

statistical report **14**

safety in the suburbs

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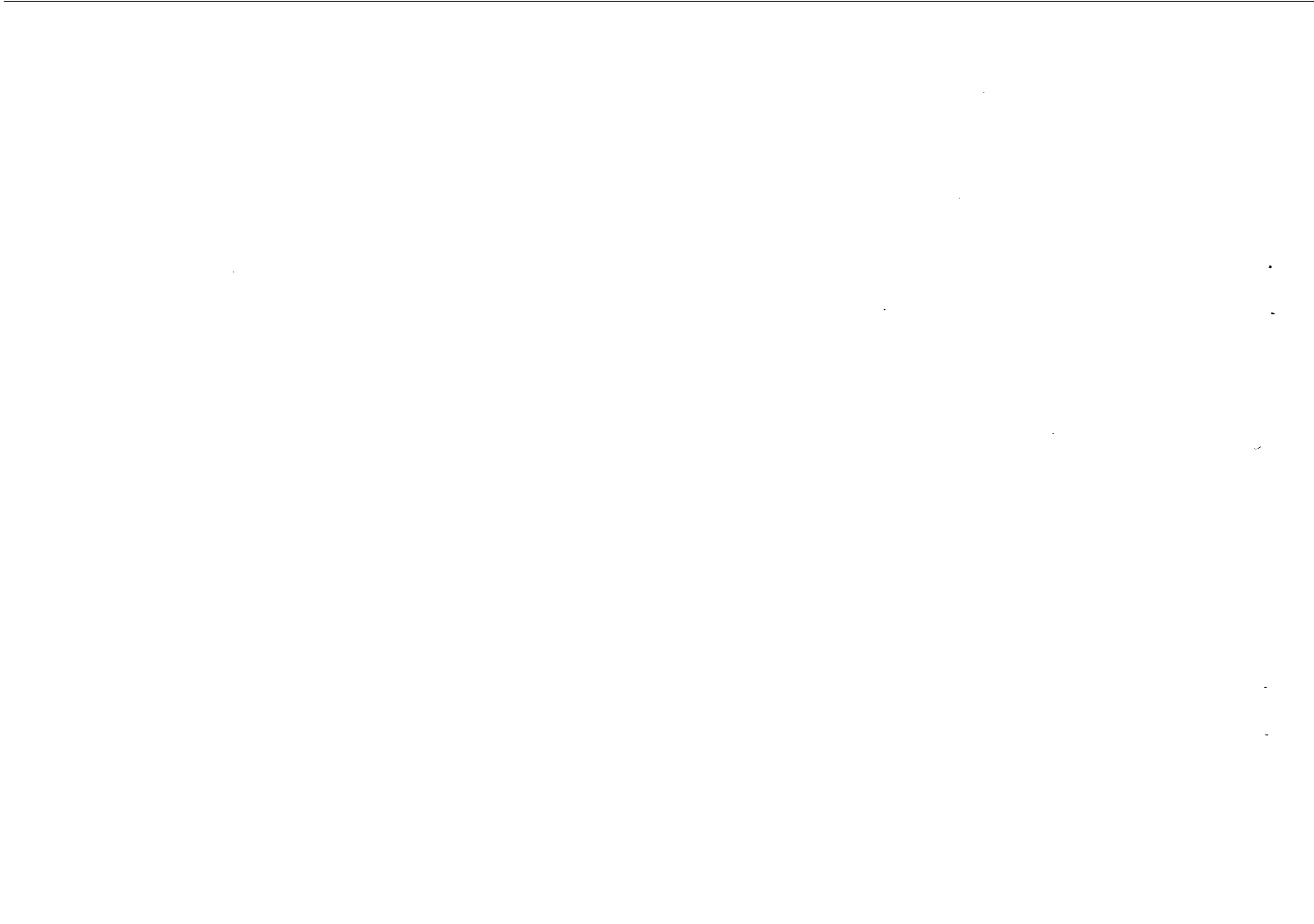
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Safety in the Suburbs

Attitudes about Individual Security

In the survey which is reported in these three successive Statistical Reports, not only were we concerned with the existence of crime, reported or unreported, but also with people's attitudes towards crime, and to those agents of society whose responsibility it is to enforce the laws relating to crime.

Questions were included in the attitude interview to cover topics which relate as much to the respondents themselves as to their views about the courts and the police.* When people think of law and order they frequently think of their own personal safety, of the extent to which they feel safe as they move about the streets of the city or in their own neighbourhood, by day or by night. In this report our aim is to reveal what it means to be living in Sydney right now, both for those people who have been victims of a crime within the last twelve months and for those we have called non-victims.

* See Statistical Report 12, UNREPORTED CRIME, N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1974, for details of the methodology and description of the sample. See also Statistical Report 13, WHO ARE THE VICTIMS?, which, together with the previous report, discusses other related results of the survey.

Our original intention in this discussion was to present the results of the two independent sub-samples (Sample 1 and Sample 2) separately but the answers were so similar in almost every instance that it would be tedious to do so all the time. Accordingly, reference will be made usually only to the total sample of the people interviewed in the 600 households.* However, as we postulated that there might be a difference in the attitudes held by victims as contrasted with non-victims (still, by definition, not victims within the last 12 months), we have in most cases analysed the results separately for victims and non-victims to show whatever contrasts emerge.

Safety in the Neighbourhood

How safe do the people of Sydney feel as they walk alone in their neighbourhood? Is there any difference in their feelings of security (or apprehension) by day and by night? How do they think their neighbourhood compares with other suburbs in Sydney?

There is no doubt that most people feel that, in daylight, their neighbourhood is a very safe place to walk about in, alone. Over 80 per cent of the people in both samples, whether recent victims of a crime or not, described their neighbourhood as "very safe". But when darkness falls, the apprehension grows; only a third now feel very safe walking alone in their neighbourhood, while another third feel definitely unsafe, some of them very unsafe. Even the suggestion that they might be accompanied by another person did not allay the fear of most people.

How safe is it walking alone
in your neighbourhood?

	In daylight	When it is dark
Very safe	37.9	35.6
Somewhat safe	30.9	27.9
Somewhat unsafe	21.4	21.4
Very unsafe	0.9	15.2

The neighbourhood may not be regarded as entirely safe by some people, but apparently there are worse places. We asked whether there is any place in Sydney apart from the person's own neighbourhood, where he/she would not feel personally safe. Over half (54 per cent) said that there is, and Table I indicates the places in Sydney considered to be most unsafe. A surprisingly large number (57) named the city itself, or the inner city areas, but two other places were named by more people as being unsafe: Kings Cross and Redfern. Only three other areas were mentioned by 10 or more people, and these were Newtown, Woolloomooloo and Surry Hills. There were some people (10), however, who felt that "everywhere" in Sydney is unsafe, and half of them specifically added "at night".

Most people avoiding going to the places they named as unsafe, a third (31 per cent) never going there, but a few (5 per cent) had occasion to go there every day.

We also asked if there had been any times recently when they might have wanted to go somewhere in Sydney but had stayed home because they thought it would be too unsafe to

go there. We found that one person in twelve had actually made this decision, and for this reason had not gone out.

Whether this expressed fear of places in Sydney is justified or not, it is clear that for many people Sydney is not entirely a safe place and for some it means not going out when they want to.

Table I: Places in Sydney named as unsafe

Q.: IS THERE ANY PLACE IN SYDNEY, OUTSIDE OF YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHERE YOU WOULD NOT FEEL PERSONALLY SAFE?

Number of people who named area:	Area*	Status of Area**
70	Kings Cross (1)	C
58	Redfern	D
32	City itself (5)	
25	Inner city areas	
31	Surry Hills	D
15	Newtown	D
10	Everywhere (5)	
10	Woolloomooloo (1)	D
6	Wharves, docks	
5	Hyde Park (1)	
5	City parks (1)	
5	Central Railway Station	
4	Darlinghurst	D
4	Western suburbs	

Number of people who named area:	Area*	Status of Area**
3	Chinatown	
3	East Sydney	D
3	Erskineville	D
3	Open country, lonely places	
3	Parramatta	C
3	Trains (1)	
2	Bankstown	C
2	Chippendale	D
2	Fairfield	C
2	Haymarket	
2	Markets	
2	North Sydney	C
2	The Rocks	D

There were 30 other places mentioned once only.

* (Figures in parenthesis indicate the number who said that the place was considered unsafe in the dark; this figure is included in the one on the left).

** See Congalton, A.A., Status and Prestige in Australia (1969), pp. 138-142.

Towards the end of the interview, long after we had asked the question about fear of going to places in Sydney, we asked: "If you were walking down the street alone around here in the evening and heard footsteps coming from behind, and turned to see a stranger rapidly approaching, what would you do?" Only one in four said that they would remain calm and continue walking (see Table II*). An equal number of people said that they would start running or call for help, while others (18 per cent) indicated that they would cross the street or turn into a house or doorway to avoid the situation. One third of the responses were variations of these manouvres, including some "direct action". Of course, this manifested uneasiness and apprehension could be the result of painful experience in the past, and we did ask: "Has anything like this happened to you within the past few years?" We found that the majority (89 per cent) had not had such an experience. Those who said that they had, indicated that they had behaved very much in the same way as they indicated they would react if it were to happen in the future, except that apparently less people actually ran or called for help than would have been expected from the answers to the previous question.

It is tempting to conclude from these figures that the suburbs of Sydney are rather dangerous places, especially at night, and that strangers are as likely as not to assault you if you do not take some kind of evasive action. These conclusions have to be tempered by looking at the answers to another question where we asked each person how likely it

* In the tables which follow, percentage calculations are frequently rounded off to the nearest whole number, which is evident when there is consistent absence of decimal figures.

was that anyone walking around at night in that particular neighbourhood would be held up or attacked. Most were not alarmist: 71 per cent do feel reasonably secure from attack, although 28 per cent (over one person in four) feel that there is a likelihood of being held up or attacked in his/her own neighbourhood at night in Sydney.

Victims compared with Non-victims

The two sub-samples gave remarkably similar responses to all these questions but there were some interesting differences between the responses of victims and non-victims. Their opinions about the general safety of their neighbourhood were very much alike, whether "by day" or "by night", but a larger percentage of victims reported that they quite often walked about their neighbourhood in the dark (34 per cent every day or a few times every week, as contrasted with 27 per cent of the non-victims). Victims were also more likely to say that they felt unsafe in other parts of Sydney (59 per cent and 49 per cent respectively). They were far more frequent visitors to the place which they described as being less safe than their own neighbourhood, than were the non-victims. However, slightly more of them said that they had stayed home recently when they wanted to go out, because they thought it would be unsafe to go. Also, to a far greater extent than the non-victims, they had actually had the experience hypothetically described in our question about turning around to find a stranger approaching quickly (16 per cent, contrasted with 6 per cent). However, their behaviour under those circumstances had been almost the same as that of the non-victims who had had a similar experience, including the reduced inclination to run or call for help. The victims were also more inclined to say that it was very likely that a person walking around their neighbourhood at night would be held up or attacked (10 per cent compared with 4 per cent).

It should not be assumed that all victims had all of these characteristics which marked them off from the non-victims, but we are puzzled about the revealed differences. Why should there be such similar percentages from both Sample 1 and Sample 2 for the answers to all the questions we have been discussing so far, but when we divide the total sample according to victims and non-victims the percentages differ? The only conclusion we can draw at this stage is that perhaps it is the act of being victimized that is associated with the different attitudes being expressed. Certainly the general picture of the victim appears to be that of a person who is more generally apprehensive than those who have not recently been victims.

Table II : Safety in the neighbourhood

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
HOW SAFE IS IT WALKING ALONE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?			
(a) In daylight			
Very safe	88	88	88
Somewhat safe	9	9	8
Somewhat unsafe	2	3	2
Very unsafe	1	-	2
(b) When it is dark			
Very safe	36	34	37
Somewhat safe	28	28	28
Somewhat unsafe	21	22	20
Very unsafe	15	16	14

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT A PERSON WOULD BE HELD UP OR ATTACKED IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT?			
Very likely	7	4	10
Somewhat likely	21	21	21
Somewhat unlikely	30	31	30
Very unlikely	41	43	39

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF A STRANGER APPROACHED YOU IN THE DARK?			
Just keep on walking	28	29	27
Run or call for help	24	23	25
Cross street or turn into doorway	18	19	16
Other	30	28	33

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
HAS IT EVER HAPPENED TO YOU?			
Yes	10	6	16

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
IS THERE ANY OTHER PLACE IN SYDNEY WHERE YOU WOULD NOT FEEL PERSONALLY SAFE?			
Yes	54	49	59
No	46	50	40

Concern about Burglary

In spite of the fact that the newspapers repeatedly publish warning about risks of burglary, almost one third of those people interviewed indicated that they do not worry at all about having their house broken into (32 per cent, with 33 per cent in Sample 1 and 31 per cent in Sample 2). More than a further third were only somewhat concerned, leaving only one person in four giving the response of being "very concerned" about the possibility of burglary.

The fear that people have about the possibility of their house being burgled may in part be related to how vulnerable they believe their neighbourhood to be, compared with other areas in Sydney. We discovered that thirty per cent believed that a house or apartment in their district was more likely to be broken into than were places elsewhere. Of the rest, a slightly larger proportion (43 per cent) claimed that they were less likely to be burgled, while 20 per cent felt it was no more nor less vulnerable than other places.

In spite of the confidence expressed by this 63 per cent of the people interviewed, most people take the precaution of locking the doors of the house when they are absent even for a short time. Three-quarters always do, and at night 86 per cent always keep the doors locked. Some people even make a practice of keeping the doors locked all the time even when family members are home. (22 per cent). Contrasted with these cautious people, however, are the three per cent who never lock their homes at night, the two per cent who never lock up when they leave the house for a short time, and the 28 per cent who never lock the doors when members of the family are at home.

Some people take other precautions. A third of those interviewed have a dog which is more than just a pet, it is a watchdog. A smaller number (11 per cent) have a firearm

that is regarded as a weapon of protection (apart from any other usage)*. Three quarters carry an insurance policy as protection against theft rather than comprehensive policies. Some people have a light on the outside of the building which is turned on regularly at night. Among those who live in flats or home units, over one third reported regular use of night lights; among house dwellers the figure was lower - 22 per cent.

The overall impression gained from this set of questions was that although there is a fair measure of confidence exhibited by most people concerning the belief that their homes will not be broken into, nevertheless there is evidence of considerable care being taken to guard against such an eventuality.

* Wilson and Brown found almost exactly the same precautions were being taken by the people in their study. Our figures were: 33 per cent own a watchdog, and 11 per cent have a firearm which they regard as a weapon; their figures (for Sydney) were: 32 per cent own a watchdog as protection against crime, and 10 per cent own or carry a weapon. See their book, Crime and the Community (1973), p.26.

Victims and Non-victims

Victims appeared to be slightly more concerned about the possibility of burglary than did the non-victims, and they were much more of the opinion that houses in their neighbourhood were more likely to be broken into than were other parts of Sydney (40 per cent of the victims saw their neighbourhood as being more vulnerable, compared with only 21 per cent of the non-victims). Yet, unexpectedly, the victims were somewhat more likely than the non-victims to be those who do not lock their doors at night (8 per cent compared with 5 per cent), who do not lock up when leaving the house empty for a short time (9 per cent and 6 per cent, respectively), and who do not lock the doors when people are at home (55 per cent and 51 per cent). The proportion who have a watchdog, keep a firearm for protection or have an insurance policy is almost the same as is found among the non-victims, and there is little difference in their practice of having an outside light burning at night.

Thus we find the previous picture of the victim confirmed in this set of responses. He is like others in some respects, but not regarding the general apprehension he evidences relating to the possibility of crime occurring in his neighbourhood.

Table III: Concern about burglary

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
HOW WORRIED ARE YOU ABOUT BEING BURGLERED?			
Very concerned	26	24	28
Somewhat concerned	42	41	42
Don't worry at all	32	35	29
HOW LIKELY IS A HOME AROUND HERE TO BE TO BE BROKEN INTO? (COMPARED WITH OTHER DISTRICTS)			
Much less likely	13 43	17 49	9 36
Somewhat less likely	30	32	27
More likely	18 30	13 22	25 40
Much more likely	12	9	15
No real difference	20	21	18
Don't know	7	8	6

HOW OFTEN DO YOU LOCK YOUR DOORS?

(a) When absent for a short time

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
Always	76	79	73
Sometimes	16	15	18
Hardly ever	6	5	7
Never	2	1	2

(b) At night

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
Always	86	87	84
Sometimes	8	8	8
Hardly ever	3	2	4
Never	3	3	4

(c) When family at home

	% Total	% Non-Victims	% Victims
Always	22	24	19
Sometimes	25	25	26
Hardly ever	25	24	25
Never	28	27	30

DO YOU HAVE...?

	% Total
A watchdog Yes	33
A gun/pistol/rifle Yes	11
A property insurance Yes	76

Associated Factors

We have suggested earlier in this and the previous report that certain variables are related to the phenomenon of being a victim and that although we do not posit a cause-effect relationship nevertheless we maintain that we should be alert to the evidence of any such relationship and should be on the lookout for more information which may add to our understanding of the apparent connections between the two sets of variables.

We must not overlook the possibility that the attitudes revealed in answer to our questions in the attitude section of our interview are also interrelated with one or more important variable(s). It is not being unrealistic to suggest that perhaps those people who express a general concern about the possibility of being burgled are also people who are apprehensive about any threatening situation and that they may evince quite a different pattern of responses to many of our questions than do other people. Or perhaps the type of suburb of residence is related to attitudes towards crime and related matters. We could take many of the topics we have raised in this survey and use each of them as a variable against which we could analyse the answers to all the other questions. We have chosen to look at five: (1) degree of apprehension about the possibility of being burgled; (2) whether or not the person interviewed has a relative or a friend who is a policeman; (3) the income level into which the respondent puts his family; (4) the status of the area of residence; (5) the level of education attained by the person.

Degree of apprehension about Burglary

The early questions in the interview were related to the neighbourhood and it can be seen from the figures in Table IV that the degree of apprehension about the possibility of being burgled is directly related to the extent to which they see their neighbourhood as "safe".

Perhaps this attitude reflects a generalised apprehension, as we note that those who are very concerned about burglary are also more likely than the others to run or call for help if a stranger approaches in the dark. By their own evidence, they have reason to, for they appear to be more likely to have had such an experience.

Those most worried about the possibility of being burgled are also those who take greater precautions against the likelihood of burglary. While they are slightly less likely than others to keep a watchdog, they progressively are more likely to have a gun/pistol/rifle for protection. Questions about locking doors reveal that they are more inclined than the others to keep their doors locked under all circumstances - when the family is home, when they themselves go out for a short time, and at night. It is the people who don't worry about burglary who are most likely never to lock their doors.

Notwithstanding this general concern with security, the view of those people most apprehensive about burglary are not more critical than the others about the job the police are doing; the approval percentages for each of the three groups is almost identical (56 - 57 per cent).

There is little difference between the groups regarding their view of the main function of the police as prevention of crime rather than the apprehension of criminals. The more the degree of worry about the possibility of burglary, though, the more the person is inclined to say that police should arrest even at the risk of arresting the innocent. Similarly, the more that person says that police should make every effort to stop vice and gambling.

Table IV: Apprehension about burglary

N = 152 Very concerned

N = 244 Somewhat concerned

N = 189 Don't worry

HOW MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT BURGLARY?	HOW MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT BURGLARY?		
	% Very concerned	% Somewhat concerned	% Don't worry
ARE HOMES IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD MORE OR LESS LIKELY TO BE BROKEN INTO THAN OTHER PLACES IN SYDNEY?			
Less likely	32 <	44 <	50
More likely	40 >	32 >	20

HOW MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT BURGLARY?

HOW MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT BURGLARY?	HOW MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT BURGLARY?		
	% Very concerned	% Somewhat concerned	% Don't worry
HOW LIKELY IS THAT A PERSON WOULD BE HELD UP OR ATTACKED IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT?			
Likely	36 >	29 >	20
Unlikely	64 <	70 <	78

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF A STRANGER APPROACHED YOU IN THE DARK?

Just keep on walking	18 <	27 <	37
Run or call for help	33 >	22 >	19

HAS THIS EVER HAPPENED TO YOU?

Yes	13 >	12 >	6
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Finally, we should point out that among those who are most concerned about the possibility of being burgled there are more people, percentage-wise, who have actually been burgled within the past 12 months than are to be found among the other two groups. The less the concern about the burglary, the lower the figure for recent victimization. One suspects that there may be a cause-effect relationship, namely, that experience is a better teacher than rational argument or propaganda.

Friend or Relative a Policeman

One other idea explored was that there might be a relationship between the frequency of being a victim and whether or not one had a friend or relative who was a policeman. We were not sure of which way to make our prediction - that friends (or relatives) or policemen would be less or more likely to be a victim of crime, but we discovered that for eleven of the fourteen listed crimes, the friends and relatives of policemen had been more frequently than other people the victims of crime within the last twelve months.

Our total analysis showed that victims are more likely than non-victims to have a friend or relative who is a policeman (33 per cent, compared with 23 per cent), and to know some other policeman well enough to greet him by name in the street (50 per cent and 40 per cent respectively).

There are dangers in drawing attention to this relationship as it might lead some people to conclude that friends or relatives of policemen are "at risk", that they are more likely to be victims - implying, of course, that there is some sinister connection between the two. But an equally tenable proposition in the order of the two variables is in the opposite direction in that, following victimization and consequent personal interaction with policemen, a person is

more likely to become friends with one of them. We do not know whether the fact of having a policeman as a friend, or marrying one, is a pre-victimization phenomenon or a post-victimization one.

People who have a relative or friend who is a policeman are more likely than the others to say that a policeman's salary is too low, to side with those jurors who are flexible in their attitude to rules of law, to say that police are mainly honest and are doing a good job in the neighbourhood but that they should risk arresting the innocent in their law enforcing activities rather than possibly letting a criminal escape. At the same time they feel that the police should not make every effort to stop vice and gambling. They believe that their own suburbs are less vulnerable to breaking and entering than most other places in Sydney and they worry less about the possibility of having their homes burgled, an attitude which is also manifested in their habit of being much less likely than others to lock their doors, either at night or when absent for a short time, or to keep an outside light burning at night. They are more critical than the others about the job being done by the courts or the prisons, and are more likely to have a family lawyer.

These points are generalities, and more research needs to be done before assertions can be made about the relationships which exist between the variables discussed. All that can be said here is that there does seem to be a difference in many important areas between the habits and attitudes of those who have a friend or relative who is a policeman and those who do not.

Income level of Family

It is clear that, no matter whether the family income is large or small, most people see their own suburb as a safe place - by daylight (see Table V). By night there is a dramatic change. People from all income levels express a reduced confidence but this lack of assurance about the safety of one's neighbourhood after dark increases as family income decreases. Twice the percentage of people in the lowest income bracket (\$2,000 or less) describe their neighbourhood after dark as unsafe.

Table V: Income level of family
 N= 68, \$ 0 - \$2,999
 N= 112, \$3,000 - \$5,999
 N= 110, \$6,000 - \$9,999
 N= 129, \$10,000 and over

		INCOME			
		% \$0 - \$2,999	% \$3,000 - \$5,999	% \$6,000 - \$9,999	% \$10,000 and over
HOW SAFE IS IT WALKING ALONE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?					
(a) In daylight					
Safe		89	97	96	98
Unsafe		11	3	4	2
(b) When it is dark					
Safe		47	< 62	< 65	< 74
Unsafe		53	> 38	> 35	> 26
HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT A PERSON WOULD BE HELD UP OR ATTACKED IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT?					
Likely		74	78	86	86
Unlikely		26	22	14	14

When asked the direct question "How likely is it that a person would be held up or attacked in your neighbourhood at night?", a different picture emerges, with the two lowest income groups indicating more strongly than the two highest that it is unlikely that a person would actually be attacked or held up. Why the change? We do not know, but suspect that it may be related partly to the situations as presented by the two questions being quite different. The first one, which asks about how safe it is to walk alone in the area after dark is probably subject-oriented; it is likely that the lower-income person imagines him-or herself out alone after dark, and the answers reflect a certain uneasiness. The second question is more "other"-oriented; that is, it is likely to result in the person in question reflecting on how often someone had actually been held up or attacked in the neighbourhood, with the likely observation that it was infrequent. This suggestion perhaps explains the reversal in trend from high to low income groups in the answer to the two related questions. There is no pattern relating to the personal experience of being held up although a majority of low-income people could think of no other place in Sydney where they would feel personally unsafe.

The people with the highest family income expressed more strongly than the others the view that the homes in their neighbourhood were more likely to be broken into than homes in other places in Sydney. There was a distinct trend of concern about the possibility of being burgled increasing from low income people to high. Whereas almost half the \$2,999 or less group indicated that they did not worry at all about the possibility, only a quarter of \$10,000 or more group felt no concern.

Consistent with this expressed concern was the finding that the higher the income level, the more likely it was that some special precaution had been taken. There was an increased tendency to have a dog which was not just a pet, to own a firearm which was regarded as more than a sporting

weapon, and to have taken out a property insurance. On the other hand, the higher the income level, the less is the tendency to lock the doors at night, or when members of the family are at home. It is more characteristically a lower income habit to always keep the doors of the house locked, presumably because, although lower income people may have less possessions than high income people, at the same time they are also less likely to have their possessions insured.

The suggestion that this comparative laxness about locking doors is a reflection of the general view the higher income people have of the way the police in their neighbourhood carry out their task of enforcing the law, is not supported by the answers to the several questions about the police. It is the lower income people who exceed the others in their endorsement of the general way police in their neighbourhood are doing their job of enforcing the law. However, there is not a distinct pattern of responses according to income level; the responses to most of the specific items in this series are very similar for all groups. Similarly, there is little difference between the opinions of the four income groups about the honesty of policemen, although there is one trend which reveals that the higher the income level the more likely is the opinion to be expressed that the higher-ups in the police force in Sydney are all, or mostly all, honest.

The lowest income group members are of the opinion that the main job of the police should be to prevent crime; the highest group members are of the opposite opinion, namely, that the main job is to catch criminals, and there is evidence to show that more of them (than lower income people) feel that to this end the police should apprehend a suspect even at the risk of arresting an innocent person.

Consistent with the lowest income group's stress on the prevention of crime as being the main job of the police is a similar emphasis on what they believe the police should do about vice and gambling. More than any other group they

assert that the police should make every effort to stop it. People in the highest income bracket are more inclined to say that the police should act only on complaints. All groups support the suggestion that demonstrations should be permitted, but the lowest income group approve less than do the other groups.

The two middle income groups are the ones most critical of the job the courts are doing and most inclined to rate the job the prisons are doing as unsatisfactory or poor. They also are the only two groups where less than a majority say that the local police are doing an excellent or good job enforcing the laws, a response difficult to reconcile with the fact that they say very much the same things as do the other groups when asked about specific items of police duty. We suggest that more needs to be found out the attitude of the middle income groups. We take these few revealed differences in attitude seriously as there must be some reason why dissatisfactions are expressed in this general way. Perhaps, a related phenomenon is the one specific item where their responses differed from those of the other two groups. Whereas a majority of both the low income and the high income groups said that the local police were "very good" in being respectful to people like yourself, only a minority of the two middle income groups gave a response of "very good".

In summary, the variable of income appears to be related to attitudes held about crime and about matters and people related to crime in our society. The relationship is not characteristically a simple one of an increase in the strength of an attitude accompanying an increase in the amount of the family income, but there do appear to be clusters of opinions held about certain topics which are more characteristic of some income groups than others.

Insofar as we have already discovered that victims seem to have attitudes which differ from those of non-victims, we were interested in the possibility that the present

relationship which has appeared between income and attitudes related to crime might be linked with different rates of victimization for different income groups. The following figures would appear to support this hypothesis:

	Non-victims %	Victims %
Total sample	53.9 (N=226)	46.1 (N=193)
Income less than \$3,000	64.7 (N=44)	35.3 (N=24)

The difficulty is to know whether the attitudes held are a consequence of being a victim or a non-victim, or of being in a particular income-group. Perhaps both are relevant. We shall be able to look closely at these suppositions when we discuss the results of the AID analysis of variance later in the report.

Status of area of residence

It is perhaps not surprising that the trend of opinions about the safety of one's neighbourhood, when analysed according to the area of residence of the person giving the opinion, is in many respects very similar to that revealed by the analysis according to family income, as the two variables are to some extent related.

All status areas were reported as being safe for people to walk around in, during the day. But a trend, even more strongly marked than by income groups, is clearly related to the status of the suburbs and the degree of safety felt after dark. Whereas 81 per cent of the people living in Status A (high status) suburbs said that their neighbourhood is safe to walk alone in at night, the proportion dropped

from B to C suburbs and reached only 51 per cent in the Status D suburbs. In the extreme category of responses, only three per cent of the people in Status A suburbs feel that their neighbourhood is "very unsafe" at night for people walking alone, but 10 per cent of Status B people feel that way, the figure increasing to 18 and 19 per cent respectively from Status C and D suburbs.

However, faced with the direct question of whether it is likely that a person would be held up or attacked at night in the neighbourhood, the responses are such that the status trend is reversed, just as it was in the case of the income groups discussed in the previous section. Almost half the Status D people said that it is somewhat likely or very likely that a person would be held up or attacked in their neighbourhood at night, but this response dropped rapidly from status group to status group, and it can be seen that not only do higher status people feel that the chances of being held up are slight, but they would be less inclined (they say) to flee from a situation suggestive of such a happening. Perhaps this nonchalance stems from the lesser actual experience of such happenings reported by the two higher status groups.

The view expressed by the upper status area people that there is little likelihood of a hold-up or assault in their neighbourhood apparently does not reflect a smug assurance that nothing untoward ever happens in their suburb, because when asked whether homes in their neighbourhood were more or less likely to be broken into than other places in Sydney, a majority said that it was more likely.

There were some who said that their own suburb was not really different from any other as a burglary risk; this reference was more characteristic of the lower status areas. Although the majority of the Status A suburb people saw their own areas as being greater than average burglary risks, they were more likely than the other groups to say that it did not

Table VI: Status of area of residence

N = 64 STATUS A (HIGH)
 N = 123 STATUS B
 N = 307 STATUS C
 N = 125 STATUS D (LOW)

STATUS OF AREA OF RESIDENCE
 % A (High) % B % C % D (Low)

HOW SAFE IS IT WALKING ALONE
 IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?

(a) In daylight

Safe	98	99	98	91
Unsafe	2	1	2	10

(b) When it is dark

Safe	87 >	74 >	59 >	51
Unsafe	13 <	26 <	40 <	49

HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT A PERSON
 WOULD BE HELD UP OR ATTACKED IN
 YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT?

Likely	5 <	14 <	31 <	47
Unlikely	38 >	35 >	32 >	23

ARE HOMES IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD
 MORE OR LESS LIKELY TO BE BROKEN
 INTO THAN OTHER PLACES IN SYDNEY?

Less likely	26	35	50	42
More likely	56	51	19	25

worry them. They appeared to rely on having their possessions insured, something which became less and less a characteristic from Status A through to Status D, although in all groups about the same proportions report keeping a firearm or a watchdog as protection.

It will be recalled that it was the lowest income group who were most inclined to say that the local police did a good or excellent job in enforcing the laws. Among the suburbs there was little difference between the endorsement of suburbs, with Status B, C, and D, all having a majority who said that the police were doing a good (or excellent) job. Status A people were more guarded, with slightly more than half preferring to say only "fair" when describing how they thought the local police were doing their job. This reservation was reinforced by the answers to many of the specific questions (see Table VII). Out of ten direct questions five showed trends all in the same direction, namely, that the higher the status of the suburb the less likely people were to say that the police were doing a very good job. In only one case did any group exceed the praise of the police expressed by Status D (lowest status) people (and the one exception was only marginally higher). In other words, the indication is that the people in low status areas have a higher opinion than the others about the job the police are doing. Such an opinion is not accompanied by any marked difference in views about the honesty of the police; all groups show very much the same positive opinion about the police, including the higher-ups.

However, both the lower status groups are inclined to claim, more than the high status groups, that the police should have more power than they have, and to support more strongly the suggestion that they should make every effort to stop gambling and vice. They also are more inclined than the other two groups to ban demonstrations.

In spite of the general praise given by the lower status

areas rather than by the higher status areas, it is the latter two groups who most strongly claim that the police salaries should be higher, a suggestion that does not seem to be related to a closer acquaintance with policemen than that shown by people from the other status groups.

Table VII: Status of area of residence

	STATUS OF AREA OF RESIDENCE			
	% A (High)	% B	% C	% D (Low)
HOW GOOD A JOB DO THE POLICE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD DO REGARDING THE FOLLOWING?				
Being prompt answering calls				
Very good	20	17	24	29
Being respectful to people like yourself				
Very good	54	53	41	57
Paying attention to complaints				
Very good	23	20	23	36
Giving protection to the neighbourhood				
Very good	12 <	16 <	23 <	33

	STATUS OF AREA OF RESIDENCE			
	% A (High)	% B	% C	% D (Low)
HOW OFTEN DO THE POLICE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD TRY TO ENFORCE THE FOLLOWING LAWS AGAINST CRIME?				
Drunken driving				
Always	30	40	49	48
Other traffic offences				
Always	25 <	41 <	46 <	49
Breaking into people's homes				
Always	26 <	38 <	45 <	46
Fighting in public places				
Always	18 <	24 <	41 <	47
Gambling				
Always	2 <	5 <	15 <	20
Hold-ups, muggings, assault				
Always	31	44	51	51

Educational level attained

We look now at educational attainment to see whether the relationship evidenced in victimization is maintained in attitudes held about crime and related issues.

Whereas with the two preceding variables (income and area status) trends were revealed about the perceived safety of the neighbourhood only after dark, with education the trend is present both in relation to daylight safety and at night.

		EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED		
		% Primary	% Secondary	% Tertiary
HOW SAFE IS IT WALKING ALONE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?				
(a) In daylight				
Safe	93	< 97	< 100	
Unsafe	7	< 3	< -	
(b) When is it dark				
Safe	58	< 60	< 79	
Unsafe	42	> 40	> 20	

As we discovered before, these figures change when people are asked the direct question about the possibility of a person being attacked or held up in the neighbourhood, but unlike the variable of area status, no trend is characteristic of education. If someone did appear suspiciously in the dark,

the tendency to cross the street or turn into a doorway diminishes with increased educational status, the tertiary educated people being most likely, as were the Status A suburb people, to just keep on walking. However, the experience of having been approached in this way was not highest among primary education people but was increasingly higher from primary to tertiary.

A further trend was that the higher the educational status, the more frequently was the reply that there are other places in Sydney where the respondents would not feel personally safe.

With trends such as these coinciding with similar trends characteristic of the suburb status areas, it would be reasonable to assume that to some extent the same people are involved, but without further analysis we cannot make the assumption.

The replies to questions about security reveal numerous trends associated with education, some of which are consistent with data already discussed. For example, the tertiary educated people, like those in Status A suburbs, most of all the groups feel that homes in their suburb are more likely to be broken into than elsewhere in Sydney and they are the least concerned about the possibility.

Attitudes to the police reveal the most consistent pattern so far encountered. The higher the educational level of the people interviewed the less is their endorsement of the job the police are doing. With one exception only, all the items on this list show this relationship. (The exception relates to drunken drivers. See Table VIII.)

Further questions about police honesty, the job the courts and the prisons are doing, reveal a trend not of attitudes, but of a reluctance to state an attitude. From tertiary education to primary, there is an increased "Don't know" answer to most of these questions. However, when asked if the police should have

more power, over a quarter of the primary educated people agreed, but secondary and tertiary educated people felt less enthusiastic.

Issues such as vice and gambling and demonstrations reveal trends consistent with the answers given by people in different status areas. Status A people were those who were most in favour of allowing demonstrations; so are the tertiary educated. Status D wanted the police to make every effort to stop vice and gambling; so do the primary educated. Similarly, it is the tertiary educated who most strongly say, as do Status A and B people, that the policemen's salaries are too low.

We are tempted to say that of all the variables associated with differing attitudes towards crime and related matters, education appears to be the most important. Confirmation, or otherwise, of this apparent close relationship will be revealed by the AID analysis.

Table VIII: Education level attained N=122 Primary
N=376 Secondary
N=110 Tertiary

	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVEL		
	% Primary	% Secondary	% Tertiary
DO THE POLICE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD DO A GOOD JOB ENFORCING THE LAWS?			
Excellent, good	66 >	54 >	51
Fair	23	34	36
Poor	10	10	12
HOW GOOD A JOB DO THE POLICE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD DO REGARDING THE FOLLOWING?			
Being prompt answering calls			
Very good	38 >	22 >	13
Being respectful to people like yourself			
Very good	58 >	49 >	33
Paying attention to complaints			
Very good	36 >	25 >	13
Giving protection to the neighbourhood			
Very good	37 >	21 >	11

	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVEL		
	% Primary	% Secondary	% Tertiary
HOW OFTEN DO THE POLICE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD TRY TO ENFORCE THE FOLLOWING LAWS AGAINST CRIME?			
Drunken driving			
Always	47	44	46
Other traffic offences			
Always	48 >	43 >	41
Breaking into people's homes			
Always	49 >	42 >	34
Fighting in public places			
Always	50 >	35 >	26
Gambling			
Always	23 >	12 >	3
Hold-ups, muggings, assault			
Always	53 >	49 >	38

Victims and Non-victims:

Analysis of variance

In this study we have examined the characteristics of persons who have been willing to admit to well-trained interviewers that they have been victims of crimes and compared these characteristics with those of a sample of the population not admitting such victimization. We have put to the test the suggestion that victims are not randomly distributed throughout the population and in a number of cases we have found what would appear to be significant differences between these two populations. The reader will be aware that predominantly we have used frequency tables to examine suspect relationships. In one sense this has had an unfortunate consequence. With a sample of 600 households and 619 persons the multiple cells of a frequency table quickly distribute the number of cases so that there is little possibility of examining higher order effects. That is to say, one can look at the apparent individual association between victimization and income, or religion or age or education, etc., but with so few resultant cases it is often impossible to study the possible combined significance of two, three or more of the independent variables with respect to the dependent variable. Yet, "The problem is one of determining which of the variables for which data have been collected are actually related to the phenomena in question and under what conditions and through which intervening processes, with appropriate controls for spuriousness".* Sonquist stresses the need to be conscious of the interaction of events as opposed to the correlation between them. Thus, if we have a positive association between education and victimization, age and

victimization, sex and victimization, we might erroneously conclude that persons who possess all those characteristics are more prone to becoming victims than persons who possess only one or two of the factors suggested as relevant. It is, however, possible that a person who has a combination of apparently negative characteristics might be at an advantage. In terms of the previous example, it is possible that persons who are male and 20-30 years of age might predominantly comprise the well-educated group. Thus the education correlation which might be the strongest could be a spurious consequence of an age and sex association.

We felt there was a need to examine the data using multivariate techniques which would enable us to attempt to discover if there were some interaction effects. Our aim was to find out whether we could determine the existence of a grouping of variables which accounted for a large number of victims. Do victims possess a set of characteristics which strongly distinguish them from the rest of the population? For example, do persons who live in particular areas or who have a certain level of education have identifiable attitudes to crime and its associated variables? Given the previously mentioned relative paucity of cases it was decided, with some reservations, to use the technique of analysis of variance. For this purpose Version 3 of the Automatic Interaction Detector was obtained from the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. Our methodological reservations were with regard to the authors' recommendation that the technique should be used with great caution on populations of less than 1,000 respondents. The technique sequentially examines the dependent variable for each independent variable and then in a tree-like splitting process performs the best split according to the criteria of the greatest reduction in the between-means-sum-of-squares. The emphasis is not on significance but on distinguishing between those independent variables which have high or low mean values in relation to the dependent variable.

* Sonquist, J.A. Multivariate Model Building (1970), p.1.

Five propositions were examined using this technique.* First, we were interested in seeing whether persons who lived in different areas had different attitudes to crime, the courts, the police. Next, we were concerned with the possibility of different educational levels being associated with particular points of view.

The third computer run examined the proposition that victims differed from non-victims with respect to their demographic characteristics (such as age, sex, education). Fourth, attitudinal differences between victims and non-victims were subjected to scrutiny. Finally, the best of the attitudinal and demographic variables were included in a computer run to see if there was a large increase in the variation explained by using both of these types of variables in a combined approach. The purpose of this final run may be simplified to: a test of the proposition that the best way of distinguishing between victims and non-victims is to know something about both their attitudes and their demographic characteristics. That is, does the combined approach (model) lead to a reasonable difference in the ability to distinguish between victims and non-victims?

* The AID uses analysis-of-variance techniques to explain the variance of a dependent variable. AID3 is a computer programme which "makes successive dichotomous splits of the sample, using independent variables to "predict" the dependent variable so as to maximize differences among the split groups". See User's Manual for the AID3.

Conclusions

A detailed discussion of the procedure and results of the AID application to the data will appear in a subsequent publication. For the purpose of this report, the conclusions alone are presented below:

1. Suburbs of differing status demonstrate different points of view on the parts of residents with regard to their personal safety. A secondary but quite important distinguishing characteristic is the low level of property insurance that occurs in areas where there is a low perceived level of safety. The variation explained is 24.4 per cent.
2. Persons who have a high level of education are different from those with lower levels of education in their general attitude to demonstrations, in the precautions they take to prevent victimization (the more educated less often lock doors), and in their attitudes towards changes in police power and police pay. The variation explained is 12.7 per cent.
3. Age and sex are the dominant demographic differences between victims and non-victims. Education, income and area status are other relevant though not particularly important variables. The variation explained is 12.5 per cent.
4. A range of different attitudes to crime, to the police, and to the courts distinguishes victims from non-victims. Victims generally have a more negative point of view than do non-victims, less frequently endorsing positive statements. Probably these attitudes are a consequence of victimization rather than dispositions which are causally related to people

becoming victims. The variation explained is moderately high at 17.9 per cent.

5. Clearly a combination of demographic and attitudinal variables is superior to either alone in discriminating between those who have been victims of crime and those who have not. Except for the extremely low rate of victimization for those who are retired, it is apparent that attitudes towards the perceived likelihood of becoming a victim are most important. It is only after attitude differences are taken into account that sex, age and income differences appear. Thus the most revealing differences in characteristics of recent victims (within the last 12 months) as compared with non-victims are attitudes which indicate that person's own perceived level of personal safety. The amount of variation explained in this combined model is 23.5 per cent.

Looking at the results of the five computer runs we note that the one dealing with the different attitudes which persons in different residential status areas expressed is the one with the greatest variation explained. That is to say, this is the run which included an apparent set of satisfactory explanatory variables. The demographic and educational runs are much less powerful and the theoretical point which emerges is that in neither case are the variables as adequate in discriminating between victims and non-victims. We would suggest that the explanation for greater differences which exist, if they exist, are outside the frame of our present study.

Expressed as simply as possible (at the risk of oversimplification), the AID computer analysis of the data which we have discussed at length in these three successive reports indicates that when we take into account all the differences between people which have been revealed by our survey, the greatest variation is explained by the areas in which they live. Attitudes to crime, the police, etc., vary most on the bases of whether people live in high

status suburbs or low status suburbs. At the same time, differences in attitudes towards criminality (and institutions and people associated with it) discriminate fairly clearly between victims and non-victims. Finally, the most dominant difference to be found between non-victims and victims is that the victims see their world as being more vulnerable and life in Sydney as more threatening than do the non-victims.

Postscript

Problems facing the country today

To conclude our discussion about crime, reported and unreported, and about attitudes to law-enforcing agencies, we should like to draw attention to the first question in our interview, which was: "There are many problems facing our country these days besides foreign affairs. (RESPONDENT HANDED A CARD) Which of the problems on this card have you been paying attention to these days? (LATER) Of those problems you mentioned, which one have you been most concerned with?"

The listed problems are given below, in the order of most frequent mention as the problem most concerned with:

	%
Inflation	32.0
Crime	18.8
Education	18.4
Poverty	8.6
Unemployment	4.8
Race relations	3.4
None of these	14.0
	<hr/>
	100.0

Inflation

Although inflation topped the list of matters causing the greatest concern among the people questioned, the emphasis given to this topic reflected factors such as age, sex

income level, occupational or residential status and level of education:

. Males are more concerned with inflation than are females.

. Older people (those over 60 years of age) show the least concern about inflation.

. The less educated people are less concerned about inflation than are the others.

. Concern about inflation is least among people with low status occupations and it increases progressively at each occupational status level.

. The greatest concern about inflation is to be found not in the low status suburbs, but in the highest status residential areas, with progressively less concern being shown at each drop in status level.

. People on low incomes show the least concern about inflation; concern increases as income increases, with the highest income earners expressing almost twice as much concern as those in the lowest income brackets.

Table IX: Percentages of people most concerned with inflation

Sex	% Male	% Female	Occupational status	% A (Highest)	% B	% C	% D (Lowest)
	37	28		50	37	30	23
Age	% Under 40	% 40 - 59	Residential status	% A (Highest)	% B	% C	% D (Lowest)
	33	34		46	43	29	22
Education	% Primary	% Secondary	Income	% \$0-\$2,999	% \$3,000-\$5,999	% \$6,000-\$9,999	% \$10,000 and over
	25	34		20	27	36	38
		% Tertiary					
		37					

Poverty

The percentage of people who named poverty as the matter of greatest concern to them was small and, unlike inflation, was equally stressed by both men and women. However, the characteristics of the people who gave greater emphasis to poverty as their major concern differed from those who named inflation, tending to be quite the opposite. Allowing for the small differences involved between percentages, the trends are seen to be as follows:

. Whereas those in the oldest age group (60 years and over) were least concerned about inflation, they are the ones most concerned about poverty.

. Whereas concern with inflation increased with the educational level, concern with poverty is greatest among those with only a primary education and it decreases with increased education.

. Whereas the higher the occupational status of a person the more often he was likely to express his concern about inflation, with poverty the trend is in the opposite direction, with people in the lowest status occupations expressing the most concern.

. Whereas people in the two highest residential status group areas were those who most often mentioned inflation as the problem of greatest personal concern, we find that those most concerned with poverty are those in the two lowest status group residential areas.

. Whereas inflation was shown to be more and more subjectively important to people as income increased, poverty is a matter of most concern to people with the lowest incomes and is decreasingly mentioned as income rises.

Table X: Percentages of people most concerned with poverty

Sex	% Male 9	% Female 8	Occupational status	% A (Highest) 2	% B 7	% C 8	% D (Lowest) 9	
Age	% Under 40 8	% 40 - 59 7	% 60 and over 14	Residential status	% A (Highest) 6	% B 3	% C 10	% D (Lowest) 13
Education	% Primary 11	% Secondary 9	% Tertiary 5	Income	% \$0-\$2,999 18	% \$3,000-\$5,999 12	% \$6,000-\$9,999 6	% \$10,000 and over 5

Education

While men were more concerned than women with inflation, education was more frequently listed as the matter of most concern by women. In all other respects, the emphasis given to education as a major concern among today's problems reflected the same social groupings as did inflation.

Females more than males indicate that education is for them the major current problem about which they are concerned.

The older the age group the less concern is shown about education.

People with only primary school education show the least concern about education as a current problem, while those with a tertiary education are nearly four times as strong in their assertion that the major problem today is education.

The lower the occupational status group, the less do people name education as their main problem of concern.

Different status areas do not vary very much in their emphasis on education as the major problem, except that a slightly higher percentage of people in 'A' status suburbs (highest status) name education as their topic of major concern.

People in the top income bracket five times more frequently mention education than do those in the lowest income group as being the current problem which is of major concern to them. Although there is a positive relationship between level of income and status or residential area, the answers to this question show that when education is the issue, it is the income level which brings out the differences of opinion, not the status of the residential area.

Table XI: Percentages of people most concerned with education

Sex	% Male	% Female	Occupational status	% A (Highest)	% B	% C	% D (Lowest)
	16	20		29	23	19	14
Age	% Under 40	% 40 - 59	Residential status	% A (Highest)	% B	% C	% D (Lowest)
	23	19		23	18	18	18
		% 60 and over	Income	% \$0-\$2,999	% \$3,000-\$5,999	% \$6,000-\$9,999	% \$10,000 and over
Education	% Primary	% Secondary		5	20	21	25
	10	15					
		% Tertiary					
		36					

Crime

Throughout this report we have shown that the victims of crime tend to have the following characteristics:

They are predominantly males.

They are younger than non-victims.

As educational level increases, victimization increases.

Victims are more frequently found in households of high occupational status.

The "A" and "B" grade suburbs (high status) have a greater proportion of victims.

The mean family income of victims is greater than for non-victims.

We have also shown that the most characteristic aspect of victims compared with non-victims is their perceived level of personal safety (e.g. likelihood of being burgled). We might expect, therefore, that the categories of people who are more frequently victims (as above) will be those people who are most likely to list crime as No.1 in the list of problems that are of major importance today. The findings, however, are exactly opposite. For every one of the variables discussed above, the people who more than others say that crime is the problem that they have been most concerned with among the problems facing our country today, are those whose characteristics are the opposite of what we have come to associate with victims:

. Those who list crime as their major concern are predominantly females.

. Concern with crime increases with each age group and is most characteristic of those who are sixty years or over.

. People with only a primary school education are

those who most frequently state that crime is the problem they are most concerned about, while tertiary educated people mention it least.

. The higher the occupation status of the family, the less likely is crime to be listed as the number one problem. Those in "D" grade occupations (lower status) mention crime three times as much as do the people in "A" grade occupations.

. The people who live in the suburbs with the two lowest status ratings ("C" and "D" grades) are those who see crime as the problem which concerns them most.

. Crime is mentioned as the matter of major concern most often by people in the lowest income bracket (twice as often as those in the highest income bracket).

If there had been some differences between those characteristics which were most often associated with victims and those which marked the people who saw crime as the major problem of today, we might have been content to ascribe such differences to chance. We cannot believe that the complete reversal of characteristics is just a matter of chance and are forced to the conclusion that whereas the victims are alert to the possibilities of personal victimization, they do not see crime as the major social problem of today. At the same time, it could be suggested that people in high income groups, high status areas, etc., are more prone to remember or mention occasions when they have been victims, thus creating the impression that most victimization is to be found in their ranks. Or it might be that people of a lower educational level may have a different concept of what constitutes a crime. For example, a bashing may be seen as a legitimate act of revenge and not as a 'crime', thus not being reported as such during the enquiry about victimization.

If either of the last two suggestions approximates the true position then the incidence of unreported crime is greater even than the figures in these reports (see Statistical Report 12) would indicate

Table XII: Percentages of people most concerned with crime

Sex	% Male	15	% Female	22	Occupational status	% A (Highest)	10	% B	13	% C	17	% D (Lowest)	28		
	Age	% Under 40	14	% 40 - 59		20	% 60 and over	27	Residential status	% A (Highest)	13	% B	14	% C	22
Education	% Primary	25	% Secondary	19	% Tertiary	10	Income	% \$0,2,999		27	% \$3,000-\$5,999	17	% \$6,000-\$9,999	20	% \$10,000 and over

If additional unmentioned, unremembered or undefined crimes which happened to people at lower socio-economic levels were to be added to the total number of incidents of victimizations reported in this study, the marked difference between victims and those who mention concern about crime as a problem would be blurred because we would have approximately the same numbers of victims in both 'low' and 'high' status groups. However, we should still be left with the unchanged observation that, those people who see crime as the problem facing our country today, are not the rich, the affluent, the high status people, the young, the well educated, but they are the poor, the elderly, the less educated, the low status people.

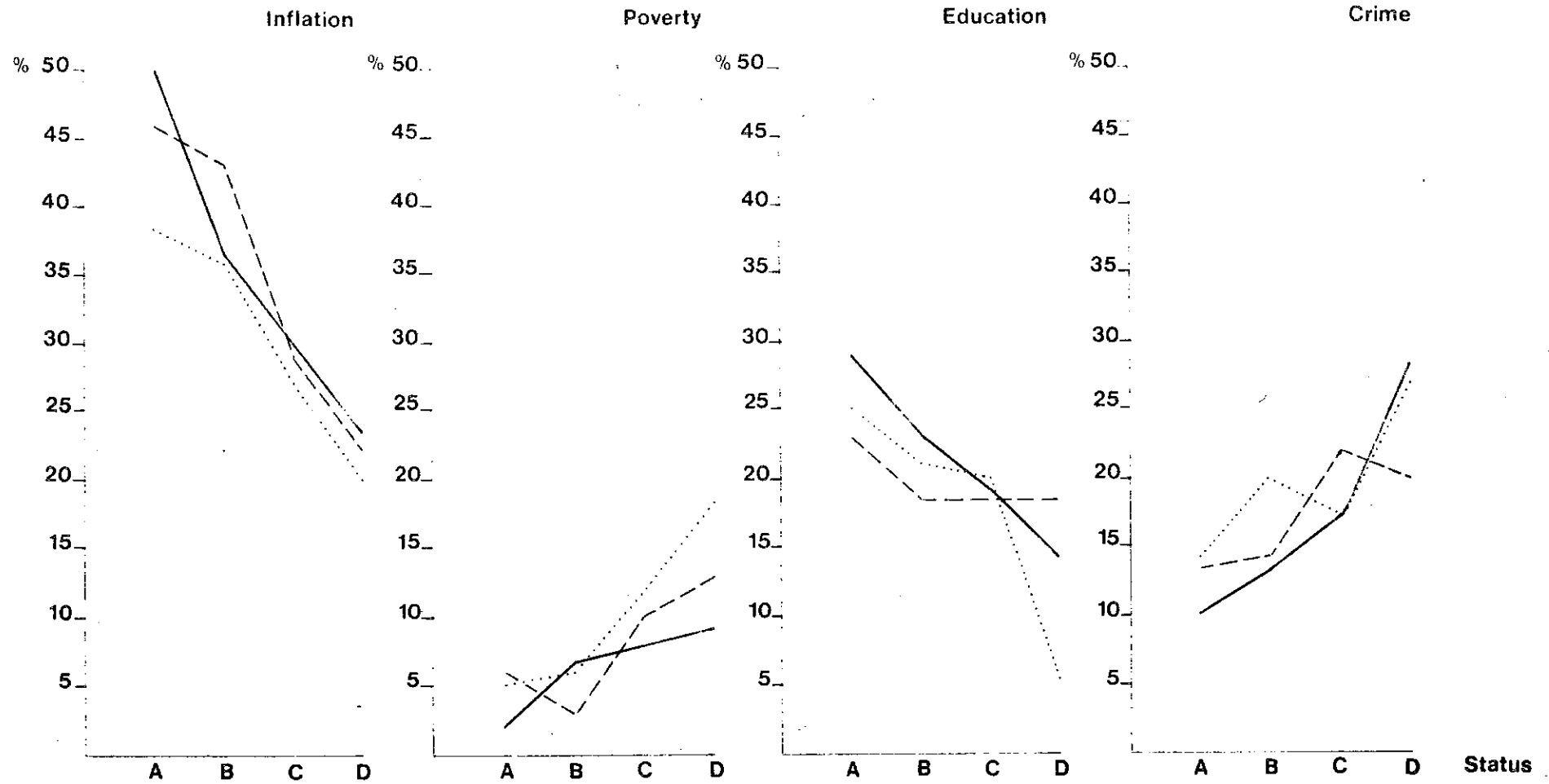
The relevance of Status

It is also very clear that one's status is very closely related to the way one views the world. A concern about poverty might be expected to be accompanied by a similar concern about rising inflation, but the graphs show clearly that the reverse is the case. The high status people, while they are the least concerned with poverty, are at the same time the ones most concerned with inflation. The low status people are more concerned than are the others with poverty, but they are the least concerned of all the status groups with inflation. These contrasting trends show a similar pattern whether status be measured by occupation, suburb of residence, or income.

The other two topics, crime and education, also show clear status trends. Education is currently a matter of concern to many high status people but is mentioned less and less as status decreases. With low status people, crime is as much a matter of concern for them as education is for high status people. In fact, concern with crime appears to be of about the same magnitude for low status people as is their concern with inflation, a characteristic which is not shared with any other status group. As status rises, so does concern with inflation, but the opposite trends occurs regarding concern with crime. Crime is not a major matter of concern for most high status people, and the large gap which is revealed between their concern with crime and their concern with inflation indicates that the view of the world held by high status people is really quite different from that held by people at the bottom of the status ladder.

Fig 2

Matters of most concern according to status



Status Rankings A (highest) to D (lowest) Occupation: suburbs of Sydney (See Congalton, 1969)

Occupational Status —————
 Residential Status - - - - -
 Income Level ········

Income Levels A = \$10,000 and over
 B = \$5,000 to \$9,999
 C = \$1,000 to \$4,999

