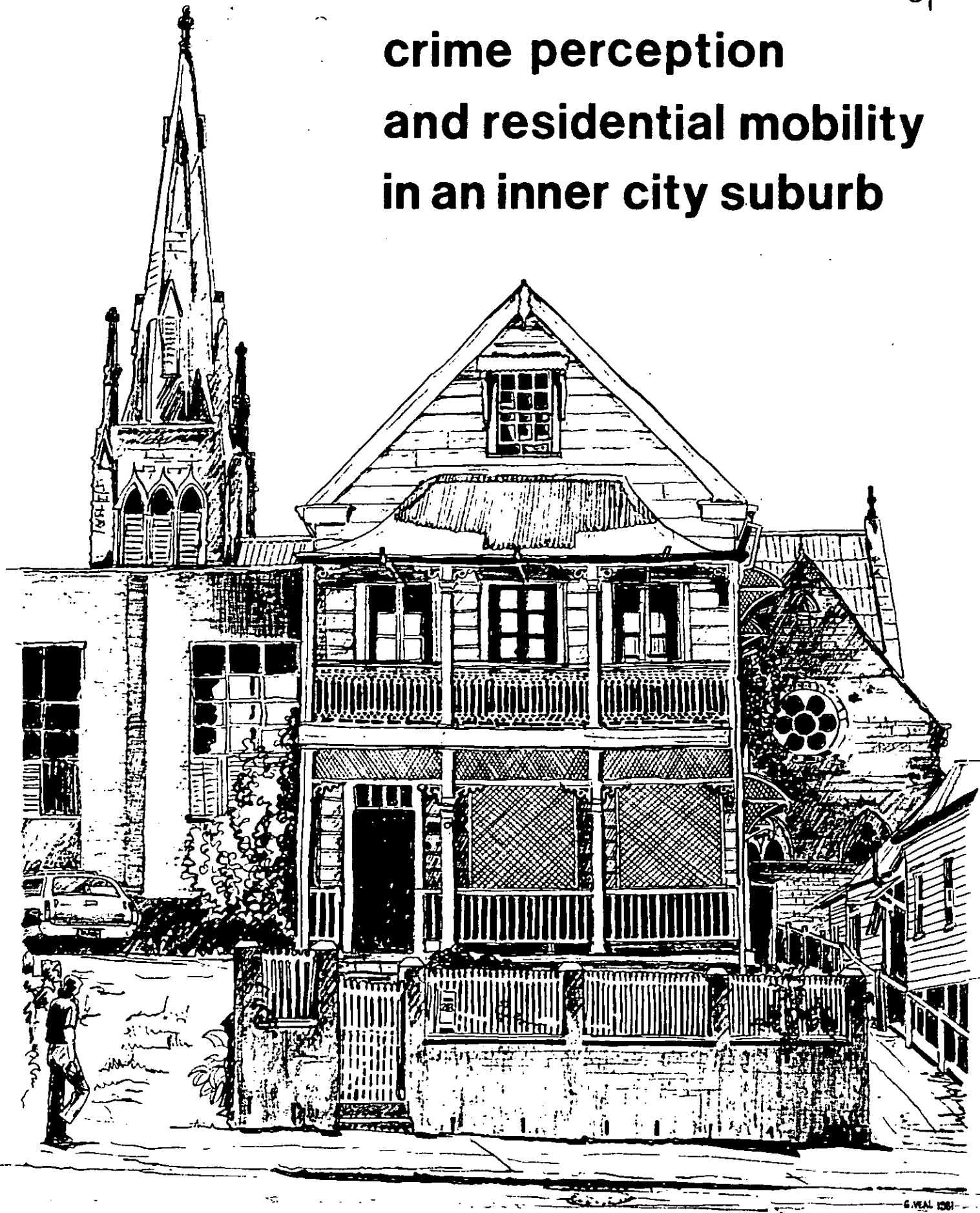# crime perception
and residential mobility
in an inner city suburb

j. minnery

g. veal   april 1981

CRIME PERCEPTION AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

IN AN INNER CITY SUBURB

J. MINNERY and G. VEAL

APRIL 1981

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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study attempts to ascertain the effect of crime rates on residential mobility in an inner city suburb of Brisbane. The particular suburb - Spring Hill - was chosen for three main reasons:

1. It is an inner city residential area undergoing the land use and demographic changes common in many similar Australian settings;

2. The Brisbane City Council is preparing a Development Control Plan for the suburb. A great deal of basic information about the suburb has been accumulated as part of this exercise, but just as importantly, the results of the research project will be of use to the Council in the physical and social planning of the area;   and

3. It is felt by many people outside the suburb to have a high crime rate.

The location of Spring Hill in relation to the rest of Brisbane is shown on Figure 1.

The study did not achieve all of its original objectives: the reasons are contained in the body of the report. It did, however, produce a number of results which surprised us and which would prove fruitful avenues for future investigations.

Much of the work for the investigation was carried out by students in their final year of study in the Bachelor of Applied Science, Built Environment of the Queensland Institute of Technology. Their contribution extended far beyond the mechanical details of administering questionnaires. Their help is acknowledged, and their names are listed in Appendix A.

2

SPRING HILL
STUDY AREA
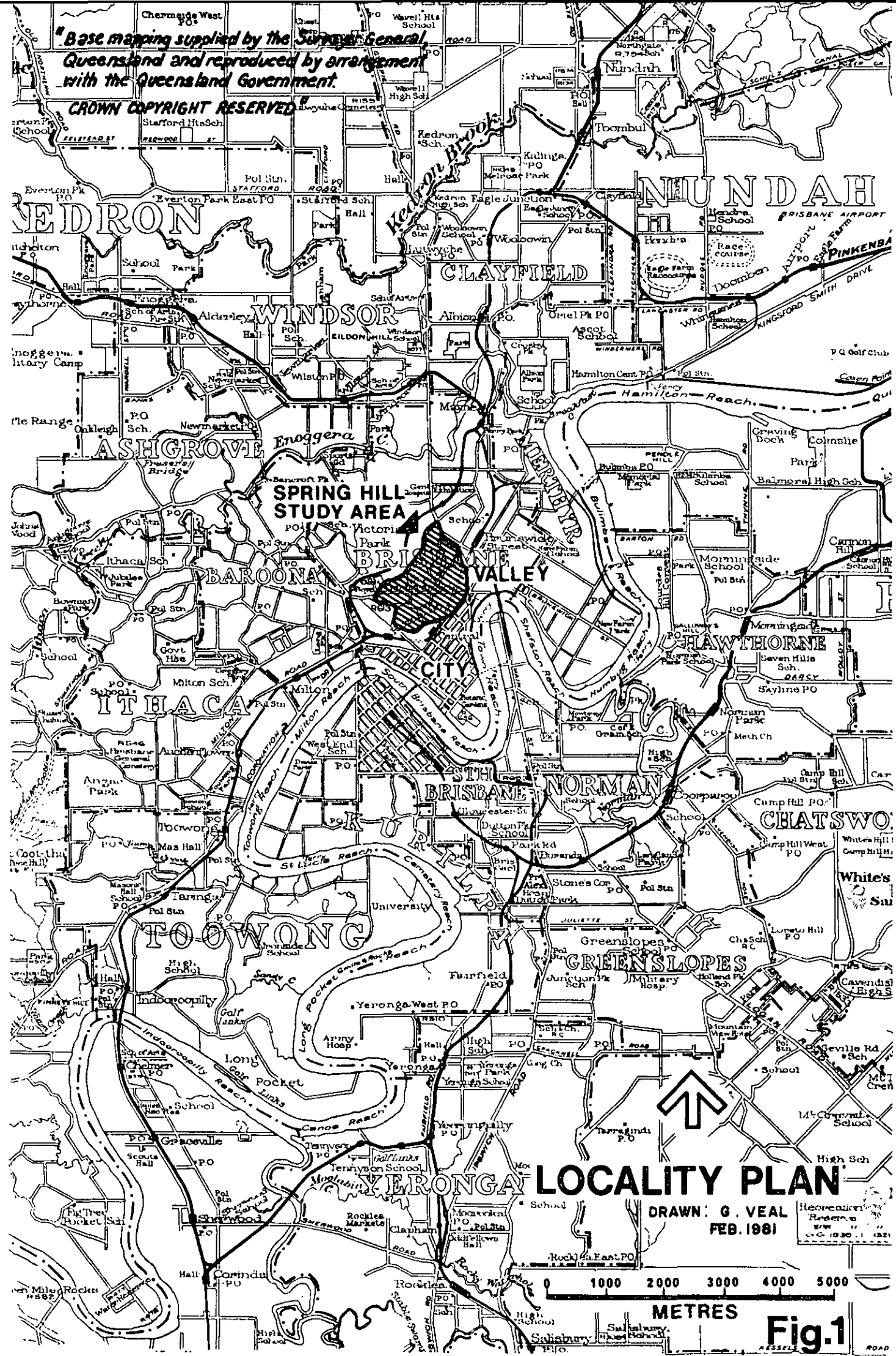
LOCALITY PLAN

DRAWN: G. VEAL
FEB. 1981

0   1000   2000   3000   4000   5000

METRES

Fig.1

SUMMARY

The aim of the research was to investigate the links, if any, between perceptions of crime rates in an inner city suburb and residential mobility. The intention was to compare the perception and experience of crime of households now living in Spring Hill, Brisbane, with households that had moved out. The study was expected to have benefits for urban planning policies involving inner city residential renewal.

Spring Hill is an old working-class suburb close to Brisbane C.B.D. It is currently undergoing a land use conversion process: offices, small industries, government buildings, and associated car parking are forcing out residents, but it is also beginning to be affected by the influx of middle-income families. The suburb's future is uncertain. Currently there are fewer young children, more elderly, more unemployed, and more single households than is normal elsewhere in Brisbane. Although the area is small it does not consist of a single well-integrated community. Spring Hill has a reputation for having a high crime rate.

The major effort in the investigation was a questionnaire survey of 190 households in the suburb (a quasi-structured sample of roughly 20% of all households) and of 6 households that had moved out of Spring Hill.

The results indicated that despite opinions held by outsiders, crime was not considered a serious problem by residents. Only 12 percent of respondents felt that local crime rates were more serious than in other similar suburbs, and 37 percent felt rates were actually less serious. These opinions were partially supported by the scanty and unsatisfactory statistics available on reported crime. Many of those who felt the local rate was high had intimate knowledge of an incidence of crime with someone of their household or close to them having been victimized. Experience of crimes against the person seemed to have a stronger influence on opinion than experience of crimes against property. However, in more general terms, the types of crime felt to be the most serious problem in Spring Hill were the less serious but highly visible crimes of public drunkedness and vandalism.

Some differences in replies correlated with type of dwelling and
whether the household had moved into the suburb in the last five
years. For example, a greater proportion of residents in detached
houses were victims of theft, and vandalism, but residents in flats
and home units were more affected by assault and nuisance calls.
Opinions on who were most affected by crime were obviously related
to the population structure: respondents felt that the elderly and
other adults were most affected.

Sixty-four percent of respondent households had not been affected by
crime in the last five years. Seven percent had been affected by
crimes against the person, 16 percent by crimes against property, and
13 percent by crimes against both of these. Thirty-eight percent of
type-occurrences mentioned were not reported to the police, but
reasons given for non-reporting were extremely varied. There were some
parallels in reasons given with other crime reporting studies.

Many respondents identified additional actions by the police and other
authorities as being necessary to help reduce the local crime rate.

Because so few out-migrants could be contacted, it was not possible to
make a reasonable comparison between their experience and perception
of crime in Spring Hill and those of current residents. Those contacted
did feel, however, that the crime rate was not high and that crime was
virtually irrelevant to their decision to move out.

In response to a general question on the 'bad things' about Spring Hill,
crime and safety ranked equal fifth, after lack of services and
amenities, traffic noise and congestion, the problems of the physical
and built environment, and undesirable characteristics of the population.
Crime and safety were ranked equally with the problem of incompatible
land uses. However, a listing of the 'good things' about Spring Hill
did not include mention of a low crime rate. As would be expected the
major attraction of the suburb was the convenience resulting from its
inner city location.

The conclusions of the study are tempered somewhat by its problem in reaching the original research objectives. The major finding was that local residents did not feel Spring Hill had a serious crime problem a result that was not expected when the research was started. It may reflect nothing more than the community's desire to present an acceptable image to outside researchers.

In part, the perception by outsiders of the high crime rate of Spring Hill may reflect stereotypes held about the results of disjointed built environments such as exist in Spring Hill. Local ideas may reflect local concern about highly visible "nuisance" crime and deviant behaviour by those who felt the local crime rate was high. The research was of a modest scale and so did not answer any substantial questions. It did, however, raise a number of interesting issues.

CHAPTER ONE: METHOD

1. Elements of the Research

The research for this report was carried out in five phases:

(i)   An investigation of the literature on the effect of perceptions
        of the rate of crime on residential mobility. Few studies
        relating specifically to this field were found, though a number
        contain substantial sections on the topic (see Chapter Two:
        Crime Rates, Perception, and Residential Mobility).

(ii)   Collection and analysis of data on Spring Hill, the suburb
        which was the focus of the investigation. Most of the data
        were taken from the investigations currently being carried
        out in Spring Hill by the Brisbane City Council as background
        for the Council's preparation of a Development Control Plan
        for the area.

(iii)   A questionnaire survey of a sample of Spring Hill residents,
        the principal source of information for this report. The
        questionnaire survey is discussed in greater detail below.
        Surveys were conducted during October and November, 1980.

(iv)   A survey of former Spring Hill residents to find why they had
        moved, and whether crime rates had any influence on their
        decision to move. The results of this investigation were
        severely compromised by the difficulty in locating former
        residents. A letter box drop to all households in and near
        Spring Hill explaining the purpose of the investigation
        and asking current residents to supply the names and
        addresses of friends or neighbours who had moved resulted
        in only one reply. Approximately 2000 leaflets were left
        in letter boxes, reply boxes were left in five local
        convenience shops for two weeks, and the leaflet listed the
        principal researcher's postal address. A low response had

anticipated, but not of this order of magnitude. Following
this a search was made of the Spring Hill State School's
records for the current suburb in which former pupils were
now living, and through cross-checks with the Brisbane
telephone directory three former residents were contacted.
Three others were located through the Spring Hill Progress
Association. There is no way of identifying the reliability
of these replies as representing the total of former residents,
but the results are contained in Chapter Five.

(v)   Originally a large section of the research was to be devoted
to a comparison of the results of the questionnaire survey
with the records for the area from the Queensland Police
Department. Unfortunately, the Department's reply to our
request was that, "Because of the considerable research
required to be made and shortage of staff, it is the policy
of this Department not to undertake requests of this nature".
Less satisfactory comparisons were made, however, using
publicly available data and are contained in Chapter Five.

2. The Questionnaire Survey

A land use survey of Spring Hill by the Brisbane City Council in 1979
showed that there were 942 dwellings in the area, consisting of 504
detached houses, 370 flats, and 68 home units. These dwellings were
the universe from which the survey sample was drawn.

The sample of 200 dwellings was chosen, representing 21.2 percent of
the universe of dwellings. This sample was stratified in proportion
to the proportion of detached houses (104 out of 504), flats (80 out
of 370), and home units (16 out of 68) in Spring Hill and respondents
randomly chosen within each residential category. In practice it was
found that there were some discrepancies in the original land use
survey listings, possibly resulting from the time period that had
elapsed between the land use survey and our own, or from minor
discrepancies in the original survey (e.g. some houses converted to
office use were listed as dwellings). Where problems arose, a
standard substitution process was used. The same process was used
where residents refused to be intereviewed. As a result of these

discrepancies and substitutions, only 190 (20.2%) interviews were completed (98 detached houses, 76 flats, and 16 home units). It is unlikely that this change would materially affect the reliability of the results. The boundaries of the study area and the location of the sample chosen are shown on Figure 2.

A few days before the survey, a letter explaining the purpose of the interviews and identifying the researchers was left with each household chosen in the sample. One householder declined to be interviewed at this stage, but this procedure did ease the task of the interviewers.

The questionnaire itself was developed in consultation with Dr. John Braithwaite of the A.I.C. and the interviewers. Modifications in wording were made after a pilot survey. A preliminary question asked whether the respondent had moved within the last five years. Subsequent questions were divided according to whether the respondent had not moved in that period ("A") or had moved ("B"). Appendix B shows the questionnaire used for those that had moved (Part B). Only relatively minor changes were made to the questionnaire used for people who had not moved in the last five years and for people who had moved out of Spring Hill. Questions on household composition were the same for all respondents. Where lists of possible answers were shown to respondents, two versions of the list (with reversed ordering) were used alternately. _

The interviews for those who had left Spring Hill were usually carried out by telephone, but still used a standard questionnaire similar to that used for current residents of the suburb.

Legend

STUDY AREA

● DETACHED HOUSES

○ FLATS

◎ HOME UNITS

GENERALIZED LOCATION OF
HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED
One interview held at each
location unless otherwise
indicated.

**Crime Perception &
Residential
Mobility
SPRING HILL**

Fig. 2

METRES
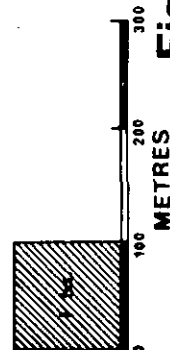
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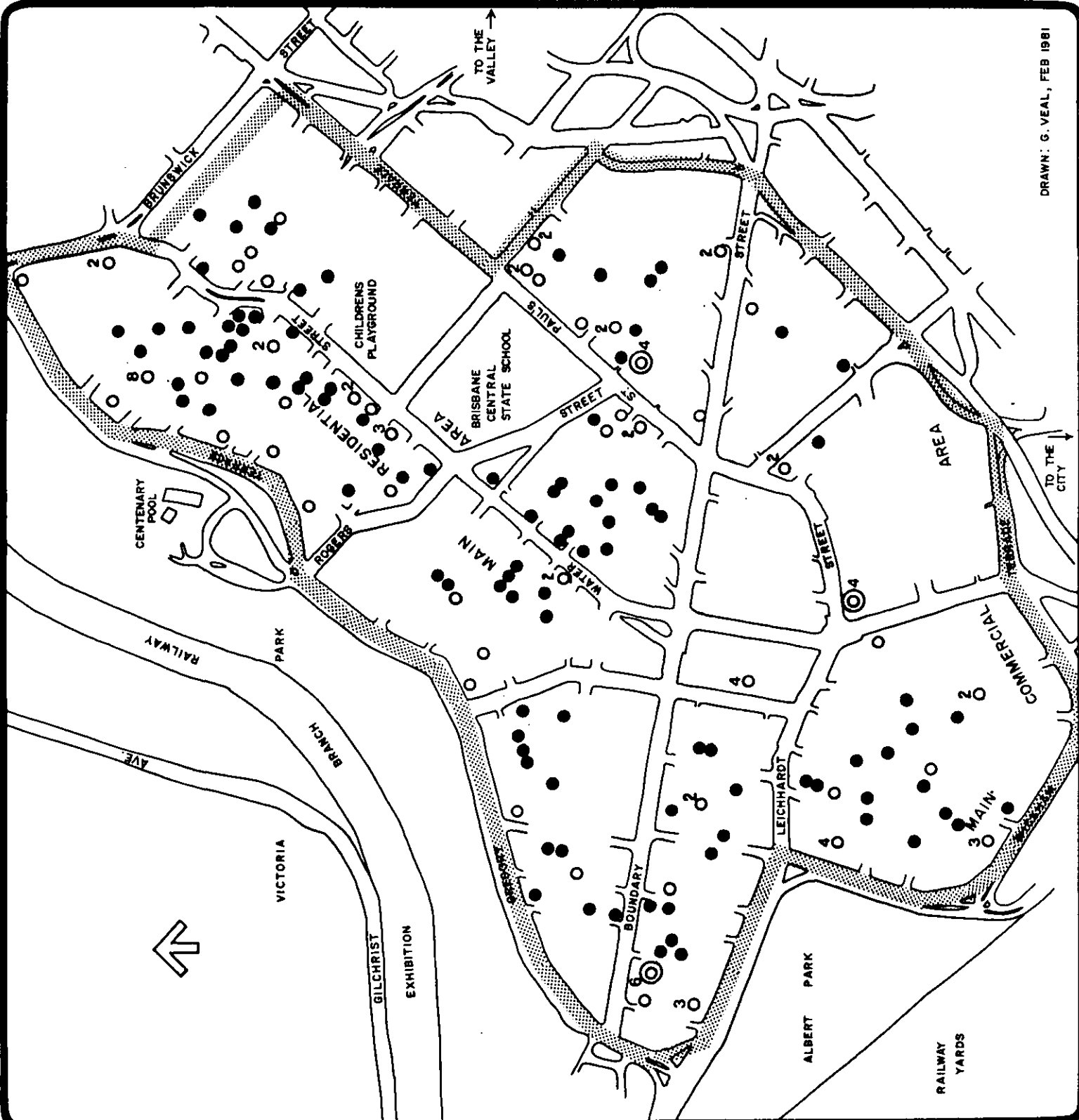
CHAPTER TWO: CRIME RATES, CRIME PERCEPTION, AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Whether or not there is a causal relationship between the physical environment and human behaviour is a matter of some debate. At one extreme is the architectural determinism implied in Winston Churchill's contention that, "we shape our buildings and our buildings shape us"; at the other extreme is the view that behaviour results from social and behavioural factors only and is not influenced to any great extent by the physical environment. Although both extreme views are currently in disfavour there is uncertainty over the actual relationship between behaviour and environment especially when we consider specific matters, such as crime, rather than behaviour in general. Urban planners, architects, and criminologists all recognize this difficulty, particularly when attempting to clarify the effective role of the built environment professions in influencing crime rates. (see, for example, N.A.C.R.O. 1974; Wollan, 1976; Minnery, 1980; Gans, 1968; Veal 1980).

It is clear, however, that even though urban design may have only a modest effect on crime rates, crime rates on the other hand can have a substantial effect on urban planning proposals. This is nowhere more evident than in proposals for inner city residential renewal (see, e.g. Ryder-Turner, 1972). The residential fringe of the Central Business District is an area of rapid and profound land use change. It is an area of mixed land uses, low income accommodation, demolition, profit taking, absentee landlords and of easy access to the central city. In many cities, especially in the United States, it has a reputation as an area with a high crime rate. The aim of this study was to investigate the local perception of the rate of crime in a particular inner city suburb with the intention of making recommendations of benefit to urban planners and others interested in inner city renewal.

In general, manipulation of the built environment by architects and
urban planners is thought to be capable of affecting crime rates
mainly by making crime a high-risk activity. (Clifford, 1976).
This can be directly through increased lighting, corridor design in
high buildings, security fencing, location of police stations, and so
on, or it can be indirectly through an increase in the coherence of
the local community (Jacobs, 1964) or through greater control of
their environment by residents, such as through designs reinforcing
"territoriality" and "defensible space" (Newman, 1972, 1974, Hillier
1973, Veal 1980). Two well-known reservations need to be made here.
Firstly, the distinction drawn by Gans between the "potential"
environment (the area's physical characteristics) and the "effective"
environment (the perception and use of the environment by residents –
a use which may not be what the designer intended) is important.
(Gans, 1968). Thus, we can design an environment which increases
the potential for community-building but we cannot build a community.
And secondly, the major assumption of this approach, (that crimes
are perpetuated by strangers and outsiders) is demonstrably false.
Many of the more serious crimes against the person are carried out
by family members, lovers and others known to the victim. Intense
community feeling and community caring can certainly decrease the
potential for some types of crime; but it can increase the potential
for others. In this general field of the impact of crime there are
many matters which impinge on the areas of concern of the architect
and urban planner. Conklin (1975) deals at length with the impact
and costs of crime, and like Clifford (1976) shows that many of the
costs are indirect. He states that "the indirect costs of crime
also include changes in attitude and behaviour by people who fear
their own victimization. They stay off the streets at night and
lock their doors... To avoid possible victimization, people do
not use library and educational facilities at night, they stay away
from meetings of social groups and organizations, and they keep out
of parks and recreational areas." (p. 6). Of special interest to
urban planners is Conklin's statement:

> "One extreme but fairly common reaction to both personal
> and property crimes is a desire to move, to escape from
> the community where crime poses such a great threat."
> (p. 6)[1]

A number of researchers have demonstrated that whatever the actual
crime rate in an area people's reactions are related to their
perception of the crime rate, something that reflects actual crime
rates as well as a diversity of other factors: fear of strangers, fear of
and concern for crime, media reports, vulnerability, and so on.
Many of these factors, and their results, are of concern to urban
planners; and some of the factors themselves are within the area
that urban planners feel their training allows them to control.
One important factor, for example, is the crucial importance of the
urban street. Fear of violence and strangers is often generalised
to fear of the street. The street is public, owned by everybody
and nobody, and so vulnerable to abuse. It links activity areas and
so is vulnerable to the stigma placed on it by "dubious" activities
abutting it. "Deviance and crime are prominent and visible in such
public places, posing a threat to the existing social order. Even
such comparatively harmless behaviour as public drunkedness and
juvenile loitering are seen as threats to dominant social values".
(Conklin, 1975: 8).

Whatever the source of "myths, legends, ideas and views about crime
in a given social setting" (Conklin's definition of the "criminal
environment", p. 20), perceptions of the local crime rate are likely
to be related in some way to local social characteristics, but the
nature and direction of this connection is not clear. Conklin dealt
with socio-economic characteristics in his study of "Port City" (a
low status suburb) and "Belleville" (a high status area), and found

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[1] Conklin, in a footnote notes that "One survey found that between 20
and 30 percent of the residents of high crime rate districts wished
to move". This finding is identified as the research of Albert J.
Reiss, Jnr., Field Surveys III, Part I, of the President's Commission
in Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice "Studies in Crime
and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas". Washington D.C.
U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1967, p. 31.

that ... "there was a statistically significant difference between the two communities, with Belleville residents perceiving less local crime than the Port City residents" (p. 79); but on the other hand, "Perception of crime within each community was not affected very much by the personal characteristics of the respondents" (p. 80). Conklin also quotes a 1971 report by Furstenburg[2] using data from Baltimore to the effect that "... concern with the crime problem varied inversely with the official crime rate of a community; that is, there was most concern with crime in areas with the lowest crime rates". (p. 76).

It is clear that the impact of crime in a particular area will depend on residents' perception of the local crime rate, that in turn this perception depends inter alia on the "criminal environment", and that people modify their behaviour according to their perception of crime. To repeat an observation of Conklin's:

> "One extreme but fairly common reaction to both personal
> and property crimes is a desire to move, to escape from
> the community where crime poses such a great threat."
> (1975; 6)

In 1971, Droettboom et al reported on a major American study of urban violence and residential mobility, a study which investigated the assumption that "crime during recent years has been an important factor in suburbanization and a cause of white population losses in central cities" (Droettboom, 1971: 319). At that time, concern with differential crime rates within American cities had led to speculation over their future social shape. For example, Gold (1970) postulated a division of the metropolis into two spatially discrete and fortified areas - the central city and the suburb - with refugees from the former fleeing into the latter, causing the division to become increasingly pure.

---

[2] Furstenburg, Frank F. Jnr. (1971) "Public Reaction to Crime in the Streets" The American Scholar XL (Autumn)(p. 604)

This scenario was disputed by Droettboom et al, whose survey suggested:

" ... that individual perceptions of local violence have at
best only very moderate influence on significant changes
in residential location, that concern with crime problems
does not seem to result in a major exodus to the suburbs,
and what little effect urban crime has on mobility is
stronger for the poor and the black than for high and
middle income whites."
(p. 319)

In fact they found that -

" .... the effect of crime and violence on the total spatial
redistribution of urban residents seems almost minuscule.
Only 4.4 percent of our sample both identified crime and
violence as a "very serious" problem and subsequently
moved."
(p. 321)

They did note, however, the difference between wanting to move and
actually moving. Those found to be most affected by crime were the
poor and the black, those groups least able to escape the problem
through residential relocation.

Clearly the relationships amongst crime-rates, perception of crime
rates, community characteristics, and residential mobility is a
fruitful area for research, and clearly some aspects of those
relationships are of importance to urban planners working in inner
city areas.

CHAPTER THREE: SPRING HILL BACKGROUND

Spring Hill is one of Brisbane's oldest inner residential areas with
dwellings being commenced there as early as 1860. The area of Spring
Hill defined for this study covers the majority of the suburb and
comprises approximately 92 hectares (227 acres). Spring Hill is
located to the north of and within walking distance of the Central
City area of Brisbane (see Figure 1). Predominant land uses in
Spring Hill are residential and commercial with commercial uses
located at the periphery and towards the city generally, whilst the
residential precincts are located towards the centre in a number of
quite distinct areas with homogeneous characteristics including
architectural style and streetscape.

Residential lot sizes are relatively small with a predominance of lots
ranging from 506 square metres (20 perches) down to 202 square metres
(8 perches). Residential streets are narrow when compared with Brisbane
generally but are typical of inner city suburbs with the reservation
width of some streets as narrow as 7 and 5 metres. A large proportion
of the existing housing stock was constructed between 1860 and 1940
and the majority of this housing consists of timber cottages originally
built for working-class families. In addition, there are above
average numbers of flats and boarding houses currently occupied by
transients and elderly people.

Topographically Spring Hill (commonly known as "The Hill") lies
generally between two ridges at its northern and southern boundaries.
These ridges are developed with the arterial roads of Gregory and
Wickham Terraces respectively. A large part of the suburb is a valley
form between these two ridges with the lowest part being Water Street
which roughly bisects the main residential precinct.

Historically, Spring Hill has always been stratified into distinctly different social groups. This is reflected in the location of the different types and sizes of dwellings with the larger homes on the ridges along Gregory, Wickham and St. Paul's Terraces and the similar workers' cottages in the valleys.

The residential population for Spring Hill has declined by approximately 2,400 persons in the ten years from 1966 to 1976, giving it a population of 4,122 at the 1976 Census. As well as this decline in the total population its proportion of the Brisbane City population has also decreased and reduced its significance as a residential suburb. A comparison of Brisbane City population figures with those of Spring Hill reveal the following characteristics of the suburb's population:

(i)   a very small proportion of the children is below the age
        of 10 (approximately one-third of the city average);

(ii)   there is disproportionately large number of males in the age
        groups 25 to 69;

(iii)   the proportion of males in the 45 years and over age group
        is much higher than in the city as a whole;

(iv)   the proportion of elderly persons, both male and female in
        the 70 years and over age group is nearly double the city
        average;

(v)   there is a disproportionately large number of females in the
        over 70 years age group;

(vi)   the proportion of females in the 30 to 40 years age group is
        considerably smaller than the city average;

(vii)   there is a low proportion of people now married and a high
        proportion of people who never married. Tied with this is
        the high proportion of families that consist of a head only.
        Spring Hill then appears to be populated by a large
        proportion of "loners", with very few families that consist

of a head, spouse and children. The statistics of divorced persons, permanently separated and widowed persons are all higher in Spring Hill than in Brisbane City;

(viii) the trend of a high proportion of owner-occupied dwellings as exists in Brisbane as a whole is completely reversed in the Spring Hill area which has a high proportion of dwellings reported to be tenant occupied and only a very low proportion being owned by the occupier;

(ix) rents in Spring Hill in 1976 were lower than in the rest of the City;

(x) the proportion of unemployed is well above the Brisbane City average of 1.9 percent at the 1976 Census. There is also a high proportion of residents receiving a pension. The majority of these people are old-age pensioners which again is a reflection of the aging population of the area;

(xi) Spring Hill is characterised by a high proportion of people born overseas with people from the United Kingdom, Eire, Italy and New Zealand having the greatest representation. These migrants seem fairly well established, many claiming Australian citizenship;

(xii) residents of Spring Hill exhibit a greater mobility than the average Brisbane citizen. Only 38.7 percent of the inhabitants were reported in 1976 as living in the same dwelling as they had occupied five years previously. Interviews with the principal of the Brisbane Central State School, where there is 100 percent turnover of pupils each year, supported this finding. Social workers working in the area believe that it is the young families with children and young married couples that are the most mobile, and that the old residents and the "loners" in the boarding houses and serviced rooms are well established and most intended to stay in the area for the rest of their lives.

The Brisbane City Council is currently preparing a Development Control Plan for Spring Hill which, amongst other things, is intended to generate interest in the area as a pleasant and convenient residential environment such that people will be attracted to the area and hence reverse the current situation of declining population. Included in the stated aims of the Council in respect of the Development Control Plan are the following relating to people in Spring Hill:

(a) The Plan should aim to reverse the decline in population and encourage an enlarged population to support the Central City area;

(b) The Plan should aim to rejuvenate Spring Hill, encourage the return of families, and recreate a vital and thriving inner city residential suburb;

(c) The Plan should provide for the interests of existing residents, particularly those most vulnerable to change.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESPONDENTS

This Chapter and the two following it are devoted to the results of the questionnaire survey of households in Spring Hill. In this Chapter the characteristics of the population of Spring Hill, as revealed in the survey, are analysed.

TABLE 1:   PROFILE OF SAMPLE OF DWELLING TYPE

	Number	Percent
Detached Houses "A"	56	29.5
Detached Houses "B"	42	22.1
TOTAL Detached Houses	98	51.6
Flats "A"	22	11.6
Flats "B"	54	28.4
TOTAL Flats	76	40.0
Home Units "A"	2	1.0
Home Units "B"	14	7.4
TOTAL Home Units	16	8.4
TOTAL Interviews	190	100.0

TABLE 2:   PROFILE OF SAMPLE BY "MOBILITY"

	Number	Percent
Total "A" ("Non-movers")	80	42.1
Total "B" ("Movers")	110	57.9
TOTAL	190	100.0

In these tables and other tables in the report the "A" group of
responses refer to those households that have <u>not</u> moved within the
last five years (the "non-movers") and the "B" group to those who
<u>have</u> moved within the last five years (the "movers"). The sample
thus represents a moderately stable population of households, 42 percent
of whom have not moved within the last five years. Note that the
break-down by dwelling type was part of the survey design, but the
numbers of "A" responses and "B" responses represent the first
findings of the survey. As would be expected, flats and home units
contain a greater proportion of "movers" ("B" responses).

The largest employment categories for heads of households were, in
descending order, white-collar non-professional (22.6%), blue-collar
unskilled (19.8%) and white-collar professional (12.0%) (see Table 3).
Almost 20 percent of household heads were retired, pensioners, or invalids;
and 5.3 percent gave their occupation as "unemployed" or "on the dole".
The occupational characteristics of "movers" and "non-movers" differ
quite markedly. Most of those in the two most common occupational
groups had moved into Spring Hill within the last five years, and
conversely most of the retired and pensioner household heads had been
in Spring Hill longer than five years. It should be noted that the
occupational categories shown are groupings resulting from open-ended
questions and are useful but not concise.

An implication of these data is that Spring Hill's population change
is not one of simple "gentrification" as has taken place in many
other inner city suburbs, for "The Hill" still attracts working class
households. All those not in the workforce and about four-fifths of
the unemployed had moved into Spring Hill within the last five years.

TABLE 3: OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (%)

Category	"Non-Movers"	"Movers"	Total
White-collar non-professional	6.4	16.2	22.6
Blue-collar unskilled	7.8	12.0	19.8
Retired, pensioners, invalids	12.5	7.3	19.8
White-collar professional	4.2	7.8	12.0
Blue-collar skilled	8.0	2.6	10.6
Not in workforce (incl. student)	–	7.3	7.3
Unemployed	1.6	3.7	5.3
Housekeeper, housewife	2.1	0.5	2.6
	42.6	57.4	100.0

Spring Hill, despite its small physical size does not consist of a single homogeneous community. Data from the 1976 Census and this survey indicate a number of sub-groups. Further indications of this can be seen in Table 4, which shows the length of time the household (or its head) had lived in Spring Hill.

TABLE 4: LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN SPRING HILL (%)

	<1 yr	$1-4\frac{11}{12}$	$5-9\frac{11}{12}$	$10-19\frac{11}{12}$	20+	Total
Now living in:						
Detached Houses	6.3	14.8	9.0	10.6	10.6	51.3
Flats and Home Units	20.7	14.3	5.3	2.6	5.8	48.7
	27.0	29.1	14.3	13.2	16.4	100.0

Thus, over one-quarter of the households have lived in Spring Hill for less than one year, and most of these new arrivals live in flats or home units (15.9% in flats and 4.8% in home units). At the other end of the scale, over one-quarter (29.6%) had been in Spring Hill for ten years or more (and 16.4% for over 20 years). Most of these longer-term residents lived in detached houses. The proportions living in the various dwelling types are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5:   RESIDENCE PERIOD AND DWELLING TYPE

	Period in Spring Hill				
	<1 yr	$1-4\frac{11}{12}$	$5-9\frac{11}{12}$	$10-19\frac{11}{12}$	20+
Now living in:					
Detached Houses	23.5	50.9	63.0	80.0	64.5
Flats	58.9	40.0	33.3	16.0	35.5
Home Units	17.6	9.1	3.7	4.0	--
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N=51)	(N=55)	(N=27)	(N=25)	(N=31)*

*   one person did not answer.

Home unit occupiers tend to be relatively recent arrivals, and most of those who have been in Spring Hill for a long period of time live in detached houses, but a high proportion of old-time residents live in flats.

The community mix is indicated also in the structure of the households themselves, as Tables 6 to 8 show.

TABLE 6: AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY DWELLING TYPE (%)

	0-14	15-19	20-34	35-59	60+	Total
Detached Houses	-	3.2	15.3	23.6	10.5	51.6
Flats	-	0.5	20.5	12.2	6.8	40.0
Home Units	-	-	5.3	2.6	0.5	8.4
	-	3.7	41.0	37.4	17.9	100.0

TABLE 7: AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY "MOBILITY"

	0-14	15-19	20-34	35-59	60+	Total
Non-Movers	-	0.5	6.8	21.6	13.2	42.1
Movers	-	3.2	34.2	15.8	4.7	57.9
	-	3.7	41.0	37.4	17.9	100.0

TABLE 8: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

	Single Person Household		No "Spouse/ Partner"	"Spouse/ Partner"	Total
	M	F			
Detached Houses	3.7	5.3	17.9	24.7	51.6
Flats	13.2	4.2	10.5	12.1	40.0
Home Units	2.1	0.5	4.2	1.6	8.4
	19.0	10.0	32.6	38.4	100.0
Non-Movers	6.9	4.7	7.9	22.6	42.1
Movers	12.1	5.3	24.7	15.8	57.9
	19.0	10.0	32.6	38.4	100.0

Almost 30 percent of households consist of a single person (and two-
thirds of these were males), another one-third consist of households
where the other people in the dwelling were not the husband/wife or
partner of the respondent, and only 38.4 percent of respondents
claimed a husband, wife or partner in residence in the household.

Of the households that had moved within the last five years almost
one-half (48.8%) came from parts of Brisbane outside the "inner city
ring", 11.9 percent had moved from elsewhere within Spring Hill,
and 20.1 percent had come from other inner city suburbs (Table 9).
This tends to indicate that the move to the inner city involves
primarily those from suburbs within the same city and secondarily
those who are already aware of the advantages of inner city living.
Both groups are unlikely to be unaware of Spring Hill's local
reputation as a high-crime area, but both groups seem undeterred
by this reputation.

TABLE 9:   PREVIOUS ADDRESS (%)*

	OTHER SPRING HILL	OTHER INNER CITY	OTHER BRISBANE	OTHER QUEENSLAND	OTHER AUSTRALIA	OUTSIDE AUSTRALIA	NOT GIVEN	TOTAL
Now living in:								
Detached Houses	4.6	6.4	23.0	1.8	–	1.8	–	37.6
Home Units	7.3	12.8	18.4	2.8	1.8	4.6	1.8	49.5
Flats	–	0.9	7.4	0.9	3.7	–	–	12.9
TOTAL	11.9	20.1	48.8	5.5	5.5	6.4	1.8	100.0

*   of households who had moved within the last five years

These results, in total, confirm the census findings reported earlier
and help flesh them out. The social indications identify an area likely
to have a rate of social pathology greater than is usual in residential
areas in the city, but sharing many of the characteristics expected
of an old inner city residential area.

CHAPTER FIVE: SURVEY RESULTS ON CRIME

Before dealing in detail with the results of our survey, it would be beneficial to review pertinent points from other crime surveys relating to Brisbane. Possibly the most useful are those reported by Wilson and Brown (1973). Of the four urban areas studied by them, (Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and Laidley), Brisbane respondents were least likely to mention crime as a major concern. Similarly those in professional/managerial occupations and with tertiary education were least likely to see crime as a matter of concern.

TABLE 10:   PUBLIC CONCERN ABOUT DOMESTIC PROBLEMS ANALYSED BY AREA,
            OCCUPATION, AND EDUCATION

Q. THERE ARE MANY PROBLEMS FACING OUR COUNTRY THESE DAYS BESIDES FOREIGN
   AFFAIRS. OF THOSE PROBLEMS, WHICH ONE HAVE YOU BEEN MOST CONCERNED
   WITH?

Sample	Percentage * Naming Each Problem						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G+
Analysed by Area:							
Brisbane	10	16	28	10	18	6	313
Sydney	11	12	27	19	13	4	313
Melbourne	12	11	39	16	12	1	311
Laidley	15	6	35	20	10	11	71
Analysed by Occupation of Respondent:							
Professional and Managerial	8	18	41	8	10	3	146
Other White Collar	12	10	31	17	21	3	157
Manual Workers	9	13	21	22	12	9	209
Others	13	11	34	14	13	4	488
Analysed by Education of Respondent:							
Primary	15	11	23	20	7	9	206
Secondary	11	12	30	15	17	4	505
Tertiary	7	13	51	5	13	2	150
Technical	10	13	31	15	12	2	139

Table 10 references -

* Percentages do not add to 100 because some people did not answer

\+ Frequencies do not always add to 1,008 for the whole sample since
some people failed to give their occupation or education.

Column A - Poverty
        B - Inflation
        C - Education
        D - Crime
        E. - Race Relations
        F - Unemployment
        G - Total Frequency

Source: Table 2 in Wilson, P.R. and Brown, J.W. (1973).

Brisbane's population is also less likely to have a pessimistic view
of the changing crime-rate in both their own neighbourhood and the
city as a whole.

TABLE 11: CRIME RATES - NEIGHBOURHOOD AND CITY

Q. THINKING ABOUT CRIME IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD (CITY), DO YOU THINK THINGS
HAVE BEEN GETTING WORSE OR STAYING ABOUT THE SAME DURING THE PAST FEW
YEARS?

NEIGHBOURHOOD Sample	N.A.	D.K.	Percentage Giving Each Response			
			Getting Worse	Staying the Same	Getting Better	Total Frequency
Analysed by Area:						
Brisbane	0	10	23	60	7	313
Sydney	0	11	41	44	4	313
Melbourne	0	9	36	52	3	311
Laidley	0	0	14	70	15	71
Australian Total:	0	10	33	52	5	1008

CITY*

Analysed by Area:						
Brisbane	0	6	68	25	1	313
Sydney	0	5	80	14	1	313
Melbourne	0	5	74	19	2	311
Australian Total:	0	5	74	19	1	937

N.A. - No answer

D.K. - Don't Know

* Since Laidley is a very small town, it has been regarded here as a
"neighbourhood"; the second question became redundant and was
therefore omitted for Laidley.

Source: Table 3 in Wilson, P.R. and Brown, J.W. (1973).

There were differences amongst the three cities in terms of residents' perception of how crime-rate increases were related to type of crime:

> "In the types of reasons given for increasing crime, there
> were, however, quite marked differences between residents
> of three cities in which the survey was conducted. Brisbane
> people were more likely to say that property crimes (16
> percent) rather than assaults (9 percent) caused the increase.
> In Melbourne, answers followed the same pattern but the
> percentages were 24 percent for property crimes and 15
> percent for assaults. Sydney respondents differed in that
> 31 percent blamed increasing rates of assault for the
> overall increase, with only 12 percent naming property crimes.
> A comparatively high percentage (13 percent) blamed bank
> hold-ups."   (Wilson and Brown, 1973: 20)

One finding which has a direct bearing on Spring Hill is the fact that older respondents were more likely to think that violent crime in the city was increasing. Areas with a high proportion of older residents, such as Spring Hill, are more likely then to feel the rate of violent crime as increasing.

TABLE 12:   INCIDENCE OF VIOLENT CRIME

Q. WOULD YOU SAY THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE OR DECREASE IN VIOLENT CRIME
   IN THIS CITY?   I MEAN ATTACKS ON PEOPLE - LIKE SHOOTINGS, STABBINGS &
   RAPES.   WOULD YOU SAY THAT THERE IS NOW VERY MUCH MORE OF THIS SORT
   OF THING - JUST A LITTLE MORE - NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE - OR THAT THERE
   IS NO MORE THAN FIVE YEARS AGO?

Sample	Percentage Giving Each Response							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Analysed by Area:								
Brisbane	1	4	26	42	17	7	3	313
Sydney	1	2	55	28	8	6	0	313
Melbourne	0	5	44	32	12	5	2	311
Laidley	0	0	7	0	7	83	3	71
Analysed by Age* of Respondent:								
16-25	1	6	36	32	11	11	2	287
26-45	1	3	37	34	11	12	2	370
46 and over	1	2	44	29	13	10	1	348
Australian Total:	1	4	42	34	12	6	2	1008

*   Three respondents failed to give their ages.

Column A - N.A.

    B - D.K.

    C - Very Much More

    D - Just a Little More

    E - Not Much Difference

    F - No Increase

    G - Even Less

    H - Total Frequency

Source: Table 4, Wilson, P.R. and Brown, J.W. (1973).

Overall, Wilson and Brown's findings would lead one to suspect that –

(a) because Spring Hill lies within Brisbane, perceptions of the
   local crime rate are likely to be lower than for similar
   suburbs in Melbourne and Sydney (this supposition was not tested
   in this study), and

(b) the social characteristics (low occupation status, elderly) of
   Spring Hill are such that residents are likely to feel that the
   local crime rate is high (evidence from the survey did not
   support this hypothesis, but comparisons with other suburbs
   would be necessary before accepting the survey results as final).

What is probably the fundamental question in our survey asked whether
people thought the crime rate in Spring Hill was greater than, less
than, or much the same as the rates in other similar suburbs. The
results were something of a surprise, in that although it was expected
that residents, especially those with some stake in the area, would
try to give interviewers and other strangers an optimistic picture of
the suburb, the actual proportions of answers given indicated less of
a concern for local crime than was anticipated, especially considering
the suburb's outside reputation.

TABLE 13: PERCEPTIONS OF SPRING HILL'S CRIME RATE (%)

	Compared to other similar suburbs –			
	More Than	Less Than	Same As	Total
Detached Houses	3.8	24.9	23.8	52.5
Flats	8.6	10.3	20.5	39.4
Home Units	–	2.2	5.9	8.1
AVERAGE*	12.4	37.4	50.2	100.0
Non-Movers	4.3	17.3	21.1	42.7
Movers	8.1	20.0	29.2	57.3
AVERAGE*	12.4	37.3	50.3	100.0

* 5 out of 190 respondents did not reply

Clearly over four-fifths of the respondents (87 %) did not feel that the crime rate was higher than in other similar suburbs. The structured answers permitted did not allow stronger answers, but some responses recorded as 'the same as ...' would have been more correctly reported as 'there is no crime here!'. Interviewers reported that many respondents, especially the older residents, were quite put out to feel that the researchers assumed that Spring Hill had a crime problem. Yet interviewers also reported that security grills and peepholes on doors were not uncommon. Later questions tended to suggest that residents were distressed by displays of disorderly public behaviour and tended to feel insecure over these displays, but that they tended not to regard them seriously as 'crimes'. Some accepted minor vandalism and the like as a fact of life. A comparison with other suburbs, using a similar question, would be most illuminating.

The role of the physical and built environment in shaping people's conception of local crime rates is an interesting field of speculation which is relevant to this point. It is not unlikely that the outsider's concept of the amount of crime in Spring Hill is heavily influenced by the slightly disorderly, mildly disreputable visual environment of the place, especially if his own suburb appears more orderly. Local residents appear to feel this superficial view is misleading. Perhaps Spring Hill's total image could be upgraded relatively easily through an improvement in its physical appearance.

The 23 (12.4%) respondents who did feel that the crime rate in Spring Hill was higher than in other similar suburbs tended to include a greater proportion of those who had been directly affected by crime or who knew others in the area that had been affected. Table 14 shows the respondent's stated sources of opinion on comparative crime rates.

TABLE 14:   SOURCES OF OPINION ON CRIME RATES

SOURCE	'MORE THAN' RESPONDENTS		OTHER RESPONDENTS		ALL RESPONDENTS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Neighbours, friends	6	17	33	15	39	15
Personally affected	9	26	16	7	25	10·
Family affected	2	6	1	1	3	1
Others in area affected	8	23	10	5	18	7
Opinions in 'media'	4	11	22	10	26	10
Other	6	17	31	14	37	15
'No experience of crime'	–	–	106	48	106	42
	35*	100	219*	100	254*	100

* more than one answer possible

Although a significant proportion of those who felt the crime rate in
Spring Hill was not higher than elsewhere had been personally affected
by crime, it is clear that personal and local experience of crime has
some influence on perception of the local crime rate. Table 15 summarises
the relationship between actual experience of crime by household members
within the last five years (taking incidents which occurred in Spring Hill
only) and opinion about the local crime rate. This comparison is from
a cross-tabulation of the general first question on perception of local
crime rate with a more specific question on actual victimization of the
respondent or members of his/her household.

TABLE 15:   EXPERIENCE AND PERCEPTION OF CRIME

FEEL CRIME IN SPRING HILL IS:	HOUSEHOLDERS REPORTED AS AFFECTED BY CRIME:				TOTAL	
	Against Persons Only(%)	Against Property only (%)	Both Property & Persons(%)	No Crime Experience (%)	No.	%
'more than'	17	30	26	26	(23)	99**
'less than'	0	14	9	77	(69)	100
'same as...'	10	12	10	68	(93)	100
AVERAGE	7	15	11	67	(185*)	100

*   5 respondents did not answer

** not 100% due to rounding.

As would be expected, those with recent personal or family experience of crime in Spring Hill tend to think the local crime rate is higher than elsewhere, and those with no experience of local crime tend to feel that the local rate is the same as or less than that in other similar suburbs. It is interesting to note, however, that some 32% of those who felt the local crime rate was the same as in other similar suburbs (and 23% of those who felt it was less) had been affected by crime in Spring Hill.

In an attempt to find what forms of crime most concerned people, the question "What types of crime do you think are the greatest problem in Spring Hill?" was asked. Some confusion existed amongst interviewers over the form in which the replies were to be recorded, but nonetheless the answers were interesting. Two lists of types of crimes were presented on printed cards, one a list of common crimes against the person, the other of crimes against property. Just over one-third of the interviewers treated the two lists as one and recorded the required answers (a statement of the three types of crime thought to be the greatest problem, in descending order of concern) accordingly. The remaining two-thirds treated the two lists as separate entities, listing types of crime against the person in descending order and then listing types of crime against property separately. The results are summarised in Table 16.

TABLE 16:   TYPES OF CRIME THOUGHT TO BE A PROBLEM*

A. Where crimes against the person were listed first:

	% of Total	(N)
ASSAULT	1.6	3
ROBBERY	-	-
RAPE	1.1	2
NUISANCE CALLS	1.1	2
PUBLIC DRUNKEDNESS	22.0	42
OTHER	1.1	2
	26.9	(51)

B. Where crimes against property were listed first:

	% of Total	(N)
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	1.1	2
FRAUD, FORGERY, FALSE PRETENCES	-	-
THEFT	3.2	6
VANDALISM	3.2	6
BREAKING AND ENTERING	4.7	9
OTHER	-	-
	12.2	(23)

C. Where two lists of crimes were shown together:

Crimes against person	%	No.	Crimes against property	%	No.
ASSAULT	4.7	9	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	1.1	2
ROBBERY	2.1	4	FRAUD, FORGERY	1.1	2
RAPE	-	-	THEFT	7.9	15
NUISANCE CALLS	1.1	2	VANDALISM	18.8	36
PUBLIC DRUNKEDNESS	29.5	56	BREAKING AND ENTERING	11.1	21
OTHER	2.6	5	OTHER	-	-
	40.0	(76)		40.0	(76)

D. 'None of these crimes a problem':

	%	No.
	21.1	(40)

GRAND TOTAL:	100.2	(190)

*   Analysis is of crimes listed first. Listings of second, third, etc.
    priority have not been analysed.

The crimes thought to be the major problem in Spring Hill are clearly the highly visible forms of criminal and deviant behaviour: public drunkedness and vandalism. It needs to be noted, however, that 21 percent of respondents felt that there were no crimes that were a problem in Spring Hill.

If we look at the actual occurrences of particular types of crime by which respondent households had been affected we see that about one-third were of a crime against the person and about two-thirds a crime against property. Some differences by dwelling type were evident, but not by "mobility".

TABLE 17: OCCURRENCES OF TYPE* OF CRIME: 1

	(No.)	%
Against person only	(13)	6.8
Against property only	(31)	16.3
Against both	(24)	12.6
None	(122)	64.3
TOTAL:	(190)	100.0

* Note that the question asked whether the respondent or anyone from the household had been a victim of a crime on a printed list in the last five years and whether the event was or was not in Spring Hill. Only yes/no answers were possible, so actual number of incidents were not recorded. The results are thus of "type-occurrences".

TABLE 18:   OCCURRENCES OF TYPE OF CRIME: 11 (%)

	RESIDENTS IN		"A"	"B"	TOTAL
	DETACHED HOUSES	FLAT/ H/UNIT	(NON-MOVERS)	(MOVERS)	
Against person -					
ASSAULT	8	17	15	12	13
ROBBERY	4	6	7	4	5
RAPE, ATTEMPTED RAPE	2	3	2	3	2
NUISANCE CALLS	8	15	11	13	12
OTHER	4	6	4	5	5
Against property -					
CAR THEFT	8	3	2	6	5
FRAUD	2	3	-	4	2
THEFT	25	15	20	19	20
VANDALISM	18	13	15	14	15
BREAK AND ENTER	21	19	22	19	20
OTHER	-	-	2	-	1
	100	100	100	99*	100
	(N=51)	(N=72)	(N=46)	(N=77)	(N=123)

*   not 100 percent due to rounding.

Overall, 152 households out of 190 (80%) had <u>not</u> been affected by a crime
against the person in the last five years, and 135 (71.1%) had not been
affected by a crime against property. One hundred and twenty-two households
had not been affected by either type of crime in the last five years
(64.2%). The 38 households that had been affected by a crime against the
person recorded 46 "type-occurrences"; and the 55 affected by a crime
against property recorded 77 "type-occurrences". (Some households were
affected by both). The most common "type-occurrences" were theft and
breaking and entering, followed by vandalism, assault, and nuisance calls.
People living in detached houses recorded more occurrences of theft,
vandalism and car theft, but fewer of assault and nuisance calls.

As only 16 occurrences of crime outside Spring Hill in the last five years were recorded by respondents (3 against the person and 13 against property) no analysis was made of these replies.

Clearly the replies to this question could usefully have been compared with Police Department records but detailed data could not be obtained from the Department. The statistics available in the Police Department's *Annual Report* for 1980 are shown in Appendix C. Most, but not all, of Spring Hill is included in the Fortitude Valley Police District of the North Brisbane Region along with New Farm and Fortitude Valley, amongst others. Statistics for this District are shown with those for the South Brisbane District of the South Brisbane Police Region, another inner city residential area. In general, South Brisbane shows a marginally higher number of crimes reported in all cases (except minor assault, robbery, receiving, prostitution offences, and vagrancy, where Fortitude Valley is higher). Breaking and Entering offences, especially relating to dwellings, are markedly higher in South Brisbane, as are reports of malicious damage and drug offences. From this very limited comparison at least, residents in Spring Hill appear justified in feeling their suburb has a crime rate much the same as, or lower than, other similar suburbs. In general, though, crime numbers in the Fortitude Valley and South Brisbane Police Districts are considerably higher than those of outer suburban districts such as Redcliffe, Oxley and Wynnum, all in the same Police Regions. Obviously these comparisons should not be carried too far.

The Police Department's concern with crime in the Fortitude Valley District is shown by the fact that in April and May of 1980 a Special Task Force was set up. Its composition and the results of this effort are described by the Regional Superintendent as follows:

"The Fortitude Valley area has always constituted a major crime problem, with some of the highest statistics for assault and robbery in the State. In an effort to come to terms with this problem, a Special Task Force was set up and operated from 16th April, 1980 to 11th May, 1980, in the area. Personnel were drawn from the Criminal Investigation Branch, Juvenile Aid Bureau, Task Force and the Fortitude Valley uniformed section.

The Task Force was divided into four crews under the direction
of a commissioned officer. They were responsible for 267 arrests
and the completion of 391 field interrogation reports during
their operation. An interesting fact to emerge was that there
were no reports of serious crimes or assaults and robberies in
the Valley area during the period. Brisbane Mobile Patrol crews
also found that they were not called to any major incidents in
the area."

Source: 1980 Annual Report of Queensland Police Dept., p. 67.

The Police Department also made available time series statistics for
certain crimes in the two Districts:

TABLE 19: CRIMES REPORTED IN FORTITUDE VALLEY AND SOUTH BRISBANE POLICE
DISTRICTS, 1976-80

	CRIME TYPE					
	ROBBERY		SERIOUS ASSAULTS		HOUSE BREAKING	
	FV	SB	FV	SB	FV	SB
1976	39	23	19	34	51	222
1977	19	33	19	17	48	165
1978	30	26	16	24	39	194
1979	19	20	25	19	57	238
1980	28	11	25	39	46	320

Source: Private Communication , Crime Prevention Section (Recorded to
June each year)

The difference in the number of reported house breakings between
Fortitude Valley and South Brisbane is striking; but apart from this
no other major differences or trends are apparent.

In terms of breaking and entering offences, Fortitude Valley and South
Brisbane (Woolloongabba) Districts were both "medium risk" areas in
1978, according to Police Department figures illustrated in the local
paper. Spring Hill, according to these figures, is not an exceptionally
high risk area for this type of crime.

FIGURE 3:
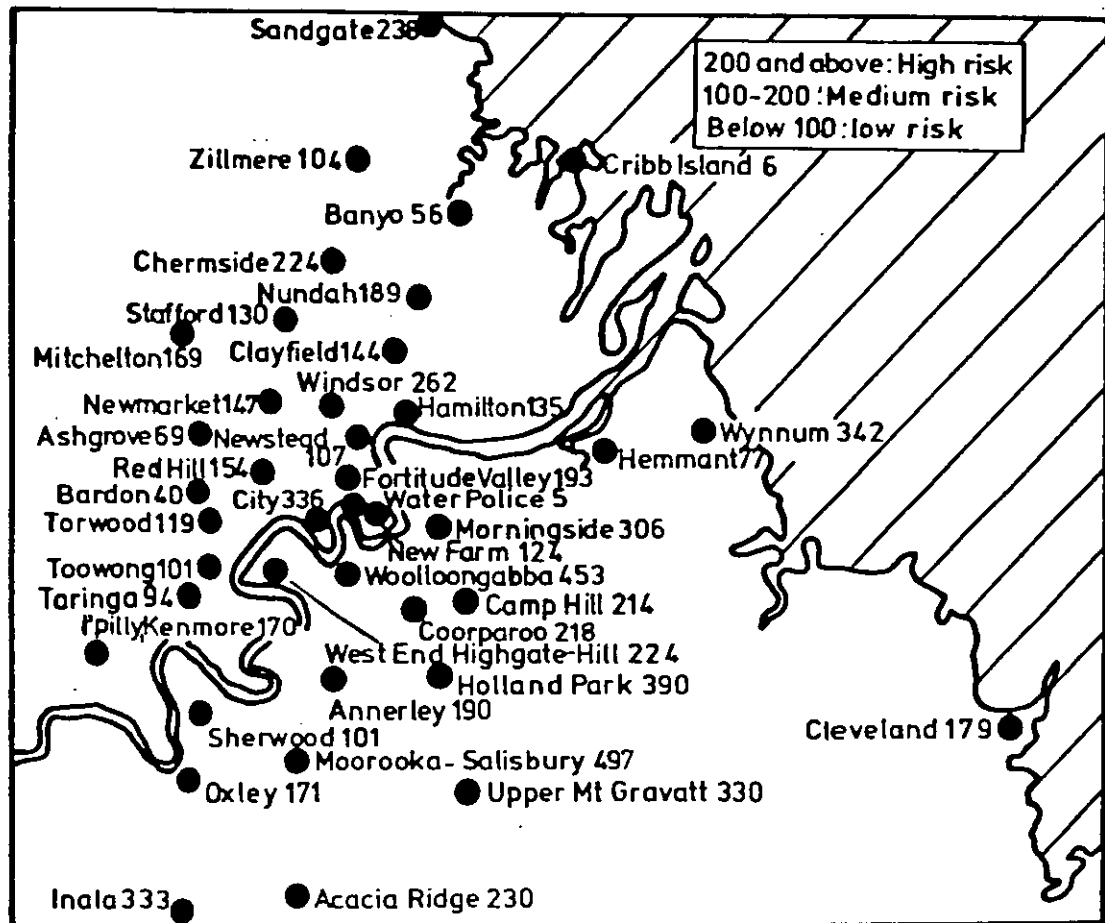
MAP SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF BREAKING AND ENTERING OFFENCES
THROUGHOUT BRISBANE IN YEAR ENDING JUNE 30. 1978.

Source: Courier Mail 23 July 1978

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

Although some very preliminary comparisons have been made from these figures, firm conclusions are just not possible. Strictly speaking many of the figures shown are not comparable.

Similarly, our own survey figures on incidents of crime in the last five years are not capable of comparison with official figures. For example, people affected by crime may have moved out since reporting the incident and so would not appear in the survey. Also, although interviewers were briefed on the standard definitions of each type of crime, respondents are still likely to answer according to their own impressions.

All official crime statistics are subject to the problem of the gap between the number of actual incidents of crime and the number of crimes reported. Our survey enquired about this.

Sixty-eight of the one hundred and ninety respondents (36%) reported that they or members of their household had been affected by crime in the last five years, and of these 26 (38% of 68) did not report the crimes to the police (one householder reported one crime occurrence but not another; and one did not say whether or not the crime was reported). The range of reasons given for non-reporting is quite large. Table 20 lists all the reasons given. The table shows all type-occurrences and not just those in Spring Hill.

TABLE 20: REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING CRIME

Fear of reprisal / knew nothing would be done (A, Ra, T)

Not serious enough (N,T)

Dark people - might retaliate (A)

Nothing they could do about it / didn't feel it was serious enough (N)

Not worth the trouble (N, V)

Didn't think there was any chance of getting it back (money) (T)

No big deal (A)

Too petty to worry about (M, V)

Didn't find anything / didn't have any money (T)

Don't know who did it / deal with it myself / police too slack (T)

Too small a crime (V)

The calls stopped (N)

Minor vandalism to car (V)

Didn't want to because was drunk at the time (A)

Didn't think it was worth the trouble / too petty (N)

Didn't want to aggrevate the problem (A)

Too busy / didn't know where police station was (OP, M)

Not worthwhile (N, T, V)

Due to crime (A, Ra)

Not connected in any way with incident (B)

Only attempted (A, B)

House manager - not important enough (N, T)

Not serious enough (N)

(No reasons given: (M, F, T, B) (V) (N, T)

(30 "reasons", and 41 "type-occurrences" of crime from 26 households)

KEY:	A	–	assault	M	–	motor vehicle theft
	R	–	robbery	F	–	fraud, forgery, false pretences
	Ra	–	rape, attempted rape			
	N	–	nuisance calls	T	–	theft
	O	–	other against person	V	–	vandalism
				B	–	breaking and entering

For interest, a comparison of these results with those reported by Biles and Braithwaite[3] is given, but it is felt that not a great deal of weight can be given to this comparison.

TABLE 21: REASONS FOR NON-REPORTING

	Spring Hill No.	%	B & B*
Police discovered incident	–	(–)	0.9
Someone else told	–	(–)	7.7
Did not want to take the time	1	(3)	1.7
Did not want to harm/punish	–	(–)	2.6
Afraid of reprisals	2	(7)	1.3
Thought it was private matter	–	(–)	5.2
Police could not do anything	2	(7)	15.2
Police would not bother	1	(3)	6.5
Too confused or upset	–	(–)	0.9
Not sure offenders would be caught	–	(–)	1.3
Offenders probably children	–	(–)	3.6
Could handle situation himself	1	(3)	6.3
Fear of insurance problems	–	(–)	0.0
Too trivial	11	(37)	29.8
Other	12	(40)	16.9
	30	(100)	99.9

* From Table 3 "Reasons for not reporting victimizations to the police by type of crime", p. 349. Note that the results are not strictly comparable: Biles and Braithwaite report incidents, our survey reports "type-occurrences" but both list proportions of reasons.

3 Biles, D. and Braithwaite, J. (1979) "Crime Victims and the Police" Australian Psychologist, Vol. 14, No. 3, November 1979, pp. 345-353.

The significance of perceived inability of the police to take action, of the possibility of the police not being bothered, and of the victim's feeling of capacity to handle the situation himself are of interest.

Respondents tended not to be able to identify whether any particular ethnic group or either sex was most strongly affected by crime in Spring Hill. They did, however, think that the elderly and local residents were most strongly affected. An inference that can be drawn from the high proportion of "don't know" answers to this question is that Spring Hill residents have not given a great deal of thought to crime in their suburb. Interviewers recorded that many of the answers recorded as "don't know" would be more accurately reported as "there is no crime here, so nobody is most affected".

TABLE 22:   THOSE FELT MOST AFFECTED BY LOCAL CRIME

	Percentage
ADULTS	15
ADOLESCENTS	7
CHILDREN	4
THE ELDERLY	25
DON'T KNOW	49
	100
RESIDENTS	42
VISITORS	4
DON'T KNOW	54
	100
HOUSES	28
SHOPS	10
SCHOOLS	2
OFFICES	5
DON'T KNOW	55
	100
MALES	9
FEMALES	18
DON'T KNOW	73
	100
ABORIGINES	12
WHITES	14
OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS	3
DON'T KNOW	71
	100

The last question asked for suggestions on improving the crime rate.
Some very interesting results eventuated. Table 23 summarises the
findings.

TABLE 23:   SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

CATEGORY	RESIDENTS IN: DETACHED HOUSES	FLATS/ H/UNITS	"B" MOVERS	"A" NON-MOVERS	TOTAL
Action by Police	23	26	26	22	25
Other official action	6	15	12	7	10
Improve resident. character	9	11	10	11	10
Street lighting	8	8	8	8	8
Traffic, parking, transit	12	3	6	9	7
Stop particular land uses	12	3	6	9	7
Improve public facilities	6	1	2	6	4
Improve social facilities	4	4	5	3	4
Stop particular people/ activities	2	6	4	5	4
Other (inc. personal action)	10	21	16	14	16
No action needed	8	2	5	6	5
	100*	100*	100*	100*	100*

* Percentage of suggestions, not.households.

The question asked for suggestions on actions by the authorities, police,
residents or others which would help reduce crime in Spring Hill. The
proportion asking for action by the police was very high: 25 percent of
answers. Most of these suggestions were for more patrols, especially
foot patrols, for many respondents felt that police patrolling Spring
Hill made token visits only, keeping to main roads and neglecting side
streets. A small minority felt that the police should pay _less_ attention
to Spring Hill.

Suggestions for "other official action" referred mainly to the Brisbane City Council, and included the need for the Council to fulfil its obligations in terms of street maintenance, tidying up the suburb, and so on. There were so many answers referring specifically to the need for improved street lighting that this was made a separate category (8% of all answers). Suggestions on improving the residential character included actions to be taken by local residents (e.g. painting houses) as well as by authorities. Land uses that people felt should be removed or prevented from moving in included some which were felt to affect crime rates and nuisance levels directly (e.g. hotels) or the environment generally (e.g. offices). Some 4 percent of answers referred to particular groups of people felt to be undesirable by respondents (e.g. aborigines, drunks, dole-bludgers) or activities (e.g. drinking). Some respondents felt that actions by individuals, such as securing houses and/or having a better attitude to mankind, were most important. Note the 5 percent specifically stated that no actions to reduce crime rate were necessary.·

Clearly the answers given to the question refer both to actions to reduce the crime rate and to actions to improve the standard of the environment in general. Equally clearly, residents of Spring Hill feel that actions by the police and the local authority are needed in both fields.

Survey of Previous Residents of Spring Hill who have Moved Out of Spring Hill in the Last Five Years

As mentioned earlier, a letter-box drop of 2,000 pamphlets resulted in only one reply naming a family who had moved from Spring Hill. Further attempts were made during the interviews conducted with residents of Spring Hill to contact emigrants but this also proved unsuccessful. Finally, permission was given by the Education Department of Queensland to conduct a search of the admissions register of the Spring Hill State School. This did provide the names of people who had had children enrolled at the school and had left Spring Hill over the past five years. However, the current address of these people was not available and it was then necessary to search through the telephone directory in an attempt to find the current address of these people of which there were

nineteen recorded in the school register. Two of these 19 were traced
to addresses in outer Brisbane suburbs and interviews conducted. Two
names were provided by the (then) President of the Spring Hill Progress
Association, Mr. Noel Robinson, and as he himself had recently moved out
of Spring Hill, this source provided a further three interviews. In
total six interviews were conducted with people in this category and
there is no way of knowing what proportion this would represent of
the total number of people who may have moved from Spring Hill in the
last five years.

Of the six interviews conducted the following information is of
relevance to the survey:

(a) three of the respondents were professional people in the age groups
     20-34 and 35-59. Others were white collar (clerical) workers;

(b) the predominant opinion of this group was that crime is less
     serious in Spring Hill than in other similar suburbs;

(c) their opinions are based on their own experience of crime in
     Spring Hill, none being affected by crimes against people or
     property;

(d) the order of crimes given as the greatest problem in Spring Hill
     were (i) public drunkedness, (ii) theft, (iii) breaking and
     entering and (iv) drug addiction;

(e) most had no knowledge of which groups were most strongly affected
     by crime in Spring Hill;

(f) most stated that Spring Hill's crime rate was virtually irrelevant
     in their decision to move out;

(g) in every case the respondents thought that their current place
     of residence had a lower crime rate than Spring Hill and their
     opinions were based on personal experience or neighbourhood/friends
     opinion.

In two cases respondents stated that they were desirous of moving back into Spring Hill and that their move away was only temporary and caused by economic or family situations mainly.

The general feeling of this group was that the market mechanism through property values and rents would naturally tend to force people on lower incomes out of Spring Hill and as this group, in their opinion, is the most common criminal group then crime would naturally decrease as a result.

Suggestions were made to the effect that a general improvement of the built environment in Spring Hill including renovation of dwellings and improved streetscapes and public areas generally would do much to reduce negative behaviour by people living in and visiting the Spring Hill area.

The main reasons for the other respondents (not intending to return) in this group leaving Spring Hill were related to housing needs (larger house required i.e. 3 bedrooms rather than 2) or work related needs.

CHAPTER SIX: OTHER SURVEY RESULTS

The first question asked of respondents was for a list of the things they thought were "good" and "bad" about Spring Hill. The final question asked them for suggestions on how the crime rate in the suburb could be improved, though many people took this as an opportunity to discuss general features needing improvement. This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the answers to these questions.

Firstly, what do people like most about Spring Hill? As would be expected they liked especially the suburb's proximity to the City and Fortitude Valley, and the related convenience of access to shops, work, and entertainment.

TABLE 24: GOOD THINGS ABOUT SPRING HILL

	"A"	"B"	TOTAL %*
Proximity and convenience	53	48	50
Quietness, especially on weekends	8	12	11
Public transport and access	7	11	9
Character of the built environment	6	9	8
The people and community feeling	12	4	7
Life style	2	3	3
Non-built character (e.g. topography)	2	3	2
Low costs	2	3	2
"Other"	5	4	4
No answer	3	3	3
	100	100	99**

* percent of answers and not of households

** not 100 percent because of rounding.

Those who have moved into Spring Hill within the last five years are
aware especially of quietness, the convenience of access and the
physical character of the place. They felt less strongly about the
local community character. Note that "low crime rate" was not mentioned
by respondents.

There is less consistency about the debit side of Spring Hill. Note
that 5 percent of answers were specifically that there were no bad
points about Spring Hill.

TABLE 25:   BAD THINGS ABOUT SPRING HILL

	"A"	"B"	TOTAL
Lack of services and amenities (including public transport)	22	8	14
Traffic noise and congestion	12	22	14
The physical and built environment	10	14	12
Characteristics of the population (e.g. race)	6	13	10
Incompatible land uses (e.g. offices)	10	5	7
Crime and safety	7	7	7
Official neglect	5	4	5
"Other"	9	12	11
No bad points	6	5	5
No answer	14	17	15
	100	100	100

Recent residents were much more aware of traffic noise and congestion,
and had stronger feelings about particular, and disliked, population
characteristics[4], but were less concerned about the lack of services
and amenities. Crime and safety appeared equal fifth in importance
(but compare with Table 27 below).

---

[4]
    This included dislike of particular racial groups, and of drunks and
    "deadbeats".

Because these replies contained so much information with possible
application to physical planning in Spring Hill, the replies were
analysed in more detail and related to households instead of the
total responses. Starting first with the good things about Spring
Hill, it can be seen that the categories used to simplify the
analysis above can easily be reworked to be more relevant specifically
to physical planning. The reworked categories are shown below.

Category - Good Things about Spring-Hill

Issues   - 1. Good public transport provision (buses)
           2. Close to parks and open space
           3. Handy to shopping and other service facilities
              (These replies were largely related to shopping in the
              City or the Valley rather than to neighbourhood or
              local convenience type shopping)
           4. Quiet neighbourhood (the majority of these replies
              referred to quietness only on the weekends)
           5. Pleasant environment. Elements of the physical
              environment which people find pleasant were, in order
              of importance, the architecture and quality of older
              homes, the existence of art galleries, studios and
              similar uses, and the sense of community created
              by homogeneous housing development on relatively
              small allotments with frontage to narrow streets.
           6. Close to the City or Valley, mainly because of the
              wide variety of attractions offered in these areas
              such as shopping, entertainment and community
              facilities including social services for the elderly.
           7. Close to work, college or school
           8. Relatively inexpensive housing or rent.

Table 26 below shows the number of responses for each issue (1-8) of
good things about Spring Hill. These figures are also shown as a
percentage of the total number of responses in the 'good things' category
as well as a percentage of the total number of questionnaires completed
(190).

TABLE 26:   CATEGORY - GOOD THINGS ABOUT SPRING HILL

ISSUE	NO. OF RESPONSES	% OF TOTAL RESPONSES	% OF HOUSEHOLDS*
1	16	5.9	8.5
2	2	0.7	1.0
3	13	4.8	6.9
4	30	11.1	15.9
5	24	8.9	12.7
6	157	58.0	83.1
7	24	8.8	12.7
8	5	1.8	2.6
TOTALS:	271	100.0	-

Note: Seven respondents did not give any good points for Spring Hill.
   *   % of households which mentioned the particular issue

Clearly issue 6, proximity to the City or the Valley, was the most
important 'good thing' about Spring Hill with 83.1 percent of
respondents mentioning it and this representing 58 percent of all
issues in the 'good things' category. The order of importance of each
issue, according to the number of times mentioned, is 6, 4, 5 and 7, 1,
3, 8, 2. Although quietness ranks next to proximity to City or Valley
this mainly related to the weekend only when there is little through
traffic. Issues 5 and 7 ranked equally; that is to say, pleasant
environment was equal with proximity to work, college or school.
Proximity to shopping and open space did not feature well and although
13 people said shopping was a good aspect this really meant shopping in
the City and Valley were seen as good points.

Category - Bad Things about Spring Hill

Issues - 1. Lack of public transport. Replies included reference to
           the number and regularity of bus services as well as the
           routes taken by buses to Spring Hill
        2. Lack of neighbourhood or local convenience type shopping
           and associated facilities such as small rest parks
        3. Poor street lighting
        4. Inadequate facilities for children particularly open
           space areas to permit safe children's play
        5. Traffic noise particularly during the week. Many replies
           referred specifically to heavy traffic noise
        6. Incompatible land uses, mainly car parks, industry, high
           rise residential and commercial premises
        7. Poor environment. Elements of the physical environment
           which people found unpleasant were, in order of importance:
           houses too close, small allotments, narrow streets,
           insufficient car parking for private properties, few
           trees, hilly and few cooling breezes.
        8. Crime rate. Largely restricted to the 'visible' crimes
           of public drunkedness and vandalism, and feelings of safety.

Table 27 below shows the number of responses for each issue (1-8) of
bad things about Spring Hill. These figures are also shown as a
percentage of the total number of responses in the 'bad things' category
as well as a percentage of the total number of questionnaires completed
(190).

TABLE 27: CATEGORY – BAD THINGS ABOUT SPRING HILL

ISSUE	NO. OF RESPONSES	% OF TOTAL RESPONSES	% OF HOUSEHOLDS*
1	10	7.7	5.3
2	31	23.8	16.4
3	4	3.1	2.1
4	–	-	–
5	23	17.7	12.1
6	10	7.7	5.3
7	25	19.2	13.2
8	27	20.8	14.3
TOTALS:	130	100.0	–

Note: 85 respondents did not give any bad points about Spring Hill

* Households which mentioned the particular issue.

The order of importance of each issue according to the number of responses received for each is, 2, 8, 7, 5, 1 and 6, 3, 4. This analysis shows that the respondents saw the lack of neighbourhood shopping facilities as being the worst aspect of Spring Hill closely followed by the perceived crime rate. Aspects of the residential environment such as dilapidated housing, narrow streets, and few trees, and traffic noise due to large volumes of traffic with particular reference to heavy traffic were given as other bad points in Spring Hill. Lack of public transport, incompatible land uses and poor street lighting were lowest on the list of bad things for Spring Hill.

The results of this analysis must be diluted by the fact that a large number (85) respondents did not give any bad points for Spring Hill.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTIONS BY THE AUTHORITIES, RESIDENTS, POLICE, ETC.
WHICH WILL HELP REDUCE CRIME IN SPRING HILL

Issues – 1. Action by public authorities (except police – see Issue 8).
These suggestions were mainly for action by the Brisbane
City Council to generally 'clean up' Spring Hill.

2. More street lighting.

3. Improve public facilities particularly shopping provision
at the neighbourhood or local convenience type level.
Approximately 20 percent of replies in this category
thought open space and parks provision should also be
improved.

4. Improve traffic conditions by reducing the volume of
through traffic, particularly heavy vehicles, and
improve residents' on-street parking conditions.

5. Improve public transport. A greater number of and
improved scheduling of buses together with rerouting
through Water Street.

6. Prevent incompatible land uses, mainly car parks, high-
rise residential, industrial and commercial uses.

7. Improve the residential environment through such actions
as, encouraging rehabilitation of older housing stock,
removing dilapidated rooming houses, flats, etc.,
providing more street trees, repairing road carriageway
and footway areas.

8. More effective police action.

Table 28 below shows the number of responses for each of the issues (1-8) concerning suggestions for action in Spring Hill. These figures are also shown as a percentage of the total number of responses in the suggestions category as well as percentage of the total number of questionnaires completed (190).

TABLE 28:   CATEGORY - SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION IN SPRING HILL

ISSUE	NO. OF RESPONSES	% OF TOTAL RESPONSES	% OF HOUSEHOLDS*
1	6	3.1	3.2
2	22	11.5	11.6
3	15	7.8	7.9
4	8	4.1	4.2
5	9	4.7	4.8
6	16	8.3	8.5
7	43	22.4	22.7
8	73	38.1	38.6
TOTALS:	192	100.0	-

Note: 58 respondents gave no suggestions for action
   *   % of households which mentioned the particular issue

It is interesting to note that a large majority of the suggestions made in relation to Question 6 were for actions to improve the environment generally, that is to 'clean up' Spring Hill.

Other studies have dealt with the relationship between environmental conditions and certain forms of crime particularly vandalism. One such study undertaken by Pablant and Baxter (1975) in 1970/71 in Houston, U.S.A., examined sixteen matched pairs of high vandalism (HV) and low vandalism (LV) schools. An effort was made to control variables such as neighbourhood income level, ethnicity and grounds including school size. The results of this study supported the hypothesised relationship between vandalism rates and aesthetic quality and level of preservation of school property. Schools with (LV) rates were characterised by excellent upkeep of buildings and surrounding school grounds, whereas (HV) schools were characterised by neglected maintenance and building upkeep.

It is apparent from the replies given to Question 6 of the survey that a large number of the respondents saw improvements in physical environmental conditions in Spring Hill as being likely to help reduce crime in the suburb. If we take categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 of the suggestions made in respect of Question 6 as being concerned with improvements to the physical environment, then we find that there were 110 suggestions along these lines. This compares with 9 suggestions to improve public transport and 73 for more effective police action.

Whilst it cannot be claimed that the physical environment directly determines behaviour, it is reasonable to say that the behavioural environment is influenced to some extent by the physical environment and this certainly seems to be the overwhelming opinion of the respondents to this survey. This evidence seems to suggest that actions to improve the physical environment in Spring Hill, which in the Brisbane situation would be by the Brisbane City Council largely, would have a positive effect in reducing negative behaviour in the suburb. Areas for specific action likely to have the greatest beneficial effects are in order of importance, issues 7, 2, 6, 3, 5, 4 and 1. The results of this analysis must be interpreted in the light of the large number (58) of non-responses to this question. Nevertheless it is valid to conclude that actions by local authority, in this case the Brisbane City Council, to improve the residential environment in Spring Hill are likely to have a positive effect in reducing the amount of negative behaviour in the suburb.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Some conclusions are possible from the research undertaken, but it also raises a number of questions which can be answered only after further studies.

Firstly, a high proportion of Spring Hill residents told interviewers they did not think their suburb had a high crime rate. This may reflect the true state of affairs, or it may be merely part of a protective mechanism developed by residents living in an area with a high real crime rate. More sensitive interviewing in Spring Hill and/or comparative surveys of other suburbs would be illuminating.

The results indicate also the ambiguous relationships amongst crime rates, perception of crime rates, and behaviour. The survey was unable to clarify whether there was a link between perception of crime rates and residential mobility, but an investigation over time (such as Droettboom's study) would provide a clearer indication. There were some indications from the survey that the possible link between perception of the degree of "disorder" in a residential environment and expectations of deviant behaviour is worth further investigation.

The survey confirmed, in a general way, the pattern of non-reporting of crime by victims. Further analysis of the data collected could possibly be used to relate to other connections between social characteristics and crime perception (e.g. for the elderly). Comparative studies would hopefully show to what extent the specific social characteristics of Spring Hill can be isolated from its character as an inner city area.

The high proportion of residents who have moved to Spring Hill from Brisbane's outer suburbs is a puzzle, especially considering the area's general reputation.

The question of the extent to which actual experience of crime (related of course to the nature and severity of that crime) colours one's attitude to the area where the crime occurred is raised by the research but the results are somewhat inconclusive.

The survey showed the extent to which people feel that action can be taken, by city authorities and the police in particular, to reduce crime in their area. Three general questions arise: the relative effect of tidying up a messy environment, the type of actions required of authorities (which seem to relate mainly to what citizens feel are the legal obligations of authorities) and the respective roles of public and private action in improving an environment such as Spring Hill's. It would seem that the people interviewed do feel that actions by authorities to improve their suburb will help them in reducing the level of negative behaviour, including crime.

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APPENDIX A

People involved in the study –

MINNERY,	John
VEAL,	Geoff
BADENQUEST,	Brad
BAKER,	Scott
CHAPMAN,	Michael
CONNELL,	Neville
DI PINO,	Matthew
EDWARDS,	Tamsin
FELS,	Neil
FLETCHER,	Mark
GILMOUR,	Gavin
HALL,	Alex
HANCOCK,	Sue
HARVEY,	Mark
HARVISON,	Graeme
HENG,	Choon
McINTOSH,	Ian
MADDEN,	Lawrence
MEAKIN,	Dave
MORRIS,	Steve
MORRISON,	Peter
PHILLIPS,	Michael
ROBBINS,	Merinda
THORPE,	Lindsay
VAUGHAN,	Kevin
WALTERS,	Russell
WISHART,	Simon
YOUNG,	Greg
WARD,	Michael

APPENDIX B

SPRING-HILL CRIME/MIGRATION SURVEY

COVER SHEET

Surveyor's Name: .... Date of Survey: ....

Time of Survey: ....

D.H.	F.	H.U.

1. Current Address: (Street) ....

2(a) Have you moved within the last five years?   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

  (b) Previous Address: (Street, Suburb) ....

....

Interviewer

  . *Resident of Spring Hill (not moved in last 5 years)*   *Use Part A*

  . *Resident of Spring Hill (moved in last 5 years)*   *Use Part B*

  . *Moved out of Spring Hill*   *Use Part C*

3. Family or Household details -

		Sex	Age Group					Last Occupation	Current Occupation
			0-14	15-19	20-34	35-59	60+		
Self				-						
Husband/Wife/Partner										
Other Occupants	1									
	2									
	3									
	4									
	5									
	6									

PART B

(Spring Hill; moved)

(*Interviewer:* *Ask questions of a responsible member of the household on behalf of the household*)

1. How long have you lived in Spring Hill? .... Years

2. What do you think are the main good things and bad things about Spring Hill?

Good	Bad
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....

3(a) Do you think the level of crime in Spring Hill is more serious, less serious, or much the same as in other similar suburbs?   (*Interviewer:* *If asked, mention New Farm, South Brisbane, or Petrie Terrace*)

   More Serious ☐   Less Serious ☐   Much the same ☐

(b) On what do you base this opinion?

   . neighbourhood/friends' opinion ☐
   . have suffered personally ☐
   . family has suffered ☐
   . others in area have been affected ☐
   . opinions in newspapers/T.V./radio ☐
   . have no experience of crime here ☐
   . other (*specify*)
   .... ☐

(c) Have you or anyone from your household been victims of any of the following crimes in the last five years?

Against person	Spring Hill? Yes	No	Against property	Spring Hill? Yes	No
Assault			Motor vehicle theft		
Robbery with violence			Fraud, forgery, false pretences		
Rape, attempted rape			Theft		
Nuisance calls			Vandalism		
Other (*specify*)			Breaking and entering		
....			Other (*specify*)		
None of these			....		
			None of these		

3(d) (*Interviewer*: *Ask only if person/household victimised*)

Did you, or anyone else, report the crime to the police?

Yes ☐ | No ☐
          |
          | If no, why did you not do so?
          | (*Interviewer*: *Probe*)
          |
          | ....
          | ....
          | ....

4. What types of crime do you think are the greatest problem in Spring Hill? (*Interviewer*: *Show card; and note up to three replies in order of importance, "1" for greatest problem, "2" less of a problem, etc.*)

Against person generally ☐   **Against property** generally ☐

Assault   Motor vehicle theft
Robbery with violence   Fraud, forgery, false pretences
Rape, attempted rape   Theft
Nuisance calls   Vandalism
Public drunkedness   Breaking and entering
Other (*specify*)   Other (*specify*)

.... ☐   .... ☐

None of these   None of these

5. Which of the following groups do you think are most strongly affected by crime in Spring Hill?   (*Interviewer*: *Show cards, and record one answer for each group*)

adults ☐   residents ☐   houses ☐
adolescents   visitors   shops
children   don't know   schools
the elderly   offices
don't know   don't know

males ☐   aboriginals ☐
females   whites
don't know   other ethnic groups
                don't know

6. Why did you move to where you live now from where you lived before? (If possible, give reasons in order of importance.)

    1
    ....
    2
    ....
    3
    ....
    4
    ....

7. What suggestions do you have for actions by the authorities, residents, police, etc. which will help reduce crime in Spring Hill?   (*Interviewer: Try to make sure physical environment type suggestions are included*)

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

APPENDIX C

(1)

GENERAL CRIME : VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF CRIMINAL OFFENCES REPORTED AND CLEARED WITHIN THE NORTH BRISBANE REGION DURING 1979-1980

TYPE OF OFFENCE	BRISBANE		REDCLIFFE		FORTITUDE VALLEY		REGION	
	No. Reported	No. Cleared	No. Reported	No. Cleared	No. Reported	No. Cleared	No. Reported	No. Cleared
HOMICIDE-								
Murder	3	3			1	1	4	4
Attempted Murder	3	3	1	1			4	4
Manslaughter- by homicide								
- by motor vehicle	3	3	8	8	3	3	14	14
TOTAL HOMICIDE	9	9	9	9	4	4	22	22
SERIOUS ASSAULT	75	54	65	53	87	64	227	171
MINOR ASSAULT	189	134	130	97	218	138	537	369
ROBBERY	43	11	11	5	56	12	110	28
RAPE AND ATTEMPTED RAPE	4	2	5	5	9	6	18	13
OTHER SEXUAL OFFENCES	124	55	77	66	111	41	312	162
BREAKING AND ENTERING-								
Dwellings	1126	162	481	57	1217	134	2824	353
Shops	256	54	126	38	297	38	679	130
Other Premises	580	71	377	78	832	112	1789	261
TOTAL BREAKING AND ENTERING	1962	287	984	173	2346	284	5292	744
MALICIOUS DAMAGE	724	152	470	116	733	149	1927	417
STEALING AND UNLAWFUL USE OF MOTOR VEHICLES	675	145	260	90	706	154	1641	389
STEALING (Excl. Motor Vehicles)	4357	1391	1927	583	4517	1529	10801	3503
FALSE PRETENCES	1927	1416	288	234	1378	1126	3593	2776
RECEIVING	70	70	63	63	78	78	211	211
POSSESSION OF PROPERTY SUSPECTED STOLEN	63	63	7	7	60	60	130	130
DRUG OFFENCES	561	561	128	128	315	314	1004	1003
PROSTITUTION OFFENCES	161	161	20	20	397	397	578	578
VAGRANCY	31	31	8	8	22	22	61	61
STOCK OFFENCES	1		16	4	3	1	20	5
DRINK DRIVING OFFENCES	1793	1793	1095	1095	2037	2037	4925	4925
DISQUALIFIED DRIVING	79	79	91	91	116	116	286	286
ALL OTHER OFFENCES	502	317	212	148	501	344	1215	809
TOTAL:	13350	6731	5866	2995	13694	6876	32910	16602

Source: Queensland Police Department Annual Report for the Year Ended 30.6.80. (Pub. September, 1980, by the Department).

GENERAL CRIME: VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF CRIMINAL OFFENCES REPORTED AND CLEARED WITHIN THE SOUTH BRISBANE REGION DURING 1979-80

TYPE OF OFFENCE	OXLEY		SOUTH BRISBANE		WYNNUM		REGION	
	No. Reported	No. Cleared	No. Reported	No. Cleared	No. Reported	No. Cleared	No. Reported	No. Cleared
HOMICIDE-								
Murder	2	2	6	6	1	1	9	9
Attempted Murder			11	9	2	2	13	11
Manslaughter - by Homicide					1	1	1	1
- by Motor Vehicle	2	2	4	4			6	6
TOTAL HOMICIDE	4	4	21	19	4	4	29	27
SERIOUS ASSAULT	51	31	136	108	56	55	243	194
MINOR ASSAULT	97	69	217	142	65	56	379	267
ROBBERY	11	3	44	12	8		63	15
RAPE AND ATTEMPTED RAPE	4	2	10	5	2	1	16	8
OTHER SEXUAL OFFENCES	64	41	190	93	39	34	293	168
BREAKING AND ENTERING-								
Dwellings	421	88	1847	235	307	63	2575	386
Shops	177	56	421	88	103	34	701	178
Other Premises	383	55	886	150	191	12	1460	217
TOTAL BREAKING AND ENTERING	981	199	3154	473	601	109	4736	781
MALICIOUS DAMAGE	433	107	921	212	311	119	1605	438
STEALING AND UNLAWFUL USE OF MOTOR VEHICLES	281	87	887	271	128	42	1296	400
STEALING (Excl. Motor Vehicles)	1232	378	4622	1302	1310	492	7164	2172
FALSE PRETENCES	127	98	933	657	218	167	1278	922
RECEIVING	35	35	92	92	37	37	164	164
POSSESSION OF PROPERTY SUSPECTED STOLEN	14	14	78	78	31	31	123	123
DRUG OFFENCES	101	101	645	642	189	189	935	932
PROSTITUTION			235	235			235	235
VAGRANCY	4	4	17	17	11	11	32	32
STOCK OFFENCES	9		9	4	5	2	23	6
DRINK DRIVING OFFENCES	620	620	2537	2537	341	341	3498	3498
DISQUALIFIED DRIVING	64	64	194	194	34	34	292	292
ALL OTHER OFFENCES	180	180	480	297	142	108	802	513
TOTAL:	4312	1965	15422	7390	3532	1832	23266	11187

Source: Queensland Police Department Annual Report for the Year Ended 30.6.80. (Pub. September, 1980, by the Department)