are in or out [12 calls noted]

Paddington:

. I felt they couldn't trace the calls - what was the use? (*)
. It only happened twice and I told them where to go and its never happened again (*)
. Had checked the radio station the caller claimed to represent - he was therefore a nuisance caller. Police have enough to do (*)
. I reported the first to Telecom. I took their advice and just hung up the second time (*)
. Not really a big thing (*)
. Only got one, didn't bother - couldn't trace it, what could they do - if it had happened more than once I would have reported it (*)
. I didn't really think they would be interested. They would think you were a bit neurotic I think (*)
. Some of the phone calls were not reported because the police did not act the first time. I do not blame the police - it is only when they are persistent that they will tell you to contact Telecom to have the phone monitored.
. Nothing was said - they just hang up as soon as we answer (*)
. Thought they weren't important - a common occurrence (*)
. They don't do anything about it - I don't think they can do anything about it (*)
. Not worth it
. The police can't do anything about them
. Only happened on two isolated occasions - had they been more frequent would have reported them
. Nothing seems to come of it when we do report it so we just keep a whistle by the phone

- I'm sure they were just children or young teenagers - they were just stupid calls, not offensive
- It hadn't happened before
- Because they don't worry me - I just say I'm a police officer and they hang up quickly
- They sounded just like young kids
- I didn't think it important enough to report them - I was not really sure whether they were wrong numbers of not
- It didn't really worry me - they weren't obscene - probably kids, and if it had gone on longer I would have reported or been threatening
- Once reported felt the police couldn't do anything more. Nothing was ever said so was told it could be a technical problem, but got about 4 to 5 calls a day. Problem stopped now.
- Husband at sea - changed telephone number and solved problem
- Nothing happened - what could they do - I think they may have been checking to see if anyone was home
- Own number is similar to the Red Seal Chip Factory - other callers have hung up when you answered - we're not worried as the house is fully alarmed
- After 3 times we decided we'd report it next time which has not occurred again
- Only bothersome in a minor way - I ignore such calls
- We only had a couple - we didn't worry about it
- One nuisance call in four years was not significant
- I didn't think they would happen again
- Because it was only one call - I don't think it does any good reporting nuisance calls anyway
- But the police were here one day - they told us to change our number - if that is all you can do what is the use of reporting it to the police
- I don't believe anything could be done about nuisance calls
- The only measure Telecom could take was phone tapping and I didn't want that
- The calls did not persist - they were calling the wrong number
- I thought it could be someone with wrong numbers
- Because I handled the situation myself
- We rang the police once to enquire whether there had been any other complaints about this guy, but there had been none - we decided it was not worth going into further
- Did not think there was anything we could do
- Considered them as a minor incident, and they didn't persist so that was that
- Thought it was somebody ringing for someone who used to live here - like an irate caller
- Reported it to Telecom - advised to whistle into phone and hang up - difficult to do anything about it - never thought of reporting it to the police -just thought of Telecom - police would have told me to contact Telecom

C.4 STEALING, THEFT:

Spring Hill:

. A handful of cassettes was stolen from my car but I did not think it would warrant reporting it to the police
. Petty theft - no point because of the cost involved
. Away when happened - petty theft (*)
. I didn't think the police could do much about these sorts of crimes (*)
. Stealing (along with assault) is aimed at one person in household - household seems to know who it is and think they can deal with it themselves (*) [comment by interviewer]
. When its gone its gone - they wouldn't do anything much any way (*)

Paddington:

. It was petty - I felt the police could not do anything - they only took petty cash from my cab under the house (*)
. The car wasn't locked - so our fault so didn't report (*)
. Because it was only a couple of things at the time - at the time I was not aware they had been stolen (*)
. It wasn't worth a lot of money, and it was only the one thing (*)
. Of no use - police won't do anything - waste of my time (*)
. It was only articles of clothing and cassettes from my car and garage. I always figure they can't do much after the fact. (*)
. Not worth worrying the police about it. They have more important things to worry about - just plants stolen (*)
. Only a few clothes, garden gnome stolen - not really important
. Didn't think they could do much about it
. Very minor - nothing to worry about, only the hubcaps
. Found parts later - very old bike
. We were too busy - crime was petty, and thought police would have no hope in tracing the radiator stolen from the car - had thought police too busy for something so minor and also had read success rate of catching such offenders was pretty low
. Hubs off wheels of car - value of property not worth it
. Useless to phone the police - they would say we had been careless - we didn't have the garage locked at the time - its hard for the police to find these people
. Because it was minor - loose articles in the yard
. Felt they were too minor to report - mainly things around the grounds
. It wasn't of enough value to worry about - I can't even remember what was stolen - I didn't really miss it
. It was partly my own fault - another member of the household took some minor things and did not pay her share of the bills - wasn't worth reporting
. I reported one and the police sergeant was very sarcastic about it so I never bothered again - washing was taken off the line at night
. My neighbour reported it

. Bikes have been stolen on 3 occasions, one was a friend's bike stolen from our house which we didn't report - I didn't think they would be able to find bikes
. I didn't think the police would be able to do anything to get it back - and at the time I didn't realise my contents policy would cover it
. What's the use - they would only say you can't identify it so we would not know what to look for
. I thought it was more trouble than it was worth - just that I distrust the police (only the Queensland police) - I have lived in other states and have found the police very good, but Queensland police cannot be trusted
. Because they were a couple of kids with nothing to do - I think they were out to get a couple of dollars - they met someone who was not going to give up her hard earned money - I think that if they had been older I would have rung the police or if they had attacked me
. I really don't know - I just thought I would not get any satisfaction
. You can't be bothered ringing the police - there is nothing they can do anyway
. Minor in nature, was petty pilfering - didn't think it warranted reporting
. A bag was stolen - no hope of tracing contents at all - I considered it a waste of time reporting it
. Considered it a waste of time
. Very little money involved, very minor
. (from a restaurant) Petty thieving over a considerable time but not big thefts at any one time to warrant police - do catch some people and take crockery etc from them
. Left car unlocked so felt it was my own fault - radio taken from car not particularly valuable so didn't bother about it - at the time there was a particular family in street that we thought was causing a lot of trouble - I suspected them (their children) but didn't do anything - they have since moved and these small petty thefts have decreased
. I didn't believe it would be recovered - because it was not extremely valuable I didn't bother

C.5 VANDALISM:

Spring Hill:

. Wasn't my car - don't know (*)
. Don't know - just fixed it myself. I think it is just part of living here (*)
. I didn't think the police could do much about this type of crime (*)
. The vandalism wasn't reported because I didn't really know at the time that it was a criminal offence. I didn't want to bother the police with what I thought was a trivial action (*)

Paddington:

. Writing on walls and trying to break into house again. When living in Petrie Terrace police had already told me to expect that sort of thing. Neighbours always complaining; police came round but nothing could be done about it (*)
. A side window was smashed and we didn't think anything could be done about it. It was an old car without comprehensive insurance (*)
. My car is old so it was no big deal (*)
. Only plants destroyed - not important enough (*)
. Don't think they can do much about it (*)
. It was a dinner guest's car that was broken into and I'm not sure if they did report it (*)
. Too insignificant really - just bits and pieces underneath the house messed up - pot plants knocked over, etc. (*)
. Not important enough - they broke a tree in garden and damaged plants and trampled around but as they did not come into the house this time I didn't think it worth reporting to the police
. The first time, by the time we got outside they'd gone - on the second occasion the children wouldn't admit to having done anything
. Because kids had chalked and scribbled on stumps under the house and there was no damage - this did not seem important - a conscious effort was made to ensure all doors were shut after this
. It wasn't serious - only had the mirror stolen from the car
. Seemed such a minor thing - so many other greater crimes around
. I think the police did it
. Nothing you can really do about it
. I did not think it was important enough to report it
. Petty crime - only a pot plant or two
. Someone else minding house while I was away and didn't report it

C.6 BURGLARY, BREAKING AND ENTERING:

Spring Hill:

. At the time didn't know how it could happen - nothing disturbed so didn't report it
. In both instances the theft was of very small amounts of money from a piggy bank and the owner felt the amount and nature of the crime too trivial to report to the police
. Property stolen was replaceable and of no personal significant value
. Don't know
. The first time it was just money and I didn't think it was worth it
. It's mainly been money stolen - money is untraceable, so why bother.
. Just cash - I have reported before and they just take down details and no chance of recovery (*)
. They didn't enter - they just left their tools (*)

Paddington:

. Police won't do anything - waste of my time (*)
. Couldn't be 100% sure the item was missing - a small thing anyway (telephone money)
. It was only minor - just some food and small change
. Waste of time calling them - they just treat it as a joke - they put their black powder for fingerprinting all over the place and leave me the mess which entails repainting as it doesn't wash off - in all the times we have been broken into (a dozen at least over the years here) we have never had any satisfaction from the police
. Nothing stolen - they just walked in and out and left doors unlocked
. Victimisation - asking for trouble if keep on reporting
. There wasn't much taken to warrant ringing the police - $150 and assorted clothes and linen - the main concern was the fact that someone had been in the house - the neighbours also reported their theft - the police visited us later with an apprehended person who said she'd entered our home
. There wasn't much taken - they only took a few dollars of coins - I didn't think it was worth reporting
. Police ineffectual - virtually tell you no retribution - conscious of having left the house insecure
. Probably because of the fact we thought we couldn't possibly get it back - on all three occasions it was money - we know that it was children who did it - it happened while we were home but we were at the back of the house and we had left the front door open
. Only small change and personal effects taken - notes left saying "Don't contact police as we've left no fingerprints" and other things indicating they could be children - didn't think anything would come of it - general opinion that its a waste of time as nothing is ever recovered, especially money - the notes were upsetting though as they indicated these people had been into our personal things - very upsetting for me - just the slight thought they could threaten us further if we did anything

C.7 OTHER:

Spring Hill:

. (harassment and threats by young thugs in area) No use. Told "haven't been assaulted so police won't come"(*)
. (attempted robbery) Didn't think it was worth the trouble - they hadn't got in. I just put another lock on the door (*)
. (perverts) They ran away and we didn't get a good enough look at them to be able to identify them (*)
. (?) Inmate of work to release centre (situated next door) in her backyard without a good reason. This was reported to officials at the work to release centre but not to the police (*)

Paddington:

. (child had bike thrown down stairs by 17-18 yrs old) We discussed it - there's too much emphasis placed on reporting crime - it was trivial (*)
. (twin 19 year-old son and daughter have on different occasions both been followed) Didn't feel worried by it, so didn't report anything (*)
. (verbal abuse by kids) From past experience I have found that the police do not provide enough protection for the householder or owner of property (*)
. (attempted break-in) Didn't know when the attempt was made - just saw evidence later and thought it was too late for the police to do anything and there really was nothing stolen or damaged
. (motor vehicle stripped) No point - they wouldn't be able to find out who did it - I think that perhaps it could be children
. (Entered property and used outdoor toilet) Not worth it for the paperwork involved - my husband gave him a fright