

**TENANT PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND SECURITY
ON MELBOURNE'S HIGH-RISE PUBLIC HOUSING ESTATES**

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the perceptions and experiences of a sample of 103 Melbourne high-rise public housing tenants in relation to matters of crime, fear of crime and security through the administration of a modified victimisation survey questionnaire. Specific issues canvassed included expressed victimisations, precautionary behaviour, knowledge of crime on the estates, fear of crime on the estates, fear associated with particular locations and times on the estate, preferred security arrangements and general views of life on the estate. In particular, changes over time in these perceptions and experiences as a function of new security arrangements and physical renovations were assessed.

Tenants from three metropolitan estates were sampled. On one estate which experienced new security arrangements, the results indicated a reduction in expressed victimisation, a reduction in levels of precautionary behaviour, a reduction in fear of crime, and an enhancement of positive perceptions of the housing environment. On the second estate, which experienced physical renovations, the results indicated a reduction in expressed victimisations, a reduction in levels of precautionary behaviour, and a reduction in fear of crime. On the last estate, which experienced neither altered security arrangements or physical renovations, the results indicated increased victimisation and an increase in the fear of crime.

The results were discussed in the context of the available literature on crime, the determinants of fear of crime, and environmental crime control strategies. A number of policy implications were proposed, including the potential utility of specific security personnel deployments.

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PREFACE

The present study is concerned with the experiences of a sample of high-rise public housing tenants in Melbourne in relation to crime and fear of crime. It was generated by the concern of the Flemington Tenants' Association that these were matters about which little was known empirically, but which were subject to considerable assertion and speculation, often of a sort derogatory to high-rise estates, and by implication, their tenants. The Association wished to establish the extent and nature of tenants' experiences with crime, and their responses to crime, through systematic data collection. In addition, the Association was keen to gather information about which of a range of possible security arrangements met the approval of tenants.

The issues raised by the Association were based in part on a simple desire to combat what many tenants believed to be uninformed and unfounded impressions of estate living generated especially by the news media. But it was also based on a particular strategic motivation. An understanding of that motivation helps explain the general directions which the study has taken, and so it is necessary to devote a few words to the issue of 'agenda'.

A very brief history of high-rise public housing in Victoria is provided in the Introduction. At this point, we want to refer only to developments over the last three or four years. These years, since the election of the state Labor Government, have seen a policy commitment to the upgrading of high-rise and other public housing estates. And concomitant with that commitment has been the establishment of tenants' associations which have been involved in the planning of the design and logistics of upgrading with the Ministry of Housing. In other words, tenants are being given a voice in the nature of improvements on their estate. Clearly this process could not result in a simultaneous and uniform renovation programme throughout Melbourne, and so it has happened that estates have experienced different rates of upgrading. This is due partly to bureaucratic allocation priorities, and partly to the relative persuasiveness and speed of different tenant association submissions. The outcome of this differential application of the Estate Improvement Programme to the estates is that some tenant associations are in a position to view the results of upgrading on other estates, and to decide their own priorities accordingly.

The Ministry of Housing Estate Improvement Programme is designed

as a two-stage process of physical renovations and upgraded security arrangements. The general issues of security will be discussed at some length in the body of this report. Here we want to note that security concerns loomed large on the Flemington Tenants' Association agenda, partly as a result of the crime and fear of crime issues raised above, and partly as a response to the need for the tenants to decide which sort of security system would be appropriate on their estate in the longer term. Particularly they had as a model a planned installation of electronic surveillance equipment and permanent foyer attendant on the Collingwood high-rise estate, the first such installation in the state. Members of the Flemington Tenants' Association felt that such electronic security surveillance might not meet their needs, as they believed it offered the potential for a de-personalising and alienating form of security with 'big brother' overtones. Hence they required an assessment of the effects of this form of security relative to other forms.

In brief, then, the Flemington Tenants' Association wanted answers to three broad questions:

- (1) what was the nature and extent of crime on the estate?
- (2) what was the nature and extent of fear of crime on the estate?
- (3) what sorts of security were believed appropriate to the estate?

Answers to these questions were required both to inform the Association of conditions on the estate, and to form the basis of planning for improvements on the estate.

The Security Sub-Committee of the Flemington Tenants' Association contacted the second author for assistance in these inquiries. As a social worker with the Flemington Community Health Centre, his interest and concern in these matters was well known. He in turn contacted the first author for assistance in study design and analysis. The study is broadly based upon victim survey design principles, and is described in full in the body of the report.

The research proposal was submitted to the Ministry of Housing in early 1983 for approval and assistance. The Ministry offered qualified approval but would not assist in the program (see letter - Appendix A). Initial funding became available through the Arts Faculty Pilot Research Funding program at the University of Melbourne, where the first author was then a staff member in the Criminology Department. A more substantial grant from the Criminology Research Council enabled the project to be continued and completed. We are very grateful to both of these bodies for their valuable assistance.

We consider the present study to be important for a number of reasons. First, as far as we are aware, it offers the first such detailed look at victim and fear of crime experiences of a sample of people in a two-stage evaluation setting in Australia. Second, it represents a variety of 'consumer' criminology, or 'criminology from below', in the sense that it was generated not by academics exploring an abstract notion of crime in the community, but rather by a group of people who are normally seen as the subjects of criminological inquiry, not the initiators of such inquiry. It thus reflects a conscious awareness by our particular group of tenants that hearsay, speculation and anecdotalism ought to be replaced by sound empirical investigation in order to clarify matters of concern in estate living, and to form the proper basis for planning. We are very encouraged by this perspective, traditionally the prerogative of bureaucratic and academic planners, and we are very pleased to be a part of the exercise.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The present study is an investigation of aspects of experiences with crime, perceptions of crime, and fears of crime. More specifically, it investigates these phenomena amongst an identifiable sub-group of urban residents, tenants in high-rise public housing estates. And it investigates these matters amongst these people in relation to the effects of a number of changes in the living environment. As a consequence of this focus, it is necessary to canvass briefly two general areas so that the reader can clearly identify the context of the research. These are: the phenomena of crime and fear of crime; and the design and impact of crime reduction/prevention strategies based upon environmental considerations. Each of these areas can only be touched upon here. The reader is directed to more comprehensive reviews in the literature which are noted below.

1.1 Crime And The Fear Of Crime

The advent of the victimisation survey, first designed and applied during the U.S. President's Commission on Crime in the mid-1960s, heralded a new concern with a 'holistic consideration of the offender, the victim and the social setting in which the crime occurs' (Garofalo and Laub, 1978:242). Victim surveys assess the experiences with crime of samples of people, and through them it has become clear that not only are official measurements of crime fallible and distorting indices of the degree and distribution of crime, but also that the experience of crime is a phenomenon which varies considerably amongst groups and individuals in the community (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Galvin and Polk, 1982; Challinger, 1983). Further, the two decades of research in this area have resulted in a pronounced complication of our understanding of the relationships between crime rates, experience with crime and fear of crime. The relationship between experience with crime and fear of crime is particularly complex, and it is further complicated by consideration of policy and political factors. As Skogan and Maxfield (1981) point out, actual experiences with crime do not explain the extent and distribution of patterns of fear of crime. In fact Henrig and Maxfield (1978) note that while fear of crime escalates with increasing official crime rates, it does not decline when official rates suggest that crime is diminishing. At the

same time, however, fear of crime has become a powerful force in the setting of political agendas. Hough and Mayhew (1983) suggest that fear of crime is becoming as great a problem in Britain as crime itself, while Garofalo (1979) notes that fear has formed the basis for a myriad of socio-political decisions and programs in the United States. There is a belief amongst many commentators in the field that the complexities of crime and fear of crime are not understood well by policy makers, and that strategic interventions are often ill-founded and mis-conceived (see, for instance, Baumer, 1978; Garofalo, 1979; Garofalo and Laub, 1978; Henrig and Maxfield, 1978).

Why is all this important? To state the obvious, experience with crime and fear of crime can have debilitating effects upon the quality of life enjoyed by the community. The experience of crime itself, especially violent crime, requires no imaginative leap to be considered disturbing and unsettling. Actual victim experiences can involve substantial danger and loss, personally and economically. But as has been noted, patterns of fear and crime substantially outstrip actual victimisations in the community, and if the most pervasive effects upon the community of the crime phenomenon are of major concern, then it is towards the fear of crime that we should turn in order to comprehend the most generalised impact of crime. This is not to suggest, of course, that actual victimisation should be ignored; although often paradoxically, victim experiences and crime rates are related to fear of crime, and must be considered in the mosaic. Nevertheless, fear of crime has the potential to discommode a greater number of people than victimisation itself, and to generate behavioural changes which seriously interfere with the quality of life. These matters must be fully understood if a sound basis for intervention strategies is to be formed.

The research to date on the impact and determinants of fear of crime had produced a series of more or less generalisable features of the phenomenon, some of which contain apparent paradoxes. The most often cited paradox is that two of the strongest correlates of fear, sex and age, are inversely related to risk of victimisation (see Baumer, 1978; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Stafford and Galle, 1984). In other words, those least likely to be victimised, women and the elderly, are those who typically express the greatest fear. Another paradox discovered by Skogan and Maxfield (1981) is that those least likely to require protection from criminal activity had higher incidences of avoidance and protective behaviour. There are other

peculiarities emerging from research, and these will be discussed further. For the moment, a brief summary of the determinants of fear of crime culled from the literature will suffice. Before that summary is presented, a note on the measurement of fear is relevant.

A unifying feature of much of the research on the fear of crime is the rather simplistic way in which fear is conceived and measured. While a debate of sorts exists in the literature concerning what it is and how it ought to be measured (see Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: Chapter 3; Toseland, 1982), research has usually adopted single-item indicators. For instance, Garofalo (1979) in his study of National Crime Survey data in the U.S. reports that the item measuring fear was: 'How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighbourhood at night?'. Toseland (1982) in his work with the 1976 National Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago used the item: 'Is there any area around here - that is, within a mile - where you are afraid to walk alone at night?'. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) in their three-city survey in the U.S. used a similar item to the NCS measure. The British Crime Survey used: 'How safe do you feel walking alone in this area after dark?' (Hough and Mayhew, 1983). It is possible to speculate on the limitations of these sorts of indicators, and they are noted here for later contrast with the measures used in the present study.

Three major groupings of fear determinants have emerged consistently from research in the area. These will be briefly reviewed here, and then discussed within the context of a taxonomy suggested by Skogan and Maxfield (1981). The groupings are: victimisation; demographic variables; and 'psychosocial' variables (Toseland, 1982).

1.1.1 Victimization

In general, the experience of victimisation has been found to heighten fear of crime. However there are variations within this general pattern, and the results of research are often equivocal. The universal paradox of the inverse relationship between sex and fear has been noted, and has been used to suggest that victimisation is either unrelated or inversely related to fear. Rosenthal (1969), for instance, found an inverse relationship between being a victim and fear of crime. In an English study, Allatt (1984) found that the experience of being burgled had no bearing upon fear of crime

measures. Garofalo and Laub (1979) review a number of studies which found only weak to moderate relationships between victim experiences and fear. On the other hand, Skogan and Maxfield (1981) and Toseland (1982) found substantial correlations between victimisation and fear. Two features of this confusion need comment.

First, there is often no distinction made between property crimes and crimes against the person in many studies. Skogan and Maxfield point out that at the individual level, experience of violent crime has a strong impact upon fear; but as crimes against the person are relatively rare events, the impact may become attenuated in aggregate studies. On the other hand, individual responses to the experience of a crime against property tend to be minor in terms of fear, but as property crimes are much more common than personal crimes, and affect a great many more people, the aggregate effect may be pronounced.

Second, most aggregate studies of victimisation and fear of crime use a simple formula for victimisation rate: V/P_t , where V is the number of victimisations in a population, P is the number of individuals in a population, and t is a particular time period. Stafford and Galle (1984) point out that this formula assumes even distribution of risk of victimisation, and they assert that this assumption is untenable. They suggest that rates of victimisation are distributed according to exposure to risk, and that exposure differs between groups and individuals. For instance, crime statistics suggest that personal crimes take place disproportionately away from the home, and that people vary in the extent to which they operate away from home at times of peak risk (generally after dark). They suggest a modification of the conventional formula which makes use of an exposure term to adjust for the greater exposure of young males to victimisation risk. Adopting this formula, they found substantial correlations between victimisation and fear, where the conventional formula found inverse relationships.

On balance, then, it would seem that as a general principle, victimisation can be expected to lead to heightened fear of crime. However variations in this pattern should be expected depending upon sample sizes, victim types and victimisation categories.

1.1.2 Demographic Variables

A number of demographic variables have consistently emerged from the research. The following list has been culled collectively from:

Baumer, 1978; Garofalo, 1979; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Toseland, 1982; Hough and Mayhew, 1983. The variables include (not necessarily in rank order in terms of proportions of explained variance): being female; being elderly; having a low income; having a low education; being black; living alone; living in big cities; living in low socio-economic areas in big cities; and being unmarried or widowed/divorced. While some of these variables bear relationships with objective risk of victimisation (some inverse such as being female and elderly, some direct such as being black), in general they remain as determinants of fear independent of individual victimisation experiences.

1.1.3 Psychosocial Variables

Psychosocial variables which have been found to relate to fear of crime encompass a range of attitudinal dimensions relating directly or indirectly to perceptions of crime. Prominent amongst them is general perceptions of the nature and degree of crime in one's neighbourhood (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). The greater the belief in crime in the area, the greater is the fear of crime. Also important appears to be the level of satisfaction one has in living in one's neighbourhood (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Less satisfaction correlates with greater fear. Last, the means of transmission and inception of knowledge about crime amongst people seems to be related to fear of crime. Garofalo (1979) reports that media portrayals of crime appear to have an influence upon fear, while Skogan and Maxfield (1981) found that transmission of local knowledge about crime on a 'gossip' basis had important influences upon fear.

Skogan and Maxfield (1981) have combined these various determinants of crime into a simple taxonomy. This taxonomy is presented here in order to provide a useful context for the discussion of both the particular concerns which governed the present study and the results which have emerged from the study. The taxonomy consists of four categories: victimisation; vulnerability; vicarious experience; and neighbourhood conditions. Victimisation has already been canvassed adequately.

By vulnerability, Skogan and Maxfield mean two different aspects of susceptibility to fear. The first is physical vulnerability, where the individual is characterised by a reduced capacity to resist criminal depredation. Being female and elderly are typical features

of such vulnerability. This perceived reduced capacity is seen to inculcate increased fear. At the same time, the behavioural responses to such vulnerability are believed to be responsible for the substantial decrease in actual risk of victimisation by these groups. That is, avoidance and protective behaviour amongst women and the elderly, such as never going out alone, or never going out after dark at all, have the effect of reducing likely victimisation. Paradoxically, these behaviours, and the decreased actual risk of victimisation appear to have no effect upon fear. The second aspect of vulnerability is social vulnerability. This reflects exposure to criminal activity because of the social circumstances people find themselves in. The concept reflects the actual risk of victimisation and the means taken to protect against crime. In the U.S., the groups with the greatest risk of violent victimisation are the poor and blacks. Skogan and Maxfield believe that this is so because these groups live, work and play in those areas with typically high crime rates, such as high-density and the less savory parts of the big cities. This is not to suggest that the poor and blacks are more likely to be criminal, but rather that they are forced for economic and social reasons to live in areas which have high crime rates independently of who lives there. In addition, the lack of social and economic mobility of these groups means that they are unable to take effective steps to reduce victimisation exposure, such as moving out of the neighbourhood. Nor are they able to avail themselves of the facilities of the more wealthy in securing homes and lifestyles from crime by expenditure on sophisticated protective devices and personnel. Consequently, these sorts of vulnerabilities heighten fear of crime. Thus, a combination of the two forms of vulnerability is seen to maximise fear; in Skogan and Maxfield's survey work, the highest fear scores were achieved by aged, poor female blacks. Interestingly, social and physical vulnerability are statistically independent determinants of fear.

Vicarious experience denotes the transmission of crime knowledge amongst groups. Skogan and Maxfield note two basic kinds of transmission: the news media and personal conversation. In their own work, they found no evidence that media presentations of crime affected fear of crime; they note that media presentation is so pervasive that it appears to affect everyone similarly, and so it was difficult to isolate any specific effects. This finding is somewhat at odds with Garofalo's work, and we need to address it in more detail in relation

to our work. On the other hand, Skogan and Maxfield found that local neighbourhood networks of crime knowledge dissemination are very influential. Gossip about crime embraced many more people than merely those who have been victimised, and it tended to embellish the extent the consequences of victimisation. And unlike direct experience of crime, gossip about crime is not a rare event.

The last category of determinant is neighbourhood conditions. Mirroring Toseland's (1982) findings, they found that perceptions of the criminogenic nature of one's own neighbourhood, and one's general degree of satisfaction with the neighbourhood have important bearings upon fear of crime.

The foregoing discussion has looked at the general literature in regard to fear of crime. Now it is time to turn to the more specific concerns of this study. In part those concerns are dictated by the particular nature of the living environment of high-density inner-urban housing estates, and by the nature of the people who live there. As will be seen shortly, the general literature of fear of crime has particular relevance to this environment and these people, because on a hypothetical level, most if not all of the characteristics for a climate of heightened fear of crime exist on Melbourne's high-rise public housing estates. As a consequence, remedial strategies for the reduction of crime on the estates must take into account the phenomenon of fear of crime.

Public housing estates around the world share a number of universal features which bear strong relevance to any discussion of fear of crime. Some of these are features of fact, such as location and the socio-economic status of inhabitants; others are matters of perception and stereotype. Both varieties of feature tend to associate public housing estates with crime and fear of crime. Let us relate these features back to Skogan and Maxfield's taxonomy.

In terms of victimisation, public housing estates have generally been located in the inner urban parts of big cities where official crime rates are highest. Ever since the ecological studies of crime in the 1930s, there has been fixed association between inner urban centres and crime (see Shaw and McKay, 1942). Although this association has only been derived statistically this century, it goes back in the popular imagination to the eighteenth century. In part this was due to the creation of new inner urban ghettos inhabited by those displaced by the Industrial Revolution. A perceived breakdown in law and order led the middle classes to characterise the inner urban slum

dwellers as the 'dangerous classes', and all manner of evil and depredation was laid at their door (see Silver, 1969 and Jones, 1972). In the popular mind, dense congregations of the poor, the unemployed, the foreign and all the other dispossessed led to slums which in turn led inevitably to social deviance (Petersen, 1968; Gans, 1972). Graham (1985) updates this perogative profile by suggesting that the inner urban areas of big cities are still stamped with the following characteristics:

... the inner city is an area in which poor people live; the population is transient; there are high proportions of migrant populations; unemployment is high; crime rates are high; anti-social attitudes are prevalent; and the people who live there have less regard for the area in which they live. (p.41)

While some of these propositions can be supported in fact, others are blatant reminders of the deviant image generated two hundred years ago, and maintained in prejudice. Davidson (1979) offers a partial explanation for this continuing prejudice. He has applied labelling perspectives to locations in much the same way as others have applied them to individuals and classes of people. He has drawn up a taxonomy of environments based upon differing levels of interplay between crime rates, social reactions to crime and the operations of the agencies of social control. One of his categories, the 'stigmatised neighbourhood', is of relevance here. Selective law enforcement, disproportionate media attention, and popular views of the criminality of the working and welfare classes serve to stigmatise a neighbourhood with a reputation for social deviance. The notion of a stigmatised neighbourhood applied readily to the poor inner urban areas of cities.

High-density inner urban public housing development has been a particular feature in Sydney and Melbourne since the 1950s (Neutze, 1978). The Melbourne development will be described in more detail later, but here it is important to note that independently of the actual social conditions on the estates themselves, high-rise public estates have been located precisely in those inner city areas which historically carried the stigma of crime and deviance.

Empirical evidence on the rates of crime and victimisation on Australian public housing estates is virtually non-existent. Wilson (1976) reports on American studies which suggest higher rates of crime on public estates than in adjacent areas. However he notes other studies which do not demonstrate any differences in crime between

private and public housing neighbourhoods. While noting the unavailability of official Australian statistics, he suggests that anecdotal and observational evidence does not support the proposition that public housing estates suffer more crime than other neighbourhoods. Perlmut (1983) cites a letter to him by Harry Parsons, a former commissioner of the Victorian Housing Commission, who wrote that there has been very little crime in Australian high-rise estates.

Whatever the reality of the crime conditions on public housing estates, it is possible to suggest that the deviant stigma of public housing can, through the reaction model proposed by Davidson, generate an image of criminal prevalence amongst tenants themselves as well as others (see Lee, 1985, for further discussion of the stigma of public housing). While this image of prevalence does not carry the same direct influence upon fear of crime as actual victimisation, it can create the conditions in which each victimisation is fully absorbed in the neighbourhood consciousness as further evidence of the deviant nature of the locale. We will say a little more about this later.

Physical and social vulnerabilities also play a formative part in the profile of high-rise public housing estates. As will be noted in a later section, the tenants of Melbourne's high-rise estates are drawn predominantly from a welfare clientele which contains a disproportionate number of female heads of household.¹ Social vulnerability is reflected in the socio-economic status of the tenants. Norden (1983) notes the homogeneously low income levels of North Melbourne tenants, while Perlmut (1981) notes the high unemployment rates on public housing estates in general. A recent study at the Flemington estate puts the unemployment rate there at 40%.² While the local estates do not have a direct equivalent of the American black, they have large numbers of recently-arrived migrants drawn from at least 19 different nationalities (M.O.H. Survey Report, 1984). There are no local data to suggest that these people are more or less likely to be victimised, but their collective low socio-economic status locates them squarely in the social vulnerability dimension proposed by Skogan and Maxfield.

Vicarious experience similarly features prominently on the estates, at least hypothetically. Notwithstanding Skogan and Maxfield's general finding of the irrelevance of media upon fear of crime, there are certain specific distinctions about public housing living which ought to be noted in regard to the media. In Skogan and Maxfield's work, they suggested that the dissemination of crime news

was so uniformly pervasive that specific impacts were impossible to identify. But they were monitoring aggregate impacts across three large American cities with many variations in neighbourhood demography. In the case of public housing estates, it is possible to profile the inhabitants in more homogeneous manner, and it would at least be more theoretically possible to monitor specific media influence. However such work has not been done in Australia, and it must remain a possibility. But a more immediate distinction can be made between the sorts of variables Skogan and Maxfield were scrutinising and those germane to the present study. And that is that in the case of the tenants on Melbourne's high-rise estates, they themselves in a collective and very identifiable sense have been the subject of crime news. Not only are they exposed to general crime information through the various media, but they in fact on a rather regular basis are the news. And it is fair to say that in general, news presentation of both life on the estates and crime on the estates has been of a pronouncedly lurid and sensational nature. Appendix E presents a brief overview of the sorts of print media attention that the estates have received over the last five years or so, and the reader is urged to form an impression of the impact of such presentations on the tenants themselves and on others.

Localised transmission of crime information also plays a probable role on the estates. The physical layout of the estates, with universally utilised recreational, amenities and transit areas (community rooms, laundries, balconies, lifts, foyers) facilitate regular communication, and create the conditions for a rapid 'grapevine' effect. One of the authors, with considerable experience in social work on the estates, has first hand experience of the ways in which a drunken threat on a Friday night can become a fully-fledged sexual assault by Monday morning.

Last, neighbourhood conditions can play an obvious role in the generation of fear of crime on the estates. If it is the case that tenants have absorbed the images of deviance suggested as possible above by means of Davidson's notion of the stigmatised neighbourhood, then we would expect to see this manifested both in directly unfavourable perceptions of the neighbourhood, and in expressions of fear, regardless of the other likely determinants of fear. Additionally, the physical nature of the estates might well have a bearing upon perceptions of neighbourhood conditions, irrespective of notions of deviant stigma. Perlmut (1983) writes:

The fact is that a significant percentage of public housing in Victoria is in, or is rapidly approaching, a state of crisis ... Inhuman and institutional design of many housing estates has combined with years of neglect to produce many badly deteriorated 'problem' estates. (p.104)

We do not necessarily want to endorse this judgement, but rather note it as a relevant perspective from a critical observer of public housing developments in Australia.

Thus it is possible, we believe, to describe high-rise public housing estates in such terms that it would appear they are particularly likely to be environments conducive to fear of crime. It must be emphasised, however, that much of this description is based upon a proposition concerned with image rather than reality. The facts of life on the estates are generally unknown in an empirical sense, and we make no judgements about those facts at this stage. However the possibility of the sort of image that has been outlined, however unwarranted in reality, has emerged quite logically and persuasively from the literature on fear of crime and its determinants and locales. The testing of aspects of this image is the concern of the present study.

The second part of this introduction is concerned with remedial strategies designed to alter the existence and effects of crime and fear of crime.

1.2 Strategies For Prevention And Reduction

The complexities of the relationships between crime and fear of crime force the consequence that remedial strategies to alleviate both may not be the unified and simultaneous tasks they were once assumed to be. That assumption posited a simple relationship between crime rates and fear which we now know to be an inadequate understanding of the phenomenon. Put simply: 'Policy makers should not necessarily expect a major decrease in the amount of fear if crime is successfully reduced' (Garafolo, 1979:96). Put more complexly:

There is a possibility that some policies directed at reducing fear may either increase the fear of crime, or more importantly, increase the actual rate of victimisation (Henrig and Maxfield, 1978:298).

In order to unravel these complexities, and to reduce the stress on the reader's perseverance, the following discussion is restricted largely to considerations of environmental strategies. There are two major reasons for this selectivity. First, so much of what has been hitherto discussed relates to the impact upon fear of crime of the environmental conditions in which people exist. While these conditions cannot be sharply separated from the other determinants of fear, they dominate the fear phenomenon. Second, there are good reasons for believing that environmental strategies offer possible means to bring together solutions to the complex problems of crime and fear.

The notion of environmental crime-control strategy is based simultaneously upon a perceived failure of other strategies to significantly affect crime, and upon a theoretical conception of the genesis of crime. In the first instance, strategies based upon attempts to comprehend and alter the criminal behaviour of individuals through various law enforcement and therapeutic means have been found wanting. Many critics attest to this failure, and the reader is directed to Jeffrey (1971) for a summary of the arguments. A substitution for the theoretical and remedial principles which have traditionally formed the basis of offender-directed crime control has been developed adopting the twin propositions that the environment in which crime flourishes is both more amenable to control and remedy than the individual offender, and is in any case the cause of the offending behaviour.

There is nothing particularly original about the 'new environmental approach. It has its historical roots in the 'environmental determinism' which characterised early attempts to link environment with crime, and which formed the basis for the nineteenth century slum reclamation and 'child saving' movements (see Platt, 1969; Gans, 1972 and Wilson, 1970). While the modern environmental planners have dropped many (but not all) of the moralistic components of the early reformers, the association between environment, especially 'deprived' environments, and social deviance persists, as we have seen. There is a new statistical sophistication about the modern environmental notions, with some proponents insisting that the association should be considered a correlative one rather than a causal one (see Fischer, 1977; Clarke, 1980).

Environmental crime control implies a range of strategies from the quite specific, such as 'target-hardening' crime-prone objects and services, to the more general ones of large-scale environmental

upgrading and improvement. One of the key constructs in the general approach is that of opportunity; strategies are based upon the principle that if the opportunity for the commission of crime is eliminated or reduced, then the bulk of crime motivated by availability of criminal targets will disappear (Clarke, 1980). This construct is obviously relevant, and apparently quite successful, in terms of specific offences and crime targets. It is also relevant on the macro-scale of total environments. Oscar Newman (1972) pioneered the modern detailed consideration of the environment as conducive to crime, and his remedial strategies consist largely of designs which reduce the opportunity for crime. These strategies will be discussed further; but for the moment, it is useful to describe some of the conditions under which opportunities for crime are considered rife.

There appear to be two interlinking aspects of criminal opportunity in relation to the environment. The first of these is the physical dimension, in which features of the 'hard' environment itself facilitate crime. For instance, unlighted streets, parks, buildings and so forth, unsupervised areas, inadequate or non-existent security devices, physical layouts of buildings and neighbourhoods which reduce the opportunity for communication, all offer the potential for crime. The second aspect concerns a rather more psychological dimension which reflects the sense of caring and responsibility for an environment shared by inhabitants. Wilson and Kelling (1982) report on a number of interesting findings in the U.S. which they believe clearly demonstrate that neglect for the physical environment breeds criminality. As an illustration, they suggest the following scenario:

... if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. This is as true in nice neighbourhoods as in run-down ones. Window-breaking does not necessarily occur on a large scale because some areas are inhabited by determined window-breakers whereas other areas are inhabited by window-lovers; rather, one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing. (p.31)

Newman (1972) bases his remedial strategies on two approaches which he believes attack both of the opportunity aspects outlined above. They are supervision and territoriality. The first of these requires that there be no unsupervised areas in the neighbourhood to facilitate crime. The second requires the inhabitants to foster and maintain a sense of individual and collective responsibility for their

environment, which is then reflected to outsiders as a clearly identifiable and essentially private domain. His proposals consist largely of architectural designs which he believes will facilitate both supervision and the development of a sense of proprietorship over the neighbourhood.

Other writers have taken up these propositions and expanded them, especially in terms of fostering a sense of community amongst inhabitants. Wilson and Kelling (1982) take a detailed look at such developments in the U.S., especially in relation to the role of law enforcement agencies in contributing to community cohesion. Henrig and Maxfield (1978) offer a useful summary of what they term 'community building strategies', while Podolefsky and DuBow (1981) report on a number of case studies in this general area. Curtis and Kohn (1982) have recently reported on the American Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program, which is largely underpinned by resident involvement in social cohesion and crime prevention strategies. A useful local community development approach applicable to housing estates has been described recently by Norden (1983).

Perlgut (1981) has added a valuable Australian contribution to the field. He has attempted to intergrate the 'hardware' of physical design strategies with those of community development and housing policies. He has emphasised the need for resident input into effective management of housing. However he has also offered a critique of some of the propositions and applications of Newman's work. He believes that too many programs have been initiated on Newman's 'defensible space' principles without sufficient attention to the complexity of the relationships between housing design, criminal opportunity and fear of crime. He also notes some methodological criticisms of Newman's work. Others have also expressed reservations about Newman's particular work and the general thrust of environmental crime control. Nittim (1985) claims that Newman's work is deficient in that it lacks general social analysis. Rejecting any sort of pure environmental determinism, Nittim insists that a concentration upon environmental crime control alone results in palliative measures which ignore the general social causes of criminality and deviance. Nittim's critique is echoed by those writers who ideologically have little time for deterministic conceptions of social deviance divorced from considerations of political economy (see Taylor, Walton and Young, 1975 and Krisberg, 1976). The particular social costs of environmental crime control have received attention. Clifford (1976),

for instance, notes that the principles of supervision and visibility can cut across the principle of right to privacy. He suggests that the limits of the trade-off between increased communal safety through supervision on the one hand, and privacy on the other, be determined by residents themselves rather than by social planners. It is also possible to feel disturbed by some potential consequences of territoriality. Taken to its logical limits, territoriality conjures up images of isolated neighbourhoods where suspicion of strangers is rife and where intolerance of deviance dominates social and private life - an environment which Henrig and Maxfield (1978) call 'fortress-building'. These authors also note that many of the features which fragment communities, such as class, race and cultural differences, may well be intractable. Jeffrey (1971) posits a particularly grim prognostication of urban life dominated by fortress mentality (p.214-5).

We wish to pass no particular judgement on these critiques. We are mindful of the need to encompass as many as possible of the complexities and intricacies of the urban environment; we are also mindful of the difficulties of so doing. The present study is based upon the perception of a number of finite needs by a group of housing tenants, and we feel it would be wrong to ignore these specific needs by adopting a macro-social planning perspective. Thus, notwithstanding these critiques, it is possible that there are potential utilities in applying some of the basic environmental crime control notions to public housing estates. This is particularly so if we re-emphasise the nexus between environmental conditions and fear of crime. For not only do some of the approaches offer the possibility of reducing the opportunity for crime, but they also offer alleviation in the associated components which generate fear of crime. For instance, Wilson (1976) notes that architectural efforts to effect crime reduction have as an ancillary function the '... destigmatising (of) public housing projects through design innovations which add individuality and humanity to the physical environment' (p.51). If this consequence were to be effected, then one would expect observable effects upon resident perceptions of the quality of the neighbourhood, which, as we have seen, have likely influence upon fear of crime.

In general, then, there appear to be a number of useful applications of environmental crime control strategies to specific environments such as public housing estates. Perlgut (1983) cites the extensive review by Rubenstein, Murray, Motoyama, Rona and Titus

(1980) of the relationships between crime and the 'built' environment, which concludes that the principles of environmental crime prevention are all desirable. These authors believe that measures related to security have proved particularly effective.

Before the range of options applicable to local public housing estates are described briefly, the limits of that range ought to be canvassed. Much of the remedial aspects of the Newman approach require an ab initio application to housing developments. But as Nittim (1985) observes, the development of high-density public housing estates in Australia generally predates the detailed considerations offered by the modern environmentalists. Thus any application of the broad environmental principles must be restricted to those which do not require significant structural change. And in turn, for the sake of immediate relevance, these applications must be restricted to those which can be assessed in the context of this study. This leaves us effectively with considerations of security and physical renovation. While a certain degree of community development exists in the local context (see Norden, 1983), our brief for this study did not allow us to investigate its importance directly.

Security aspects of the public housing environment loom large in any perspective of relevance. Wilson (1976) notes that: '... the one outstanding concern of residents in public housing is the need for adequate security' (p.30). The two aspects of security which appear to be most important are those of supervision and protection. They are, of course, related, but for present purposes it is useful to distinguish between strategies which are primarily concerned with the supervision of people and property, and those concerned primarily with protecting people and property from crime. Examples of supervision include 'hardware' aspects such as illumination, the presence of security personnel, and electronic means of surveillance such as video cameras. Protective devices include window and door locks, alarm systems and so forth.

In terms of supervision, we are concerned with the application of security personnel and electronic surveillance. These are the two resources available which have been applied differentially in the local environment, and thus their respective effects can be assessed. There are three basic varieties of security personnel: police security, private security firms, and tenant security. Some American housing authorities employ their own police personnel (Wilson, 1976), but in the Australian context, police generally perform a routine

neighbourhood patrolling function which limits any regular and specific surveillance of housing estates. Their activities are normally confined to patrolling the grounds of the estate in motor vehicles, or less often, on foot. There has been some experimentation with the deployment of specifically designated foot patrol officers in Melbourne.³

Private security arrangements are more common on Melbourne estates. These consist mainly of the patrolling of grounds after dark, with some limited patrolling of the foyers and ground-floor areas of the estate. Resident-oriented security has not been a feature of the local estates in the form which Wilson (1976) reports has occurred in the U.S. However a modified version of tenant-controlled security has recently been initiated on some estates, in which the various Tenant Associations employ and train individuals under government subsidies to patrol the estate.⁴

None of these varieties of security have been empirically assessed in Melbourne to date in an acceptable manner, although the last-mentioned strategy is currently under investigation.⁵

Electronic surveillance applications have occurred in the U.S. for some time, according to Wilson (1976). He suggests that they have had marginal effects upon crime rates. We can find no data on their effects upon fear of crime. As noted in the preface, electronic surveillance is one of the security options offered by the Victorian Ministry of Housing, and the present study is intended to be a partial evaluation of one such application in Melbourne. Electronic surveillance is intended to both cut-down on manpower deployment and to supervise those areas on estates such as lifts which are closed to regular supervision.

Allatt (1984) claims to have demonstrated some success in terms of a decrease in both crime rates and fear of crime on housing estates through the systematic application of protective devices to all ground-floor points of entry on an English housing estate. However no such overall program has been undertaken in Victoria, and so we cannot assess such applications locally. Nevertheless Allatt's study is one of the few we could find which addressed both crime and fear of crime issues in controlled investigations relating to environmental change, and we make some use of her findings later in the report.

The effects of physical renovation alone, unassociated with wider strategies of crime prevention and community development, remain unknown on our reading of the literature. We have included such an

environmental change for consideration in this study because of the general linkage in the literature between fear of crime and neighbourhood conditions. It is possible to anticipate some change in measures of fear of crime as a function of physical renovation, but any prediction of the degree of such change must remain uncertain, until the relativity of neighbourhood conditions as a determinant of fear of crime can be identified.

While we can be guided by the general literature in the present study to some extent, we are largely 'flying blind' in relation to the specific concerns of the project. As Perlut (1982) notes, the necessary work simply has not been done in Australia to provide us with adequate local models and findings relating to the parameters of crime and fear of crime on public housing estates. Thus the terms of the present study have been dictated as much by available resources and concerns of intuitive interest as they have by research imperatives drawn from the literature. The specific context and design of the study is the focus of the next section.

1.3 The Environmental Context Of The Present Study

So far we have canvassed a number of aspects related to urban crime, fear of crime, and the concept of environmentally-based remedial strategies to combat the problems generated by crime and fear. We have paid particular attention to these matters in relation to public housing estates, although it has been noted that scant research has been conducted in this area in Australia. Our general hypothesis regarding public housing estates is that many of the assumed features of high-density public housing living appear to be particularly conducive to the development of fear of crime. We want to re-emphasise that this hypothesis is based largely upon our understanding of the phenomenon of social reaction to public housing living. While there are some objective data which indicate the likelihood of significant actual crime problems, such as the location in general of housing estates in alleged high crime rate areas of the city, we are not in a position to isolate the 'criminality' of public housing estates from surrounding urban areas. On the other hand, it is possible at least tentatively to identify a range of factors associated in the literature with fear of crime which appear to be particularly relevant to the estates, such as the demographic

composition of the estates, the influence of neighbourhood conditions, and the role which perceptions of stigma might play in the generation of a deviant, and hence fear-inducing image on the estates.

It now behoves us to describe briefly the specific development and nature of Melbourne's high-density housing estates, so that the environmental context of the study can be located. The focus is on high-density (i.e., high-rise) housing rather than public housing in general.

The beginnings of state intervention in housing in Australia can be traced back to 1909. However a systematic commitment to public housing was lacking until the 1940s, when the first Commonwealth-State Housing agreement was signed in 1945 (Jones, 1972). In large measure the impetus for public housing was generated by the powerful lobbying of church and welfare leaders in the decade 1930-1940. An influential housing reform group arose which, according to Jones, was motivated by a: 'religiously based indignation at the widespread incidence of poverty' (1972, p.4) and the notorious slums of the large capital cities. The alleged social costs of the slums, including delinquency, health problems and destitution were seen as a powerful argument in favour of state intervention in the housing market. Additionally, post-war moves to generate employment and to revitalise the economy through capital works in housing were influential motivations.

The Housing Commission of Victoria, established in 1937 to tackle public housing issues, remained relatively inactive during the depression and war years. The first major activity occurred in the mid-1950s, when the newly elected state Liberal government attacked the slum problem in Melbourne with some vigour, declaring 1000 acres of inner Melbourne 'ripe for immediate demolition' (Hargreaves, 1975). The ensuing slum reclamation program invoked the same basic arguments heard twenty years before: the social costs of slums and revitalisation of the economy. In turn, the first of these rationales echoes the much earlier concerns discussed above about the nexus between deprived living environments and deviance. New arguments were also advanced: the social and economic needs to create cosmopolitan urban centres (see Kendrig, 1974).

Areas marked for demolition predominantly bordered the central business district of Melbourne, in locations such as North Melbourne, Fitzroy and Collingwood. The existing cheaply-built accommodation in these areas housed working-class families in close proximity to large manufacturing and service industries, such as abattoirs and meatworks

in Richmond and Flemington, and the docks in West Melbourne.

The decision to build high-rise tower estates in these areas stemmed partly from cost-benefit analysis, and partly on the perceived need to increase density within the inner-city (Stevenson, Martin and O'Neil, 1967). The towers are sound from an engineering perspective; Park Towers in South Melbourne won an international engineering award. Early research on tenant attitudes to high-rise living indicated overwhelming support for this new accommodation initiative (Stevenson et al, 1967). Approximately a score of high-rise towers have been constructed in and around central Melbourne, varying in height from 12 to 30 stories.

However the initial enthusiasm for high-rise estates has been tempered since those early years. The spectacular social collapse and ultimate demolition of the Pruitt-Igloe high-rise estate in St. Louis, U.S.A. heralded a rash of architectural and social critiques of high-rise public accommodation (see Wilson, 1976 and Perlgut, 1981, 1983). Of particular interest in the local context have been the social changes which have contributed to a growing disenchantment with high-rise estates. Since the mid-fifties, there has been a decline in the industrial base of the inner-city of Melbourne, which has led to a decline in job opportunities and population. Coupled with this localised decline, there has been a rise in general structural unemployment, overall increases in migration, and an increasing dependency on the state for income through pensions and benefits (ABS, 1985). In effect there has been a marked change in demography on the estates; the working-class characteristics of the population has changed gradually to a welfare-class profile. These characteristics, according to Norden (1983), classify the estates as 'transitory neighbourhoods', with high rates of dissensus and lack of social cohesion. In turn, these features help fulfil the necessary conditions for the development of stigmatising images of the environment.

The consequences of the reality and images of high-rise living outlined above led the newly-elected state Labor Government in 1982 to commit itself to a range of improvement strategies for public housing estates in Melbourne. A two-stage program was initiated, dealing firstly with urgent repairs and upgrading of laundries, foyers and communal areas, and secondly with security arrangements. The effects of these programs upon measures of fear of crime constitute the major concern of the present study.

1.4 The Present Study

The impetus for the present study has been described in the Preface. Its context has been outlined in the preceding sections of this Introduction. It remains for us to describe how we have conceived the project to help answer the questions posed by the Flemington Tenants' Association. Those questions dictated that we develop a design which would: (a) identify the extent of problems of crime on the estates; (b) identify the extent of fear of crime; and (c) measure the effects of changes in the estate environments on these matters. Thus we required an investigation instrument relevant to the issues, and a sampling plan to give effect to that investigation.

The survey device and methodology adopted for the study is fully described in the next section of the report. It has been broadly based upon victimisation survey principles, modified to take into account the circumstances prevailing in the local environment. It has been designed to gather basic information on the perceptions and experiences of tenants with regard to matters of crime on the estates, in such a manner so that changes over time can be monitored.

The sampling plan involved the identification of estates upon which some sort of change relevant to the issues of the commission of crime and the fear of crime were to take place. Three inner-city high-rise estates were selected: Flemington, North Melbourne and Collingwood. On the Flemington estate, no overt changes relevant to the present issues were planned to take place; this estate was to operate as the control. At North Melbourne, physical renovations of the laundries was planned during the study period. The Collingwood estate was to enjoy altered security arrangements, having already experienced a major physical renovation of the buildings. By this sampling plan, we have hoped to monitor the differential effects of no change, physical change, and security change, upon the crime-related measures. The investigation program allowed for two administrations of the survey instrument, twelve months apart, in order to assess the effects of change.

The prevailing security arrangements at the first administration on the three estates consisted generally of external regular patrolling by security guards employed by private firms, with routine backup by police services. The proposed new security arrangements at Collingwood consisted of the installation of electronic surveillance equipment in the foyers and lifts, and the deployment of a permanent

foyer guard to monitor the electronic equipment.

By coincidence, Perlgut (1983:106-116) has looked at two of these estates, Collingwood and Richmond, in his recent descriptive examination of the application of 'manageable space' strategies to public housing developments. He provides a useful outline of the social and architectural features of the estates, and he describes a number of crime and security problems which had arisen round the time of his investigation (1980-1). While some of these specific issues lack up-to-date relevance, his discussion of the estates offers a valuable general background to the environments investigated in the present study, and the reader is encouraged to refer to his work.

The manipulation of the experimental variables was performed essentially in accordance with the above outline. However the Collingwood estate which was to enjoy the installation of the electronic equipment experienced some difficulties in that regard. The surveillance equipment was designed to cover all ground floor ingress points and the lifts while the foyer attendant was deployed throughout the testing period, the performance of the cameras was impaired because of poor external lighting, which was not rectified over the test period. In effect, the only cameras which operated successfully were those in the lifts, which became operational six months into the testing period.⁶ Thus the thrust of the new security arrangements on that estate consisted of the permanent deployment of the foyer guard; it is possible, nevertheless, that the installation, if not effective operation, of the cameras might have some placebo effect in the second half of the testing period.

Before the methodology of the study is described in detail, and the results presented, it is necessary to discuss briefly some of the limitations of the research. There are three main areas of limitation. The first concerns the inability to generate controlled comparisons between the perspectives and experiences of the tenants who formed the samples in the present study and people from non-public housing. Our resources were not able to encompass such a comparison on logistical grounds; additionally, the design of the survey instrument was dictated specifically by conditions prevailing on public housing estates, and it would have been very difficult to design a parallel but private-housing-specific instrument to render any comparisons acceptable. Thus we are unable to offer firm comment on the relativity of the findings of this study to other populations, other than in the very broadest of terms.

The second limitation reflects the difficulty of obtaining specific official crime statistics for small geographical areas. It was our original intention to obtain such statistics in order to form a comparison between victimisation experiences of the samples and official rates, but this proved impossible given our resources and the manner in which police crime statistics are collated. Mayhew and Clarke (1982) and Osborn (1982) have revealed similar problems in the British context. As a consequence, we were unable to provide the Flemington Tenants' Association with an official index of crime on the estates. Nevertheless, expressed victimisation experiences were gauged, and can be utilised in comparisons between estates and as reflections of changing environmental conditions.

The last limitation reflects the inherent problems in a pre/post test design in which the subjects are not randomly allocated to experimental and control treatments (see Campbell and Stanley, 1969). This is, of course, a typical problem in 'real life' research, where there are logistical, statistical and occasionally ethical constraints upon sampling plans. The net effect of this limitation is that the researcher cannot be absolutely sure that any effects identified are the pure function of the manipulation of the experimental variables. We have relied largely upon associated data and intuition to conclude that extraneous factors did not appear to operate systematically and in a biased manner to distort the results. -

We have entertained no formal hypotheses in the present study. The discussion of the literature has provided a number of features which might be predicted in the local context, but the lack of Australian data, and the quite specific concerns which motivated this research render it unwise to restrict ourselves to formal hypotheses.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 The Questionnaire

The final version of the questionnaire adopted for the present study is included as Appendix C. The original draft version was piloted on a small group of Flemington high-rise tenants, and was extensively re-worked as a result.

2.1.1. Development

The design of the questionnaire was guided by general victimisation survey principles. But the particular concerns which motivated the present study dictated that the device be tailored to specific local needs. Foremost amongst these needs are those concerned with the nature of high-density, highrise public housing. There is a basic physical homogeneity about high-rise living, in terms of architecture, recreational space and so forth which sets high-rise housing apart from ordinary suburban living. In addition, these physical features have their corollaries in the nature of social living on high-rise estates, although firm generalisations are not as feasible with social living features as they are with physical features. In turn, while many victimisation phenomena on public-housing estates parallel those in the private housing field, there are several unique features on high-rise estates, such as the danger of objects being thrown off balconies, urination in the lift and so forth. All of these features required that the questionnaire be designed with a consistent theme of estate living in mind. A search through the literature did not provide an adequate model questionnaire design which would suit the needs of this study, so the questionnaire was virtually developed from scratch.

It has been noted that, typically, fear of crime has been measured by single-item indicators concerned largely with perceptions of safety in the local neighbourhood after dark. In the present study we were unconvinced that such indicators provide the most comprehensive measure of fear, especially when the results of research are to be used as the basis for policy planning. So while we have maintained the general constructs of fear measurement as base indicators, we have incorporated these into a multiple location/time framework to offer a wider understanding of the parameters of fear.

In addition, we have adopted three levels of measure to assist in this: items indicating knowledge of crime; items indicating levels of perceived safety in relation to locations and times; and items reflecting levels of being 'scared' or 'worried' in relation to specific offences. Responses to these items have been summarised by multi-variate analysis (see below).

2.1.2 Format

The questionnaire is divided into six parts, A through F:

- A: biographical information;
- B: perceptions of general life on the estate;
- C: perceptions of levels of crime on the estate; precautions taken against crime on the estate;
- D: victim experiences;
- E: perceptions of levels of safety on the estate by time and location;
- F: perceptions of fear of victimisation on the estate; rankings of locations on the estate in terms of security needs; rankings and assessments of different security measures.

The ordering of these parts is based upon routine survey principles. Biographical data were sought first through simple questions in order to relax the respondent and to establish rapport. Perceptions of general life on the estate were probed prior to the substantive questions on crime and fear in order to avoid distorted responses to the sentiments concerned with the general estate environment. Perceptions of the levels of crime were similarly probed before the respondent was asked to recall personal victimisation experiences. Part F questions were asked last on the assumption that the previous questions would enable the respondents to rank and evaluate security issues with a little thought.

Part A

Routine biographical questions were asked in this part. Two features require comment. A design fault not picked up during piloting concerns the difficulty of accurately identifying household configuration from the questions about number of people living in the flat with the respondent and the age and sex of each resident in the flat. In practice, only the number of people living in the flat was used as an indicator of household configuration in the analysis of data.

The last two questions on the first page of the questionnaire were designed to tap the degree of isolation experienced by the respondent. This is an indirect measure of such a concept, but was felt to be less threatening than direct questions concerning loneliness. However, in practice, these questions were not well answered, apparently because there was some confusion between nodding acquaintance and close ties. In addition reports from interviewers suggested deficient recording of the answers, particularly over the issue of whether one known name represented a complete family or each individual member of a family known by a respondent. Accordingly, care should be taken in interpreting the results of these items when they are reported in a later section.

Part B

The questions for this part were designed especially for this study. The first four questions were asked in open-format, although it was possible to code the answers readily into five- or three-point scales. Questions 5 and 6 were asked to gauge the general extent of respondent participation in the affairs of the estate and, more specifically, to gauge whether the sampling plan oversampled residents with a keen interest in security and renovation committees. Question 7 was asked to tap a reportedly serious dimension of perceived lack of privacy in high-density housing. Questions 8 and 9 were asked as a broad summarising assessment of life on the estate. Question Ten was asked also as a broad summarising assessment of perceived safety.

Part C

This part begins the specific probing of respondents' knowledge and fear of crime. The questions concerned respondents' general perceptions of the levels of crime on their estate. A summarising question was asked first, and then specific questions relating to crime happening to children and the elderly, assaults, robberies, property offences, and estate-specific incidents such as objects thrown from balconies and urination in the lifts. Each of these questions was probed by means of a five-point scale ranging from 'a great many/a great deal' to 'none at all'. Questions 15 and 16 concerned personal precautions taken against crime. Question 16 was in open-format, and was then coded later.

The crime-specific questions in this part were drawn up on the basis of common crimes which occurred in residential areas of

Melbourne. It was a selective list which ignores many other relevant offences. However, in the interests of brevity, it was decided to confine the range of offences to those which can be considered (a) relatively prevalent in the wider community (the property offences) and (b) fear-inducing (offences against the person). Initial discussions with tenants in the Flemington Tenant's Association Security Sub-Committee suggested this final list as the most relevant.

The same discussion led to the four additional questions on estate-specific incidents. These four incidents were noted as particularly irritating or, in the case of gun-shots, fear-inducing.

Part D

This part was concerned with victim experiences. Following victimisation survey principles, considerable care was taken to ensure that telescoping or other distortions of time did not occur in respondents' recall. The same range of offences and incidents comprising Part C were probed in terms of personal victimisation, with the exception of sexual assault. In the authors' discussions with the Ministry of Housing concerning permission for proceeding with the survey a Ministry official made it clear that while agreement in principle for the survey would be granted, this was contingent upon the omission of the sexual assault question. The official considered that the issue raised by such a question was too sensitive. The authors argued vigorously against this notion, to no avail. It was disappointing to have to eliminate this question, but it was considered expedient to do so.

It became clear during the pilot survey that ad hoc descriptions of incidents would be difficult to code. Rather than provide pre-coded formats for each of the offences and incidents probed, it was decided to leave Part D as it was, and to append specific 'incident sheets' at the end of the questionnaire which could be filled out by the interviewer whenever an offence was recalled.

Part E

This part probed fear expressed by respondents in relation to locations and times on the estate. The locations on the estate were:

1. car park and grounds
2. foyer of the block
3. lifts of the block
4. balconies/laundries in the block
5. respondents' own flat

Time periods were:

1. 7.00am to 3.00pm
2. 3.00pm to 11.00pm
3. 11.00pm to 7.00am

This time categorisation was chosen to coincide with the three divisions of police shiftwork. The original intention was to cross-check police patrol and calls-for-service experiences and crime reports against respondents' expressed fears at these times. However, this did not prove to be feasible given the resources available. To draw a representative sample of police patrollers, and gather their experiences on the three different estates sampled for the survey was too massive an undertaking, while the extraction of crime reports broken down by blocks within estates was impossible.

In retrospect the time divisions were unnecessarily complicated, and a dichotomous classification into day and night would have been sufficient. Nevertheless, the breakdown of times as they stand offer sufficient differentiating power to be useful. Fear was expressed on a five-point scale ranging from 'very scared' to 'not scared at all'.

Part F

This last part probed respondents' fears of specific victimisation. The same offences and incidents covered in Parts C and D were repeated. Offences against the person were probed on the same five-point scales used in Part E, while property offences were probed by similar scales with 'worried' replacing 'scared'.

In addition, respondents were asked to rank the five nominated locations on the estate in terms of the importance of making them secure and safe. Three alternative security arrangements were also ranked. They were:

1. regular police department patrols;
2. regular patrols by a private estate security firm;
3. security cameras and a permanent foyer attendant.

None of the estates sampled for the survey actually had these alternatives in pure form, but they represent broadly differing approaches to estate security. The aim of this ranking, and of the last section in the questionnaire (the assessment of the sorts of jobs these hypothetical alternatives would perform), was to gauge respondents' preferences and perceptions. In themselves, these measures can not be

considered critical components of the crime/fear concerns of this study. Nonetheless it was considered possible that they bore some relationship to crime/fear perceptions. In addition, it was the request of the security sub-committee at Flemington that such questions be asked in the survey in order to provide feedback on preferred security arrangements.

2.2 Sampling

The broad rationale for the present study has been described. To reiterate, the study is aimed at assessing the effects upon selected measures of exposure to and fear of crime of a number of environmental conditions pertaining to high-rise public housing estates. The three conditions of concern are as follows:

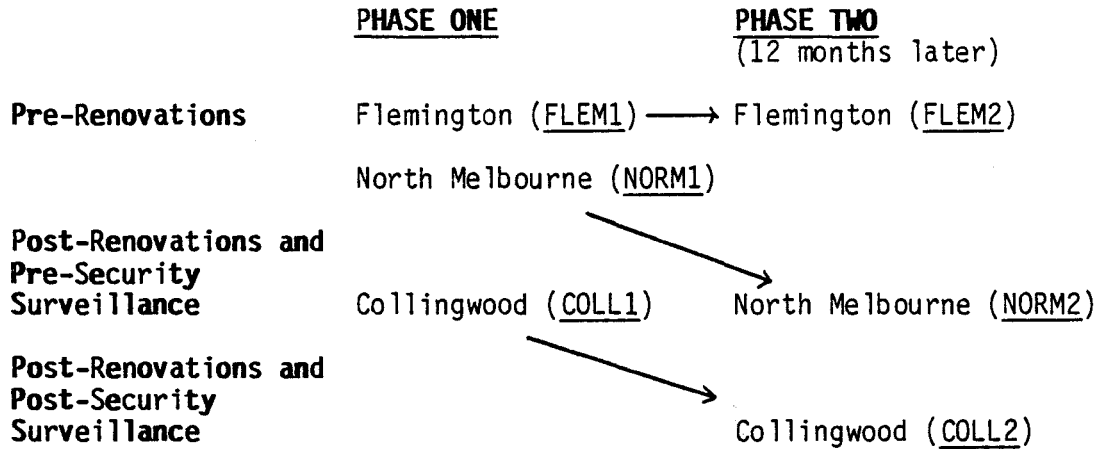
- (i) estate conditions prior to Estate Improvement Program renovations and prior to added security surveillance measures (that is, a control condition with no change over time);
- (ii) estate conditions pre- and post-Estate Improvement Programme renovations;
- (iii) estate conditions pre- and post-added security surveillance measures.

One high-rise block from each of three Ministry of Housing public housing estates in the Melbourne metropolitan area was selected to reflect the three conditions. The first block, 126 Racecourse Road, Flemington, was selected because there was to be no change over the next twelve months. The second block, 76 Canning Street, North Melbourne, was selected because it was to receive Estate Improvement Programme renovations during the next twelve months. The third block, 229 Hoddle Street, Collingwood, was selected because it had received Estate Improvement Programme renovations prior to initial data collection, and was to receive added security surveillance measures during the next twelve months. Figure 1 summarises the sampling plan.

Each of the blocks selected for the present study is architecturally similar, with 20 floors each containing nine households. There are a variety of one-, two- and three-bedroom flats on each floor. In order to sample representatively from flat-size, proximity-to-lifts, and height-from-the-ground configurations, it was decided to sample every household on six floors spread throughout the height of the

FIGURE 1

SAMPLING PLAN



block. Thus 54 households were selected in each block.

One respondent from each household was interviewed. Interview times were distributed throughout the day into night-time, and as a consequence it was not possible to consistently select the head-of-household. Instead the oldest inhabitant over 18 was asked to complete the questionnaire.

Where there was no one in the flat, or no person over 18 after at least one 'call-back', the flat immediately below or above the nominated floor was contacted.

2.3 Interviewing

The questionnaire was administered by one of six experienced graduates or honours students who had been briefed in detail by the principal researchers. All potential respondents were mailed a letter outlining the broad nature of the project and inviting their participation. The letter contained a photograph of the interviewer, and was translated into relevant community languages. The letter is appended as Appendix B.

Interviewers then called upon selected households, introduced themselves, and read the explanatory preface on the questionnaire. The interview was either conducted immediately if convenient, or an appointment made for a later date. If an interpreter was necessary, this was arranged by appointment at a later date. Care was taken to ensure that interpreting services were applied sensitively. For

instance, it was ensured that Croatian respondents were interviewed by appropriate ethnic interpreters.

The support of the tenant associations and the attention paid to preparing potential respondents resulted in very few refusals to take part in the study. Refusal rates ran at the five percent mark for both Phase One and Phase Two interviews.

The Phase One respondents were re-contacted for Phase Two interviewing. The researchers had thought that the attrition rate would be approximately about 20 percent, based on estimates for estate turn-over. This proved to be an underestimate. Table 1 presents attrition rates for the samples.

TABLE 1
SAMPLE ATTRITION (N)

	Phase One	Phase Two (Re-interviewed)
<u>COLLINGWOOD</u>	54	37 (68.5%)
<u>NORTH MELBOURNE</u>	53 ⁷	34 (64.2%)
<u>FLEMINGTON</u>	54	32 (59.3%)

As a consequence of the attrition rate, particular attention was paid during data analysis to any differences in the sample characteristics between original respondents and those who were not re-interviewed. As noted previously, refusal rates were low; the reason for the attrition rates was predominantly the turn-over of households, either between flats or estates, or into private or non-estate public housing.

Phase One interviewing was conducted between August and November 1983, while Phase Two interviewing was conducted during the same period in 1984. Hence there was approximately 12 months difference between Phase One and Two interviewing. This ought to have allowed ample time any for changes in estate conditions to take effect.

2.4 Data Analysis

Open-ended questions were coded into numerical format by a process of 'round-table' consultation between the principal researchers and the

interviewers. All responses were then entered and stored on computer file at the University of Melbourne, and analysed by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent, 1975). Specific analytic techniques will be described in the appropriate sections of the following chapter.

3.0 RESULTS

3.1 Introduction

The basic strategy in the present study has been to obtain measures of crime-related perspectives by the study samples, and to relate any changes in these measures over time to the three environmental conditions pertaining to the selected blocks. To this end, respondents who were interviewed at both Phase One and Phase Two formed the substantive sample for the study.

There are four major components in this section. They are:

- (a) the effects of sample attrition;
- (b) summary data on each of the three samples of original respondents;
- (c) the development of crime-related measures; and
- (d) the effects over time of the three environmental conditions on these measures.

3.2 The Effects Of Sample Attrition

As noted in the previous section, sample attrition was somewhat higher than anticipated. Consequently it was necessary to address the issue of the possible effects of sample attrition upon responses. In order to test for possible response bias due to attrition, two strategies were followed. In the first, chi-square tests were conducted on both biographical data and general environmental perceptions between those respondents who remained in the sample, and those who departed.⁸ The second strategy involved testing for mean differences between these two groups on the crime- and fear-related measures developed for this study. As this development will be described later in this section, it is premature to detail the results of this latter attrition test here. Hence, the remainder of this sub-section is concerned with the general biographical and perceptual items.

Original and departing respondents from each of the three blocks were tested on data derived from Phase One interviewing. Nominal, ordinal and interval scale data from the questionnaire items were reduced to ensure manageable cell sizes.

In general, there were very few differentiating items. Of the biographical items, only age ($p < .05$) differentiated amongst original and departing respondents, and only for the Collingwood sample. Of the general perceptual items, Comfort on the Estate ($p < .05$) differentiated the Flemington sample, while Feelings about Moving ($p < .05$) differentiated the Collingwood sample. Those who left the Collingwood sample were likely to be younger than those who stayed. Those who left the Flemington sample were less likely to feel comfortable on the estate than those who stayed. Those who left the Collingwood sample were more likely to be indifferent about a potential move from the estate than those who stayed.

In the array of biographical items and those concerned with respondents' general perceptions of living on a high-rise estate, then, only three items out of eighteen differentiated original and departing respondents. Only two of these, age and Comfort on the Estate, would seem to offer potential bias in terms of crime- and fear-related perspectives. However the differentiation was not particularly sharp, nor was it accompanied by confirmatory differentiation in other logically-related items, such as likelihood of moving or perception of area, which might suggest a consistent and systematic bias. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that in basic biographical and general perceptual terms, the substantive sample for the study did not suffer from the effects of attrition on Phase One measurements.

3.3 Summary Data On Samples

3.3.1 Biographical and General Estate Perception Data

The following sub-section presents descriptive data on basic biographical and general perceptual items for each of the three samples interviewed at both Phase One and Phase Two. There are two purposes to this presentation.

First, it allows a comparison of characteristics between estate samples. Second, it allows a brief comment on changes wrought over time on those general perceptual items relating to estate living. This latter purpose cannot be considered a definitive test of the effects of the three environmental conditions assessed in the study. The key variables for this test are, of course, the crime- and fear-related measures. Nevertheless, as was noted in the introduction,

general environmental perceptions can be considered to have moderating effects upon fear measures, and while more detailed attention will be paid to these effects in a later sub-section, it is instructive to look at broad changes in these perceptions here. Percentages have been calculated excluding missing data. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Table 2 presents biographical data for each of the three samples.

TABLE 2
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

VARIABLES	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
1. <u>Sample Size</u>		37		34		32
2. <u>Use of Interpreter(%)</u>						
No	68	65	74	76	41	75
Yes	32	35	26	24	59	25
3. <u>Sex(%)</u>						
Male		24		21		56
Female		76		79		44
4. <u>Age</u>						
Average, Phase One	43.3		41.1		37.8	
Range	(20-80)		(22-77)		(18-73)	
5. <u>Nationality</u>						
Australia		17(46%)		16(47%)		3(9%)
New Zealand		1		-		-
U.K.		1		4		2
Italy		-		1		-
Greece		1		-		2
Yugoslavia		2		3		2
Turkey		6(16%)		-		13(41%)
Other Continental		2		2		3
Vietnam		6(16%)		6(18%)		7(22%)
Other Asian		1		1		-
Other		-		1		-

TABLE 2 (continued)

VARIABLES	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
<u>6. Marital Status (%) (Phase One)</u>						
Single	11		18		19	
Married	43		32		75	
Separated	16		15		-	
Divorced	11		18		3	
Widowed	19		18		3	
<u>7. Average Time on Estate (months)</u>						
	78	93	77	84	69	80
<u>8. Number in Flat (%) (Phase One)</u>						
1	22		18		-	
2	19		27		28	
3	22		32		16	
4	27		21		25	
5	5		3		16	
6	5		-		6	
7	-		-		6	
8	-		-		3	
average	2.9		2.7		3.9	

Comment

It was the original intention in this study to obtain detailed population statistics concerning the estates sampled and then to gauge the extent of sample representativeness. However advice from the Ministry of Housing suggested that accessible records relate only to 'principal' tenants, that is, those particular residents who originally signed the tenancy agreement. These details are held in manual records at the appropriate district office. To extract these data requires labour-intensive work which was beyond the resources of this study. Additionally, certain features of the principal tenant profile, such as configuration of household, can be expected to change over time since the original tenancy agreement. Finally, a direct comparison between the features of this study's samples, which were not drawn on principal-tenant criteria, would be misleading. For these reasons, it proved impossible to accurately gauge the representativeness of the three samples. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that the present study has seriously distorted the characteristic biographical profiles of residents through its sampling

procedures. A necessary qualifying statement to this assumption lies in the sampling of sex. It is probable that the Collingwood and North Melbourne samples contain a disproportionately high percentage of women respondents. Consequently, caution must be exercised in extrapolating from the results of this survey.

Variations between samples require comment. In general, the Collingwood and North Melbourne samples can be considered similar in basic biographical terms, with the exception of the absence of Turkish respondents at North Melbourne. However, key differences exist between these two samples and Flemington. Flemington has a greater representation of males, tends to be younger, with a greater proportion of non-Australians, especially Turkish residents. Additionally, there are less separated, divorced or widowed respondents, and the households tend to be larger. It is probable that many of these distinguishing features are interconnected. It is clear that an assumption of basic biographical homogeneity between estate samples cannot be made.

While it is unnecessary to assume that respondent characteristics must be identical across estates, it is clearly possible that these differences between Flemington and the other two samples may have moderating effects upon fear- and crime-related perspectives. It is thus necessary to warn the reader about the consequences of this biographical diversity upon results.

Table 3 presents sample responses to those items concerned with general perceptions of estate living. Five-point scales have been reduced to three-points for easier comprehension.

Comment

It will be recalled that the first two items in Table 3 were designed as a measure of isolation. In fact, responses to the two items cannot be considered particularly reliable as noted previously. It is therefore difficult to interpret the variations over time and between samples evident in the table. The remaining items offer somewhat more interpretable differentiating power.

Perception Of Area: In Phase One responses, Collingwood and North Melbourne demonstrated considerable similarities on this item, with just over a third each of the sample perceiving the estate area to be 'good'. Flemington on the other hand, had a clear majority of respondents perceiving the estate area to be good. Between the phases of

interviewing, a clear change can be discerned in Collingwood, with a lesser change occurring in North Melbourne. There was little change evident in Flemington. Both Collingwood and North Melbourne respondents had become more favourably disposed in their perceptions of estate area.

TABLE 3
GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF ESTATE LIVING

VARIABLES	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
1. <u>Average Number of Residents Known on Floor</u>						
	5	3	2	3	3	3
2. <u>Average Number of Residents Known in Block</u>						
	13	10	9	6	8	10
3. <u>Perception of Area (%)</u>						
Good	37	81	39	56	71	79
Mixed	35	8	9	9	13	14
Bad	27	10	53	36	17	6
4. <u>Comfort on the Estate (%)</u>						
Comfortable	51	89	50	47	81	81
Mixed	11	5	-	12	6	7
Uncomfortable	38	5	50	41	12	13
5. <u>People on Estate (%)</u>						
Good	27	39	30	33	38	58
Mixed	60	50	29	44	50	27
Bad	14	11	41	22	12	16
6. <u>Relativity of Neighbourhood (%)</u>						
Better	8	16	32	10	7	19
Same	65	61	52	45	67	62
Worse	27	23	16	45	27	19

TABLE 3 (continued)

VARIABLES	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
<u>7. Interested in Estate (%)</u>						
Very/Quite	36	11	42	15	28	29
Fairly	22	11	21	35	22	22
A Little/Not	44	79	38	50	50	50
<u>8. Involved in Estate (%)</u>						
Very/Quite	11	3	24	12	3	9
Fairly	5	3	15	12	16	6
A Little/Not	84	95	61	77	81	84
<u>9. Privacy on Estate (%)</u>						
A Lot/Quite a Lot	46	49	53	53	50	39
Fair Amount	19	27	6	15	22	23
A Little/None	35	25	42	33	28	38
<u>10. Move from Estate (%)</u>						
Yes	43	27	50	50	23	41
No	57	73	50	50	77	59
<u>11. Feelings about Moving (%)</u>						
Very/Quite Sad	46	13	27	12	54	38
Neither Pleased Nor Sad	4	41	27	21	25	34
Quite/Very Pleased	49	46	47	67	22	28

Comfort On The Estate: Again it can be seen that at Phase One, Collingwood and North Melbourne demonstrated similar perceptions of comfort, with half of each sample considering themselves to be comfortable. Flemington respondents were more consensual in their perceptions of comfort. Twelve months later, Collingwood had become more comfortable, North Melbourne had a small number of respondents who have become somewhat more comfortable, while Flemington remained the same.

People On Estate: In their perceptions of the sort of people who share their estates with them, respondents offered a variety of perspectives. Collingwood at Phase One considered that residents are

either good or mixed, as did Flemington, while North Melbourne was a little more derogatory. Over time, all samples generally perceived improvements, although the movement was uneven.

Relativity Of Neighbourhood: This question emerged in practice to be difficult to answer by respondents. Criteria of comparison differed considerably between residents, and the answers cannot be considered reliable. There was obvious similarity on both Phases between Collingwood and Flemington, while North Melbourne offered considerable change over time.

Interested In Estate: Phase One responses from each of the samples were generally similar on this item. Over time, Collingwood's interest in the estate plummeted, while North Melbourne also fell in interest. Flemington remained the same.

Involved In Estate: North Melbourne demonstrated somewhat more estate involvement than the other two samples, but in general involvement was low across samples, and it decreased over time.

Privacy On Estate: There was some degree of unanimity across samples on this question, with approximately half of all respondents perceiving that they had considerable privacy. This did not change dramatically over time, although Flemington demonstrated a decrease in perceived privacy.

Move From Estate: When asked this question at Phase One, both Collingwood and North Melbourne split roughly in half on the answer, while Flemington respondents were considerably less likely to be planning to leave. Twelve months later, North Melbourne remained the same. Collingwood demonstrated less likelihood of moving, while Flemington had an increase in the numbers who planned to leave.

Feelings About Moving: At Phase One, Collingwood respondents split on sentiments about leaving, while North Melbourne had a greater percentage neither pleased nor sad. Flemington demonstrated a greater sentiment of sadness about leaving. At Phase Two, Collingwood increased the numbers who were neither pleased nor sad, North Melbourne respondents became considerably more pleased to leave, while Flemington became marginally either more pleased or equivocal.

Summary

(1) In general, Flemington emerged as a sample to be more content at Phase One with its estate environment, having positive perceptions in greater proportion than the other blocks on Perception of Area, Comfort on the Estate, People on Estate, Privacy on Estate, likely Move from Estate, and Feelings about Moving. Collingwood and North Melbourne shared a number of similarities in perceptions of estate living.

(2) Over time, Collingwood changed the most. Its respondents demonstrated increased positive perceptions of the estate area, comfort on the estate, the nature of people on the estate, the relativity of the estate compared with the neighbourhood, the degree of privacy on the estate and the likelihood of moving from the estate. On the other hand, neither North Melbourne nor Flemington demonstrated systematic changes over time.

(3) It is premature to relate these findings in a conclusive way to the three estate conditions which form the major concern of this study. It is probable that there were a number of interaction effects whose importance cannot be gauged from summary descriptive statistics. In addition it is not possible to be sure that changes in general estate perceptions bear a direct and systematic relation to estate security and improvement. Nevertheless, a preliminary reading of the above data would suggest that whatever had happened to Collingwood in the twelve months between Phase One and Phase Two interviewing had wrought an impressive change in respondents' views of estate living. A later section must be awaited to discover whether this change can be related to perceptions of fear and crime.

It should also be noted that there appeared to be some anomalous responses within the general Collingwood trend towards a more positive appreciation of the estate environment. Amongst these were the decrease in expressed interest and involvement in estate happenings, and the decrease in expressed sadness about the prospect of leaving the estate. It may be, of course, that these variables were unrelated to the other aspects of living on the estate canvassed in this section of the results.

3.3.2 Precautions and Victim Experiences

The following sub-section presents descriptive data on those variables in the study concerned more explicitly with responses to and experiences of crime on the estate. At this stage in the presentation, the concern is with actions and experiences. Those variables concerned with subjective responses to crime are dealt with in a later section.

Precautions

Table 4 presents the details of precautions taken by respondents against crime on the estates.

TABLE 4
PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY RESPONDENTS AGAINST CRIME

VARIABLES	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
<u>Personal Precautions (%)</u>						
Yes	92	84	85	79	78	84
No	8	16	15	21	22	16
<u>Nature of Precautions (%) (respondents who answered yes)</u>						
Will not go out at night	54	32	71	38	31	34
Will not use lift at night	5	3	35	9	9	9
Carries a weapon	3	5	3	6	3	3
Installed security door or window	32	19	82	21	59	16
Installed extra locks	68	68	12	56	16	47

Comments

At Phase One, Flemington emerged as less likely to take precautions than either Collingwood or North Melbourne, although a clear majority of all respondents thought it necessary to take some sort of personal precaution. At Phase Two, the percentages of Collingwood and North Melbourne respondents who take personal precautions dropped by eight and six percent respectively, while six percent more Flemington respondents took precautions.

Of the five major personal precautions noted by respondents, the first three can be considered features of personal behaviour which would presumably vary depending upon perceived likely victimisation.

The remaining two are 'once-only' precautions, which, having been enacted, are then not repeated. In these terms, then, North Melbourne emerged at Phase One as most cautious in terms of personal behaviour, followed by Collingwood with Flemington least cautious. At Phase Two, a dramatic decrease in caution on the North Melbourne block can be seen, while Collingwood also demonstrated considerably less caution. Flemington maintained its levels of personal caution.

In terms of the physical 'hardware' of caution, the results are a little ambiguous. Majorities of both North Melbourne and Flemington respondents reported installing security doors or windows before the testing period, while a third of the Collingwood respondents so reported. The percentages reporting installation during the test period dropped on all estates. However both North Melbourne and Flemington respondents increased the rate of extra-lock installation during the test period, while the same percentage of Collingwood respondents reported installing locks during the test period as before it. It is possible that these results suffer on a comparative basis from unknown levels of pre-existing security installation. For instance, some respondents may have moved into flats which already contained sufficient security devices, and thus the fact that they have not had them installed was no reflection upon their perceived need for security. In brief, we suspect the reliability of these hardware results.

Summary

In terms of the more probably reliable of the caution indicators, the personal behaviours reported in Table 4, a marked drop in such behaviours was evident between Phases One and Two for the Collingwood and North Melbourne samples. Once again, this is not a definitive test of the effects of the environmental conditions of interest in this study, but it does suggest that environmental change on the estates concerned with security and renovation appeared to have a positive effect upon the perceived need to avoid victimisation.

Victim Experiences

Direct experience with crime was measured in two ways in the present study. First, respondents were asked a range of specific questions regarding their experiences of general criminal activity. Second, respondents were asked about a range of incidents which are reportedly common to public-housing estates.

Table 5 reports criminal victim experiences.

TABLE 5
VICTIM EXPERIENCE

FORM OF VICTIMISATION (N)	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
<u>Any Victim Experience (in last six months)</u>						
No	20	33	20	25	22	19
Yes	17	4	14	9	10	13
Physical assault	3	1	-	1	-	2
Threat of violence	3	1	1	2	-	1
Personal theft	1	-	7	-	4	-
Robbery	1	-	-	-	-	-
Flat broken or damaged and theft	1	-	2	1	4	2
Flat broken or damaged/no theft	6	1	2	3	2	3
Theft outside flat	5	-	1	-	-	3
Damage to property	-	-	1	-	1	-
Motor theft	-	-	-	-	-	1
Damage to or theft from motor	8	2	2	4	2	6
Gunshot through window	1	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	29	5	16	11	13	18

Comment

At Phase One, 17 Collingwood respondents accounted for the 29 victimisations. At Phase Two, four respondents accounted for the five victimisations. Three of these four had been victimised in Phase One. Fourteen of the North Melbourne respondents accounted for the sixteen victimisations at Phase One. Nine respondents accounted for the eleven victimisations at Phase Two. Six of these nine had been victimised at Phase One. Ten of the Flemington respondents accounted for the thirteen victimisations at Phase One. Thirteen respondents accounted for the eighteen victimisations at Phase Two. Six of those thirteen had been victimised at Phase One. In summary, 41 of the 103 respondents were victimised at Phase One (40%), while 26 were victimised at Phase Two (25%). Of those 26, 15 had been victimised at Phase One. Hence 52, or just over half of the total sample had been victimised at least once during the eighteen months which the

victimisation questions covered.

The bulk of reported victimisation concerned property offences at both Phases of interviewing. At Phase One, Collingwood reported the most victim experiences, followed by North Melbourne and Flemington.

At Phase Two, Collingwood's reported victimisation decreased dramatically, while North Melbourne decreased somewhat less, with Flemington increasing its reported rate.

Table 6 presents responses to questions regarding estate-specific incidents.

TABLE 6
REPORTED INCIDENCE OF ESTATE-SPECIFIC INCIDENTS
(IN LAST SIX MONTHS)

WITNESSED INCIDENCE OF (%)	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
<u>Objects thrown from balconies</u>						
Daily	3	-	15	50	41	53
Weekly	3	-	59	24	22	12
Fortnightly	-	-	3	9	6	-
Monthly or less frequently	3	3	9	12	16	22
Not witnessed	92	97	15	6	16	13
<u>Drunken behaviour</u>						
Daily	-	22	15	15	6	3
Weekly	27	43	41	39	16	22
Fortnightly	3	5	12	-	6	-
Monthly or less frequently	19	16	6	21	19	22
Not witnessed	51	14	27	27	53	53
<u>Urinating in lifts</u>						
Daily	30	84	21	27	53	53
Weekly	40	10	47	41	18	25
Fortnightly	-	-	6	3	3	3
Monthly or less frequently	14	3	9	12	6	6
Not witnessed	16	3	18	18	19	13
<u>Gun shots on estate</u>						
Daily	-	-	3	-	-	-
Weekly	18	5	6	-	12	3
Fortnightly	3	-	9	-	6	-
Monthly or less frequently	22	11	12	12	13	41
Not witnessed	57	84	71	88	69	56

Comment

Part of Collingwood's estate improvement program involved sealing the balconies, which accounted for its very low rate of witnessed object throwing. Both North Melbourne and Flemington reported high rates of object throwing, with the frequency increasing between phases.

At Phase One, drunkenness was observed most often at North Melbourne, with Collingwood and Flemington reporting much less. However, while Flemington and North Melbourne remained static over time, Collingwood reported a much greater incidence of drunkenness in Phase Two.

Flemington reported the greatest frequency of urination in the lifts at Phase One. At Phase Two, however 84% of Collingwood's sample reported the daily witnessing of urination, while the other two blocks remained relatively static.

Gun shots represented a relatively rare phenomenon on all estates, with both Collingwood and North Melbourne reporting less at Phase Two. Flemington, however, reported more gun shots over time.

Summary

Of major interest from these results is the change over time in the Collingwood sample's witnessing of drunkenness and urination in the lifts. It appears as if Collingwood's reduced victimisation and levels of personal precautions had left the sample with more time to ponder the less-critical but annoying incidences of nuisance behaviour. At the same time, the activity most closely identified with dangerousness, gun shots, was perceived as lessening. Flemington remained remarkably consistent in its witnessing of incidents over time, with the exception of gun shots, while North Melbourne also remained generally consistent, except for a greater frequency of balcony objects and less gun shots over time.

3.3.3 Ranking of Locations and Security Options and Perceptions of Security

In this sub-section, responses to questions concerning preferred security priorities are described. First, those responses to questions asking respondents to rank order locations on the estate in terms of importance of making secure and safe are tabulated. Second, responses to questions asking respondents to rank three different security arrangements are presented. Last, percentage responses to

questions concerned with the sort of job each of these arrangements might perform are presented.

Ranking of Locations

In the following presentation of responses, locations have been ranked according to the mean rank of each location for each sample over both Phase One and Phase Two of the interviews. Table 7 presents the mean rank orders for locations.

TABLE 7
MEAN RANK ORDERS FOR LOCATIONS ON THE ESTATE IN TERMS OF IMPORTANCE
MAKING SECURE AND SAFE

COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
1. Lifts	Flat	Foyer	Foyer	Lifts	Lifts
2. Foyer	Car Park	Lifts	Lifts	Foyer	Car Park
3. Flat	Foyer	Balconies	Flat	Car Park	Balconies
4. Car Park	Lifts	Car Park	Car Park	Balconies	Foyer
5. Balconies	Balconies	Flat	Balconies	Flat	Flat

Comment

Lifts and Foyer figured prominently on each estate in terms of priority at Phase One. Flats, balconies and car parks were considered less important for security purposes at this phase, although the three blocks differed in their rank orders on these locations.

At Phase Two, Collingwood respondents changed their priorities quite markedly. While balconies remained the least priority, the flat became most important, followed by the car park. This alteration would seem to reflect quite clearly the placement of a foyer attendant who serves to protect the entrance and lift areas of the block, while offering little assistance at the individual flat level or outside the block. North Melbourne respondents changed relatively little in their priorities, although it seems likely that the renovation of the laundries has had the effect of rendering the balconies safer in the perceptions of the sample. Flemington respondents also changed their priorities a little, but with no renovations or security alterations in their block, it is difficult to be sure why these changes occurred.

Table 8 presents the mean rankings of the security arrangements.

TABLE 8
MEAN RANK ORDERS OF PROPOSED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
1 Security Cameras and Foyer Attendants	Security Cameras and Foyer Attendants	Security	Security	Police	Security
2 Private Security Patrols	Private Security Patrols	Private	Police	Private	Police
3 Regular Police Patrols	Reguar Police Patrols	Police	Private	Security	Private

Comment

Security cameras and foyer attendants emerged as the preferred option at Phase One for both Collingwood and North Melbourne. Flemington respondents placed this option last at Phase One, and clearly preferred police patrols. At Phase Two, Collingwood retained its preference for the cameras and foyer attendant. Presumably the experience of some aspects of this arrangement between the two phases did nothing to dissuade the sample from its merits.

North Melbourne also retained this preference, without any direct experience of it. Flemington changed its preferences at Phase Two, and ranked the cameras and foyer attendant at number one. This change may have reflected a knowledge amongst Flemington respondents of the developments on the Collingwood estate.

Table 9 presents responses to assessments of security arrangements.

Comment

The results in Table 9 broadly support the ranking data in Table 8. The Collingwood sample believed that security cameras and a foyer attendant would perform better than either private security or police patrols at Phase One. At Phase Two, these perceptions were retained, although slightly less respondents were very enthusiastic about the

security cameras. Additionally, fewer respondents believed police would do a good job. Overall, however, fewer respondents believed that any of the three security arrangements would result in a bad job.

TABLE 9
ASSESSMENTS OF ALTERNATIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
<u>Police responsible for estate security (%)</u>						
A very good/fairly good job	54	32	38	50	75	53
Average job	22	62	29	38	19	28
A fairly bad/very bad job	24	6	33	12	6	18
<u>Private security firm responsible (%)</u>						
A very good/fairly good job	42	60	56	30	60	53
Average job	36	32	29	58	28	31
A fairly bad/very bad job	22	8	15	12	12	15
<u>Security cameras and a foyer attendant responsible (%)</u>						
A very good/fairly good job	84	76	94	72	76	81
Average job	8	19	6	21	19	9
A fairly bad/very bad job	8	6	-	6	6	9

North Melbourne respondents followed a similar pattern at Phase Two, although they increased their favourable perception of police patrols at the expense of private security patrols, while emerging as less enthusiastic for the security cameras and foyer attendant. Flemington, on the other hand, became more enthusiastic for the cameras, and favoured police patrols less.

In general, then, both in terms of preference and assessment, all samples favoured the security measures developed at Collingwood at Phase Two, whether they had experienced these measures or not.

3.4 The Development of Crime-Related Measures

One of the major concerns of the present study has been to establish the extent and nature of respondents' perceptions of and responses to crime in their environment, and to relate these to the three

environmental conditions. The questionnaire probed in some detail and through many questions a range of issues relating to these perceptions and responses. The task of this section of the results is to present the array of responses in a reduced and summarised form which will enable detailed statistical tests to be performed between Phase One and Phase Two interviewing schedules.

While it would be interesting to present and discuss the individual responses to the questions which tap crime-knowledge and crime-fear perceptions, there are simply too many of them for detailed presentation in this report. Hence we have adopted the summarising procedure to be described shortly. However it is useful here to cull a few selected frequency results from the complete findings contained in Appendix D. The reader is encouraged to scrutinise that appendix in order to check on our selections and to obtain a more complete view. It will be recalled that there are two summarising questions in the schedule probing the extent to which respondents felt safe on the estate, and the extent of general crime they perceived existed on the estate. Tables 10 and 11 present the responses to those questions.

TABLE 10
SAFETY FELT ON THE ESTATE
(Percentages)

DEGREE OF SAFETY FELT	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
Very/Quite Safe	40	59	19	47	51	47
Fairly Safe	24	27	44	27	16	25
Rarely/Not Safe At All	36	14	36	27	32	28

Comment

The majority of all respondents felt at least fairly safe at both phases of interviewing. At Phase One, half of the Flemington sample felt very or quite safe, followed by Collingwood with 40%. Only 19% of North Melbourne respondents felt very or quite safe. At the other end of the scale, a disturbing one third of the total sample felt rarely or not safe at all. At Phase Two, Collingwood respondents clearly felt much safer, while North Melbourne respondents also felt somewhat safer. Flemington retained its feelings of safety over the two phases.

TABLE 11
 CRIME BELIEVED TO HAPPEN ON ESTATE
 (Percentages)

AMOUNT OF CRIME	COLL1	COLL2	NORM1	NORM2	FLEM1	FLEM2
None at all/very little	32	24	18	19	19	26
Not much	32	62	27	44	38	29
Quite a lot/a great deal	35	13	56	37	43	45

Comment

At Phase One, over 50 per cent of North Melbourne respondents believed that there was quite a lot or a great deal of crime happening on the estate. Flemington also believed that there was a lot of crime, while Collingwood believed there to be somewhat less. Between the phases, Flemington once again did not alter perceptions markedly, while both Collingwood and North Melbourne respondents moderated their views. Overall, approximately a third of the total sample believed there to be considerable crime at Phase Two.

The other questions of particular concern to this section are those relating to knowledge of crime on the estate, feelings of safety on various locations at various times on the estate, and perceived likelihood of specific victimisation. These questions comprise Question 10 from Part B, all of Part C with the exception of Questions 15 and 16, all of Part E, and Questions 51 to 63 in Part F.

In order to establish the inter-relationships between the items, it was decided to factor analyse them, to arrive at a smaller number of linear combinations which adequately reflect the substance of respondents' perceptions. Principal Components factoring was adopted, with communalities estimated at unity. This factoring procedure makes no assumptions about the underlying conceptual nature of the data, but rather produces the optimum linear combination of items (see Nie *et. al*, 1985).

There are forty-five items in the data array, each of which was answered on a five-point scale. These ordinal data were treated as interval data for the purposes of the analysis. Percentage responses for each of the forty-five items appear in Appendix D. All responses to these items gathered at Phase One for surviving respondents were

entered into the analysis, with pairwise deletion of missing data.

Both varimax and oblique rotations produced similar solutions. The oblique solution was adopted as it contained a marginally sharper differentiation on those items which loaded significantly on more than one component. Factoring was terminated after the extraction of four components. The fifth and later factors each explained less than five percent of common variance, and they tended to have very few items loading on them. This extraction criterion is more rigorous than the Kaiser criterion, which includes all components with an eigenvalue of 1.00 (see Child, 1970). Table 12 presents in summary form the details of the four components.

TABLE 12
FOUR-COMPONENT FACTORING WITH OBLIQUE ROTATION OF RESPONSES TO
CRIME-RELATED ITEMS

Component	Number of Items (Loading at .30)	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	12	11.6	25.7	25.7
2	14	5.1	11.2	36.9
3	10	3.7	8.1	45.1
4	8	2.7	5.9	50.9

Table 13 presents the inter-component correlations.

TABLE 13
INTER-COMPONENT CORRELATIONS

Component	1	2	3	4
1	1.0	-.20	-.20	.27
2	-	1.0	.23	-.10
3	-	-	1.0	-.14
4	-	-	-	1.0

Items were allocated to a component if they loaded at .30 or above. This loading criterion is marginally more rigorous than that derived

from the Burt-Banks formula (Child, 1970). Overlapping items were allocated to the component on which they loaded the highest. Only six items did not load at least .20 higher on one component over another.

Tables 14 to 17 present the item structures of the components.

TABLE 14
ITEM STRUCTURE AND LOADINGS FOR FIRST COMPONENT

Ques. No.	Item Description	Loading (+)
37	fear felt in car park/grounds between 3pm and 11pm	.82
38	fear felt in car park/grounds between 11pm and 7am	.81
40	fear felt in foyer of the block between 3pm and 11pm	.85
41	fear felt in foyer of the block between 11pm and 7am	.83
43	fear felt in lifts between 3pm and 11pm	.78
44	fear felt in lifts between 11pm and 7am	.76
46	fear felt in balcony/laundry between 3pm and 11pm	.77
47	fear felt in balcony/laundry between 11pm and 7am	.75
49	fear felt in own flat between 3pm and 11pm	.43
50	fear felt in own flat between 11pm and 7am	.43
61	fear felt about encountering drunken behaviour	.34
62	worry felt about encountering urine in the lift	.40

TABLE 15
ITEM STRUCTURE AND LOADINGS FOR SECOND COMPONENT

Ques. No.	Item Description	Loading (-)
10	safety felt living on the estate	.49
11	crime believed to occur on estate	.66
12	crime believed to happen to children	.74
13	crime believed to happen to the elderly	.65
14.a	physical attacks believed to happen	.75
14.b	sexual attacks believed to happen	.79
14.d	property believed to be stolen from flats	.64
14.e	property believed to be stolen outside flats	.68
14.f	damage to property believed	.51
14.j	objects believed to be thrown from balconies	.50
14.k	drunkenness believed to happen	.40
14.l	urination in lifts believed to happen	.43
14.m	shooting of firearms believed to happen	.67
60	fear felt of objects being thrown over balconies	.47

TABLE 16

ITEM STRUCTURE AND LOADINGS FOR THIRD COMPONENT

Ques. No.	Item Description	Loading (+)
14.c	robberies believed to happen	.55
14.g	motor theft believed to happen	.64
14.h	theft from motor vehicles believed to happen	.63
14.i	damage to motor vehicles believed to happen	.48
53	fear felt of robbery	.61
54	worry felt about theft from flat	.70
55	worry felt about theft from outside flat	.57
57	worry felt about theft of motor vehicle	.87
58	worry felt about damage to motor vehicle	.78
59	worry felt about theft from motor vehicle	.76

TABLE 17

ITEM STRUCTURE AND LOADINGS FOR FOURTH COMPONENT

Ques. No.	Item Description	Loading (+)
36	fear felt in car park/grounds between 7am and 3pm	.64
39	fear felt in foyer between 7am and 3pm	.31
42	fear felt in lift between 7am and 3pm	.58
48	fear felt in own flat between 7am and 3pm	.66
51	fear felt about physical attack	.52
52	fear felt about sexual attack	.55
56	worry felt about damage to property	.45
63	fear felt about gunshots on estate	.55

Notes

- Forty-four items are represented by the four components. One item, 'fear felt in balcony/laundry between 7am and 3pm' did not load at .3 on any of the components.
- The third component contains three items, Qs. 57 - 59, which were answered only by those who possessed motor vehicles. These three are the highest loading items, and clearly contribute considerably to the component's variance. At the same time, however, this feature reduces the number of respondents who can be scored on this component by about two-thirds. Initially it was proposed to re-factor the matrix eliminating those three items, but it was finally decided to keep the component as it stands in Table 16, because it is clearly tapping an important dimension of motor-property concern. As a consequence, analyses which utilise component scores on this third component must be qualified by the fact of a reduced number of respondents.

Comment

The factoring has resulted in four groups of items which offer an interpretable pattern of responses to crime issues on the estates. The first component grouped together all those items concerned with fear on different locations on the estate in the evening and night-time, with the addition of two items which reflect fear of specific incidents. As a consequence, this component has been labelled 'Locus of Concern'.

The second component grouped many of those items reflecting beliefs in the extent of crime on the estate. It has been labelled 'Perceptions of General Crime'. The third component contained a mix of items reflecting beliefs in the extent of some crimes on the estate and items reflecting fears of those same crimes. The offences included in these items predominantly concerned property crime. Interestingly, robbery appeared in this component, suggesting that respondents tended to classify robbery as a property offence. This component has been labelled 'Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime'.

The fourth component contained a mix of items reflecting fear of locations on the estate during the day, and fear of specific offences. These items tended to generate little concern amongst the bulk of respondents, so it is probable that this last component reflected the responses of a small number of respondents who felt fearful practically everywhere and always. It has been termed 'Perceptions of Extreme Concern'.

In summary, the four components described above represent four different groups of perceptions by respondents relating to their environment. The lack of substantial correlations between the components suggests that there are relatively discrete areas of concern amongst respondents. It would appear, for instance, that the common-sense proposition that a belief in substantial criminal activity occurring on the estate would influence levels of fear felt at different locations on the estate does not survive the test of the present data.

3.4.1 Component Scoring

The factoring procedure described above allows the development of numerical scores for each respondent which describe in summary form the location of that respondent on the four components extracted. A modification of the SPSS factor scoring procedure was adopted. In the

SPSS procedure, factor scores are calculated by standardising the item scores and multiplying each respondent's standard score on every item by the component score co-efficient output by the factoring procedure. In this way, all items are scored on each component for each respondent. Thus this procedure scores items which make little or no contribution to a particular component. For the present study, the basic procedure was followed as above, but only those items which loaded at .3 were included in the calculation for any component.

The scoring procedure follows the direction of component loadings. This means in practice that Locus of Concern, Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime and Perceptions of Extreme Concern are oriented with high scores indicating increased fear or belief in the extent of crime. Perceptions of General Crime, on the other hand, is oriented with low scores indicating increased belief in the extent of crime.

3.4.2 The Effects Of Sample Attrition

It has already been noted in an earlier section that general biographical and environmental-perception data failed to demonstrate a consistent and dramatic difference between surviving members of the samples and those who were not re-interviewed at Phase Two. Now that four criterion measures of crime-related perceptions have been developed, it is possible to compare surviving and non-reinterviewed respondents on these dimensions. T-tests were conducted on mean component scores between the two groups on each estate sampled, and there were no significant differences on any estate for any of the four components. Thus in biographical terms, general perceptions of estate living and the fear of crime measures, there were no strong or consistent indications that those who left the sample were substantially different from those who remained on Phase One measures.

3.4.3 The Relationships Of The Components To Other Variables

Before the major test of the study's central concerns is described, it is useful to look at the extent to which component scores vary according to certain biographical and perceptual factors. It is clear that a number of relevant sub-samples of respondents could be developed and then examined for differences on the crime and fear measures. Age, sex, nationality, marital status, length of time on

the estate, and so forth all suggest themselves as interesting categorisations of respondents for this purpose. However to look at each of these in turn is a cumbersome exercise, and one which would test the perseverance of the reader. Instead, a summarising procedure was adopted to examine the extent to which these various factors related to the crime/fear measures. Multiple regression was used for this purpose. While this procedure cannot answer all of the possible questions which might be asked about the composition of the components, it has the attraction of quickly assessing the major contribution of putatively relevant variables to component variance.

The same two groups of eighteen items used in tests for the effects of sample attrition were again adopted for the regression analysis i.e., biographical items, and those items concerned with general perceptions of estate living were used to predict component scores. In the first instance, biographical items were entered stepwise into the analysis, with pairwise deletion of missing data. After initial regression, during which the SPSS default options for item entry were used, it was decided that the criteria for entry into the analysis would be as follows: (i) only the first five items to be entered; and (ii) f-score set at 1.0. Categorical data were entered as dummy variables (see Nie et.al., 1975, for a discussion of entry criteria and the use of dummy variables).

Surviving respondents from all block samples were used as a single sample, as for the factor analysis. Table 18 presents the details.

Comments

In general, linear combinations of biographical variables did not explain a substantial proportion of the component variances, with the exception of perceptions of motor-property crime.

Locus of Concern: a combination of sex and nationality accounted for nearly a quarter of the variance in this component. Being female was associated with heightened fear, while being Australian was similarly associated with heightened fear.

TABLE 18

STEPWISE REGRESSION OF BIOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES AGAINST COMPONENT SCORES

Items	Multiple R (cum.)	R Square (cum.)	(Simple R)
<u>Locus of Concern</u>			
Male/Female	.46	.21	(.46)
Non-Australian/Australian	.49	.24	(.28)
<u>Perceptions of General Crime</u>			
Non-Vietnamese/Vietnamese	.39	.15	(.38)
Age	.54	.29	(.27)
No Interpreter/Interpreter	.56	.31	(.28)
Not Married/Married	.58	.33	(.13)
<u>Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime</u>			
Non-Turkish/Turkish	.43	.19	(.43)
Not Separated/Separated	.60	.36	(.29)
Not Single/Single	.64	.41	(.01)
Number of people known on floor	.67	.45	(.29)
<u>Perceptions of Extreme Concern</u>			
Non-Turkish/Turkish	.21	.04	(-.21)
Age	.29	.09	(-.18)

Perceptions of General Crime: four variables accounted for a third of component variance. Being Vietnamese was associated with believing that there was less crime on the estate. Being younger was associated with believing there was more crime on the estate. Requiring an interpreter was associated with believing there was less crime on the estate. And being married was associated with believing there was less crime on the estate.

Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime: four variables accounted for 45% of component variance. Being Turkish was associated with more concern over motor-property crime. Being separated or single was similarly associated. Interestingly, knowing more people on the floor was also associated with more concern.

Perceptions of Extreme Concern: less than 10% of component variance was explained through biographical variables for this component. Being Turkish and being older were both marginally associated with less concern.

In the second instance, both biographical variables and those items which assessed general perceptions of estate living were entered into the regression analysis. All other conditions of entry remained the same. Table 19 presents the details.

TABLE 19
STEPWISE REGRESSION OF BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL PERCEPTION VARIABLES
AGAINST COMPONENT SCORES

Items	Multiple R (cum.)	R Square (cum.)	(Simple R)
<u>Locus of Concern</u>			
Male/Female	.46	.21	(.46)
'Comfort on the Estate'	.56	.31	(.39)
'People on the Estate'	.58	.34	(.38)
Non-Vietnamese/Vietnamese	.60	.36	(-.08)
Non-Australian/Australian	.63	.40	(.28)
<u>Perceptions of General Crime</u>			
'Feelings about Moving'	.56	.32	(-.56)
'People on the Estate'	.66	.43	(-.50)
Non-Vietnamese/Vietnamese	.69	.48	(.38)
Age	.72	.52	(.27)
Not Married/Married	.74	.55	(.13)
<u>Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime</u>			
Non-Turkish/Turkish	.43	.19	(.43)
Not Separated/Separated	.60	.36	(.29)
Move From Estate: Yes/No	.67	.45	(-.28)
Age	.70	.49	(-.33)
Number in Flat	.73	.54	(-.02)
<u>Perceptions of Extreme Concern</u>			
'Feelings about Moving'	.40	.16	(.40)
'Comfort on the Estate'	.45	.20	(.38)

Comments

The addition of the general perception items has increased the proportion of the component variances accounted for by the item array.

Locus of Concern: forty percent of this component's variance was accounted for by five variables. Sex and Australian/Non-Australian remained in the equation, while being less comfortable on the estate and having a poor regard for people on the estate were strongly associated with heightened levels of concern. Being Vietnamese entered the equation associated with low levels of concern, but the simple correlation was negligible.

Perceptions of General Crime: over half of the variance in this component was accounted for with the entry of two perception items: feelings of pleasure about leaving the estate, and having a poor regard for people on the estate were strongly associated with more perceived crime.

Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime: over half of this component's variance was accounted for with the entry of two new biographical variables and one perception item. Being older was associated with believing there is less motor-property crime, while thinking that one is likely to move from the estate in the near future was associated with believing there is more crime.

Perceptions of Extreme Concern: twenty percent of this component's variance was accounted for by two perception items. Feeling pleased about moving from the estate, and feeling less comfortable on the estate were associated with increased concern.

Summary

A considerable proportion of the variance in three of the four components was explained by a combination of biographical and general perception variables. In brief, a number of features stand out. Amongst those findings which might have been predicted from the literature, it can be noted that being female was associated with heightened fear on various locations on the estate, while generally negative feelings about living on the estate in terms of levels of comfort, about other people living on the estate, and in sentiments about moving from the estate were all associated with heightened fear

on the estate or various perceptions of the extent and nature of crime on the estate. Less predictably, being Vietnamese specifically, or non-Australian in general, was associated with less fear or belief in the extent of crime on the estate. Additionally, being older was associated with a lower belief in the extent of crime. And, contrary to the general finding regarding non-Australians, Turkish respondents tended to have heightened beliefs in the extent of motor-property crime.

It is difficult to explain with any certainty these latter results. With regard to the Vietnamese respondents, and perhaps the non-Australian respondents in general, it may have been the case that these individuals were reluctant to express substantial dissatisfaction with estate living for fear of some sort of bureaucratic reprisal, despite the efforts to assuage such fears in the conduct of the survey. Alternatively, these responses may have been genuine when viewed in the context of environments from which newly-arriving migrants have come.

The finding with regard to age is even more puzzling. While the simple correlations were not particularly high, there was a clear tendency for age to be associated with less concern, which is contrary to the literature. Age was associated to some extent with length of time on the estate, and while length of time itself did not feature in the regressions, it is possible that relatively long term exposure to estate conditions inured respondents against pronounced fear and concern. In addition, it may be that as older residents took more precautions against crime on the estate, they felt less exposed and vulnerable.

3.4.4 Differences Between Victims And Non-Victims On Component Scores

One final analysis was performed for this section. It is of obvious interest to note any possible effects of being victimised upon the component scores. A simple procedure was followed to test for such effects. Component scores for the 103 surviving respondents were dichotomised at the median at both Phase One and Phase Two. Respondents were then divided into those who had been victimised at least once, and those who had not been victimised, at each of the interviewing phases. The small absolute numbers in the sample precluded any finer categorisations. Chi-square tests were then conducted on these two 2x2 contingency tables.

At Phase One, there were no significant differences between victims and non-victims on any of the four component scores. However at Phase Two, victims were more likely to be above the median score on Locus of Concern ($\chi^2 = 5.6, 1 \text{ df.}, p < .05$) and Perceptions of Extreme Concern ($\chi^2 = 6.1, 1 \text{ df.}, p < .05$); and below the median score on Perceptions of General Crime ($\chi^2 = 6.2, 1 \text{ df.}, p < .05$). Thus, on three of the four fear/crime measures, victims at Phase Two were significantly more likely to be fearful or to believe in more crime than non-victims.

It has been noted previously that 15 of the 26 victims at Phase Two had also been victimised at Phase One. It was possible that relatively frequent victimisations have had the effect of making these 15 particularly fearful of their environment, with the consequence of the significant differences noted above. As a check upon this possibility, t tests were performed on Phase Two component scores between those who were victimised at both phases, and those who had been victimised for the first time at Phase Two. There were no significant differences between the two groups on any of the component scores. Thus it is unlikely that the multiple victims were contributing disproportionately to the high component scores evident amongst victims at Phase Two.

While the differences between victims and non-victims at Phase Two were not profoundly large (no contingency co-efficient was greater than .30), the contrast between Phase One and Phase Two results on these tests cannot be ignored. It is, however, difficult to explain the results. They will be discussed again in a later section.

3.5 The Effects Of Time And Changed Environment On Crime/Fear Measures

The final set of results in this section is concerned with the effects of the changes in environmental conditions over the twelve months of the study. To recapitulate those changes: Collingwood respondents saw the installation of electronic surveillance devices (although not their completely successful operation) and the positioning of a security guard in the foyer of the block. North Melbourne experienced the renovations of the laundries, while security arrangements remained the same. Flemington had neither altered security arrangements nor any renovation program.

Table 20 presents the details of changes in mean component scores

between Phase One and Phase Two interviewing.

TABLE 20
CHANGES IN MEAN COMPONENT SCORES BETWEEN PHASE ONE
AND PHASE TWO INTERVIEWS

		Mean	S.D.	T	Sig.
<u>Locus of Concern</u>					
Collingwood:	Phase One	.15	.95	3.8	.000
	Phase Two	-.60	.73		
North Melbourne:	Phase One	.51	.79	3.5	.001
	Phase Two	-.17	.74		
Flemington	Phase One	-.69	.60	-3.2	.002
	Phase Two	-.01	.99		
<u>Perceptions of General Crime</u>					
Collingwood	Phase One	.31	1.02	-1.6	ns
	Phase Two	.63	.62		
North Melbourne	Phase One	-.23	.92	-0.5	ns
	Phase Two	-.13	.54		
Flemington:	Phase One	-.03	.90	0.2	ns
	Phase Two	-.07	.85		
<u>Perceptions of Motor-Property Crime</u>					
Collingwood:	Phase One	.35	.96	1.2	ns
	Phase Two	-.13	.61		
North Melbourne:	Phase One	-.51	.76	-1.9	.080
	Phase Two	-.02	.51		
Flemington:	Phase One	.26	.75	0.8	ns
	Phase Two	.00	1.00		
<u>Perceptions of Extreme Concern</u>					
Collingwood:	Phase One	.10	.87	2.2	.030
	Phase Two	-.26	.46		
North Melbourne:	Phase One	.05	.86	-0.7	ns
	Phase Two	.19	.72		
Flemington:	Phase One	-.23	.47	-1.2	ns
	Phase Two	-.06	.61		

Comments

The examination of mean scores for Phase One interviewing reveals that at the beginning of the study, North Melbourne respondents demonstrated the most fear on various locations on the estate, followed by Collingwood, with Flemington considerably less fearful. In terms of perceptions of general crime, once again, North Melbourne demonstrated the greatest belief in the extent of crime, followed by Flemington with Collingwood holding the least belief. Motor-property crime was believed to the highest by Collingwood, followed by Flemington with North Melbourne holding the least belief. Collingwood was most concerned with the more extreme fears measured by the questionnaire, followed by North Melbourne with Flemington considerably less concerned.

Over the twelve months period, several significant changes emerged. In the major component, Locus of Concern, the Collingwood respondents lowered their fear very significantly, as did North Melbourne respondents. Flemington respondents increased their fear significantly.

Interestingly, none of the estates significantly altered their beliefs in the extent of general crime over the twelve months. Nor were there any substantial changes in perceptions of motor-property crime. In the fourth component, Collingwood alone significantly decreased concern over extreme fears on the estate.

Coupled with the descriptive data reported earlier on perceptions of living on the estate, precautions against crime and victim experiences, a relatively clear pattern emerges from Table 20. A considerable change had been wrought amongst Collingwood respondents concerning their expressed fears of estate living. They emerged at the end of the twelve months as less fearful and more content with estate living. While the change was not as pronounced amongst North Melbourne respondents, a move in the same direction of decreasing fear is strongly evident. On the other hand, Flemington residents, who began with the least fear on the estate, end up at the end of the twelve months with heightened scores on these measures.

The interpretation of these results must be informed by a discussion of some of the design difficulties inherent in the study. It is clear from the data in Table 20, and in biographical and descriptive data presented earlier, that little assumption of homogeneity can be made about the compositions of the sub-samples. It is, for instance, impossible to assume any of the sample equivalences

implicit in Figure 1, i.e., that North Melbourne at Phase One is equivalent to Flemington at Phase One, or that North Melbourne at Phase Two is equivalent to Collingwood at Phase One in terms of the fear/crime measures. Hence there are in effect no sound controls contained in the study to account for movements in mean component scores between the two phases solely as functions of changes in renovations or security arrangements. With the lack of uniform starting points on component scores, factors other than those of primary concern in the study might have wrought the changes evident in Table 20. Nevertheless, there are sound reasons for concluding that this is not the case. In order to argue this proposition, it is necessary to discuss some of the possible sources of error and interference in the study.

Three possible sources of error in the results ought to be canvassed. They are: a regression effect upon the component scores; the design of the measuring instruments; and uncontrolled variables specific to estates. Regarding the first source, it might be argued that the changes in, for instance, the first component scores evident for the three sub-samples between the phases are the result of the centralising tendency for extreme scores to reduce over repeated measures (see Campbell and Stanley, 1969). There are two assumptions to this argument. First, the phenomenon under study (in this case, fear of crime) contains extreme positions (extreme lack of fear/ extreme fear) which will be naturally moderated over time because those positions become too unrealistic or uncomfortable. Second, the cases are selected purposively to contain some extreme positions. While we can acknowledge the first assumption, the sample selection for the present study did not involve purposive selection of extreme positions, and there is no a priori reason to conclude that, for instance, Flemington's low fear scores on the first component at Phase One reflects the selection of an atypically fearless group of tenants. It should also be pointed out that equivalent effects were not evident in terms of Phase One/Phase Two score changes for the other three components. If a regression effect was occurring, it ought to have been obvious in at least some of the other measures, such as the fourth component.

The second source of error lies in the design of the measuring instruments. In general, this source is concerned with questions of reliability. It could be argued that the questionnaire items themselves, and the procedures used to derive component scores through

the factor process resulted in measures with inadequate reliability. There will, of course, be measurement error inherent in the sorts of devices used for the present study. One form of such error is random error, which will have the effect of suppressing significant differences over time. This phenomenon clearly has not affected the changes in the component scores for Locus of Concern, the major fear measure. The second source of unreliability is systematic error, for instance in the form of set response bias. Two arguments can be adduced against such a proposition. First, the factoring results offer an indication of reliability. Had a set response been operating in the items which were factored, it is unlikely that the results would have emerged as coherently as they did. For instance, respondents clearly and consistently distinguished between those items which reflected fear of locations on the estate at evening/night times and those which reflected fear during the daytime. Systematic error in the form of set response bias would have eliminated such distinctions. Additionally, the separation evident in the second and third components between property/motor crime and other crime ought not to have occurred had set bias been systematic.

The second argument against the possibility of systematic response bias lies in an examination of the consistencies between the component measures and the other measures of perceptions of life on the estate, precautions taken against crime and victim experiences. A blind response set would not have encouraged such consistency. On the other hand, a deliberate and systematic distortion of responses in order to present a particularly high or particularly low fear profile might have produced the present results. Such an argument involves a consideration of the third source of potential error, uncontrolled factors specific to estates. Thus, while it is strictly a problem of measurement reliability, it will be discussed under this third source.

Systematic distortion of responses could arise if there was a collective sentiment towards presenting a particular fear profile for some sort of gain among respondents. For instance, it might be argued that Collingwood's relatively high level of fear at Phase One was a deliberate response by tenants to hasten the process of increased security. Similarly, it might be advanced that Flemington's relatively high level of fear at Phase Two was a deliberate attempt to initiate Ministry renovations and added security measures on that estate. While this remains possible, there are a number of counter-arguments. First, such a deliberate set of distortions would require

a collective and consensual approach to the interviews by respondents, any evidence for which was lacking according to reports by interviewers. Additionally, the social work practice on the Flemington estate by one of the authors placed him in a good position to assess any such collective sentiments towards the issues canvassed in the interviews, and he found no indication that such distortion existed.

Second, had such systematic distortion taken place, one would expect to see it reflected in most if not all of the substantive fear and belief-in-crime measures. As is obvious from Table 20, there were no significant differences between Phase One and Phase Two on the measure Perceptions of General Crime. It would be logical to expect that any deliberate manipulation of the responses would have included items which computed this measure.

Thus we consider it unlikely that there did exist amongst respondents an 'agenda' of response manipulation for some sort of gain. However this conclusion does not preclude the possibility that other uncontrolled factors influenced the results in Table 20. Because of the lack of adequate controls, it is not possible to be sure that Collingwood's improvement on the first component scores over the twelve months reflected only the new security arrangements. Similarly, it is possible that some specific incident crucially affected Flemington's respondents in such a way that they became significantly more fearful at Phase Two. We cannot disprove such propositions definitively; indeed it would be surprising in these three dynamic social settings if a range of uncontrolled factors did not influence tenants' perceptions of their environment to differing degrees. Nevertheless, returning to the data themselves, there remains an impressive consistency and plausibility in the results based upon a consideration of the environmental and security changes which took place. In the case of Collingwood, there appears a clear linkage between improved perceptions of the general estate environment, decreased victim experiences, and decreased fear of specific locations and times on the estate. Coupled with the ranking data in Tables 7 and 8, it is reasonable to assume that the appointment of a foyer attendant, and the possibility of a placebo effect from the installation of the cameras, represented a clearly visible and known factor which logically explains the change in tenants' perceptions over time. At the same time, the Collingwood sample did not alter its perception of the amounts of crime occurring on the estate. Clearly the sample distinguished between the general phenomenon of crime and

its own vulnerability to specific incidents of and locations for crime.

The response pattern amongst Flemington tenants also follows an interpretable theme, although it is less consistent than that evident at Collingwood. In general, Flemington respondents maintained their relatively satisfied perceptions of estate living between the phases of interviewing. During the same period they did not significantly alter their precautionary behaviour. However their victim experiences escalated somewhat, and their Locus of Concern scores grew significantly. As the Flemington block experienced neither renovations nor increased security procedures, it is possible to argue that the Flemington results reflect the gradual deterioration in perceptions of security when no new steps are taken to improve the environment or security measures. Nevertheless while the authors know of no specific critical incidents which might have affected Flemington responses to the Phase Two measure Locus of Concern, it remains possible that scores on this measure were atypical at Phase Two.

The North Melbourne response pattern is perhaps the most interesting. Tenants there generally began and remained the most dissatisfied with their environment. However they dramatically reduced their precautionary behaviour between phases, they were victimised somewhat less, and they significantly decreased their fear of crime as measured by the first component. Once again we know of no obvious factors external to the study which might have accounted for these changes. It remains plausible that the attention shown by the Ministry of Housing in terms of the laundry renovations have had the effect of improving the perceptions of the tenants with regard to their safety.

In summary, then, we are confident that the changes which took place at Collingwood were a strong reflection, if not a total function, of the changes in security arrangements there. We are less confident, but consider it very possible that the changes in fear of crime on both the Flemington and North Melbourne blocks were a reflection of, respectively, any lack of official action, and the renovations which took place.

4.0 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

4.1 The General Context Of The Present Findings

The purpose of this last section of the report is to summarise and discuss the present findings. First, we must do this in the context of the broad literature on victimisation and fear of crime. Second, we would like to place this discussion in the context of the particular concerns raised by the Flemington Tenants' Association.

There are four main aspects of the present findings which have general relevance to the literature on victimisation and fear of crime. These are: victimisation experiences; levels of expressed safety; precautionary behaviour; and the constituents of fear of crime. Within these descriptive aspects lies the more complex inferential aspect of changes in these phenomena over time as a function of known alterations to the living environment. These five aspects will be canvassed in the following sub-sections. To maintain parity with most of the research which has been conducted in this area, findings from Phase One of the present study only are used for comparative purposes in the first four aspects. The effects of changes over time considerably complicate the presentation of data, and as few of the studies in the literature address change over time in a comparable fashion to the present study, it was thought best to compare only single 'slices' of time.

4.1.1 Victimization

Victim experiences of the samples were presented in detail in Table 5. From that table it was clear that property crimes dominated crimes against the person, a finding which conforms with the bulk of studies in this area. In terms of specific offences, we have turned to the latest Australian Bureau of Statistics 'Crime Victims Survey, 1983'. That survey was conducted on a representative sample of Australians between February 1983 and January 1984, and thus corresponds roughly with data gathering at Phase One of the present study. While we believe the comparisons worth making, a number of limitations should be noted. First, the ABS offence categorisation does not fully tally with that used in the present study. We have adjusted our categories where possible from the raw data, and have arrived at five offences which offer some comparability. Second, the ABS survey probed

victimisations in the last twelve months period, while the present study probed only the last six months. Hence, it is probable that our figures represent an underestimate when compared with the ABS figures. Third, the differences in sample sizes, subtle differences in questions and sampling procedures reduce direct comparability. Last, the ABS survey counts victims only once, regardless of multiple victimisations. Hence the figures for the present samples have been adjusted for equivalence. The caveat noted in the ABS survey is relevant to both studies, and is repeated here in full:

It should be born in mind that the responses obtained in this survey were based upon respondents' perceptions of particular offences that occurred to them. Those perceptions do not necessarily correspond with legal or police definitions of offences.

With these limitations and restrictions firmly in mind, Table 21 is presented, utilising the ABS figures for Victoria.

TABLE 21
COMPARISON OF HIGH-RISE VICTIMISATIONS AND ABS VICTIM SURVEY RATES
(Percentages)

Offence	High-Rise Tenants	ABS Survey (Victoria)
<u>Assault</u> (includes threat of violence)	4.9	3.6
<u>Robbery</u> (defined by ABS as theft or attempted theft with violence or threat of violence)	1.0	0.4
<u>Break and Enter</u> of household with or without theft	9.7	5.6
<u>Other Theft</u> (personal theft or theft from outside household, including theft from motor vehicles)	15.5	5.8
<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>	0.0	0.8

Victimisation rates appear to run higher on the estates than for the state as a whole, with the exception of motor vehicle theft. This exception is possibly due to lower rates of vehicle ownership amongst public housing tenants. While the differences are not sharp for the

two crimes against the person, there is a marked difference on the other two property crimes. It should be noted, however, that the state-wide rates include country-based crimes, which are traditionally lower than those for city centres. It is probable that rates for Melbourne alone would be somewhat higher.

4.1.2 Levels Of Expressed Safety

From Table 10, it can be computed that at Phase One, 38% of the total sample felt very or quite safe on the estate, 28% felt fairly safe, and 34% felt rarely safe or not safe at all. Garafolo's (1979) report on the American NCS data reported that 16% of respondents felt very safe, 39% felt reasonably safe, 22% felt somewhat unsafe, and 23% felt very unsafe. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) report that in their Chicago telephone survey, using a similar four point scale to Garofalo, 26% felt very safe, 40% felt somewhat safe, 18% felt somewhat unsafe, and 16% felt very unsafe. Toseland's (1982) results indicated that 56% of respondents were not frightened to walk alone at night, while 44% were. Allatt's (1984) British study found that only 26% of her sample felt safe.

With the exception of Allatt's results, which were not reported in sufficient detail to enable useful comparisons, the overall levels of fear expressed in the present study appear to be similar to those reported in the overseas literature. Two features in this comparison are of note. The first is that the American studies used items relating to safety at night, while the present study did not specify nighttime in this general question. Studies such as Skogan and Maxfield's have demonstrated that there is considerably less fear expressed by American respondents during the day. The second feature reflects the general differences in crime rates between urban America and Australia, where the rates for the latter are usually considered much lower. Under both these circumstances, the levels of safety expressed by the local tenant sample must be considered rather low; that is, unspecified as they are by night/day distinction, they remain comparable with nighttime urban American levels of safety. We cannot say more without accurate Australian norm scores for feelings of safety, but it is possible that these results indicate substantial relative fear amongst the high-rise tenants.

4.1.3 Precautionary Behaviour

The present study differs from most in that it restricts questions of perceptions of crime and precautionary behaviour to a relatively small geographical area, that of the estate environs. In addition, signal features of the high-rise estates, such as foyers and lifts, do not always have analogous features in other environments. With these differences in mind, there are three aspects of precautionary behaviour canvassed in the present study which can be compared with other studies. These are: willingness to go out at night; carrying a weapon; and installation of security devices. At Phase One, 46% of the total sample reported that they would not go out at night; 3% said that they carried a weapon for self-defence; and 52% reported that they had installed security doors or windows to their flats.

American studies vary in the reported frequency of precautionary behaviour. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) report, for instance, that one study found that between 69% and 89% of those aged over 65 say they never go out at night. In Skogan and Maxfield's own study of three American cities, 26% of respondents claimed that they did not go out at night. Hough and Mayhew (1983) report that in the British context, about a third of women, and 5% of men say that they sometimes avoid going out at night alone on foot; over 50% of women in the inner city areas report not going out sometimes at night. Eight percent of all respondents reported never going out alone on foot at night. Garofalo (1979), in his review of the American National Crime Survey, reports that 46% of respondents to that survey 'limited their behaviour' in some way as a consequence of fear of crime.

In general, carrying a weapon seems not to be a particularly common form of precautionary behaviour. One study, reported by Skogan and Maxfield, claimed that less than 10% of survey respondents carried a weapon. On the other hand, Skogan and Maxfield found that 19% of their respondents reported 'taking something' with them after dark, such as a knife, gun or dog.

DuBow (1979) (reported by Skogan and Maxfield, 1981), after reviewing the literature, suggested that about 40% of American households report buying protective devices such as security doors and window bars in recent times. Skogan and Maxfield reported that an average of 45% of respondents had increased household protection through installation of security doors and windows.

In summary, then, the present sample reported a somewhat higher level of precautionary behaviour than revealed by overseas survey

respondents, with the exception of carrying a weapon. However the comparisons are gross, in the sense that the American and British survey responses are drawn from a variety of urban, suburban and country areas. We suspect that if adjustments were made to these surveys in terms of restricting responses to the inner-urban areas of cities, the levels of expressed precautionary behaviour would not differ dramatically.

4.1.4 The Constituents Of Fear Of Crime

In order to summarise this section of the study, it is necessary to return to Skogan and Maxfield's model of the four major influences upon fear of crime: victimisation, vulnerability, vicarious experience and neighbourhood conditions.

Victimisation

The present data have thrown up some anomalous findings with regard to the effects of victimisation upon fear. It will be recalled that at Phase One, the reported fact of victimisation bore no relationship to scores on any of the four criterion measures developed for the study. This is understandable when it is recalled that the bulk of victimisations consisted of property offences, which do not engender the same levels of fear amongst victims as do crimes against the person. For instance, Allatt (1984) in her British study of fear of crime on a number of housing estates, found that the experience of burglary made no difference to scores on measures of fear. However, at Phase Two of the present study, small but significant differences between victims and non-victims were found on three out of the four fear measures. A possible explanation for this finding lies in the influence of other factors which bear upon fear of crime. For instance, the present data indicate a number of biographical variables which relate strongly to the criterion measures, and it may have been the case that the Phase Two victims collectively presented profiles more oriented towards fear. However we have already noted that 15 of the 26 victims at Phase Two had been victimised at Phase One, and that these 15 did not differ in fear scores from their 11 colleagues. The most useful strategy would be to control for the influence of those factors known to be related to the fear criteria, but unfortunately, the small number of victims at Phase Two prevented such analysis.

Vulnerability

In simple terms, physical vulnerability connotes a sex/age dimension, while social vulnerability connotes a race/income dimension. To recall the American perspective, women and the elderly, and blacks and the poor tend to score higher on fear measures. With regard to physical vulnerability, the present study found that sex was strongly related to locus of concern, the most influential fear measure. That is, women tended to score higher than men on fear on the estate in the evening and nighttime. However sex did not emerge as a discriminator on the other three measures. Age featured on two of the measures, perceptions of general crime and perceptions of motor-property crime, but in the opposite direction to that which was predicted. That is, older people were less likely to express worry about property crime, and less likely to believe in extensive crime on the estate than younger people. There are two possible explanations for this finding. The first lies in the precautionary behaviour of the older members of the sample. For instance, older people were more likely to stay indoors at night. Thus it may be that the older respondents felt themselves less at risk of victimisation. The second explanation reflects the finding that the older residents tended to have lived on the estates for longer periods than the younger members of the samples, and it may have been that these tenants had developed a greater sense of estate community and integration than those who believed themselves in residence only relatively temporarily. Under these circumstances, then, the Skogan and Maxfield thesis concerning the lessening effect upon fear of neighbourhood integration may have been operating.

A direct comparison of social vulnerability with other studies is not possible, given that all respondents in the present sample can be considered in the low income bracket. In addition, there exists no ethnic parallel of the American black. The major findings of the present regression analyses revealed that non-Australians in general were less fearful of the estate environment at night, and that Vietnamese residents believed in less crime on the estate, while Turkish residents were more concerned with motor-property offences, than their counterparts. It is probable that all of these findings reflect specific features of the estate environment which do not have their analogues in more global models of fear of crime.

Vicarious Experiences

There are no empirical data in the present study which bear directly upon the influence of vicarious experience upon fear of crime. There is one small piece of indirect evidence. In the regression equations, number of people known on the block floor was positively related to perceptions of motor-property crime. At face value, such a finding might indicate a 'networking' effect, where gossip about crime is spread rapidly when a number of people communicate frequently. However, we were not satisfied that the measure of people 'known on the block' was a reliable one, and such evidence must be considered slim.

On the other hand, it is worth repeating that the authors' anecdotal knowledge of crime-gossip was consistently confirmed through observations and discussions with individual tenants and members of the Tenants' Association. We have no means of evaluating just how influential this networking was, but intuitively it seems likely that it operated as a pervasive and powerful factor in fear and knowledge of crime.

Neighbourhood Conditions

A number of variables which indicated a relatively negative view of the estate environment were associated with heightened fear/knowledge measures. Feeling uncomfortable on the estate and having negative perceptions about people on the estate were both significantly associated with fear on the estate at night. Pleasure at the prospect of leaving the estate and negative feelings about the people on the estate were associated very strongly with perceptions of general crime. And pleasure at moving and being uncomfortable on the estate were quite strongly associated with perceptions of extreme concern. The present findings strongly support the Skogan and Maxfield assertion regarding the influence of negative perceptions of neighbourhood upon fear of crime. In fact, our results indicated that this variable was generally more important than physical vulnerability.

There is an important difference between the present findings and those of Skogan and Maxfield. In their work, they identified fear of crime with perceptions of crime being a significant problem in the local neighbourhood: "It was not surprising that concern about local crime and disorder was strongly related to fear". (1981: 261) While we have noted that negative feelings about the estates were associated with both fear of crime and knowledge of crime on the estates, the

factoring procedure used to derive the criterion scores made it clear that fear of crime on the estate at night, the major fear measure, was only slightly associated with perceptions of general crime on the estates. It would seem that, amongst the respondents to the present survey, a variety of responses to a perception of crime on the estate was elicited; for some it was a heightening of fear; for others, perhaps, a series of precautionary behaviours which actually reduced fear. Clearly the perception of the extent of crime will effect individuals in different ways.

4.1.5 Effects Of Environmental Change On Fear Of Crime

The data from the present study offer evidence that improved security arrangements, and to a lesser extent, improved physical environment, lessens fear of crime. While this seems an intuitively likely outcome from what is known in the literature, there is scant empirical evidence in support, especially in regard to the specialised samples and locations used in this study. As we have noted previously, little work of any nature has been done on the parameters of crime and fear of crime on Australian public housing estates.

However one reasonably analogous study in Britain has been reported by Allatt (1984). She looked at the effects of improved security arrangements upon fear of crime on two northern English housing estates. One of these was a control estate, with no security changes during the testing period, while the other, designated the target estate, was fitted with security devices at all ground floor points of entry. Survey data was gathered on 206 respondents on the target estate and 199 respondents on the control estate just prior to the fitting of the security devices on the target estate, and then twelve months later. The specific focus of Allatt's study concerned burglary, but she included items of a more general nature which allows some comparison with data from the present study. She used single-item indicators, and so the following comparisons are made with equivalent item measures from our study.

One question common to both surveys concerned the general perception of crime on the estates: 'Just thinking about this area (estate), would you say there is much crime around here?'. Recalling Table 11 in this study, at Phase One, 35% of Collingwood respondents, 56% of North Melbourne respondents and 43% of Flemington respondents believed that there was quite a lot or a great deal of crime. Allatt's

equivalent figures were: 81% for the target respondents and 58% for the control respondents. At Phase Two of this study, the figures were: 13% of Collingwood, 37% of North Melbourne and 45% of Flemington. Allatt's figures for her stage two were: 79% of target respondents and 83% of control respondents. Thus the present study's respondents tended to believe that there was less crime than their English equivalents, and the two experimental estates dropped their estimation of crime over time.

Allatt asked the question: 'Have you ever been worried in the last year of becoming a victim of any type of crime?' The present study contains no equivalent question. However she also asked respondents about their fear of being the victim of burglary, and Question 54 from the present survey addresses a similar issue. From Appendix D it can be noted that at Phase One, 64% of Collingwood respondents, 30% of North Melbourne respondents and 60% of Flemington respondents reported being quite or very worried about property being stolen from within their flats. The Phase Two figures were: 38%, 47% and 56%. Allatt's stage one figures were: target = 53%; control = 48%; the stage two figures were: target = 40% and control = 54%. Thus, in the present study's equivalent group to Allatt's target estate, the Collingwood respondents, there was greater fear of burglary at Phase One, and considerably less fear at Phase Two.

There is one final set of findings from Allatt's work which bear relevance to the present study. She probed changes in the target estate respondents' attitudes towards the estate as a result of the security installations. She reported " 'Approximately 92% said they felt exactly the same, many of whom hated it; 6% said they were more satisfied (1984: 180). This is in marked contrast to the results of the present study contained in Table 3. From that table, it was clear that Collingwood respondents improved their perceptions of the estate on almost all of the indicators.

Allatt concludes that her data reveal a clear reduction in fear on the target estate, which she attributes to the new security measures. She also notes the escalation in fear of crime expressed by the control estate respondents. These findings are analogous to those of the present study. However it is worth noting a few aspects of this comparison. Allatt used single item indicators of fear and perception, which could be expected to sharpen any simple differences between estates. On the other hand, the present study adopted multi-variate measures which contained a good deal of individual differences

amongst respondents on the many different items which computed the criterion scores. Nevertheless, the decrease in fear scores amongst the Collingwood respondents was much more dramatic than that reported by Allatt for her target estate. Additionally, there was a pronounced spin-off in terms of estate perceptions and precautionary behaviour amongst the Collingwood respondents which was not evident amongst Allatt's respondents. Even the decrease in fear scores amongst North Melbourne residents exceeded that of the English target sample. Obviously there are profound differences between the studies which render firm comparisons unwise. But it is interesting to speculate whether the differences noted above derive from an essential qualitative difference in security arrangements between static protective devices such as were used in the English study and the more labour-intensive and surveillance oriented methods used at Collingwood in the present study. As we have pointed out earlier, the most constant and consistent part of the new security arrangements at Collingwood consisted of the foyer attendant, as the security camera installation suffered some setbacks. It may well be that the presence of a regular and known surveillance agent offers a more wide-ranging effect upon both the commission of crime and fear of crime than other security measures.

4.2 A Response To The Flemington Tenants' Association

Finally, it is necessary to summarise the findings of the study in relation to the concerns expressed by the Flemington Tenants' Association. Such a summary should include an assessment of the policy consequences of the findings. The following discussion is presented according to the three major questions asked by the Association (see Preface). The findings are reported as aggregates of the three estates sampled, unless on specific topics the Flemington respondents differed markedly from their colleagues on the other two estates.

4.2.1 The Nature And Extent Of Crime On The Estates

Table 11 revealed that approximately 45% of respondents believed that there was quite a lot or a great deal of crime on the estates at Phase One. This figure dropped to 31% at Phase Two for the sample as a whole, but Flemington respondents maintained their Phase One belief,

with just under a half perceiving a lot of crime on the estate. In terms of specific offences, we find the following percentages perceiving quite a lot or a great deal/many at Phase One: damage to cars = 56%; theft from outside flats = 50%; theft from inside flats = 48%; theft from motor vehicles = 48%; damage to property = 43%; motor vehicle theft = 43%; robberies = 40%; crime happening to children = 30%; physical attacks = 29%; crime happening to the elderly = 26%; sexual attacks = 10%. Those percentages tended to reduce at Phase Two, with the following exceptions, where the percentages increased: damage to motor vehicles; theft from motor vehicles; damage to property; motor vehicle theft. Thus property offences dominated the rank ordering of extent of offences; crimes against the person were perceived to be occurring a lot by less than a third of the respondents. And where beliefs in the extent of crime changed over time, only those concerned with property offences were subject to escalating proportions.

In terms of estate-specific incidents, the overwhelming majority of both North Melbourne and Flemington respondents believed that there was quite a lot or a great many objects thrown off balconies. On all three estates, similar majorities believed that there was much urinating in the lifts. Fifty-six percent of the total sample believed that there was quite a lot or a great deal of drunken behaviour on the estates at Phase One, with a small drop in this percentage at Phase Two. Only 19% believed that there was a lot of gun shots on the estates at Phase One, and this figure also dropped at Phase Two.

It is an arbitrary exercise to assess at what percentage figure one should consider a sample's responses as 'serious'. Nevertheless, the above results suggest, we submit, that there was a prevailing belief on the estates that property crime was common, while crimes against the person were considerably less common. The figures available in Tables 5 and 21 support this rank ordering, in terms of actual victim experiences, with the exception of motor vehicle theft. However, while it was noted that the study's victimisation rates were generally higher than the state averages, the estate figures do not suggest that actual victimisations accorded with the prevailing beliefs about the extent of crime.

4.2.2 The Nature And Extent Of Fear Of Crime On The Estates

Table 10 revealed that a third of the total sample felt rarely or not at all safe on the estate at Phase One; this figure dropped to 22% at Phase Two, largely due to the drops amongst Collingwood and North Melbourne respondents. In terms of fear at various locations and times on the estate, the percentages of those who felt quite or very scared are as follows at Phase One: lift at night = 67%; car park at night = 62%; foyer at night = 62%; foyer in evening = 42%; lift in evening = 42%; car park in evening = 40%; balconies/laundries at night = 31%; balconies/laundries in evening = 25%; flat at night = 13%. The other locations and times were considered fearful by less than 10% of the sample. At Phase Two, the total sample dropped their percentages of respondents who were quite or very scared on all of the above locations and times; but in each case, Flemington respondents increased the percentages.

Clearly, then, the foyer, lifts and car park are areas which engender considerable fear, with nearly two-thirds of the sample reportedly quite or very scared at night. This must be considered a disturbing result, even without community standards with which to compare the figures.

In terms of fear of specific offences, well over half of those with motor vehicles felt quite or very worried at both Phases about theft of or from and damage to their vehicles. The percentages who felt quite or very worried/scared about the other offences are as follows at Phase One: theft from flat = 52%; robbery = 50%; theft from outside flat = 49%; damage to property = 41%; physical attack = 37%; sexual attack = 34%. Once again, respondents tended to be more worried about property offences than they were scared about crimes against the person, with the exception of robbery (which, as we have commented in the factoring section of the report, the respondents tend to categorise with property offences). These figures seem to us to be quite high, although without data from other samples we cannot gauge their relativity.

Again, a clear majority of North Melbourne and Flemington respondents were quite or very scared of objects thrown from the balconies. Sixty-eight percent of the total sample was similarly worried about urinating in the lifts at Phase One. Forty-nine percent were quite or very scared about drunken behaviour on the estate at Phase One, while at the same time 37% were scared of gun shots. The percentages

dropped a little over time, with the exception of those who feared gun shots.

Data from the present study concerning the constituents of fear are relevant to this section of the report. But as they have been thoroughly canvassed in the previous section, they will not be repeated here.

4.2.3 Preferred Security Arrangements

Tables 8 and 9 present the data on the samples' preferred security arrangements. Collingwood and North Melbourne preferred the security cameras and foyer attendant at Phase One, while all three estates preferred this option at Phase Two. Accordingly, clear majorities in each of the samples believed that this option would perform a fairly or very good job. Rankings and assessments of the other two options were a little equivocal. Collingwood respondents were consistently in favour of private security over police security, while the other two estates changed their rankings between phases. At Phase Two, Flemington respondents assessed the respective jobs that police and private security firms would perform practically identically.

4.2.4 The Policy Implications Of The Findings

Several features emerge from the findings with such clarity that to ignore their implications would be a disservice. We want to draw attention to three areas: tactical and logistic implications of the findings; more general strategic implications for security in public housing; and finally, a general issue of public housing policy. In a sense, these three areas are rank ordered in terms of distance from the actual data; the first represents the most proximate set of implications, while the second and third areas move further into the realm of extrapolation. The legitimacy of these extrapolations must be judged by the persuasiveness of our arguments.

There are many features of the findings we would like to comment upon in terms of policy implications. Particularly we would have liked to discuss the findings related to the biographical correlates of fear of crime. However we are mindful of the need to present this last section concisely and to operate within the general restrictions of what can be achieved in the near future by way of remedy. Thus we have concentrated largely upon tangible aspects of security. This has

not prevented us, however, from canvassing a long-term goal in respect to the last recommendation.

Tactical Implications

From the data on the spatial and temporal correlates of fear of crime, and the ranking data concerned with security priorities, we believe it is reasonable to offer the following implications and recommendations:

1. **Security attention ought to be directed primarily at communal entry and transit areas on the estate, such as car park and grounds, foyers and lifts.**

These were the locations nominated as most associated with fear by the sample. Of course, once these areas are secure, it may be the case that additional attention needs to be directed at other within-block areas; this was implied by the changing security priorities at Collingwood once the foyer had been secured. Nevertheless, logic dictates that control of entry areas helps alleviate the problems of 'stranger-entry', and the dangers associated with the open spaces outside the block.

2. **Security attention ought to be directed primarily at night and early morning times. In terms of cost-benefit, security deployment and patrolling in an eight-hour shift from 6.00pm to 2.00am is indicated.**

While the data do not directly suggest that period, we believe it represents an appropriate balance between the fear of tenants expressed during the early evening, night and early morning periods as measured by the three-way classification of time used in the study.

3. **The sealing of balconies ought to be given high priority in estate renovation programmes.**

The fear engendered by the throwing of objects from balconies, and the effective removal of that fear on the Collingwood block, leads inevitably to this recommendation.

General Strategic Implications

The specific nature of security configuration is indicated by both direct and indirect implications from the data. In direct terms, at the end of Phase Two, the total sample strongly indicated a preference for electronic surveillance and the deployment of security personnel

in the foyer. However the only clear favorable effect of new security arrangements emerged as a probable function of the continuously deployed foyer guard at Collingwood, as the electronic surveillance was only partially operative during part of the test period. We simply cannot be sure of the possible effects of full electronic surveillance. For instance, despite the continuous operation of lift cameras in the second part of the test period at Collingwood, we note from Table 6 that the Collingwood respondents reported a dramatic increase in urination in the lifts. We have already speculated about the possible causes of the increase in nuisance behaviour reported by Collingwood respondents at Phase Two, but nevertheless quite clearly those respondents did not find the lift cameras to be particularly effective in this regard. Additionally, we received informal reports from a number of Collingwood tenants who did not believe that any of the cameras worked at all in any of the locations. We pass no comment upon this belief, except to note it as a "consumer" response. We therefore feel able only to offer the following recommendation:

4. **Security configuration ought to reflect personnel deployment in the foyer as a priority, with regular security patrolling of the grounds and lifts.**

We want to go further than this last recommendation in terms of a general policy of security configuration. We are clearly stepping outside the bounds of the present data in this, but we allow ourself this deviation from the traditional limits on scientific extrapolation from social data for reasons we will adduce shortly.

5. **The basis of security arrangements ought to reflect an emphasis on personnel deployment rather than on impersonal strategies.**

We have already suggested in the body of the report why we believe the data implicitly support this notion. Two further reasons can be advanced. First, we personally have a commitment to the generation of employment opportunities, particularly in low-employment areas, and consider that where there is no demonstrated and significant superiority of labour-reduced over labour-intensive strategies, the latter ought to prevail. Second, we believe that human resources offer a better potential for the development of tenant identification with and participation in estate security (the general issue of which is the subject of the last recommendation in this section). We think

it possible that an emphasis on static or impersonal security and surveillance strategies will facilitate tenant abrogation of responsibility for security. For instance, it is difficult to imagine tenant identification with security concerns in the absence of sympathetic and flexible feedback from impersonal devices. On the other hand, interaction with security personnel offers the potential for increased communication, information-sharing, sensitive response to matters of concern, and identification with the issues and requirements of estate security. Of course, much depends upon the nature and quality of the service provided by security personnel, and due consideration needs to be given to these matters. But we think it plausible that personalised service delivery offers greater potential than an emphasis upon 'hardware'.

The last of the strategic recommendations sounds practically trite, given that inescapable arguments for its imperative can be adduced quite independently of security considerations. Nevertheless, the data from the North Melbourne sample are sufficiently persuasive that it ought to stand as a security imperative in its own right.

6. **The positive implications for security require that systematic estate renovations be given urgent priority.**

A General Issue Of Estate Policy

This last issue also exceeds our brief in this report, and we can derive only indirect support from the data. However we feel confident that we are consistent with the general literature on crime and fear of crime, and that our recommendation is supported by initiatives proposed elsewhere in 'community development' strategies with regard to estate policy.

We have noted the probable effects of new security arrangements and renovations on two of the blocks sampled in the study. In both those cases, the respective tenants' associations had some input into the design of those arrangements and renovation. However these inputs were limited to consultation only. From Table 3, it is clear that levels of interest and involvement in the affairs of the estates dropped between phases of interviewing on both estates, most dramatically at Collingwood. This finding leads us to question the endurance of the positive gains evident on those estates in terms of fear of crime in the absence of continuing involvement by tenants in

estate decision-making. We can only speculate on the possibility of increased beneficial consequences had tenants felt they exercised considerably more on-going control over estate life than they in fact exercised during the study period.

We want to integrate this question with another perspective. On a holistic reading of the findings, we believe that fear of crime represented a significant impediment to the quality of life on the estates. In turn, we believe that this fear stemmed from the perceived nature of life on the estates. We remind the reader of the strong associations between negative perceptions of estate life and the criterion measures of crime and fear. There appear to be two elements to this perception of life. The first is anchored largely in the reality of a high-density, low income environment in urgent need of renovation. The second element concerns the deviant imagery of high-rise estate-living, generated by a complex mosaic of historical prejudice, perjorative public attention directed at estates, and a contemporary patronising view of the need to control the living arrangements of the 'welfare classes'. We personally have difficulty in separating out the relative inputs and consequences of these two elements. What is clear is that perceptions of the quality of the estate environment have significant effects upon perceptions of crime and fear.

While we firmly believe that the foregoing recommendations will have an impact upon the objective reality of security conditions on the estates, we suspect tht this impact will be moderated in the long term if the deviant image continues to persist. We have no guaranteed solution to such a problem, of course. But we want to add to all the other persuasive reasons for increasing tenant control over their living environment by suggesting that such control will assist tenants in creating an environment relatively free of the sorts of images imposed upon them by the processes we have outlined. It would be naive to expect such change to occur overnight; but in conjunction with the tangible improvements we have recommended, we foresee the possibility of a differently 'negotiated' image of estate life, more favorable in orientation, and more satisfactory in terms of perceived quality of life if tenants were to take control of those aspects of estate life they see as problematic. If we are correct in our assumptions, we could expect a long-term alleviation of the crime and fear concerns generated by psychological responses to estate life. While we would like to take this notion a good deal further, we will

restrict ourselves to matters relevant to the immediate concerns of the study.

7. **Tenants ought to be granted significant control over budget allocations relevant to those problems of estate conditions which they themselves have identified as impinging most directly upon the security of high-rise living.**

NOTES

1. The Australian Bureau of Statistics, in the report 'Social Indicators, Victoria, No. 1.', notes that 76% of public housing principal tenants are female. The Victorian Ministry of Housing Annual Report for 1983-84 notes that 73% of public housing tenants qualify for housing rebates, which denotes low income.
2. Flemington Community Enterprises Inc., (1984) Flemington Employment Research Project, Report No. 1, (unpublished).
3. For instance, regular foot-patrol by designated police officers on the Flemington estate has been tried in recent years. The second author liaised with the local police in this initiative, and he believes tht the reluctance of the police department to allocate sufficient resources to the exercise, and the reluctance of local officers to become strongly involved in this non-traditional aspect of policing considerably reduced its utility.
4. The Flemington Tenants' Association is currently implementing a plan whereby people subsidised by the Community Employment Programme (CEP) are trained and deployed to act as security personnel on the estate.
5. The present authors are involved in a pre/post test evaluation of tenant perceptions of and experiences with the new arrangements in conjunction with the Ministry of Housing. This new initiative post-dates the testing period of the present study.
6. Personal communication with the authors by J. Wiegerink, Security Manager with the Victorian Ministry of Housing.
7. After a number of call-backs and alternative interviewing attempts, it proved impossible to obtain the fifty-fourth interview in this block without going beyond the designated sampling plan.
8. The eighteen variables used in this (and later analyses) were as follows:

Biographical

Use of Interpreter
Sex
Age
Nationality
Marital status
Number in flat
Time resident on estate
Number known on floor
Number known in block

General Environmental Perceptions

Perception of Estate
Comfort on estate
Sort of people on estate
Relativity of neighbourhood
Interested in estate
Involved in estate
Privacy on estate
Likely to move from estate
Feelings about moving from estate

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A



MINISTRY OF HOUSING

Myer House, 250 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne Victoria. 3000. Telephone 669 1100

G.P.O. Box 1670N, Melbourne, 3001

Telegraphic Address: "Vichousing" Melbourne

8 August 1983

Phone or call M R. T Harrop
669 1127

Mr. R. Wynne
Social Worker
Flemington Community Health Centre
40 Shield Street
FLEMINGTON VIC 3031

Dear Mr Wynne

I refer to your correspondence to Officers of this Division in which you propose to conduct an evaluative research project on a number of Ministry high rise estates, the subject of which will be the security of those estates.

I wish to advise you that although the Ministry still has grave reservations about the validity of victimisation surveys and any research based upon such a methodology, it is prepared to agree in principle to the study being undertaken provided you agree to satisfy the following conditions.

- a) That the researcher approach the tenants group of each estate on which the survey is to be carried out to explain to the tenants the purpose of the survey and obtains the written approval of said groups for such a survey to be carried out on their estates prior to undertaking the survey.
- b) That an introduction to the survey explaining to tenants that this survey is not endorsed by the Ministry and is not compulsory, to be installed and all surveyors be obliged to read this to tenant when they approach them to answer the survey.
- c) That provision be made in the front of the final report for inclusion of tenants and Ministry's comments on the conduct and findings of the research and that no final report is to be produced without inclusion of those comments.

As indicated in conversations you have had with officers of the Ministry no financial contribution will be made to the study by the Ministry.

I await your written confirmation of your acceptance of the above conditions.

Yours sincerely


EUGENE KNEEBONE,
ACTING GENERAL MANAGER
HOUSING SERVICES DIVISION



MINISTRY OF HOUSING

Myer House, 250 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne Victoria. 3000. Telephone 669 1100

G.P.O. Box 1670N, Melbourne, 3001

Telegraphic Address: "Vichousing" Melbourne

15 October 1965

Mr. Richard Wynne,
Social Worker,
Flemington Community Health Centre,
40 Shield Street,
FLEMINGTON VIC 3031

Dear Mr. Wynne,

I thank you for the opportunity to comment on your recent report "Tenant Perceptions of Crime and Security on Melbourne's High-Rise Public Housing Estates". I would like to make comments in regards to two areas; the findings of the study and the policy implications you derive from the findings.

However, before making these comments, I would like to mention that the Ministry commenced developing options for estate improvements in 1980 which culminated in the commencement of pilot programs both on high rise and medium/low density housing estates in 1981 (not in 1982 as you state on page 20).

COMMENTS ON THE FINDINGS

In general, the findings of your study reinforce what the Ministry has found through its own studies and experience in this area. For example, the following provides a summary of our most recent study in the security area (a survey of 222 tenants on the Collingwood Estate, conducted in October/November 1984 and published in December, 1984) :-

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE MINISTRY SURVEY

Perceptions of Safety

Tenants held significant fears for safety, especially at night and in the communal areas and grounds of the high rise flats. Different levels of insecurity were felt by different tenant groups with female respondents, households with children and non-Australian born households feeling less safe. Respondents from 229 Hoddle St. (where security services were most obvious) and Dight St. generally felt safer than respondents from 253 Hoddle St. and 240 Wellington St.

Awareness of Security Arrangements

With the exception of 229 Hoddle St, awareness of the private security guards was higher than for the Community Guardians. Tenants tended to view security guards and, to a lesser extent guardians, as being more appropriate for 'nuisance' situations and would rely on the Police in more serious situations.

Perceived Effectiveness of the Security Arrangements

Overall, the tenants thought that the security arrangements had increased the safety of the grounds and buildings and assessed the security patrols as marginally more effective than the Community Guardians. Respondents from 229 Hoddle St. assessed both the security guards and Community Guardians as being more effective than did respondents from other areas of the estate.

Tenant Preferences for Security Services

The most important attributes of a security system were ranked by the tenants as follows :-

1. patrols of buildings and grounds
2. television surveillance
3. intercoms to a control room
4. intercoms to a security door system
5. security person in the foyer of each building

As a first priority, the high rise tenants felt that the most important areas that the patrols should cover were the lifts followed by the balconies and verandahs, the grounds, the foyers, the stairs and, lastly, the car parking area. As might be expected, the Dight Street tenants rated patrols of the grounds as being most important. Security patrols should primarily cover the hours of darkness (starting around 9 p.m.); patrols on a 24-hour basis did not seem warranted by almost half of the tenants.

Tenants views on the role of a security worker was that they should :-

- * wear a uniform,
- * provide protection for tenants as a priority over property,
- * be aware of the estate as a community, whilst not favouring particular tenants,
- * involve Police only in matters of 'law and order' and be assisted by a direct line to the Police.

The preferred method of providing security was for the security people to be employed by a private security firm, although just under one quarter of the tenants thought the security people should be Ministry employees. Very few tenants thought the security staff should be the tenants themselves. Most tenants thought that the security staff should report to the Ministry, rather than to a tenant committee.

APPENDIX A A**DIFFERENCES IN FINDINGS**

There are two areas where the two studies produced differences in findings which are worthy of comment.

Firstly, in terms of preferences for security arrangements, your study found a preference at Collingwood (Phase 2) for security cameras and foyer attendants rather than private security patrols or police patrols. Furthermore, the areas of most concern to the Collingwood Phase 2 tenants were firstly the flat followed by the car park, foyer, lifts and, lastly, the balconies.

On the other hand, our survey found a preference firstly for security patrols, then television surveillance, intercoms to a control room or security door and, lastly, a security person in the foyer. There were also differences in preferences as to the most important areas of the estate in terms of patrol priorities.

The second area of difference between the studies relates to the fear of crime and country of birth of the respondent. Whereas you found "being Vietnamese specifically, or non-Australian in general, was associated with less fear or belief in the extent of crime on the estate" we found just the opposite. That is, our survey showed that Australian-born tenants generally had less fear of crime than those born overseas (including the Vietnamese). This finding was also corroborated by our qualitative research.

Given that our survey and your Collingwood Phase 2 survey were carried out at the same time, used similar sampling methodologies and utilised professionally-trained interviewers, I would speculate that the above differences in findings were due to differences in questionnaire design and sample size (remembering your Collingwood Phase 2 sample consisted of only 37 respondents).

We also found that older people had less fear of crime than younger respondents which, as you point out, is contrary to the literature. I would speculate that this is due to household type acting as a 'confounding' variable; i.e. respondents with children tended to have greater fears of safety than respondents without children; they also tended to be younger than respondents without children.

COMMENTS ON POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- 1. Security attention ought to be directed primarily at communal entry and transit areas on the estate, such as car park and grounds, foyers and lifts. (Page 82).*

The Ministry's current security program does, in fact, concentrate upon these areas through physical improvement works and provision of security personnel and so far has :-

in terms of physical improvement works :-

- * **transit areas:** enclosed balconies, provided security screens, improved lighting to the balconies and provided doors at each end of the balconies (e.g. Collingwood and shortly, in Richmond and Fitzroy), installed closed circuit television cameras focussed on stairwell exits (at Collingwood),
- * **car parks:** improved lighting in car parks (e.g. Collingwood), restricted entries to some of the multi-storey car parks (e.g. Fitzroy, Richmond) and provided perimeter fencing around the car parks (e.g. Fitzroy),
- * **grounds:** provided security lighting for the estate grounds (e.g. Collingwood, Fitzroy, Carlton, Prahran, etc.),
- * **foyers:** provided improvement works to the foyer areas such as better lighting and more secure mail boxes as well as providing controlled access to buildings via electronic sliding doors (e.g. Collingwood and soon at Richmond and Fitzroy), installed closed circuit television cameras in foyer (at Collingwood),
- * **lifts:** provided a security person during the lift upgrading program (reaching completion in all high rise estates) and installed closed circuit television cameras in lifts (e.g. Collingwood with Richmond and Fitzroy to follow),

in terms of security personnel :-

- * the Ministry provides private security guards who patrol the grounds and buildings on eleven high rise estates, and
- * provides Community Guardians based in the foyer (at Collingwood).

- 2. Security attention ought to be directed primarily at night and early morning times. In terms of cost-benefit, security deployment and patrolling in an eight hour shift from 6 p.m. to 2 a.m. is indicated.*

The Ministry's study in Collingwood found the tenants mainly preferred security patrols to commence at 9 p.m. In fact the hours of operation for security patrols on eleven high-rise estates are selected by the tenants

and can vary according to season (e.g. daylight savings). However, all patrols do cover the hours of night and early morning, the hours when greatest fear of crime has been expressed.

3. The sealing of balconies ought to be given high priority in estate renovation programmes.

This always has been a high priority from the Ministry's point of view and the majority of high rise estates either have, or will have, their balconies enclosed by the end of this financial year. However, it must be remembered that the Ministry is committed to tenant consultation and that tenants' priorities will be taken into consideration.

4. Security configuration ought to reflect personnel deployment in the foyer as a priority, with regular security patrolling of the grounds and lifts.

As pointed out by the authors, this recommendation exceeds the bounds of their data. However, it is interesting to note that the Ministry's survey at Collingwood found that, whilst patrols of the buildings and grounds were the most preferred option of the tenants, "a security person in the foyer of each building" was the least preferred option.

In any event, the Ministry believes that the final security configuration on any one estate should result from consultation with tenants on that estate and we feel loathe to adopt the above recommendation across the board.

5. The basis of security arrangements ought to reflect an emphasis on personnel deployment rather than on impersonal strategies.

As described above (point 1), the Ministry has provided a mixture of the two strategies; i.e. personnel deployment and physical security measures such as electronic equipment, improved lighting, balcony enclosures, etc. The degree of this mixture at any one estate largely depends on the expressed preferences of the tenants.

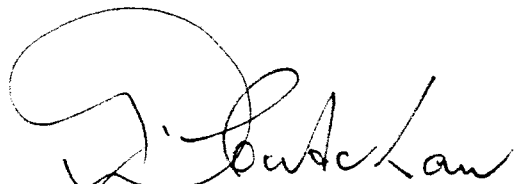
6. The positive implications for security require that systematic estate renovations be given urgent priority.

The Ministry continues to give high priority to improvement works on estates and will provide \$120 million over the next four years to maintain this program. In the 1965-66 financial year the allocation to the Estate Improvement Program is \$22 million.

- 7. Tenants ought to be granted significant control over budget allocations relevant to those problems of estate conditions which they themselves have identified as impinging most directly upon the security of high rise living.*

Currently tenants do have significant control of budget allocations relevant to estate conditions in that they control how the estate improvement budget is spent for their estate. That is, within a financial ceiling, tenants are free to trade off between various upgrade and security works. There are two constraints on this budget control by tenants; firstly, some works such as lifts, rubbish chutes, laundries and boiler upgrades are mandatory, and secondly, there is currently a moratorium on electronic security equipment until the Collingwood and Richmond systems have been evaluated.

In conclusion, your study findings reinforce and add to the body of knowledge on security issues on high rise estates and it is reassuring that your conclusions provide some 'outside' confirmation of the strategy of tenant participation and involvement that the Ministry has been pursuing since the early 1980's. If you have any queries on this matter, would you please contact Roger Hudson (ph. 669 1338).



D. McLutchan
General Manager
Housing Services Division

SECURITY SURVEY

The tenant security group on this estate has recently approved a questionnaire which will be undertaken on a number of floors in this block. The questionnaire is aimed at getting your ideas about the present security system you have on the estate, how safe you feel living on the estate and to assess how much crime occurs on this estate. The results of the survey will be available for your security group to use as they wish.

The questionnaire will take the form of a personal interview with members of each flat and will take approximately 45 minutes. Your co-operation would be appreciated as the results of the survey will assist your security group in planning the best security system for the estate.

One of the people whose picture is shown below will come to interview you within the next 3-4 weeks. We look forward to meeting you then.

Nhóm An ninh của người thuê nhà vừa chấp thuận ban Phong vấn, ban này sẽ được sử dụng trong việc phỏng vấn một số bà con cư ngụ ở một số tầng lầu trong khu nhà này. Ban câu hỏi này nhằm thu thập ý kiến của Quý vị liên quan đến hệ thống an ninh tại khu gia cư của Quý vị, để xem Quý vị cảm thấy tình trạng an ninh ở đây như thế nào và để xem mức độ tội phạm xảy ra trong khu gia cư đến mức nào. Kết quả của sự tham dự này sẽ được Nhóm An ninh của người thuê nhà sử dụng theo ý muốn của người được phỏng vấn.

Ban câu hỏi này sẽ thực hiện dưới hình thức một cuộc phỏng vấn cá nhân dành cho những người cư ngụ trong mỗi căn nhà và sẽ hỏi trong vòng 45 phút. Hoàn thành sự cộng tác của Quý vị, vì kết quả của cuộc tham dự sẽ giúp cho Nhóm An ninh thiết lập kế hoạch an ninh tối hảo cho bà con cư ngụ trong khu gia cư. Một trong những người có hình dưới đây sẽ đến phỏng vấn Quý vị trong vòng 3 hoặc 4 tuần tới. Chúng tôi mong được gặp Quý vị sau.



LEE CROSS - INTERVIEWER

SECURITY SURVEY

GUVENLIK KONUSUNDA ANKET.

Kiracılar Güvenlik Komitesi tarafından Housing Commission bloklarında güvenlik konusuyla ilgili bir anket yapılması kararlaştırıldı. Anketin hedefi sizin bu konudaki düşünce ve hislerinizi öğrenmek. Ayrıca güvenlik ve bloklarda işlenen suçlara karşı alınması gereken önlemler ve bu konudaki sizin görüşleriniz, tavsiyeleriniz ve hislerinizi öğrenmek istiyoruz. Anketin sonucu Güvenlik komitesince değerlendirilip kullanılacaktır.

Anket kişilerin özel görüşlerini yansıtacak şekilde hazırlanmış olup yaklaşık olarak 45 dakika sürecektir. Yeni güvenlik sisteminin seçilmesi, planlanması sizlerin göstereceği yakınlık ve işbirliğiyle olacaktır.

Aşağıdaki sahlıslardan biri sizinle 3- 4 hafta içinde temas kuracaktır. Tekrar görüşmek ümidiyle saygılarımla sunarım.

ENCUESTA SOBRE SEGURIDAD.

El Comite de Seguridad de Arrendatarios

ha aprobado recientemente un cuestionario que sera aplicado en un cierto numero de pisos en este Bloque. El cuestionario pretende conocer sus ideas acerca del presente sistema de seguridad que esta operando, cuan segura Ud. se siente de vivir aqui y para evaluar el grado de violencia (crimen) que tiene lugar en este recinto.

El cuestionario tendra la forma de una entrevista personal con miembros de cada Flat y durara aproximadamente 45 minutos.

Su cooperacion sera muy apreciada y los resultados de la encuesta ayudaran a vuestro Comite de Seguridad a planificar el mejor sistema de seguridad para los pobladores.

Una de la personas cuya fotografia aparece abajo lo entrevistara dentro de las proximas 3 o 4 semanas. Desde ya nuestros agradecimientos.



LEE CROSS - ENTREVISTADA

We are interested in hearing from you about what it is like living on a Ministry of Housing Estate. By completing this questionnaire you will assist us in evaluating the level of crime and security conditions on this estate. This survey is not endorsed by the Ministry of Housing and is not compulsory.

* THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL NOT AFFECT YOUR TENANCY IN ANY WAY *

Thank you for your co-operation.

SECTION A

AGE:

SEX:

NATIONALITY: _____

MARITAL STATUS: _____

BLOCK: _____

FLAT NUMBER: _____

HOW MANY PEOPLE LIVE IN THIS FLAT WITH YOU? _____

WHAT IS THE AGE AND SEX OF EACH RESIDENT?

Males. 1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ Females. 1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING ON THIS ESTATE? (Months.) _____

HOW MANY PEOPLE DO YOU KNOW BY NAME ON THIS FLOOR? _____

HOW MANY PEOPLE DO YOU KNOW BY NAME ON THIS BLOCK? _____

* Now I would like to ask you some questions about what it is like living on this estate.

SECTION B

Q. 1. Just thinking about this estate, what kind of area do you think it is?

Q. 2. Do you feel at home living on this estate? (Probe - That is do you feel comfortable living on this estate?)

Q. 3. What kind of people would you say live on this estate?

Q. 4. Would you say this this estate differs from other neighbourhoods around here? (Probe- Are the people any different etc. etc?)

Q. 5. How interested are you to know what is going on around this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Very interested.	Quite interested.	Fairly interested.	A little interested.	Not interested at all.

Q. 6. How involved are you in activities that happen on this estate? (Prob - Tenants Groups, recreational activities etc. etc).

1	2	3	4	5
Not involved at all.	A little involved.	Fairly involved.	Quite involved.	Very involved.

Q. 7. How much personal privacy do you feel there is living on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
No Privacy at All.	A Little Privacy.	A Fair amount of Privacy.	Quite a lot of Privacy.	Lot of Privacy.

Q. 8. Do you intend to move from this estate in the next twelve months?

Yes

No

Q. 9. Suppose you had to move away from this estate. How would you feel about it? Would you feel

1	2	3	4	5
Very Sorry.	Quite Sorry.	Neither Sorry nor Pleased.	Quite Pleased.	Very Pleased.

Q. 10. How safe do you feel living on this estate? Do you feel

1	2	3	4	5
Not Safe at All.	Rarely Safe.	Fairly Safe.	Quite Safe.	Very Safe.

SECTION C

Q. 11. Just thinking about this estate, would you say there is much crime around here? Would you say there is

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Deal.	Quite a Lot.	Not Much.	Very Little.	None at All.

Q. 12. Just thinking about the children living on this estate, would you say that there is much crime HAPPENING TO THEM? Would you say that there is

1	2	3	4	5
None at All.	Very Little.	Not Much.	Quite a Lot.	A Great Deal.

Q. 13. Just thinking about the Elderly People living on this estate, would you say that there is much crime HAPPENING TO THEM around here? Would you say that there is

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Deal.	Quite a Lot.	Not Much.	Very Little.	None at All.

Q. 14. A). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there are many physical attacks happening around here? Would you say that there are.....

1	2	3	4	5
None at All.	Very Few.	Not that Many.	Quite a Lot.	A Great Many.

Q. 14. B). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there are many sexual attacks happening around here? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Many.	Quite a Lot.	Not that Many.	Very Few.	None at All.

Q. 14. C). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there are many robberies happening around here? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
None at All.	Very Few.	Not that Many	Quite a Lot.	A Great Many.

Q. 14. D). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that much property is stolen from INSIDE people's flats around here? Would you say that there is

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Deal.	Quite a Lot.	Not that Much.	Very Little.	None at All.

Q. 14. E). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that much property is stolen from OUTSIDE people's flats around here? Would you say that there is

1	2	3	4	5
None at All.	Very Little.	Not that Much.	Quite a Lot.	A Great Deal.

Q. 14. F). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there is much deliberate damaging of people's personal property around here? Would you say that there is

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Deal	Quite a Lot	Not that Much	Very Little	None at All

Q. 14. G). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there are many cars or motorcycles stolen around here? Would you say that there are....

1	2	3	4	5
None at All	Very Few	Not that Much	Quite a Lot	A Great Deal

Q. 14. H). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that many things are stolen from cars and motorcycles around here? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Many	Quite a Lot	Not that Many	Very Few	None at All

Q. 14 I). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that many cars or motorcycles are deliberately damaged around here? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
None at All	Very Few	Not that Many	Quite a Lot	A Great Many

Q. 14. J). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that many objects are thrown over the balconies around here? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Many	Quite a Lot	Not that Many	Very Few	None at All

Q. 14. K): Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there is much drunken behaviour around here? Would you say that there is

1	2	3	4	5
None at All	Very Little	Not that Much	Quite a Lot	A Great Deal

Q. 14. L). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there are many incidents of people urinating in the lifts? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Many	Quite a Lot	Not that Many	Very Few	None at All

Q. 14. M). Just thinking about this estate, would you say that there are many incidents of shooting firearms around here? Would you say that there are

1	2	3	4	5
None at All	Very Few	Not that Many	Quite a Lot	A Great Many

Q. 15. Do you think it is necessary to take any particular precautions against crime on this estate?

Yes

No

Q. 16. Do you personally take particular precautions against crime on this estate? (Probe- Do you refrain from going out at night? Do you refrain from getting in the lift alone? Do you carry a weapon? Have you fitted a security door, security bars to windows, alarm system etc. etc?)

Yes

No

If so, what precautions do you take?

SECTION D

Now, I would like to ask you about some things which may have happened to you in the last six months.

Can you think back to what you were doing six months ago - that is, at the (beginning/middle/end) of (month) 1983..... and to what has happened to you since then (Interviewer to prompt with relevant examples..... New Years Day, Easter, School Holidays, Birthdays, Illness in the Family).

Now, I want to ask you about some things which might have happened to you in that time. I want you to think carefully about each one, and tell me if anything of that kind did happen to you in the last six months. Please take your time and think carefully and if you remember something which happened to you that might fit the description I give, let me know. If doesn't matter who else was involved, or whether you think it was serious or not.

Here are the things I would like to know about:-

Q. 17. During the last six months, did anyone physically attack you, or hit you, or use any kind of violence against you on this estate? If so, when, where and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 18. During the last six months, did anyone try to attack you, or hit you, or try to use any kind of violence against you on this estate? If so, when, where and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 19. During the last six months, has anything been stolen from your person on this estate? (example: from your pocket, your handbag etc).
If so, when, where and at about what time. Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 20. During the last six months, did anyone rob you, or try to rob you on this estate? If so, when, where and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 21. During the last six months, did anyone break into your flat? If so, when, and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 22. During the last six months, did anyone try to break into your flat? If so, when and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 23. During the last six months, has anything been stolen from inside your flat? If so, when and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 24. During the last six months, has anything been stolen from outside flat? (eg. bicycles, letters, clothes off the washing line or from inside the laundry etc). If so, when, where and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

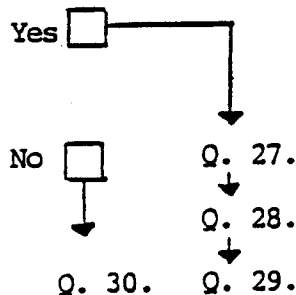
_____ No

Q. 25. During the last six months, did anyone deliberately damage any property belonging to you on this estate? (eg. a window in your flat, the front door of your flat, anything you had left outside your flat) If so, when, where and at about what time? Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Q. 26. Do you own a car or motor-cycle?



IF YES → Q. 27. Was your car or motor-cycle stolen from this estate, during the last six months? If so, when and at about what time?

Yes

No

Q. 28. Was anything stolen from your car or motor-cycle on this estate, so far during the last six months? If so, when and at about what time?

Yes

No

Q. 29. Did you find that your car or motor-cycle was damaged on this estate, so far during the last six months? If so when and at about what time?

Yes

No

Q. 30 During the last six months have you seen any objects being thrown over the balconies on this estate?

If so, about how many times?

Yes

No

Q. 31. During the last six months, have you witnessed particular incidents of drunken behaviour on this estate?

If so, about how many times?

Yes

No

Q. 32. During the last six months, have you come across urine in the lift:

If so, can you tell me about how many times?

Yes

No

Q. 33. During the last six months, have you heard gun shots fired on the estate?

If so, can you tell me about how many times?

Yes

No

Q. 34. During the last six months, did anything else happen on this estate that worried you and which you think might have involved a crime of any kind (that is anything that was against the law)?

If so, when, where and at about what time. Can you give me a brief description of what happened?

Yes

No.

Q. 35.

Q. 36. Car park and grounds between 7.00 am and 3.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 37. Car park and grounds between 3.00 pm and 11.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 38. Car park and grounds between 11.00 pm and 7.00 am.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 39. Foyer of the block between 7.00 am and 3.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 40. Foyer of the block between 3.00 pm and 11.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 41. Foyer of the block between 11.00 pm and 7.00 am.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 42. In the lift between 7.00 am and 3.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 43. In the lift between 3.00 pm and 11.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 44. In the lift between 11.00 pm and 7.00 am.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 45. On the balcony/In the laundry between 7.00 am and 3.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 46. On the balcony/In the laundry between 3.00 pm and 11.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 47. On the balcony/In the laundry between 11.00 pm and 7.00 am.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 48. In your flat between 7.00 am and 3.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 49. In your flat between 3.00 pm and 11.00 pm.

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Fairly Scared	A Little Scared	Not Scared at All

Q. 50. In your flat between 11.00 pm and 7.00 am.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	A Little Scared	Fairly Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

SECTION F

Q. 51. How scared are you that you may be the victim of a physical attack on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Not that Scared	Scared Very Little	Not Scared at All

Q. 52. How scared are you that you personally may be the victim of a sexual attack on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	Scared Very Little	Not that Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 53. How scared are you personally that you may be the victim of a robbery on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Not that Scared	Scared Very Little	Not Scared at All

Q. 54. How worried are you personally that property may be stolen from inside your flat?

1	2	3	4	5
Not Worried at All	Worried Very Little	Not that Worried	Quite Worried	Very Worried

Q. 55. How worried are you personally that property may be stolen from outside your flat?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Worried	Quite Worried	Not that Worried	Worried Very Little	Not Worried at All

Q. 56. How worried are you that your personal property may be deliberately damaged on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Not Worried at All	Worried Very Little	Not that Worried	Quite Worried	Very Worried

* IF RESPONDENT OWNS MOTOR VEHICLE PROCEED TO QUESTIONS 57 - 59

Q. 57. How worried are you that your motor vehicle may be stolen from this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Worried	Quite Worried	Not that Worried	Worried Very Little	Not Worried at All

Q. 58. How worried are you that your motor vehicle may be deliberately damaged on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Not Worried at All	Worried Very Little	Not that Worried	Quite Worried	Very Worried

Q. 59. How worried are you that property may be stolen from outside your motor vehicle on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Worried	Quite Worried	Not that Worried	Worried Very Little	Not Worried at All

Q. 60. How scared are you personally that objects may be thrown over the balconies on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Scared	Quite Scared	Not that Scared	Scared Very Little	Not Scared at All

Q. 61. How scared are you personally that you may encounter drunken behaviour on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	Scared Very Little	Not that Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 62. How worried are you personally that you may use a lift in which someone has urinated?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Worried	Quite Worried	Not that Worried	Worried Very Little	Not Worried at All

Q. 63. How scared are you personally that gunshots may be fired on this estate?

1	2	3	4	5
Not Scared at All	Scared Very Little	Not that Scared	Quite Scared	Very Scared

Q. 64. Please rank in order of priority areas on the estate you think are most important to make secure and safe.

- (a) The car park and grounds.
- (b) The foyer of the block.
- (c) The lifts.
- (d) The balconies and laundries.
- (e) Your own particular flat.

Q. 65. If you had the choice of the following security arrangements which would you prefer? Please rank in order.

- (a) Regular police department patrols.
- (b) Regular patrols by a private estate security firm.
- (c) Security cameras and a permanent foyer attendant.

Q. 66. If the police were made mainly responsible for making this estate secure and safe, how good of a job do you think they would do?

1	2	3	4	5
A Very Bad Job	A Fairly Job	Average Job	A Good Job	A Very Good Job

Q. 67. If a private estate security firm was made mainly responsible for making this estate secure and safe, how good a job do you think they would do?

1	2	3	4	5
A Very Good Job	A Fairly Good Job	Average Job	A Fairly Bad Job	A Very Bad Job

Q. 68. If a private estate security firm - working with security cameras and a foyer attendant was made mainly responsible for making this estate secure and safe, how good a job do you think they would do?

1	2	3	4	5
A Very Bad Job	A Fairly Bad Job	Average Job	A Fairly Good Job	A Very Good Job

INCIDENT SHEET

FLAT NO. _____

BLOCK NO. _____

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF OFFENCE

1. WHEN (Month of the Year) _____

2. WHERE ON THE ESTATE _____

3. WHAT TIME OF DAY (Morning, Afternoon, Evening) _____

4. DID YOU REPORT (mention specific incident) TO THE POLICE? Yes Go to 5

No Go to 6

5. WERE YOU HAPPY WITH THE WAY THE POLICE HANDLED THE SITUATION? YES

NO

6. WHY DID YOU NOT REPORT (mention specific incident) TO THE POLICE?

*OPEN RESPONSE - INTERVIEWER TO CODE AS FOLLOWS IN PRIORITY

- A). Didn't think the incident was serious enough
- B). Didn't think the Police would do any good
- C). Didn't think the Police would come
- D). Scared of retaliation
- E). Thought it was a private matter
- F). Somebody else called the Police
- G). Other _____

* PLEASE TURN OVER

APPENDIX D - Frequency Distributions of Items Included
In Factor Analysis

Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. Missing data are excluded.

<u>QUES.</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COLL1/COLL2</u>	<u>NORM1/NORM2</u>	<u>FLEM1/FLEM2</u>
	(10)	<u>Safe on Estate(%)</u>			
		Very/Quite safe	40/59	19/47	51/47
		Fairly safe	24/27	44/27	16/25
		Rarely/Not safe at all	36/14	36/27	32/28
	(11)	<u>Crime on Estate(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very little	32/24	18/19	19/26
		Not much	32/62	27/44	38/29
		Quite a lot/A great deal	35/13	56/37	43/45
	(12)	<u>Crime happening to Children(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very little	63/63	47/41	50/57
		Not much	24/27	15/38	9/13
		Quite a lot/A great deal	14/11	39/22	41/30
	(13)	<u>Crime happening to Elderly(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very little	60/65	60/44	59/47
		Not much	11/22	15/41	17/37
		Quite a lot/A great deal	30/14	24/15	24/16
	(14a)	<u>Physical Attacks on Estate(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very few	68/38	53/27	35/50
		Not many	14/51	9/61	34/27
		Quite a lot/A great many	19/11	38/12	31/23
	(14b)	<u>Sexual Attacks on Estate(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very few	73/78	69/73	71/72
		Not many	19/22	21/27	16/22
		Quite a lot/A great many	8/-	9/-	13/7
	(14c)	<u>Robberies on Estate(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very few	35/49	53/33	36/38
		Not many	22/43	24/38	13/9
		Quite a lot/A great many	43/8	24/30	52/53
	(14d)	<u>Theft from Within Flats(%)</u>			
		None at all/Very little	43/38	44/33	29/41
		Not much	16/41	15/30	9/19
		Quite a lot/A great deal	40/22	41/36	63/41

	<u>COLL1/COLL2</u>	<u>NORM1/NORM2</u>	<u>FLEM1/FLEM2</u>
<u>(14e) Theft from Outside</u>			
<u>Flats(%)</u>			
None at all/Very little	38/59	47/24	25/38
Not much	19/30	12/58	9/16
Quite a lot/A great deal	43/11	42/18	66/47
<u>(14f) Damage to Personal</u>			
<u>Property(%)</u>			
None at all/Very little	43/29	58/12	25/34
Not much	14/49	3/24	28/13
Quite a lot/A great deal	43/22	39/65	47/54
<u>(14g) Car Theft(%)</u>			
None at all/Very few	30/6	51/19	31/25
Not many	16/35	21/56	22/19
Quite a lot/A great many	55/60	27/25	47/57
<u>(14h) Theft from Cars(%)</u>			
None at all/Very few	24/6	56/13	36/27
Not many	5/35	15/56	23/13
Quite a lot/A great many	71/60	30/31	40/60
<u>(14i) Damage to Cars(%)</u>			
None at all/Very few	22/8	36/6	32/34
Not many	8/27	18/33	19/3
Quite a lot/A great many	70/65	48/61	50/63
<u>(14j) Objects thrown from</u>			
<u>Balconies(%)</u>			
None at all/Very few	84/100	3/3	6/19
Not many	-/-	3/3	13/9
Quite a lot/A great many	16/-	94/94	81/72
<u>(14k) Drunken Behaviour(%)</u>			
None at all/Very little	30/16	12/9	41/28
Not much	19/38	9/33	22/34
Quite a lot/A great deal	51/46	80/57	37/38
<u>(14l) Urinating in Lifts(%)</u>			
None at all/Very few	13/-	6/-	15/13
Not many	3/-	3/24	9/7
Quite a lot/A great many	84/100	91/76	75/80
<u>(14m) Shooting Incidents(%)</u>			
None at all/Very few	62/87	71/77	81/72
Not many	16/8	9/15	6/9
Quite a lot/A great many	22/5	21/9	12/19

COLL1/COLL2NORM1/NORM2FLEM1/FLEM2Perceptions of Fear by time and location on Estate(36) Car Park and Grounds7 am - 3 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	94/100	87/86	97/100
Fairly scared	-/-	10/12	3/-
Quite/Very scared	6/-	3/3	-/-

(37) 3 pm - 11 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	38/52	22/56	81/50
Fairly scared	16/11	13/21	13/16
Quite/Very scared	46/35	65/24	6/34

(38) 11 pm - 7 am (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	21/38	16/19	53/32
Fairly scared	5/16	9/19	13/6
Quite/very scared	73/46	75/63	35/62

(39) Foyer7 am - 3 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	94/100	90/91	91/100
Fairly scared	3/-	6/9	3/-
Quite/Very scared	3/-	3/-	6/-

(40) 3 pm - 11 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	60/87	16/65	84/66
Fairly scared	8/3	6/24	3/13
Quite/very scared	32/10	79/12	13/22

(41) 11 pm - 7 am (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	22/78	15/21	48/38
Fairly scared	19/8	-/21	13/6
Quite/very scared	59/13	85/57	39/57

(42) Lift7 am - 3 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	94/95	85/70	91/94
Fairly scared	-/-	13/18	9/-
Quite/Very scared	6/6	3/12	-/6

(43) (Lift) 3 pm - 11 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	40/70	28/54	72/57
Fairly scared	5/11	13/24	19/6
Quite/very scared	54/19	60/21	9/37

(44) 11 pm - 7 am (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	22/67	18/16	40/35
Fairly scared	3/11	3/19	17/9
Quite/very scared	76/22	79/65	43/57

COLL1/COLL2NORM1/NORM2FLEM1/FLEM2(45) Balconies/Laundries7 am - 3 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	95/98	93/94	100/91
Fairly scared	-/3	3/6	-/-
Quite/very scared	6/-	3/-	-/9

(46) 3 pm - 11 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	60/90	54/86	97/69
Fairly scared	8/5	9/9	-/3
Quite/very scared	32/6	37/6	3/28

(47) 11 pm - 7 am (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	44/78	47/54	90/47
Fairly scared	8/11	16/15	3/13
Quite/very scared	47/10	38/30	7/40

(48) Flat7 am - 3 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	98/100	94/97	100/100
Fairly scared	-/-	3/3	-/-
Quite/very scared	3/-	3/-	-/-

(49) 3 pm - 11 pm (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	92/97	79/92	94/81
Fairly scared	-/-	9/6	-/6
Quite/very scared	8/3	12/3	6/12

(50) 11 pm - 7 am (%)

Not scared at all/A little scared	81/98	79/80	90/81
Fairly scared	5/3	6/9	-/3
Quite/very scared	13/-	16/12	9/16

Fear of Specific Victimization(51) Physical Attack

Not scared/A little scared	43/59	53/41	55/57
Not that scared	5/19	12/18	23/9
Quite/very scared	51/22	36/42	23/34

(52) Sexual Attack (%)

Not scared/A little scared	52/76	56/53	65/65
Not that scared	5/14	12/12	10/6
Quite/very scared	43/11	33/36	26/28

(53) Robbery (%)

Not scared/A little scared	30/59	53/39	37/28
Not that scared	14/22	6/24	13/13
Quite/very scared	57/19	41/38	50/60

	<u>COLL1/COLL2</u>	<u>NORM1/NORM2</u>	<u>FLEM1/FLEM2</u>
<u>(54) Theft from within Flat(%)</u>			
Not worried/Very little	27/46	57/36	35/38
Not that worried	8/16	12/18	6/6
Quite/Very worried	64/38	30/47	60/56
<u>(55) Theft from outside Flat (%)</u>			
Not worried/Very little	46/62	53/50	31/54
Not that worried	11/32	3/24	9/-
Quite/very worried	43/5	44/27	60/47
<u>(56) Damage to Personal Property (%)</u>			
Not worried/Very little	38/54	56/24	50/31
Not that worried	16/22	6/41	13/3
Quite/very worried	46/25	39/35	38/65
<u>(57) Motor Theft (% of those with motor vehicles)</u>			
Not worried/very little	13/14	33/21	13/31
Not that worried	-/14	-/7	-/6
Quite/very worried	86/72	66/71	88/63
<u>(58) Theft from Vehicles (% of those with vehicles)</u>			
Not worried/Very little	26/28	67/21	22/41
Not that worried	-/14	11/29	11/12
Quite/Very worried	74/57	22/50	68/48
<u>(59) Damage to vehicles (% of those with vehicles)</u>			
Not worried/very little	7/14	33/14	13/31
Not that worried	-/14	-/-	6/13
Quite/very worried	94/71	66/86	81/56
<u>(60) Objects thrown from Balconies (%)</u>			
Not scared/A little scared	82/97	9/6	9/13
Not that -scared	-/3	-/9	13/6
Quite/very scared	19/-	91/85	79/81
<u>(61) Drunken Behaviour (%)</u>			
Not scared/A little scared	43/40	36/30	41/43
Not that scared	5/32	6/18	25/16
Quite/very scared	51/27	59/53	34/41
<u>(62) Urinating in Lifts (%)</u>			
Not worried/A little worried	21/3	27/6	17/19
Not that worried	8/32	6/44	16/16
Quite/very worried	71/65	67/50	67/66

COLL1/COLL2

NORM1/NORM2

FLEM1/FLEM2

(63) Shooting Incidents (%)

Not scared/A little scared	52/65	44/53	72/37
Not that scared	8/8	9/9	6/9
Quite/very scared	41/27	47/39	22/53

APPENDIX E - PRINT MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF HIGH-RISE ESTATES

The authors had conducted a search through the files of 'The Age' newspaper for reference to high-rise public housing estates in Melbourne over the last five years or so. Twenty-six references were uncovered, two of which were from the 'National Times' weekly newspaper. A mixture of news and feature articles were revealed. We have attempted a simple classification system, first with the feature articles, and then with the news articles, in which we categorise articles into 'negative', 'neutral' or 'positive' perspectives, based upon the thrust of the headings and sub-headings. This is very crude, of course, as the substance of some articles may not reflect the thrusts of the titles. But we believe that article headings have a potential for the development of an impressionistic perspective among readers to a greater extent than the articles themselves. We do not have the space to reproduce photographs which often accompany the articles: this is a pity, as they often capture the orientation of the articles excellently. We have also reproduced sentences from some of the opening paragraphs of the articles when they appear to us to be particularly pertinent.

FEATURE ARTICLES

Negative Orientation

- 3/4/80 'Doing Time in the High Rises'
13/8/81 'High Anxiety'
29/5/82 'Ghettos in the Sky' (sub-title: Three murders in the past 10 months have given North Richmond high-rise estate its reputation of terror and violence ...)
10/3/83 'Carlton Boys' Blamed for Terror at Commission Flats'
15/3/84 (National Times) 'Bureaucratic Beanstalks: Official Slum-Making'
1/5/84 'To Estate Tenants, Their Home is Their Fortress'
14/5/84 'Insecurity Rules on the Housing Estate'
3/4/85 'Tenants Prepare for Trouble and Crime in Fear-Filled Towers'
We were particularly impressed with this example. The article was largely based on some preliminary findings from the present study. In the interview with the journalist, we

were at pains to emphasise the evaluative aspects of our study, and to point out the lack of reliable relative evidence about conditions on the estates. The heading was the responsibility of a sub-editor, and upon our complaint to the Age about the midleading nature of the heading, the editor of 'The Age' wrote back acknowledging the distortion.

One article on 11/6/81 came to us with an incomplete title. Its substance puts it clearly in this first category.

Neutral Orientation

We had trouble classifying some of these articles. A few of them obliquely raised a perogative image by suggesting remedial strategies for identified problems. We leave it to the reader to decide whether these particular articles would be better placed in the preceding category.

- 26/11/80 'Human Face for Housing Estates'
- 22/8/81 'How To Change a High-Rise'
- 22/8/81 'View From the Bottom'
- 30/4/82 'A Woman in a High Place'
- 1/4/84 'Lowering the Tension in the High-Rises'

Positive Orientation

- 5/5/83 'The Brighter Side of High-Rise Living'
- 6/9/84 (National Times) 'Tenants Happy with the High-Life'

NEWS ARTICLES

Negative Orientation

- 20/2/84 'High-Rise Police Call'
- 13/3/85 'Pensioners Continue Rent Strike Over Onslaught of Youth'

One article on 9/6/81 came to us with an incomplete title. The first paragraph reads: 'The social environment in a block of Housing Commission flats in North Melbourne - the scene of

recent shootings and arson - was hopeless, the State Minister for Housing, Mr Kennett, said last night'.

Neutral Orientation (we encountered the same problems in this category as above)

11/3/83 'State Plans High-Rise Security'

28/1/84 'Divided by Wall' (first paragraph: The vandals, the scrawlers of obscene messages, all those who add to the fear and isolation that is often the fabric of life in a housing commission flat, have lost this round.)

27/1/84 'Ministry Scraps Plan to Demolish Flats'

15/10/84 (heading to letter) 'High-Rise Security Requires People'

19/1/85 'Flemington Commission Tenants Plan New Security Service'

5/6/84 'New Move by Cathie to Placate Tenants'

Positive Orientation

19/6/84 'Estate Dispute Settled'

We have deliberately chosen a newspaper with a 'good' reputation in order to illustrate our point about media portrayals of high-rise estates. Our task would have been easier had we concentrated upon the less reputable press.