

Nambour Community Safety Review

Phase 2: Final Report



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Acknowledgement of Country

The project team at the University of the Sunshine Coast (UniSC) acknowledge Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and Communities, and pay respects to their Elders past, present, and emerging. We acknowledge the Kabi Kabi/Gubbi Gubbi People as the Traditional Custodians of Namba and of the land on which this research was conducted.

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The UniSC research team would like to thank the Sunshine Coast Council for funding this research. We would also like to express our warmest thanks to the steering group who provided invaluable assistance to this research. The steering group helped facilitate the survey and focus groups and provided access to data. The steering group consisted of Timothy Burns, Cr David Law, Dan Jones, and Brendan O'Shea.

The UniSC research team would also like to express our thanks to the Nambour community for supporting this research by completing the survey, helping spread the word about the survey, and giving your time to speak with us about your thoughts on Nambour's future.

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PURPOSE OF REPORT

This report presents the findings of work conducted by UniSC researchers, funded by the Sunshine Coast Council. Section 1 provides an overview and background in the current project with Section 2 providing a broad overview of key results from each of the five components. The full reports from each component can be found in the Appendices.

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Nambour was recently granted Special Entertainment Precinct status by the Queensland Government, with plans by the Sunshine Coast Council to widen employment and community engagement opportunities in the town centre through the expansion of live music venues and night-time entertainment. Development of entertainment zones of this type can provide numerous long-term benefits but also present a variety of crime-related risks.

The purpose of this report is to assist with planning processes by reviewing crime and disorder reduction approaches of town centers, community members and business stakeholder's perceptions of crime and safety in the area, and potential risks for crime and disorder in Nambour.

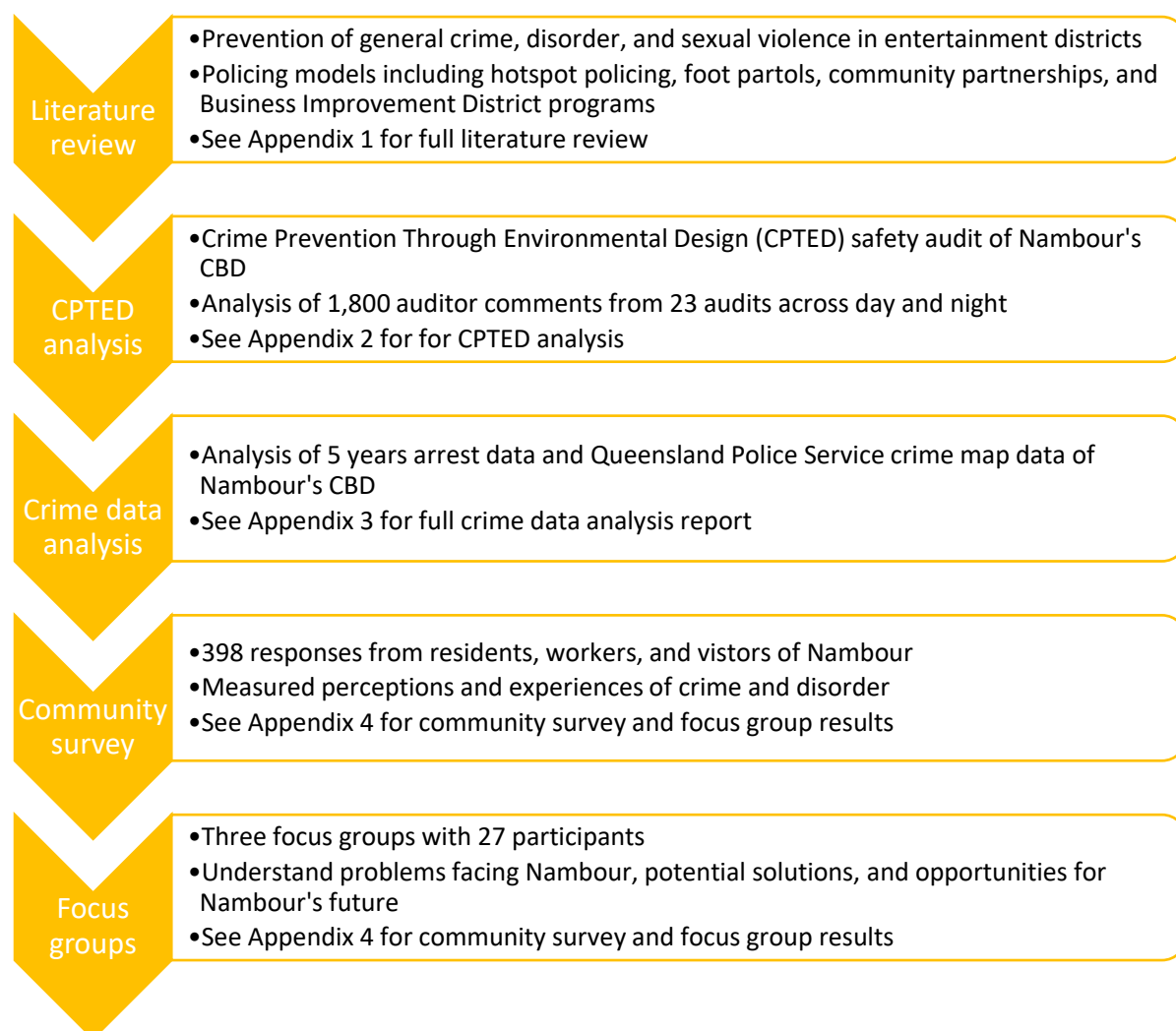
The current project builds on Phase 1 of the Nambour Community Safety Review, conducted by this research team across 2021-2022. Phase 1 included (1) a literature on crime prevention in entertainment districts and town centres, (2) an analysis of crime trends in Nambour compared to Queensland trends, other parts of the Sunshine Coast (Caloundra and Maroochydore), and other regional towns in Queensland (Gympie, Bundaberg, Maryborough), (3) a CPTED analysis of Nambour's CBD, and (4) a media analysis of crime reporting around Nambour. The crime analysis as part of Phase 1 found that Nambour has amongst the lowest rates of crime on the Sunshine Coast and other comparable regional areas, however, media analysis highlighted community concerns around crime and disorder in the CBD.

The current project included five components extending key findings from Phase 1, including (1) conducting a literature review of criminological research on a different area around best practices and successful case studies in business/town center improvement or rejuvenation programs, and social welfare aligned models of policing (including police beat programs), (2) a systematic analysis of CPTED auditor comments to explore trends in perceptions of auditor safety, and auditor suggestions for improvements to provide context to auditor ratings presented in Phase 1 and direction for implementation, (3) a more detailed analysis of crime types and locations in the town centre of Nambour, (4) a community survey of perceptions of safety and experiences with crime in Nambour, and (5) focus groups with stakeholders of Nambour to assess their perceptions of safety and management in the Nambour CBD. Figure 1 summarises the components of the current research project.



Credit: Sunshine Coast Council

Figure 1. Summary of Nambour Community Safety Review Phase 2



SUMMARY & KEY FINDINGS

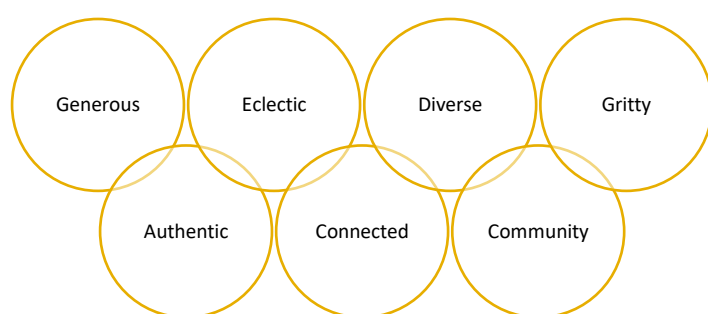
Nine collective findings from the five components of the current study are outlined in **Table 1**. Each finding will be summarised below, connecting to key findings from each component of the Phase 2 project. Full reports for each current component, including more detailed information and analysis can be found in the Appendices. Overall, findings suggest that Nambour is a generous community that embraces its history and authenticity. However, crime and disorder are concentrated in Nambour's CBD which impacts people's perception of safety in the town. Recommended responses to crime and disorder include activating space with community and family-based events; CPTED approaches to address maintenance, lighting, and sightlines to reduce opportunities for crime and increase perceptions of safety; and implementing police-community partnerships that focus on supporting vulnerable people in Nambour. Each of the 10 key findings are summarised below, with recommendations emerging from this research outlined at the end of the summary report for consideration by Sunshine Coast Council. These 10 findings are grouped into three themes –

(1) Nambour's community, (2) crime and safety concerns, and (3) crime prevention considerations.

Table 1. Key Findings

Nambour's community
Key finding 1: Nambour is a generous, diverse, eclectic community with many opportunities for future development
Key finding 2: The Special Entertainment Precinct provides opportunities for community-based and family friendly events
Key finding 3: Supporting vulnerable people is important to the Nambour community
Crime and safety concerns
Key finding 4: People feel Nambour is becoming less safe and feel unsafe at night. Young people feel less safe than other age groups in Nambour.
Key finding 5: Disorder is concentrated in Nambour's CBD
Key finding 6: Loitering, substance abuse, and homelessness are key concerns of the community
Crime prevention considerations
Key finding 7: Parts of Nambour's CBD require maintenance and activation
Key finding 8: Police foot-patrols have small positive effects on reducing crime and disorder
Key finding 9: Inclusive community-government-business partnership approaches to crime and disorder are effective

Key Finding 1: Nambour is a generous, diverse, eclectic community with many opportunities for future development



Nambour was described in focus groups as a **generous community** with high levels of social capital and connectedness between the people who live and work in the town. For example, focus group participants explained:

[Nambour's] well connected and that there's a high degree of social capital. People know each other and are willing to help each other and support each other and spend time with each other and work collected toward different goals together. And that's kind of the core of Nambour and the greater Nambour community.

Nambour's fiercely communal. There's a fiercely strong community around making it prosper.

Proudly and frequently participants commented on how Nambour provided an alternative place to other more 'touristy' parts of the Sunshine Coast, including its *"real grittiness"* and *"grunge"* and that created a sense of history and authenticity in the town, with participants remarking *"Nambour is eclectic, it's diverse"* and *"it's the hub of the hinterland."*



Credit: Sunshine Coast Council.

The **history and culture of First Nations people** was seen as a strength of Nambour, with participants commenting *"Nambour is the centre, it's the heart of Kabi Kabi people,"* and *"also can't help but acknowledge the First Nations people and that historic and ongoing connection that they have to Nambour."*

The **local arts, music, and creatives scene in Nambour** was seen as a strength of the community. Comments by residents in the survey focused more on the potential for Nambour, reflecting on the natural beauty

of Nambour's parks with another resident commenting *"Nambour could really flourish with cool cafes, music venues and art culture."* Similarly, the wall art murals were commented on positively throughout the CPTED audits (one example pictured above). The diversity of legitimate activities in Nambour was also identified in the CPTED audit of the CBD, with one observer making the following comment:

Stores of a variety, Church, licensed venues, many different food styles, community hall, skate park bordering boundary, medical centre, tattoo parlour, street art.

Positive aspects of Nambour's CBD identified in the CPTED audit included presence of legitimate activities, feelings of safety, ample parking, good public transport options and public infrastructure, and attractive green spaces

Positive aspects of Nambour's town centre were also identified in the CPTED audit. Positive features included its existing perceived purpose as a social space, and consistent support for its potential to provide legitimate entertainment. Specific positive features included (1) legitimate activities were readily identifiable, (2) most auditors felt safe most of the time during the day, (3) there is ample and convenient parking, (4) public infrastructure and the presence of public transport were good, (5) some green spaces were attractive.

Focus group and some survey participants generally considered that Nambour was not exceptional when it comes to issues of safety and crime, explaining *"I think like anywhere, it's obviously got an underbelly."* It was believed that 'outsiders' of Nambour held these negative perceptions due to not knowing the community and people in the town and that visitors *"only see the bad parts."*

Nambour is no different to any other town in the region, they all have crime. Nambour has been seen as the gutter of the Sunshine Coast. But its central it provides services that other communities have so a lot of those people seeking services end up in Nambour.

Key Finding 2: The Special Entertainment Precinct provides opportunities for community-based and family friendly events

Building on from the positives of Nambour's community and local arts, survey and focus group participants recognised the opportunities the **Special Entertainment Precinct (SEP)** could create to facilitate community events and showcase Nambour's talent. As one participant in the focus group commented, the SEP could *"bring people in to promote artistry, promote music."*

"I think we've got some really good bones in regards to entertainment. We've got the Black Box Theatre, we've got Lind Lane Theatre, we've got potential with PCYC. I think it's really important to continue to strengthen those assets. Because the music industry on the Sunshine Coast is really burgeoning as well as some really talented artists here. And I think that we do have an opportunity to capitalise on that if it's done in the right way. And I do think that we could do it and do it in a Nambour way."

- Focus group participant

Most people in the community knew about the SEP, with almost three-quarters (72%) of survey participants indicating they knew Nambour was now a designated SEP. Focus group and survey participants spoke about how the SEP could build on current and past community events such as Tram Fest and the Sugar Cane Festival, capitalise on the existing arts culture in Nambour and showcase local produce. The use of the SEP to build a late-night club district was not in community interests, with a focus group participant clearly stating, *"None of us will ever give you an endorsement for a nightclub."* Instead, the prominent theme from the focus groups was that the **SEP should focus on community and family-based events and smaller venues with good food:**

Marketing it as it's family centric. It's community centric. Sure, you can come, and we can do the big family picnics at the park and listen to live music and support local acts. And I would love to see more of that come in.

So, the idea was if you have good food, if you've got music, the two just gelled together.

For the SEP to be a success, focus group and survey participants spoke of alleviating barriers such as relaxing *'all this red-tape and all this confusion'* regarding permits, building and parking codes, and commercial landlords. For example, one survey participant explained:

I believe the SEP precinct zoning is a fantastic thing for Nambour and should be encouraged and supported by Council rather than being bogged in and made unviable by red tape.

Increasing public transport at night was also seen as a need by Nambour residents to help the CBD prosper:

Nambour is becoming a great little town with a vibrant feel. New families have moved in and new businesses and restaurants. But we need to be able to support these businesses with a local bus service to bring diners and patrons to the precinct.

The SEP was viewed by community members to provide opportunities for community relationships to grow and help people feel safer in Nambour. As participants explained:



Credit: Sunshine Coast Council.

Those sorts of events allow for those lovely emergent moments when people run into each other in the street...and that allows for that social capital to build.

I think that further activation opportunities, including SEP activities, could assist with increasing the number of people and foot traffic in the centre of Nambour at various times of the day, which could enhance perceptions of safety.

Key Finding 3: Supporting vulnerable people is important to the Nambour community

Community members in the focus groups and surveys recognised the vulnerable population that live in Nambour. Issues around homelessness and rough sleeping, mental illness, and substance addiction were acknowledged. Research shows that aggressive law-and-order responses to target homelessness, mental health

problems, and substance abuse problems are not the most effective and can result in further marginalisation of already vulnerable people (see Appendix 1: Literature Review). Criminalising homelessness and substance abuse can result in mistrust of police and reduce access to social services, housing, and employment. Instead, **respect-based, inclusive**

“My hope is that we can take vulnerable at-risk young people or people with mental health issues, we as a community invite them in. We lift them up and then they want to stay. They don’t want to go anywhere else because we’ve done such a good job of lifting them up and bringing them in. That’s my hope that we could create something like that in Nambour.”

- Focus group participant

approaches and cross-sector collaboration between criminal justice, health, and social services have been associated with increased engagement, significantly better treatment outcomes, and reduced crime and disorder.

Supporting vulnerable people was viewed as requiring an all of community response. One survey respondent commented *“It’s everyone’s job to have a safe and inclusive community.”* Some of the community-based initiatives spoken about in the focus groups included The Nest, The Shack, the Thursday Nambour Community Dinners, Friday burger night at the Anglican Church, the soup-kitchen on Monday, and the touch-football nights for teenagers.

Although in some instances, vulnerable people were referred to as *“bad”* and *“undesirable,”* a key theme around the need to support people from vulnerable or disadvantaged backgrounds was present in focus groups and survey responses.

As a society, we have to take responsibility where some of these things end up. And it’s not easy. I was thinking that if these people had the resources to help...or somehow, we provide things for them, they wouldn’t actually be on the street misbehaving.

Some of the root causes of crime here in Nambour is poverty and homelessness which exacerbates people’s mental health and substance misuse. More support directed towards these areas would help decrease crime rates. More affordable housing, more drug and alcohol rehabilitation services, more grassroot support services, more youth activities, more mental health supports, more community development.

There was tension in community views around the level of social support available to community members in Nambour. **Although research has found that opioid substitution therapy (like methadone clinics) has the strongest evidence for a harm-reduction approach in reducing overdose mortality, disease transmission, and crime,** there were mixed perceptions about having the methadone clinic in the CBD with many Nambour residents commenting it should be moved to be co-located with the Nambour hospital. Community participants in the survey and focus group recognised the concentration of social services in Nambour’s CBD and how vulnerable people experiencing homelessness or substance abuse issues were *“put here in Nambour because we have the right services, the community services, we have all of the things that these people need.”* Some Nambour residents felt this contributed to problems with antisocial behaviour and disorder the CBD: *“Services have to go somewhere, but they shouldn’t all be located in one town. Nambour is carrying more than its fair share.”*

However, focus group participants recognised the need to balance discouraging crime and providing support for vulnerable community members with one stating: *“The ones that want to be helped can stay as part of the community. But soon weed out those who wreak havoc.”* Inclusive community places were seen as solutions to this balance and a starting point in building community connections and reducing public disorder:

We got down once a week to The Nest and it’s so inclusive. So, we’re talking about the people that are causing the issues that are engaging down there. It’s beautiful. And

then the same at the Shack...it's them, it's that feeling included. How do you make the people that are kind of causing the issue feel included.

They're actually going into the community centre and they're getting food there and showering there and forming connections there because they had sort of a big level of trust to the community centre. It's a start, it just needs to be scaffolded by others.

Overall, research has demonstrated that cross-sector collaboration, therapeutic communities, and acceptance towards those experiencing vulnerability, disadvantage, and addiction issues are associated with positive outcomes such as reduced drug use, drug-related problems, criminal activity, and reduced involvement with the justice system.

Key finding 4: People feel Nambour is becoming less safe and feel unsafe at night. Young people feel less safe than other age groups in Nambour.

Public perceptions of crime do not always reflect crime trends. **Perceptions of crime, public disorder, or antisocial behaviour can make people feel unsafe.** Many people believe crime is becoming more common, despite reductions in crime rates. **Research has found that residents are most often concerned with public disorder and anti-social behaviour, especially groups of people loitering in public places.** Other research has found that the two most important factors regarding fear of crime were gender (women were generally more fearful of crime than men) and perceived disorder. Perceived disorder was indicated by litter, graffiti, vandalism and a 'general state of disrepair', particularly disorderly youth, intoxicated people, and signs of homelessness.

In this study, survey participants were asked about their perceptions of crime and safety in Nambour CBD during the day and night and whether they feel Nambour is less safe than previous years. **Just over half (53%) of survey participants perceived Nambour to be less safe now than previous years.** Women were significantly more likely to perceive Nambour as less safe than previous years than men. However, there were competing perceptions about safety in crime and safety trends in Nambour throughout the survey and focus groups, with example comments such as:

Nambour is safer now than 5 years ago. It feels safer all the time. Much better now with more young families.

I feel safer in Nambour than I did probably 10 years ago.

I hate going to town...I was born here & grew up here & it's the worst it's ever been...I always feel unsafe.

It's not a perception. This community isn't safe.

Further, people felt generally safe walking through Nambour CBD during the day (58% feel safe doing this), however, feelings of safety decrease at night (only 18% feel safe doing this).

At night, it's uncommon for people to feel safe waiting for public transport or walking through the parks in central Nambour (8% and 6% of participants feel safe doing this, respectively). Feeling unsafe at night was a consistent theme across men and women of all ages in the survey. Example comments include:

I just have a feeling of not being in central Nambour after dark unless I had to and I don't like walking through the parks there either (72-year-old female)

It is not safe for people to walk after dark 8pm-5am (22-year-old male)

I do not feel safe being out at night alone (32-year-old female)

Table 2: Feelings of safety in Nambour

I feel safe...	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)
During the day			
Walking in Nambour	25	17	58
Waiting for a bus or train	37	27	36
Walking through parks	39	19	42
Visiting a shopping centre	16	17	68
At night			
Walking in Nambour	68	14	18
Waiting for a bus or train	71	21	8
Walking through parks	79	15	6
Visiting a shopping centre	55	19	27
Nambour is less safe now than in previous years	21	26	53

In the focus groups, **many participants commented on feelings less safe at night, particularly in shopping centre carparks.** Feeling safe during the day and less so at night was also reflected in the CPTED auditor comments. Most of the comments around safety during the day were positive, however, concerns around feeling safe at night were common, especially in places where lighting was not

bright and there was a sense of isolation. **Issues around lighting were commented on for Mitchell Street and Bury Street, the Currie Street train underpass, and under-cover carparks throughout the CBD.** A sense of isolation and a lack of activity impacted auditors' perceptions of safety, particularly around Mitchell Street and side streets around the CBD. Auditors commented on the CBD feeling *"dark and lonely"* and *"very isolated feeling – Bury St – long stretch with some businesses but none open and no activity."* Survey comments reflected this sense of unease at night: *"Nighttime isn't safe because there isn't anyone around or businesses open."* As a response, community residents commented on the need to have activities on at night to activate space and increase *"human traffic in the evening."*

A lack of activity away from the shopping centres and business hubs, along with insufficient lighting and indicators of disorder reduced perceptions of safety of the CPTED auditors at night.

Survey responses explored perceptions of safety across four age groups (i.e., 16-24; 25-44; 45-64; 65+), which found a significant difference in perceptions of safety across age. Results

identified that **those aged 16-24 felt the least safe in Nambour's CBD, especially young women**. Survey comments provided additional context to young people's safety, with multiple comments made by young people including:

It's not a safe place to live or walk around definitely going to move in the near future (18-year-old male).

Very unsafe place (21-year-old female).

This issue arose in the focus groups, with one participant who worked in a non-profit with young people commenting *"And there will be quite a few girls that will say 'please not Nambour because I don't feel safe in Nambour,'...and safety for that younger age groups seems to be a bit of a concern."*

There were also multiple comments about young people's safety in town, particularly around public transport stops. Example comments included:

When I'm catching a bus into Nambour, I always have to have someone meeting me at the bus stop that I know I can trust and because I've met a lot of dodgy people in Nambour. So, coming in, it's just like 'What if I bumped into him? What if there's drama, will I end up getting bashed?' Yeah, my main concern is coming to Nambour.

My teenagers do not feel safe waiting for public transport in the town...When teens are afraid to be in the town there is a major problem.

However, again there were differing perspectives on safety based on age, with older people who participated in the survey also describing Nambour as *"Intimidating"* (69-year-old female). Further, a local business manager in the focus group commenting that *"elderly now are not feeling safe"* around their business and walking into town.

Further analyses showed a significant difference in the number of crime and disorder incidents witnessed and age groups, showing that **young people aged 16-24 witnessed significantly more crime and disorder events than those in older age groups**. Unsurprisingly, the more types of crimes a person directly witnessed, the lower their perceptions of safety were. **This may explain why younger people had the lowest perceptions of safety in Nambour – they were exposed to more crime and disorder, significantly decreasing their sense of safety.** This finding is consistent with past research which has found young people are more fearful of violence due to spending more time in public spaces.

The media can also impact people's perceptions of crime and safety. Participants were asked how often they had seen crime stories about Nambour in the news media in the past fortnight. Those that had seen crime stories **daily or almost daily had significantly lower perceptions of safety than those who had seen such stories less frequently**. This finding from the survey participants is consistent with prior research which has found that **those who are frequently exposed to media coverage on crime are more likely to over-estimate risks of victimisation**. This problem is exacerbated when crime media coverage is sensationalised and when people can relate to the location or victims in the story.

Key Finding 5: Disorder is concentrated in Nambour's CBD

Analysing crime data showed that crime and disorder are concentrated in Nambour's CBD. Table 3 demonstrates that one-third (33%) of all reported crime throughout Nambour occurs in the CBD. This is consistent with criminological research which shows that crime concentrates in specific places.

Analysis of crime data showed crime in the CBD concentrates around the public transport hub, Coles Shopping area, Nambour Plaza, and between Currie Street and the Town Square area.

Trespassing and Vagrancy and Good Order Offences are particularly concentrated in the CBD. Trespassing and Vagrancy concentrate on Ann Street and around Nambour Plaza, with Good Order Offences occurring frequently around the public transport hub and C-Square, near Nambour Plaza, along Ann Street, and around James St and Shearer St.

Table 3: Comparison of reported crime in the Nambour CBD to the suburb

Offence	Suburb Reported Crime (2018-2023)	CBD Reported Crime (2018-2023)	Proportion of SEP to Suburb Crime (2018-2023)
Other Theft (Excl. Unlawful Entry)	1,576	512	33%
Good Order Offences	903	379	42%
Drug Offences	1,188	290	24%
Other Property Damage	587	194	33%
Trespassing and Vagrancy	198	104	53%
Assault	440	96	22%
Unlawful Entry	350	60	17%
All Offences	7,233	2,383	33%

The crime data analysis showed that serious forms of violent crime are rare in Nambour. The main crime arrest categories for the Nambour entertainment precinct across a five-year period 2018 to 2023 were Theft (Excluding Unlawful Entry) (361), Good Order Offences (306), and Drug Offences (255). **Most offence arrest types appear to have reduced during 2020-2021 and not yet returned to pre-COVID levels.** However, some offence arrest types have increased over the past two years, including Assault, Trespassing and Vagrancy, and Unlawful Entry.

The crime data analysis reflects the community experiences with crime. Survey participants were asked to count the number of times they had directly witnessed crime and disorder in Nambour CBD in the past 12 months. **As Table 4 demonstrates, over 9 in 10 people had witnessed loitering in Nambour in the past year, with over two-thirds witnessing this behaviour more than five times. Dangerous driving, litter, and drug dealing were also**

commonly reported types of crime and disorder. Robbery and sexual harassment were not often seen, with more than half of respondents reporting they had never witnessed these types of crime in central Nambour.

Table 4: Number of times crime witnessed in Nambour CBD in the past 12 months

Type of crime	Number of times witnessed			Total % witnessed
	Never (%)	1-5 times (%)	More than 5 times (%)	
Litter	20	37	43	80
Vandalism	22	43	35	78
Loitering	8	23	69	92
Sexual harassment	55	37	8	44
Dangerous driving	18	43	39	82
Shop theft	47	36	17	53
Drug dealing	31	42	28	69
Assault	42	45	13	57
Robbery	68	27	6	32

Participants were concerned with crime and disorder in Nambour and believed these issues were concentrated to a small group of people in Nambour's CBD. For example, one survey respondent commented that *"Nambour is a nice town. The problems are caused by an annoying minority."* This issue arose in focus groups with similar ideas expressed:

There's virtually no crime issues whatsoever in the Nambour Police District, other than within our CBD. I believe our CBD is a hotspot...And the core issue is this tiny little group of people that are making life so uncomfortable for the other people.

There's definitely a problem with antisocial behaviour and with crime in the CBD.

It seemed that the **visibility of disorder impacted people's perceptions of safety in Nambour's CBD**. Focus group and survey participants understood how witnessing disorder and people acting strangely on the street could impact people's perceptions of safety, as illustrated by a focus group participant:

Its visible, or more visible than it may be other places...that rowdiness that you sometimes see in Nambour doesn't necessarily equate with unsafeness. For a lot of people, that might express as not being safe.

These crime trends and community experiences reflect what observers saw during the CPTED audits. **Importantly, no instances of physical violence were observed by auditors during the audit period.**

However, disorder was observed and mostly referred to low-level property offences (e.g., shop theft), graffiti, and public drinking. Public drinking was associated with verbal confrontation, littering, and loitering. CPTED auditor comments around disorder in Nambour included the following:

Couple of drunks wandering around aimlessly

Public drinking (Town Square); graffiti (underpass, H&R Block building, abandoned shop fronts); homeless blankets & clothing under RSL (Matthew St); intoxicated persons yelling out to us & public; homeless male yelling at us & drinking on Currie St.



Train station underpass. Credit: UniSC Research Team

Key Finding 6: Loitering, substance abuse, and homelessness are key concerns of the community

Types of disorder, including loitering, drug and alcohol use in public, and homelessness emerged as key concerns of the community in the survey and focus groups. Survey participants were asked to select the crime and disorder problems they believed were a problem in Nambour CBD and the size of the problem. As demonstrated in Table 5, **half of survey participants believed loitering and drugs were 'major' problems in Nambour CBD** (50% and 49%, respectively). Vandalism and shop theft were also considered to be major problems (37% and 36%, respectively). **Serious forms of violence, including assault and robbery were less likely to be perceived as major problems.** Likewise, sexual harassment was rarely seen as a significant issue within Nambour's CBD.

Table 5: Nambour community concerns regarding crime and disorder

Type of problem	Size of problem			
	None (%)	Little bit (%)	Somewhat (%)	Major (%)
Litter	11	30	39	20
Vandalism	4	27	32	37
Loitering	6	18	26	50
Sexual harassment	33	37	23	8
Dangerous driving	18	37	29	16
Shop theft	6	26	33	36
Drug dealing	7	17	27	49
Assault	17	30	35	17
Robbery	14	32	33	21

Specific behaviours that concerned community members and were commented on by survey and focus group members included (1) verbal abuse, (2) begging for money, and (3) public intoxication.

Abusive language and swearing loudly whilst children are present. Intimidating behaviour if looked at.

Not the begging, but the actual trying to force money out of people, particularly vulnerable elderly people, it's a massive issue in this town at this very moment...It's essentially menacing for money. It's not begging. It's menacing.

The amount of people I've seen drugged, drunk, abusive language is extremely disturbing.

Further, focus group participants and survey respondents identified areas they believed were most dangerous and places where they had witnessed or experienced crime. From this data, **crime and disorder issues were found to be concentrated in (1) car parks, including the carpark for the RSL, Supercheap Auto, and the three major supermarkets (Woolworths, ALDI, and Coles), (2) the train station and underpass, and (3) the area along Petrie Creek and Quota Park.** Respondents in the survey described avoiding Quota Park due to drug use and used syringes along the walkways. Further, in these specific locations, homelessness was very visible, impacting people's perceptions. For example, one resident commented *"People living near the train bridge in tents is not a good look and makes me feel uneasy when nearby."* However, many residents in survey and focus groups spoke of the need for additional services such as mental health treatment, addiction treatment, and safe housing being *"a desperate need"* for the Nambour community.

A NOTE ON HOMELESSNESS

Comments about people experiencing homelessness were frequently made in survey responses and CPTED auditor comments. For example, one CPTED auditor commented:

Town square super uncomfortable with the homeless & intoxicated people.

Survey respondents and auditors made comments about the behaviour of homeless people they had witnessed (i.e., shouting, drinking) and how they felt in their presence (i.e., uncomfortable). There are several explanations for why people may perceive people without homes to be at additional risk of offending, including (1) by living in a public space, behaviour is more easily witnessed and monitored and more likely to be perceived as ‘loiterers’, (2) those struggling to find stable accommodation may have to engage in ‘survival offending,’ such as theft, and (3) substance abuse is often used as a coping mechanism. People without stable housing may struggle with a complex mix of factors including alcohol and drug misuse, mental health problems, financial struggles, family violence, and increased risks of victimisation. **We caution the use of punitive policies and strategies (i.e., banning sleeping in public places, increasing anti-homelessness design features) that could further exclude those without stable housing in Nambour.** Instead, we would encourage inclusive policies that foster support from local service providers, which is already seen by Nambour’s community as important.

“Clearly there is a need for more support services for marginalized people. They need to be brought into the community rather than stigmatised and shunned.”

- Survey respondent

Key Finding 7: Parts of Nambour’s CBD require maintenance and activation

Issues of image maintenance around some areas in Nambour’s CBD emerged from the CPTED audit, focus groups, and community survey. Focus group participants commented on how the image of Nambour and a lack of maintenance around town contributed to perceptions of people feeling unsafe: *“it’s aesthetics in terms of the image of the town itself...so it looks like crap so it’s gonna get a bad image.”* Comments by Nambour residents in the survey echoed this sentiment:

The CBD looks run down – it adds to a sense of hopelessness and neglect. It’s a real shame because there is a lot of really good businesses and groups around the area.

The main street looks unsafe because street lighting has been out for months.

Lighting was measured in the CPTED audit undertaken in Phase 1. The auditors rated lighting as mostly sufficient throughout the CBD, but **lighting in under-cover carparks, the train station underpass, and alleyways could be enhanced to increase perceptions of safety, especially at night.**



Issues around vacant and rundown buildings were identified in the CPTED audit, particularly along Currie Street. General concerns about a lack of maintenance, rubbish, and vandalism were raised around Petrie Creek, Bury St, and the train station underpass. Worn down areas can negatively impact people's perceptions of safety.

Filling empty or abandoned shopfronts, increasing outdoor dining, and enhancing public amenities could help to create a lively atmosphere that attracts residents and visitors to Nambour's CBD and enhances community safety.

Credit: UniSC Research Team.

The CPTED analysis also identified several features of the CBD that could be addressed to support and build on positive features. Areas of improvement focussed on increasing legitimate activities and prosocial use of spaces to increase the number of people in those areas. This could improve perceptions of safety and reduce feelings of isolation and potential for crime. Specific improvements for consideration included (1) improving lighting along the main streets, train underpass, and alleyways, (2) trimming overgrown vegetation to improve sightlines, (3) improved building maintenance and upgrading, (4) repair and re-surfacing of foot paths, (5) improved public amenities to increase attractiveness and inclusion for the community, and (6) filling vacant stores.

Activating space is seen as an important feature of rejuvenating the CBD and increasing people's perceptions of safety and desire to spend time in Nambour. As focus group participants explained having people in the CBD and local community events can create inclusive and safe places:

Having life on the street, like the foot traffic, the movement, eyes and people talking and chatter and all of that aids like for a safe environment.

I think the activation of this space on a Thursday night, the activations of burgers up here on the Anglican Church on Friday night, Friday nights out here [Chambers Forecourt]. It's sensational out here. What's happened with the soup kitchen on a Monday, it's activated spaces where people can actually feel inclusive, which is terrific, feel welcome, feel valued, that just then brings the whole level of people feeling unsafe down.

Existing community-led initiatives like the public piano and Nambour Community Dinners should continue to be supported.



Credit: Sunshine Coast Council.

Prior research has shown that community ownership of public space is critical to sustaining reductions in public disorder and antisocial behaviour. Increasing activity in public spaces like parks and town squares through children's activities, music events, and food vendors can decrease crime and disorder. Community led initiatives in Nambour such as the public piano and the Nambour Community Dinners in the CBD are positive ways to activate public spaces, encourage prosocial behaviour, and decrease perceptions of unease. Focus group participants spoke of how the Nambour Community Dinners meant *"there is a presence, so people have a tendency not to get too socially unacceptable during those times...these guys actually do a very quiet, effective safety role."*

However, this was viewed as a kind of 'chicken and egg' scenario where *"you somehow got to get people to come out and reclaim their street."* Lots of small, cheap, and local activities were seen as possibilities to activate Nambour. Focus group participants spoke of the possibility of resuming regular weekly markets in town and increasing the number of positive activities for young people to do, such as regular touch-football games and a skating rink at the back of a local business. As a Nambour resident in the survey commented:

The town needs people...people who live...people who dine...people who play sport...people who like live music...people who shop...build it and they will come.

Key Finding 8: Police foot-patrols have small positive effects on reducing crime and disorder

When community members were asked about responses to crime and disorder in the CBD in the focus groups and surveys, the most common response revolved around police. **Residents spoke of how police and Police Liaison Officer's (PLOs) used to walk through Nambour's CBD on a regular basis and the positive impacts this had on crime:**

Up until recently we had a daily walk through by police. This tended to keep unwanted behaviour at bay.

That beat walk was making a massive difference...we didn't see it as such a policing act, but as a community act and they got to know people, new people that come into town, they would connect with them.

The visible presence of police “*on bikes and walking*” was seen as a critical need in Nambour by community members, especially at night and on weekends. However, community members in the focus group **recognised that local police “resources are so stretched”** and police had to balance competing priorities around calls for serious forms of violence, including family violence.

Policing research has found that police foot-patrols can have small, positive effects on reducing crime and disorder. In the literature review, **half of the fourteen police foot patrol studies reviewed found reductions in at least one crime type.** The effects on street violence, property, and nuisance crimes were small and varied across studies. Reductions in crime and disorder also did not last very long, diminishing as soon as three months after interventions. Further, **reductions were often associated with spatial or temporal displacement**, meaning that people and issues were simply moved – temporarily - to other locations

Although community residents had firm beliefs in the need for more visible police presence, respondents also seemed cognizant that police themselves cannot solve all the problems in Nambour’s CBD and spoke about **responses to crime as a “a community issue as well.”**

The need for community responses to crime are reflected in research, with studies showing that service orientated approaches were found to be as, or more, effective than enforcement orientated foot patrols, and were associated with reducing crime in surrounding areas. These findings suggest that service orientated approaches can not only reap more benefit than law and order approaches but increase safety and reduce crime beyond the targeted areas.

Key Finding 9: Community-government-business partnership approaches to crime and disorder are effective

As already discussed, the Nambour community is active in implementing programs to respond to problems, with community centres such as The Shack and The Nest, and several food-based programs on offer throughout the week in Nambour. Resultingly, **it was well recognised by community members that responses to crime and supporting vulnerable people required Council, police and community input.** As focus group participants explained:

I think when there’s a problem for any of us, it’s good to complain as say “oh yeah, we should have police. And we have this, we should have that.” But I think as a group, you need to show that you’re doing something about it too.

I think it’s a Council responsibility, police responsibility, but I also think it’s community’s responsibility as well.

Past initiatives between community and police were spoken about in the focus group and included Nambour Safe and Business Safe. Nambour Safe was a collaboration between Council, the Chamber of Commerce, and community members. Community feedback and audits were used to alert businesses and Council of safety precautions (e.g., lighting at night)

do maintenance and repairs throughout Nambour (e.g., fix broken footpaths). Business Safe extended this program in conjunction with the police to **educate business owners about crime prevention and managing safety concerns**. Past research has shown the positive effects of place managers (i.e., business owners) on reducing crime and disorder in and around their businesses.

The literature review explored the impact of community-oriented policing and community partnerships on crime and disorder. A systematic review found that **community and problem-solving policing approaches to disorder were associated with reductions in crime, whereas aggressive, law enforcement approaches were not**. Importantly, research has found that a **'uniformed presence' can help increase perceptions of safety** and that such patrols did not need to be conducted by police or security to have a positive effect.

Further, **all ten community partnership evaluations found reductions in either crime or disorder**. Impacts of England's Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) were found to contribute to a 39% reduction in reported crime between 1995 and 2004. Other studies found overall reductions in crime between 24% and 29%, with substantial reductions for burglary, assault, and serious violent crime. **Crisis-intervention teams were associated with more positive attitudes towards marginalised groups, enhanced access to appropriate health and social care, and reduced arrests and days spent in custody.**

Strong analysis of local data, identifying weaknesses of previous approaches, building inter-agency trust and co-operation, multi-component programs, and removing alcohol advertising to reduce anti-social behaviour were seen as particularly successful features of community partnerships. **The impacts of collective community action in organising and informing the development of interventions appear to be more effective and enduring than police-led approaches**. One study found that while local government took a leadership role in the first two years of partnership, later years were characterised by community organisations facilitating most changes.

Community-oriented policing develops cooperative relationships between police and locals to identify and solve crime and disorder problems

Community partners use police services within community resources and groups to co-produce safety and reduce fear of crime through improved community connections

Crisis-intervention teams are a form of partnership between police and health agencies to improve responses for people with substance abuse or mental health issues

Business Improvement Districts are a form of community partnership developed to enhance the vibrancy of town centres and combat fear of crime, antisocial behaviour, and environmental problems. BID models are more effective in reducing crime and disorder than law enforcement style approaches.

Focus group participants also spoke about the importance of a whole of “*precinct approach*”, requiring input from local community groups, Council, and business owners in rejuvenating Nambour and creating a safe CBD. Some BIDs assist the homeless, provide street repairs, public furniture and landscaping, sponsor street fairs and community events, and develop

strategies to draw shoppers, tourists, and businesses into their town centres. **BIDs have been credited with restoring town morale and ‘making older downtowns more attractive places to shop, visit, do business, and seek entertainment.’** The literature review covered research on the effectiveness of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) on reducing crime and disorder in town centres. Eleven of twelve **BID evaluations saw enduring reductions in crime and/or disorder, particularly for property crime.** The impacts on violent crimes were mixed, with some studies finding reductions in serious crime, with other studies finding mixed results. Crime reduction benefits were found to last between three and 12 years, but the importance of regular monitoring and re-evaluation of community crime and safety risks and strengths was emphasised.

Focus group participants spoke about **the importance of landlords investing in their buildings and the town to maintain a vibrant image** “*you go down the main street and it looks derelict in a lot of areas and needs to put the onus on the landlords*”. Local business owners spoke about positive experiences with landlords investing money, paint and upgrading buildings in Nambour:

Before it was mouldy and rusty and the window frames were yellow, which didn’t look appealing at all...and everyone’s like it looks great now.

The new guy in Nambour is passionate and driven. They own a bunch of buildings in town, they can see the value in reviving the town.

CPTED strategies to address cleanliness and appearance were features of successful community partnership and community policing studies. All the successful BID studies included CPTED strategies to address physical signs of disorder, which focussed on street cleaning, vandalism and street repair, graffiti and rubbish removal, and improved landscaping, lighting, gating, signage, public facilities and addressing dilapidated buildings. BIDs also incorporated natural guardianship not only using civilian foot patrol, but through the revitalisation of urban areas to attract more business operators, customers and residents.

BID evaluations also highlighted the use of social support outreach services, particularly regarding the homeless. Close work between partnership members, welfare services, and business operators to provide supported employment opportunities for homeless people contributed to solving their public disorder, recidivism, and space management issues.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall, this research has found that Nambour has a strong sense of community and has invested residents and business-owners who want to see the CBD prosper. Reducing homelessness and supporting vulnerable people are important to community members. There are problems with antisocial behaviour and disorder in the CBD, linked to issues of disrepair, substance use and loitering. The literature review found that specific features of successful programs to reduce crime and disorder include community representation and leadership, service-orientated foot patrols, improved appearance and amenity of physical spaces, and co-ordinated whole-of-community responses to disadvantaged groups. Community-driven collaborative efforts appear to have a more enduring positive impact on quality of life and crime and disorder factors than police-orientated approaches on their own. Based on the evidence above, six recommendations have been made to enhance safety and reduce crime and disorder in the Nambour CBD:

Table 6. Key Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Create a multi-agency crime and disorder reduction partnership. Involvement should include relevant local and state government services, police, business, community members, residents, and hard-to-reach groups on a steering committee. Administrative support from the Council should include a nominated project officer. Developing a Memorandum of Understanding between Police and Council is also recommended. **The multi-agency crime and disorder partnership should receive training in crime and disorder reduction and multi-agency collaboration.**

Recommendation 2: Implement visible uniformed patrols on foot and/or bike. These patrols should target problem areas and times, be linked to local police and crisis support teams to address disorderly behaviour. Patrols should follow a hierarchy of interventions:

- (1) get to know people, their needs and support options;
- (2) make offers of genuine assistance, e.g., housing, support services, employment opportunities, advocacy, and treatment;
- (3) communicate about unruly intimidating behaviour and community concerns;
- (4) employ techniques of negotiation and de-escalation;
- (5) warn of enforcement action for continued non-compliance;
- (6) make calls for assistance to police (for arrest or further assistance) and/or welfare services as appropriate; and
- (7) consider banning orders for persistent offending.

Recommendation 3: Deliver specific education programs to improve crime prevention, adoption of interventions and community collaboration. The Council should explore options around educating business owners, including past programs like Nambour Safe and Business Safe. Awareness raising campaigns regarding crime prevention efforts for community members are also recommended.

Recommendation 4: The appearance and maintenance of Nambour's CBD, incorporating principles of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). Council should focus on improving lighting, removing graffiti and vandalism, repairing footpaths and public

facilities, and improving road safety, collaborating with local businesses to repair signage, remove prominent alcohol advertising, and repair dilapidated buildings. Community art projects and murals should continue to be supported.

Recommendation 5: Activate space and fill empty shopfronts. Family and community events should be supported by Council, and Council should explore ways to encourage creative uses of space to promote activity and reduce difficulties in obtaining permits for small local events.

Recommendation 6: Monitor and evaluate initiatives. The implementation of recommendations and crime prevention programs within Nambour and ongoing development as part of the SEP should continue to be monitored and evaluated. A variety of data sources should be used, including crime data, perceptions of stakeholders, business operators, residents, and hard-to-reach groups, to monitor identified issues and progress and rigorously evaluate initiatives.

Appendix 1

Nambour Community Safety Review:

Phase 2

Literature Review

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This literature review provides a summary of research evidence regarding best practices and successful case studies in business / town centre improvement or rejuvenation programs, prevention of general crime and disorder, reducing risks of sexual violence in entertainment districts, and social welfare aligned models of policing (including police beat programs). Case studies and literature were sought from Australia and internationally.

The first part of the chapter briefly outlines contemporary research and understandings of crime, public disorder, and anti-social behaviour in public areas and town centres. The concurrence of law and order and health problems in these spheres leads to a discussion of community-based responses to public crime and disorder. The second part outlines research into four key areas regarding crime and disorder control in town centres: foot patrols, community policing, community partnerships, and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). The ideas behind these approaches are explained, examples and contexts of practice are described, and evidence around effectiveness is reviewed.

The fourth section, which discusses the findings, highlights the value of multiple strategies driven by community-based collaborations in preventing crime and disorder in town centres and public spaces. The mix of strategies often include improved guardianship – for example through non-police security patrols and an increase in foot traffic generated by community events and commercial attractions. Other strategies include better lighting and the introduction of Business Improvements Districts (BIDs)-style programs. Overall, the research indicates that stakeholder partnerships – involving close collaboration and co-ordination between government, residents, business operators, and social support services – are a key mechanism for generating substantial and sustained reductions in crime and disorder. Overarching all this is the necessity of a problem-solving planning process involving diagnostics, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and adjustment. This has been achieved in varying degrees by a variety of police and community-based interventions, although BID-style programs appear to be the most popular as they combine numerous strategies to meet individual community needs.

These findings are in keeping with and extend the Phase 1 Literature Review to deepen and specify guidance on possible actions to support the success and safety of the Nambour Special Entertainment Precinct (SEP) and town centre more broadly.

METHOD

This study proceeded through a search of the following publications databases: Criminal Justice Abstracts (EBSCO), Criminal Justice Database (Proquest) and CINCH (Informit).

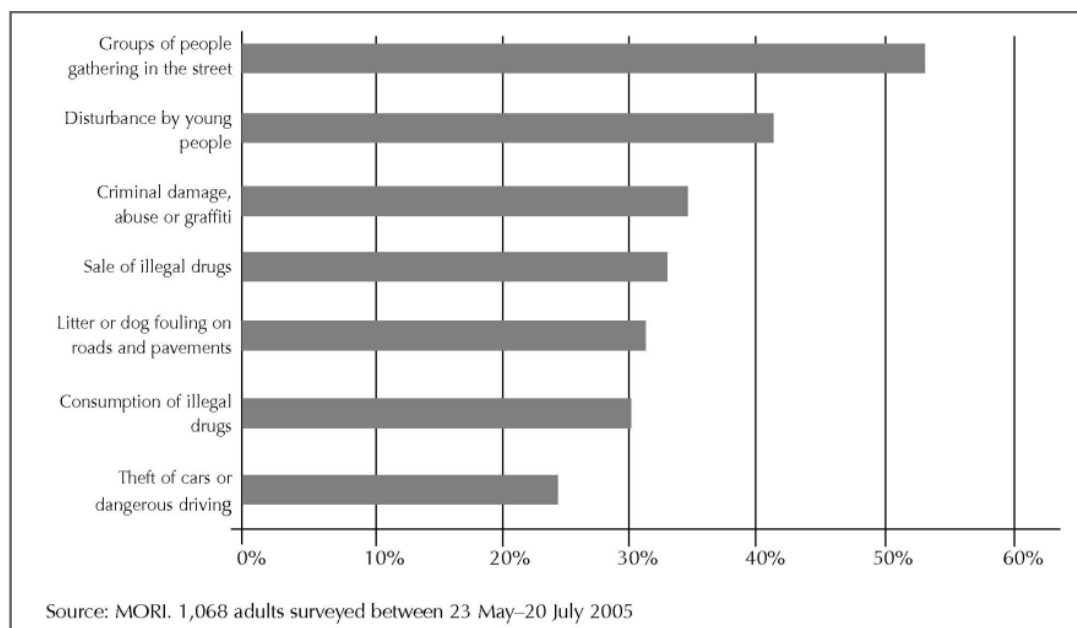
Search terms, amongst others, included ‘town centre/urban/public place improvement/enhancement/rejuvenation/crime reduction/prevention’, ‘reducing crime and disorder’, ‘reducing sexual violence in entertainment areas/town centres’, ‘social welfare policing’, ‘police beat programs’, and ‘business improvement districts’. The search period covered available studies up to the end of November 2022. Crime prevention research repositories were also searched, including the Campbell Collaboration

(<https://www.campbellcollaboration.org/>), the Arizona State University Center for Problem-Oriented Policing (<https://popcenter.asu.edu/>) and Crime Solutions (crimesolutions.ojp.gov). These sources were supplemented with general internet searches and review studies. The following report does not provide accounts of all studies, nor does it provide detailed quantitative assessments of the studies. The focus is on the main findings across studies, and on practical implications, with a specific interest in illustrative case studies of successful crime reduction projects.

CRIME, PUBLIC DISORDER, AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Public perceptions of crime do not always reflect crime trends. Perceptions of crime, public disorder, or antisocial behaviour can make people feel unsafe (Granath, 2014; York, 2006). To capture these safety issues, measurements of public disorder and anti-social behaviour often rely on public perception data (York, 2006). For example, an Australian study across two states (n=1,109) found that ‘most people believe crime is becoming more common’ despite falling crime rates (Weatherburn & Indermaur, 2004, p. 7). Further, a British survey of 1,068 people across ten districts revealed that **public disorder and anti-social behaviour were what most concerned residents, especially groups of people gathering in the street** (see Figure 1 below, York, 2006). The study also found that concerns about public disorder and anti-social behaviour remained stable regardless of local levels of crime (York, 2006). This meant that public disorder and anti-social behaviour were primary concerns **for high and low crime areas**.

Figure 1: English and Welsh residents’ key concerns about problems affecting their neighbourhoods, York (2006, p.18)



Schaefer and Mazerolle’s (2018) large Australian study (n=4,400) found that previous victimisation and interactions with police, lower levels of collective efficacy, socioeconomic disadvantage, and ethnic uniformity were associated with a greater likelihood of perceiving

serious local crime and disorder problems. A British-wide survey (n=1,678) found that anti-social behaviour was concentrated in socio-economically disadvantaged communities and town centres (Millie, 2007). That study also found that while **most people were impacted by anti-social behaviour such as begging, noise, rowdy youth, or drug dealing**, these impacts were relatively minor (Millie, 2007; see Figure 2 below). These results indicate that the impact of public disorder may be ‘overestimated or misidentified’, particularly for vulnerable groups such as youth, the elderly, mentally ill, substance misusers, or the homeless (Millie, 2007, p. 619).

Figure 2: Effect of anti-social behaviour on quality of life (%), Millie (2007, p. 616).

The Policy Prefer	This is not a problem in my area	It occurs but ...				
		... has no effect at all	... has a minor effect	... has a fairly big effect	... has a very big effect	Don't know
Rowdy teenagers in the street	34	14	32	12	7	1
Drug use/ dealing	38	22	17	10	7	5
Vandalism/ graffiti	32	13	38	11	6	1
Litter/rubbish	26	15	41	12	5	1
Abandoned/ burnt-out vehicles	58	14	19	6	4	1
Noisy neighbours	63	13	15	5	4	<1
Begging	77	10	7	4	2	1

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Grabosky (1995) found that the two most **important factors regarding fear of crime were gender and perceived disorder**. Perceived disorder was indicated by litter, graffiti, vandalism and a ‘general state of disrepair’, particularly disorderly youth and the presence of intoxicated persons and ‘vagrants’ (p.11). Further, **when there were multiple indicators of disorder, the location was perceived to be ‘out of control’** (p.11), both inviting crime and the fear of crime.

Women, socio-economically disadvantaged people, and those who have suffered previous victimisation were generally more fearful of crime. The elderly tended to be more fearful of crime in their home while youth were generally more fearful of violence (Grabosky, 1995).

PUBLIC ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE, AND DEALING

Reflecting the importance of perceived intoxication on fear of crime, **the reduction of public drinking increases feelings of public safety** (Grabosky, 1995). Simultaneously, some people rely on public drinking for a sense of family and community, safety, emotional and material support (Manton et al., 2014).

People were more likely to over-estimate the risk of personalised victimisation when exposure to media crime coverage is frequent, sensationalised, and relatable (Grabosky, 1995).

Open-air drug use or dealing also indicates public disorder and often coexists with public drinking (Manton et al., 2014). The negative impacts of public drug use and dealing mostly include public nuisance and social disorder issues such as drug-related litter, loitering, begging, noise, violence, and lack of perceived safety (Zafarghandi et al., 2022). An association between recent incarceration and public injection and drug dealing, frequent drug use, and unstable housing has also been found (Sondhi & Eastwood, 2021; Zafarghandi et al., 2022).

Urban rejuvenation projects aimed at reducing public drug use and dealing have typically used excluding, punitive, and criminalising approaches such as gating, CCTV, and removal of park facilities (Zafarghandi et al., 2022). However, evidence supporting punitive and criminalising approaches is weak as they fail to impact demand, price, or supply (Babor et al., 2019). Research demonstrates police use higher levels of force when addressing mental health or substance misuse issues (Lane, 2019) and **vulnerable people avoid help-seeking behaviours** and are more at risk of death by misadventure **due to their reluctance to engage with police** for fear of criminalisation (Collins et al., 2019).

A comprehensive review of evidence regarding drug policy concluded that approaches should reduce illicit drug use while avoiding the negative consequences of marginalisation and criminalisation (Babor et al., 2019). The best evidence for delayed initiation of drug and alcohol use were developmental approaches that combined social competence and peer influence for youth. **The strongest evidence for reducing overdose mortality, disease transmission, and crime was found for opioid substitution therapy (methadone, buprenorphine, naltrexone etc)** Cognitive-behavioural and couples therapy show evidence of effectiveness for 'reducing drug use, drug-related problems and criminal activity, across a range of drugs and settings (Babor et al., 2019, p. 1945; Davis et al., 2016). Therapeutic communities and the use of mutual help organisations such as Narcotics Anonymous also demonstrated positive results (Babor et al., 2019). **Case management approaches that co-ordinate criminal justice, health, psychiatric, and social services have also been associated with increased engagement and significantly better treatment outcomes** (Babor et al's., 2019; Roy et al., 2020; Sondhi & Eastwood, 2021).

HOMELESSNESS

An association between urban rejuvenation projects and punitive responses to disadvantaged groups is well identified (Atkinson, 2015; Ferrell, 1996; Heap & Dickinson, 2018; Kirsteen et al., 2017; Murtagh, 2001; Speeden, 2006). Social vulnerability and challenging behaviour have

been mis-identified as anti-social and a threat to urban renewal goals and so triggered aggressive responses to counter fear of crime and social decline (Atkinson, 2015; Millie, 2007).

For instance, England and Wales' Vagrancy Act 1984, Public Spaces Protection Orders, and Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, empowered local councils with unlimited and unregulated powers to control public spaces based on perceptions of alarm, distress, or harassment (Heap & Dickinson, 2018, p. 182; Millie, 2007; Roberts & Archer, 2022). This **resulted in the targeting, criminalisation, and further marginalisation of already vulnerable and disadvantaged groups** (Atkinson, 2015; Heap & Dickinson, 2018; Hope, 2005; Kelman et al., 2013; Millie, 2007; Roberts, 1999; Roberts & Archer, 2022).

The criminalisation of homeless people through move-along orders, fines, and destruction of property fails to reduce urban disorder by dispersing homelessness and related disorder, and also undermines safety, creates psychological, physical and material harm, **fosters mistrust towards the law, increase conflict** between vulnerable people, **and further disorganises 'already chaotic lives by reducing access to services'**, housing and employment (Herring et al., 2020, p. 134; Kirsteen et al., 2017; Roberts & Archer, 2022). Respect-based approaches were seen to ensure inclusion and better meet the needs of diverse groups to address issues of urban disorder (Millie, 2007; Murtagh, 2001; Speeden, 2006).

Homelessness, addiction, and mental health issues can present additional barriers to service engagement. To better understand the complexity of some situations and foster more positive attitudes towards marginalised people, researchers suggest **cross-sector collaboration and training strategies to better serve individuals who are identified as 'harder to serve** but who might also benefit from diversion from the criminal justice system' (Roy et al., 2020, p. 1).

STRATEGIES TO REDUCE PUBLIC DISORDER AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Sousa and Kelling (2010) gauged the effectiveness of a large permanent police-led project to address crime and disorder problems within one of the largest open-air drug markets in Los Angeles. Homeless encampments were also a key issue. Interview and focus groups with residents, businesses, government stakeholders, and police indicated that **many problems were resolved by problem-solving, order maintenance, and situational crime prevention methods**. The program included increased police resources for foot patrol, CCTV installation and monitoring throughout the park, and specialist unit support to address drug and false document related crime. The amount of lighting was doubled, and shrubbery was regularly trimmed to reduce hiding places and ensure the entire park was visible via CCTV. Anti-social behaviour was signposted throughout the park and enforced by police. A public education campaign ensured people were aware of the new rules. Recreational programs included live classical music and increased legitimate activities and guardianship. Zero tolerance police enforcement reduced graffiti and litter issues so that maintenance crews were able to improve overall appearance of the park. Crime data one year post implementation indicated a 20% drop in serious, violent and property crime, although no controls were used so changes cannot be confidently attributed to the intervention. Stakeholder feedback indicated **strong support for the intervention and a belief that many of the crime and disorder issues had**

been resolved because of it. The authors concluded that while police-led initiatives were successful in reclaiming public spaces, **community ownership of public space was critical to sustaining any gains made.**

Payne and Reinhard (2016) examined increased park use to reduce crime and disorder in a small Alaskan town square. The park's design obscured sightlines and local media had reported a rise in general and sexual crime defining problems variably as crime, fear of crime, inadequate facilities, and the presence of 'undesirables' (p. 136). Businesses and police universally agreed that the park was 'a problem' (p. 141), finding that nearly half of crime and disorder instances occurred behind a central fountain with a three-sided 5-foot blind spot. The intervention was designed to change routine use of the park, and hence increase natural surveillance, through a series of events planned and delivered by local business leaders in co-operation with police. Events were lunchtime-based children's activities, food vendors, and music performances. The study found that **increasing park use decreased crime and disorder from 16% to 10% during the events but resumed usual levels approximately two hours after events ended.**

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC PLACES

Extensive academic literature suggests a relationship between sexual assault and/or rape, and alcohol or other recreational drugs (Johnson et al., 1978; Koss et al., 1988; Bromley & Nelson, 2002; Ullman & Brecklin, 2000; Perez-Trujillo et al., 2016; Quigg et al., 2020). Studies indicate that **both victims and perpetrators of rape or sexual assault use bars before the crimes occur** (Horvath & Brown, 2007; Dumbili & Williams, 2020; p Quigg et al., 2020). Bromley and Nelson (2002) established a link between an increased presence of licensed venues and violent sexual crimes. Research has found that there is a greater level of force and violence in rapes where either the offender, victim, or both were under the influence of alcohol (Johnson et al., 1978; Ullman & Brecklin, 2000). There also seems to be a link between alcohol and spontaneous rather than planned incidents of rape and stranger sexual assault (Johnson et al., 1978; Ullman & Brecklin, 2000; Koss et al., 1988; Smallbone & Rayment-McHugh, 2017; World Health Organisation, 2014).

Most sexual violence victims are female (ABS, 2019; AHRC, 2017) while the vast majority of perpetrators are male (AHRC, 2017; AIHW, 2020). Adult women aged between 18 and 24 are most at risk of sexual violence, experiencing it at over twice the national rate (AHRC, 2017). Queensland police statistics for 2016 to 2017 reveal a **disproportionate risk for women and girls aged between 10 and 24** (QPS, 2017). This is important given the attraction of young adults and families to entertainment precincts, both in terms of potential victims and potential offenders.

Quigg et al.'s (2020) systematic review of 61 studies on the nature, extent and associations with night-life related sexual violence in high-income countries found 'nightlife-related sexual violence is pervasive, with lifetime prevalence reaching over 50% amongst numerous study samples' (p. 1) with some studies reporting up to 82.5% of female patrons being subjected to unwanted buttock touching and 8.2% subjected to unwanted genital touching. Becker and

Tinker's (2021) study of 198 21-25 year old US university students found 179 (90.4%) shared one or more experiences of 'unwanted, aggressively pursued sexual contact' in public drinking venues (p. 90). Quigg et al. (2020) found the rate of patrons' experience of sexual violence on the night under study ranged between 10% and 50%. Two studies indicated that these experiences or fear of sexual violence may deter people from visiting identified or similar night-time settings (Bellis et al., 2015; Huber & Herald, 2006). Quigg et al.'s (2020) study also found a combination of individual, relationship, and community/environmental factors were associated with nightlife-related sexual violence. The most common factors were increased alcohol consumption, attitudes and norms regarding acceptable behaviour, presence in a nightlife venue, individual or group history of violence as a victim or perpetrator, sexual behaviours such as level of sexual activity in night-time venues, and young customers. Issues such as density of on-premises alcohol outlets, alcohol promotions, patron aggression, and crowding were also identified and were addressed in the Phase 1 Literature Review.

REDUCING SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT IN ENTERTAINMENT AREAS

While the successful place-based prevention of sexual violence is understudied in CPTED (Chiu et al., 2020; Quigg et al., 2020), place-based frameworks for preventing sexual violence and abuse have been developed and implemented in Western jurisdictions, including Queensland (e.g., Rayment-McHugh et al., 2015; Firmin & Rayment-McHugh, 2020), due to the importance of context in the etiology of offending and because the evidence base in relation to other crimes is strong, suggesting this approach holds substantial promise (Smallbone & Rayment-McHugh, 2017; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006). Place-based prevention frameworks are compatible with CPTED given their common focus on environmental contributors to sexual violence such as alcohol consumption, and venue and patron management. Also, helpfully for harm reduction purposes, some CPTED studies indicate a relationship between the physical characteristics of night-time entertainment zones and opportunities for sexual crime, namely lighting, landscaping, access and barriers, and signage (Cozens, 2002 & 2007; Crowe, 2000; Marzbali et al., 2012). For instance, Smallbone et al.'s (2013) study of youth perpetrated sexual violence in West Cairns found that youth sexual violence occurred in groups, at night, in public in the context of consuming alcohol and drugs, particularly drugs. These public areas were 'characterised by low guardianship', 'open spaces connected by pathways', and 'poorly lit and hidden from public view' (Allard, 2018, p. 4). These findings suggest that CPTED responses of enhancing guardianship, improved lighting and visibility by trimming vegetation and restricting access through privatisation of space, use of gates and redefining space use through the use of playground equipment and signage could contribute to reductions in youth sexual violence (Allard, 2018).

Quigg et al.'s, (2020) systematic review of night-time venue sexual violence identified prevention and response strategies tended to focus on strategies to reduce potential victimisation such as limiting alcohol consumption, protecting drinks from being tampered with, not walking alone, avoiding interaction with strangers, and shaming aggressors. Five studies that focussed on bystander action to prevent or respond to sexual violence found that while most bystander interventions were in support of the victim, some involved encouraging the perpetrator. Extending limited but positive impacts of bystander intervention training on

altering beliefs that promote sexual violence and bystander efficacy, readiness to help and perceived responsibility in university campus contexts, bar staff bystander training was found to positively alter rape myths and barriers to intervention for bar staff (Powers & Leili, 2018). One study found that local areas with more intense alcohol licensing policies had steeper declines in violent crime rates, sexual crimes and public order offences (De Vocht et al., 2016; see also Lippy & DeGue, 2014, and the alcohol management policy discussion in the Phase 1 Literature Review for general crime reduction).

Based on Australian music festival observation and participant feedback, Fileburn et al., (2019) made useful recommendations regarding the prevention and improved response to sexual violence and harassment at Australian music festivals:

- Increase on-site female police and security throughout event spaces including patrols and clearly signed emergency contact points
- Improve lighting in isolated areas, and provide quiet spaces
- Improve signage and messaging throughout event
 - To identify areas and improve way finding
 - To **establish behavioural standards** and encourage pro-social behaviour **such as bystander intervention** and a patron ethic of care **through a Code of Conduct** reinforced from the initial point of contact (ticketing, programs)
 - About sexual violence, including consequences for perpetrators
 - To locate security staff
- Provide multiple methods of reporting sexual violence
- Train all staff to receive and respond to reports of sexual violence, including on-site access to appropriate support services, systematic documentation of incidents, following through on reports, and providing feedback to victim-survivors
- Increase gender equity and diversity of festival line-ups.

POLICE FOOT PATROLS AND COMMUNITY SUPPORT OFFICERS

Random neighbourhood foot patrols were a foundational tool in traditional policing (Telep et al., 2016). Early studies of the effectiveness of traditional foot patrols found no or negligible evidence of impact on crime rates (Kelling, 1981; Ratcliffe et al., 2011). However, a comprehensive review found weak to moderate effectiveness in reducing fear of crime (National Research Council (US), 2004). As a form of 'hot spot' policing, foot patrols began to focus on places and situations associated with higher crime rates (Granath, 2014, p.200).

Hot spot policing recognises that crime is not random but congregates in specific locations that generate a disproportionate amount of crime (Granath, 2014). Hot spot policing can include targeted foot or vehicle patrols, aggressive disorder enforcement, and problem-orientated policing (Braga et al., 2019a). **Hot spot policing has the strongest evidence of effectiveness to date of all policing approaches, particularly for small geographic areas,** although impacts are statistically small (Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Braga et al., 2019a).

FOOT PATROLS' IMPACT ON CRIME AND DISORDER

Braga et al.'s (2019a) meta-analysis of police hot spot patrol studies revealed that **62 of 78 interventions reported small but statistically significant crime and disorder reductions**. The analysis also found that **most areas near patrolled hot spots also saw a reduction in crime and disorder** (known as diffusion of benefits) during the intervention. Although crime being moved to a different area (i.e., displacement of crime) occurred in 11 studies, hot spot policing was more often associated with reducing crime in surrounding areas.

A large, randomised control examination of foot patrol effectiveness was conducted in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Ratcliffe et al. (2011) examined the effectiveness of 200-foot patrol officers across 60 outdoor violent crime hot spots (for homicide, aggravated assault, and robbery). Pairs of police recruits patrolled designated areas for 12 to 22 weeks, across day (10am-6pm) and evening shifts (6pm-2am). Patrol activities included 'extensive community-oriented work' (p. 807) such as responding to disorder incidents, and speaking with community members and business operators, and more crime orientated activities such as stops and searches of people and vehicles, and public interrogations. Comparing disorder rates for three months prior to and during the intervention, researchers found foot patrols contributed to an 82% rise in disorder incidents and a 79% rise in disturbances. **Comparing crime rates for the same period researchers found a 23% reduction in violent crime for foot patrol areas compared to control sites**. Those areas with higher rates of violent crime experienced the most reduction and were also associated with higher levels of police activity during the operational period. However, **no enduring deterrence effect was found for foot patrols for three months post-treatment** (Sorg et al., 2013). Despite the rise in disorder and disturbance incidents, the researchers assessed that these **order maintenance** actions, in combination with police responses to crime, **contributed to the reduction of violence** (Groff et al., 2013).

Field observations of the Philadelphia foot patrol experiment provided insights into key activities and perceptions of foot patrollers. Foot patrol officers 'developed extensive local knowledge of their beat areas', which facilitated use of a range of techniques to manage disorder (Wood et al., 2014, 367). For instance, making arrests to temporarily remove someone from the area to send a message of zero tolerance, 'questioning suspicious people, making their presence known', or by using negotiation or persuasion (p. 368). The choice of techniques depended mostly on officer balance between community relations and law enforcement, as well as pressure to make arrests, and knowledge of the people involved. One officer reflected on the power of service-oriented policing:

One of the officers ... while off duty, came to the beat and picked up a local homeless man, took him to a barber shop, and bought him a haircut and a shave. The officer ... said, "The man is homeless, has no job, and begs for money, but I don't know why he's like that, and who am I to judge him. I would rather go home and know that I did something nice for somebody that has nothing, rather than lock him up and inconvenience him for something that, in the grand scheme of things, is not a big deal [begging for money]." In being friendly with the man, he states that he is now able to regulate him and where he goes. He explained that now the homeless gentleman

knows he should not be in front of stores. He said that he can now “keep him in line.”
(Foot beat #007) (p.369)

Piza and O’Hara (2014) examined New Jersey’s ‘Operation Impact’ foot patrol effect on violent street crime using crime data from one year before and during the operation (Hatten & Piza, 2022, p. 137). Operation Impact comprised twelve police officers patrolling a 160 acre area between 6pm and 2am for a year (Hatten & Piza, 2022; Piza & O’Hara, 2014). Police aimed to ‘identify and disrupt’ activities associated with violent crime, such as disorder or drug trading (Piza, 2018, p. 616). Piza and O’Hara (2014) found that **total street violence, and non-domestic aggravated assault, decreased by 42% and 60+% respectively for the target area compared to controls without any displacement effects**. However, a further study found robbery was displaced to different places and times outside of the intervention area (Hatten & Piza, 2022).

Piza’s (2018) study examined Operation Impact’s night patrol activity self-report to understand the impacts of police service orientated (proactive business and transport checks and citizen contacts) and enforcement type actions (standard police activity of reactive arrests, interrogations, and social disorder behaviour citations such as public drunkenness and aggressive begging). The study found that service orientated actions had a greater impact on robbery, aggravated assault, and murder crime prevention (51% to 58% decreased likelihood of crime) than enforcement actions (no statistically significant impact). Piza (2018) claimed that this research supported the **‘general agreement that proactive police actions generate greater crime control benefits than the predominately reactive standard model of policing’** (p. 612).

Andresen and Hodgkinson (2018) examined the effectiveness of foot patrols across 66 city blocks on eight forms of violent, property, drug and disorder offences. The study found statistically significant reductions for most crimes, particularly ‘mischief’ and theft, but no changes for drug offences or theft of vehicle (p. 318). Crime decreased across 13 patrol blocks while crime *increased* for three patrol blocks. The authors suggested crime increases during patrol could be attributed to enhanced surveillance more readily identifying crime, increased reporting of crime, and/or increased confidence in the police.

One New York study found small statistically significant reductions in crime were not sustained after increasing police foot patrols by 70% (four to five officers) across a 3.8 square mile area for two summers (Bilach et al., 2022). The authors concluded that police departments should exercise caution in deploying foot patrols over large jurisdictions. Novak et al. (2016) investigated the effectiveness of police foot patrol on four violent crime hot spots. Newly graduated police patrolled streets during peak crime and police call-out times, five days per week, for 90 days. The study found statistically significant reductions in robbery and aggravated assault for the first half of the intervention, with violent crime increasing during the second half. The researchers concluded that **while foot patrol may have an initial deterrent effect on violent crime** without displacement effects, **the deterrence effect ‘dissipated quickly’** (p. 465-6).

One study aimed to reduce crime by increasing police visibility via foot patrol to build stronger relationships with community and businesses in a high crime area of British Columbia (Andresen & Lau, 2014). Paired foot patrols occurred daily for 16 weeks in a mostly commercial 30 block area during peak crime times. The study found a 16-17% drop in calls for police service for the year of intervention. Of the five crime types studied, **the study found a statistically significant reduction in mischief (15% compared to the previous year) and commercial burglary (decreased by 12 incidents or 45% compared to previous year)**. However, the reduction in mischief occurred during the onset of the intervention and gradually rose to pre-intervention levels over the course of treatment. The study also found no evidence of crime displacement or diffusion of crime control benefits.

Barbrey (2004) examined the effectiveness of heavy-handed police foot patrol in conjunction with other community driven strategies to combat crime and disorder in seven Knoxville US public housing estates. Two-person foot patrols operated 24 hours a day to remove problematic people. Patrols sought to remove problematic people by conducting stop and searches, laying trespass charges, using drug-detection dogs, and enforcing strict accommodation eligibility, eviction, and placement on a 'No-Trespass List' (p. 14). A youth club, parent and teen support and education, and order maintenance of litter, broken doors or windows, and graffiti were also implemented. The study found marginal impact of the program on total crime rates. **Overall, crime rates followed city trends for the five year pre- and post-implementation period and remained high for the estates, with theft, aggravated assault and robbery remaining pronounced problems.**

COMMUNITY SUPPORT OFFICERS IMPACT ON CRIME AND DISORDER

Ariel et al. (2016) conducted a randomised controlled study to determine whether crime reduction was dependent on the 'hard' threat of immediate arrest, or whether 'soft' patrols by civilian police staff without arrest powers and no weapons can also reduce crime (p. 279). The role of Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) in the UK was to increase police visibility and public reassurance and serve as a link between the police and the community. PCSOs had no arrest powers or weapons but had powers to direct citizens to stop begging, and issues fines for disorderly behaviour such as graffiti, littering, and 'dog fouling' (p. 279). Their uniforms were similar to those of sworn officers but sufficiently different to make clear their separate status, and they carried police radios to call for assistance if required.

PCSO foot patrols of high crime and disorder hotspots were generally conducted alone and occurred in conjunction with constant vehicle patrols by sworn police. PCSOs were tasked with visible foot patrols and community engagement for 15 minutes, 3 times per day, during peak crime hours, for 12 months in 34 treatment areas. This equated to nearly twice the number of visits and more than twice the amount of time PCSOs patrolled control areas. The study found **39% less crime and 20% reductions in emergency calls-for-service compared to controls**. Correlational evidence suggested that **greater frequency of PCSO visits may yield more crime reduction benefit than duration of visits**. The study also found diffusion of benefits for burglary, theft, and serious assault, and criminal damage.

Merritt and Dingwall (2010) explored rural PCSO (n=19) and their police manager (n=20) opinions on operations and challenges of the role. Structured interviews and focus groups revealed a perception that PCSOs might be particularly suited to engage communities that police have difficulty engaging. Results that PCSOs felt unable to respond effectively to some offences which they felt capable of attending and were of concern to residents. Other reflections were positive about the effectiveness of PCSOs in reducing community crime and disorder. For instance:

In our first year [working with PCSOs] **we cut antisocial behaviour and minor damage by about 40 per cent through being highly visible and going and talking to people** all the time. The second year the crime [figures have] increased quite considerably . . . not because there is more crime, because they are reporting it to us (p. 394).

FOOT PATROLS AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY

Doyle et al.'s (2016) survey of Swedish university student perceptions of safety (n=352) used photographs of relatively safe or unsafe situations involving pairs or groups of uniformed police, security guards, and volunteer police. The study found that uniformed presence did not increase feelings of safety in situations perceived as relatively safe, suggesting patrol is unnecessary in safe areas. **In situations perceived as relatively unsafe, all types of uniformed presence increased feelings of safety**, with foot patrol police contributing the greatest increase in feelings of safety (61.5%). Further, security guards and police volunteers created similar amounts of feelings of safety making police volunteers a cost-effective alternative to sworn police. Finally, all types of foot patrol were better than vehicle patrol.

In the Philadelphia foot patrol experiment, researchers explored the impact of police interventions on public perceptions of crime and disorder, safety, and satisfaction with police (Ratcliffe et al., 2015). Twenty-seven hot spot areas were assigned to either foot patrol, offender-focussed, or problem-solving policing approaches, or as controls. Citizen surveys were issued before (n=628) and after (n=647) the interventions. Even though offender-focussed policing reduced violent offending, no statistically significant changes in perceptions of crime and disorder, safety, or satisfaction with police were found before or after any treatment condition compared to control areas. These results suggest that **although a crime or disorder intervention may be successful, it may not change community attitudes towards crime, disorder, and safety**.

The belief that foot patrols and community engagement are core mechanisms for preventing crime and creating a safer society form the basis of proactive community policing approaches (den Heyer, 2021), explored in the next section.

COMMUNITY POLICING

Community orientated policing (COP) emerged in the 1980's and has become one of the most popular forms of policing (Drew & Prenzler, 2015). **COP aimed to develop more co-operative relationships between police and locals to identify and solve crime and disorder problems** (Wilson & Kelling, 1982; Drew & Prenzler, 2015). COP aims to increase police visibility and

accessibility and promote informal mechanisms of social control such as collective guardianship and place management, to reduce community fear of crime, provide deterrence, and prevent crime (Drew & Prenzler, 2015; Wood et al., 2015).

Community engagement and stakeholder partnership are used to better understand the causes of crime and implement problem solving approaches - rather than criminal justice responses - to prevent and reduce crime and disorder (den Heyer, 2021; Walby & Lippert, 2014). COP can include foot patrols, but with less emphasis on zero tolerance approaches associated with hot spot policing. Drew and Prenzler's (2015) review of research found that the link between COP and crime prevention was 'very mixed' (p. 116), while findings regarding COP's impact on reducing fear of crime, enhancing public satisfaction with police, and reducing perceptions of disorder were more consistent.

Another form of COP is Crisis Intervention Teams (CITs). **CITs are a partnership-based approach between law enforcement and mental health agencies to improve responses to mentally unwell or substance misusing people in contact with the criminal justice system** (Scott et al., 2016). The CIT model is essentially a criminal justice diversion program based on officer training, collaborative relationships with mental health services, and 24 access to treatment facilities (Peterson & Densley, 2018). Formally integrated cross-disciplinary teams such as CITs, particularly mobile co-response teams, are thought to deliver 'more holistic evaluation of individuals' complex situations, more positive attitudes towards marginalized groups on the part of police officers, court personnel, and health care workers, enhanced access to appropriate health and social care, and reduced recidivism.' (Roy et al., 2020, p. 8)

COMMUNITY POLICING'S IMPACT ON CRIME AND DISORDER

Braga et al.'s (2019b) systematic review of 30 disorder policing tests, mostly in the USA between 1985 and 2012, found that **community and problem-solving policing approaches to disorder were associated with reductions in crime, whereas aggressive, law enforcement approaches were not**. Reductions were seen for overall crime as well as violent, property, drug, and disorder related crimes. All studies used high-quality intervention evaluation designs. Interventions were conducted in specific geographical crime hot spots, problem buildings, police beats, neighbourhoods, and larger police divisions within a range of city sizes. All 15 evaluations that considered **diffusion of crime control benefits** in surrounding areas found an association with disorder policing interventions.

Douglas and Welsh (2022) systematically reviewed six studies on the impact place managers had on crime and disorder. Place managers were defined as people 'who perform a surveillance function secondary to their employment', such as bus drivers and public transport attendants (p. 67). Four studies found positive effects leading the authors to conclude that **place managers were a 'promising technique'** for situational crime prevention (p. 67).

One of two studies examining **alcohol-venue-related violence** saw a significant reduction in violence among patrons. Null effects were found for two neighbourhood level studies. Of those studies that measured displacement, displacement was small and outweighed by overall crime prevention benefits. An overview of strategies to reduce alcohol-related crime

in entertainment areas can be found in the Phase 1 Literature Review which focused on the benefits of enhanced guardianship through intelligence-based enforcement of liquor licensing laws and integration of amenity and security.

Three systematic reviews of CITs were identified. Kane et al. (2018) reviewed 23 international CIT studies. Overall, they found a **positive impact of CIT interventions on arrests and days spent in custody, as well as improved diagnosis and contact with mental health services**, but no well-designed randomised controlled trials to rigorously test these outcomes. Street triage teams were also found to 'provide a quicker and more appropriate response' (p. 113). They also found that **multi-faceted approaches driven by community partnerships between relevant agencies seemed to work best**. Watson et al.'s (2017) summary of 13 quantitative CIT studies found evidence to support the use of CIT for changing officer thinking and attitudes towards those with mental health or substance misuse issues, however, there is no evidence – yet - that CIT improves criminal justice system or other outcomes for these people.

Peterson and Densley (2018) reviewed 21 studies on the impact of CIT training. The varied results question the generalisability of findings, particularly for communities with varying mental health resources. While arrest or treatment outcomes were the most frequently measured (n=15), **only one study found a small but moderate positive impact of training**. Overall, the variation in studies mean the effectiveness of CIT remains unclear.

Pate & Annan (1989) randomly assigned two-foot patrol, two 'ombudsman' foot patrol (p. 17), or no new police programs to six comparable areas in Baltimore, Maryland. Foot patrols focussed on hot spots and businesses and operated between 9am and 4pm for a year. These officers would engage community members and rely on threats of arrest to address crime and disorder issues such as youths loitering, playing loud music, public drunkenness or intoxication, harassment, or threatening behaviour. Ombudsman policing involved foot patrol police who surveyed and worked with community residents to identify impacts of the two biggest crime and disorder problems in their area, what caused the problem, and act on what could be done about it. Actions included cleaning rubbish, exterminating vermin, trimming overgrown foliage, repairing pavements, as well as patrolling and arresting suspected drug dealers and dispersing loiterers. Impacts were measured by crime rates and calls for service data for two years before and during intervention. Resident interviews (n=929) regarding their perceptions of disorder, victimisation, and safety before and after intervention were also conducted.

The study found that **reported crime decreased significantly for ombudsman policing** and control areas, while **reported crime decreased marginally for police foot patrol areas** (Pate & Annan, 1989). Foot patrols were associated with increased calls for disorderly behaviour and decreased calls for traffic problems (which was a primary concern prior to intervention). Sharp increases in perceived visibility and presence of police were found for both foot patrol and ombudsman policing compared to control areas. Perceptions of police effectiveness was found to be associated with the amount of time spent on foot patrol and sociability and effectiveness of ombudsman officers in addressing community disorder issues. Survey results indicated that **ombudsman policing** when practiced full-time, and with the support of dedicated full-time staff and part-time administrative support, **produced substantial**

reductions in perceptions of disorder, victimisation, and improved perceptions of safety. Foot patrols were associated with reduced perceptions of assault, robbery, theft from people and cars, damage to cars, and vandalism, and ombudsman policing were associated with reduced perceptions of assault. However, perceived disorder *increased* for foot patrol areas.

Anderson et al. (2017) examined the impact of small-scale, low-cost (US\$20,000), **community-led improvements to local public space liveliness and wellbeing.** Improvements included an art and wildlife installation and mural, recycled picnic tables and park benches, free high-speed WiFi, new vegetation management, painting, and general cleaning. Before and after measurements were based on researcher observation of people in control and treatment areas (n=34,766) and survey data (n=212). Observations occurred for ten-minutes across all times of the day and evening on weekdays and weekends. **The research found increases in social connections, engaged users, active children, and amount of time spent in the area.** However, **anti-social behaviour and criminal activity increased for the treatment compared to the control area,** and one third of survey respondents indicated negative aspects of the treatment. The attraction of ‘winos’ was seen to deter other legitimate users through their domination of the space via occasional loud and brash conversation and aggression when their requests for money were rebuffed (Anderson et al., 2017, p. 703). Simultaneously, in control areas ‘Street Wardens’ had reduced the presence of youth smoking and drinking alcohol (p. 701). Results also suggested that public art and seating were the most successful aspects of improvement, particularly use of seating by the elderly.

‘Night Ravens’ is a secular volunteer organisation that aims to prevent crime, anti-social, and unsafe behaviour and enhance reassurance and perceptions of safety, by walking streets with high youth activity at night (Larsen et al., 2015). Volunteers wear uniforms characterised by a yellow jacket, move in groups of three on weekends, never intervene in conflict but offer assistance to those in need, and contact police or ambulance for emergencies. A small-scale evaluation that compared before and after crime rates found **reductions in reports of disorderly conduct, vandalism and street violence that were attributed to the establishment of a local NR** (Hall, 2003). **Previous research has also demonstrated significant improvements to fear of crime for NRs** (Larsen et al., 2013).

Larsen et al. (2015) measured the effect of this program by comparing weekend crime rates over ten years and demographic data for every Night Raven (NR) (n=198) and non-NR district in Denmark. The results found **no difference in total crime rates,** nor those for vandalism, theft from persons or vehicles, burglary, robbery or violent crimes. Given differing activity levels of NRs, these results should be interpreted as an average, thereby suggesting some positive impacts of NRs on crime and disorder rates. The authors further suggested that NRs may increase reporting of crime, thereby camouflaging actual decreases in crime.

‘Street Pastors’ are a volunteer Christian organisation that offered support such as handing out water and emergency footwear and providing comfort to distressed people in 270 night-time economies across the UK (Swann et al., 2015, p. 168). Street Pastors had strong links with local police which included ‘advocacy, championship, and financial support’ (p. 168). Swann et al. (2015) surveyed 361 university students regarding their perceptions of Street

Pastors' contribution to crime prevention and safety in night-time economies. Respondents felt Street Pastors contributed to safety in the city. Despite a low survey response rate (1.6%) and identified accountability issues, the researchers concluded that **Street Pastors 'contribute to the wellbeing of revellers' and made a 'positive contribution to the practical challenges associated with a volatile environment'** (p. 168).

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

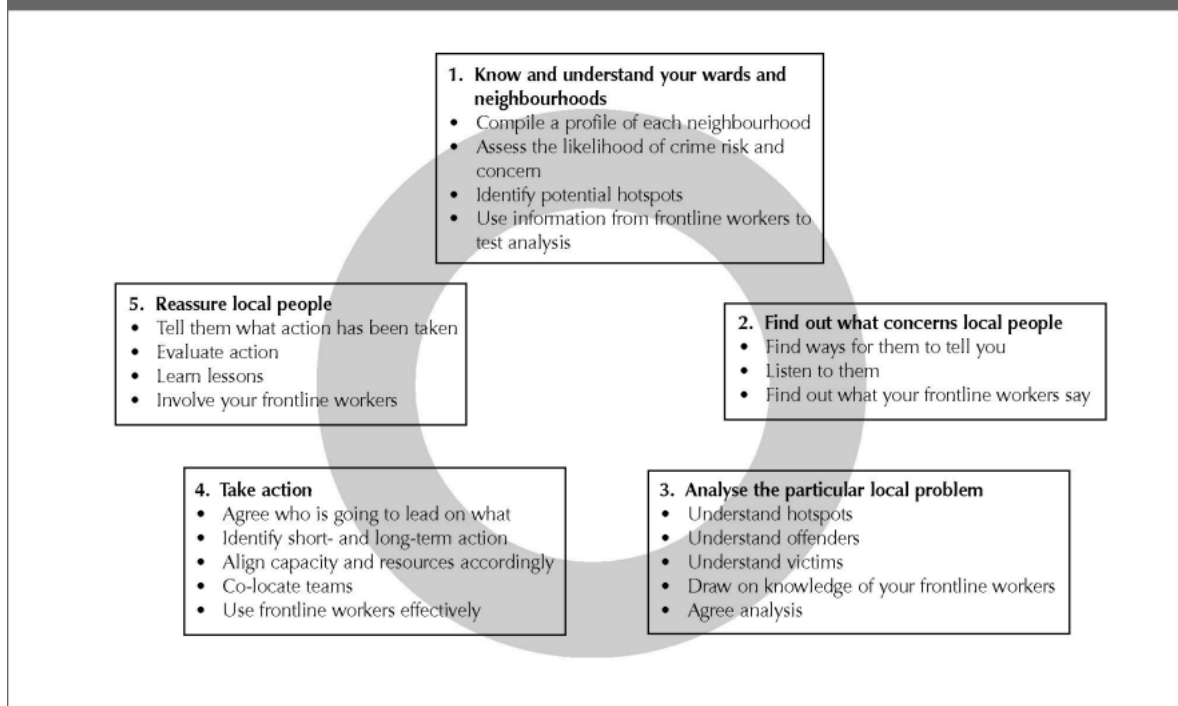
Community partnerships aim to augment police services with community resources such as organised residential groups to co-produce safety and reduce fear of crime through improved community cohesiveness and reassurance (Grabosky, 1995). The Home Office (Great Britain, National Audit Office [GBNAO], 2005) considered CDRPs had contributed to a 39% reduction in reported crimes between 1995 and 2003-04 with 'many' projects successfully reducing crime (p. 2).

Police and public health agencies both seek to improve their communities' health and safety by eradicating crime, violence, and public disorder (Wolf, 2012). Public health and welfare models thereby provide a useful framework for a community partnership approach. **Core principles** of primary health care **are: 'community participation, collaborative partnerships and a focus on equity'** (Jolley et al., 2008, p. 152). York's (2006) observation and resident survey (n=1,068) of ten British Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships identified four factors associated with feelings of safety and incorporated these into a framework for effective community action to reduce crime and disorder (Figure 3 below):

1. Quality of life – good things about living in an area
2. Pride and involvement in living in an area
3. Confidence that, and how, problems will be dealt with
4. Feelings of safety at night.

Figure 3: Effective neighbourhood action – a framework for Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, York (2006, p. 22)

Figure 3 Effective neighbourhood action – a framework for CDRPs to follow



In 1998, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) were established in every local district of England and Wales, centrally funded by the Home Office (Hope, 2005; Kelman et al., 2013; Menichelli, 2020). CDRPs are mostly voluntary inter-government agency collaborations involving police, corrections, youth justice, social services, and local government (GBNAO, 2005; Menichelli, 2020). Although there are requirements to work with local residents, volunteers and businesses, police and local government are the only mandated stakeholders (Hope, 2005). CDRPs attempt to address both serious violence and locally identified issues such as anti-social behaviour, fear of crime, and public disorder (Menichelli, 2020).

CDRP strategies differ owing to the localised nature of their development and operation. Some CDRPs have street wardens who provide public guardianship and gather information about and report local issues such as lighting and graffiti (Menichelli, 2020). CDRPs now increasingly focus on safeguarding and supporting vulnerable populations as well as providing community-based programs that include education, role modelling, and meaningful activities for those at risk of offending (Menichelli, 2020).

‘Communities That Care (CTC)’ were another type of community partnership developed in the US in 1992 that became the central framework of US Juvenile Justice programs (Welsh et al., 2015, p. 488). Similar to CDRPs, CTCs were a community governance system with evidence-based issue identification and strengths-based crime prevention at its core (Welsh et al., 2015).

Community programs and partnerships can improve perceptions of resident safety. Chataway and Hart (2018) examined the association between fear of crime and awareness of community programs designed to prevent or reduce crime and social disorder. Their survey

of Gold Coast residents (n=713) found **awareness of local crime prevention programs improved perceptions of safety** regarding likelihood and impact of victimisation, community connections, and presence of disorder.

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS IMPACT ON CRIME AND DISORDER

Stockings et al. (2018) reviewed 24 interventions within specific geographical areas. Almost all studies (n=23) included a community co-ordination period of at least one year prior to interventions, with some occurring up to three years. Small but significant reductions in risky alcohol consumption were found (n=3), along with **some evidence that community partnership approaches had some impact on reducing drug and alcohol harms for youth** (n=2). However, caution should be taken when interpreting these results due to methodological issues causing a high risk of bias in most (n=20) studies. A narrative analysis found some **reductions in drug or alcohol related assault rates and arrests**.

Knai et al.'s, (2015) review of 14 studies found that **multi-component programs that involved 'community mobilization and law enforcement'** of licensing laws, particularly **regarding the sale of alcohol to minors were 'most effective'** (p. 1232). They also found that while responsible drinking messages were found to be ambiguous, and industry-funded alcohol prevention campaigns could promote drinking instead of reducing it, **removing advertising near schools delayed and reduced alcohol consumption among youth**.

Corsaro and Engel (2020) evaluated an Oklahoma neighbourhood 'Community-Based Crime Reduction (CBCR) Initiative' to reduce crime and public order offences and improve perceptions of risk and safety (p. 1999). Key issues included assault, loitering, suspected drug dealing, and harassment of residents while shopping. The initiative was devised by local police and university academics and involved interagency and multistakeholder partnerships, where a community resource officer guided police and security patrols of high-risk locations based on police crime data. Resident committees organised an awareness raising campaign for change, generated prosocial community-based activities, and provided feedback to the researchers, police, business, and government to enable ongoing adjustments. Security officers made recommendations regarding improved lighting, CCTV, gates, fencing, surveillance, and patrols. A city council Nuisance Abatement Order was created to leverage compliance from uncooperative business owners for matters such as upgrading security.

Corsaro and Engel (2020) found **the CBCR initiative reduced total crime incidents by 28.5% for the 21-month post-intervention period**, compared to no reduction in crime for non-targeted areas. They also observed substantial reductions in targeted offences: 57% decline in burglaries and a 30.4% reduction in assaults. Burglary also declined in non-targeted areas by 16% which could indicate diffusion of benefits to surrounding areas. There was no significant difference in disorder offences, although non-targeted areas experienced a statistically significant increase suggesting either effectiveness of the intervention on disorder and/or displacement. Resident survey results revealed a 58% increase of respondents reporting feeling safe in a targeted shopping area. Satisfaction with police also rose 5% post intervention. The authors identified the awareness raising campaign as a major driver of community support for the program. Frequent liaison between the resource officer and the

resident committee was also seen to 'foster a sense of community, promote direct involvement to steer problem behaviour away from high-risk areas, and enhance communication with law enforcement.' (p. 1205)

Marlow et al. (2007) studied the impact of enhanced community partnership with police in two UK housing estates. Both estates established community stakeholder groups including police to set priorities and monitor progress regarding youth anti-social behaviour. While both sites saw a reduction in victimisation and reported anti-social behaviour, only one site received increased police foot patrols and responses to calls for assistance with anti-social behaviour. For the estate that increased police foot patrol and call-out response, crime rates fell from 134 to 94 per 1,000 residents across three years of intervention. Crime rates remained relatively stable for the other estate. Key issues identified were the willingness and availability of police to participate and share information and recording of progress on set priorities.

Donnelly and Kimble (2006) evaluated outcomes of a residential neighbourhood association action with local government to revitalize the area and improve safety. The association was led by resident elected volunteers who met monthly, advocated with departmental and local government leaders, and created multi-stakeholder committees to address specific issues. The action created smaller gated communities by closing streets and alleys to control traffic flow, increase connectedness, and reduce crime. The action also included a community-based police officer, and social and recreational programs. The results indicated **a significant reduction in overall crime (24%), serious violent crime (40%), and other crime (22%) for the year following the intervention.** Resident interviews immediately before, after, and five years after the intervention indicated that **residents' perceived liveability and reductions in traffic, crime, noise, and drug offences were maintained for at least five years after the changes were implemented.**

Coggan et al. (2008) examined how a central Sydney housing estate known as 'Suicide Towers' became the first public housing estate to be designated a World Health Organization (WHO) 'Safe Community' (p. 4). The central element of WHO Safe Communities is ongoing collaboration between community organisations to measurably reduce harm. A 'Neighbourhood Advisory Board' (NAB) worked collaboratively with tenants, 'Big hART', government and non-government organisations (housing, disability, mental health, police, local government, etc) to improve social cohesion and environments and decrease violent crime. The role of Big hART was to engage marginalised residents in art programs to build confidence and connectedness. **Participatory art programs** included high profile public portrait exhibitions, theatre productions, documentary films, television series, and resident sharing circles, all resulting in **increased trust, understanding, connectedness, and reduced fear between residents.** A crime prevention police officer and community development worker were also allocated to the estate, funded by police and the Department of Housing. A volunteer tenant committee was established and ran groups, meetings and activities for residents. The NAB established a safety committee responsible for addressing tenant concerns about safety and wellbeing. Safety was defined by residents and included a range of physical, mental, social, and public image factors. Safety was measured by a **reduction of**

violent crime and vandalism over three years, no murders or suicides for two years, **reduced police callouts**, **increased tenant** participation and **access to support services**, 'noticeable positive sense of community among tenants' (p. 7), and positive rather than previously negative media portrayals. **Tenants reported feeling more valued, much safer, and more comfortable.**

Kelman et al. (2013) assessed the relationship between management techniques and reductions in crime and disorder by surveying 203 CDRP managers and examining associated crime data. Overall, they found **CDRPs created modest reductions in crime**. Getting CDRP partners to deliver on commitments and **sharing information among and across local agencies was seen to reduce crime in general and the risk of violent crime** specifically (GBNAO, 2005 & 2008; Kelman et al., 2013). The Home Office (GBNAO, 2005) considered that local issues were more likely to generate activity despite competing priorities and limited partner resources, and that **'strong analysis of local data' to identify local issues and strengths and weaknesses of previous approaches were more successful** (p.3). Kelman et al. (2013) found building trust between agencies and groups helped reduce crime, particularly for high crime areas and those with more youth. They also found performance management, managing conflict, funding, staffing, and recruitment impacted effectiveness, particularly for smaller jurisdictions. Helpfully, they also found that prioritising only one collaboration management technique reduced crime and accessing government funding to supplement resources had positive impacts.

Watson-Thompson et al. (2018) examined the effectiveness of a community coalition in Kansas City, Missouri, in improving community-identified urban health and living conditions in 'one of the poorest, most under-educated and crime-ridden neighbourhoods in Kansas City' (p. 10). Resident and partner organisations formed committees to achieve 100 specific actions including garden and yard maintenance by residents and youth, rubbish removal, street lighting, assigning a community police officer to the neighbourhood, establishment of a ten-week police-youth sports program, and a committee to address dilapidated and vacant dwellings. An 'executive director' and experienced 'community mobilizer' were employed to advocate for residents needs and train residents and volunteer 'block captains' in block-level leadership and taking action. Results indicated that **117 community changes were implemented** between 1999 and 2012, 28% related to beautification, 23% adult development, 19% youth development, and 16% to crime prevention. Behaviour change strategies were mostly enhanced service and support (35%), providing information and skill improvement (32%), and removing barriers to enhance access (20%). **Over the entire study period 43% were facilitated by community organisations, 23% by faith groups, and 22% by local government.** Half of events occurred only once, 37% were ongoing, and 14% were to occur more than once (e.g., annually). One-time activities decreased over time in conjunction with an increase in ongoing events. Enhancing services (42%) and removing barriers or increasing opportunities (32%) were more likely to be sustained rather than information provision or skill enhancement (18%). The **changes were associated with modest improvements in targeted housing and violent crime rates**. While violent crime dropped more significantly for the target area than for the city, outcomes followed broader trends for the city overall. A 10-year follow-up with key stakeholders and housing and crime rate

measures, indicated that **the majority of recurring community changes and beneficial outcomes were sustained.**

BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS (BID)

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are a form of community partnership developed specifically to meet the interlinked challenges of town centre vitality, 'fear of crime, anti-social behaviour and environmental problems' (Jones et al., 2003, p. 50). By combining public and private resources with local government oversight, most BIDs focus on 'garbage collection, street maintenance and security patrols' to address these challenges (Briffault, 1999, p. 369; Jones et al., 2003). Some BIDs also assist the homeless, provide street repairs, public furniture and landscaping, sponsor street fairs and community events, and 'direct efforts to draw shoppers, tourists, and businesses into their districts' (Briffault, 1999, p. 369). **BIDs have been credited with 'restoring urban morale and making older downtowns more attractive places to shop, visit, do business, and seek entertainment'** (Briffault, 1999, p. 370). At the same time, they have been criticised for being undemocratic, favouring business interests, causing inequitable service delivery, treating marginalised people poorly, and failing to comply with local government requirements (Briffault, 1999; Jones et al., 2003).

BIDs emerged in the 1970's and by 2003, more than 2,000 BIDs were identified across retail, commercial and office districts in the U.S. (Briffault, 1999; Jones et al., 2003). While specific models vary according to the resources and needs of each jurisdiction, **BIDs generally apply district-specific taxes to fund and administer their activities**, which occur in addition to government services (Briffault, 1999; Jones et al., 2003). BIDs were legislated in the UK in 2002 requiring ratepayers to agree to pay an extra levy on their rate bill in exchange for an advanced decision on how this money would be spent to benefit the local community (Jones et al., 2003).

IMPACT OF BIDS ON CRIME AND DISORDER

Brooks (2008) analysed 21 crimes across 1,009 districts over a thirteen-year period before and after implementation of 124 BIDs in Los Angeles. All BID districts had higher crime rates of all types than non-BID areas. However, she found that the **'neighborhood's collective action' of neighbour institutions such as BIDs were 'robustly associated with [overall] crime declines of 6 to 10%'**, whereas crime reduction was only moderately associated with police enforcement (p. 388). She found that six of seven crimes averted by BIDs were not violent, driven largely by theft from and of a motor vehicle declining an average of 22% across all sites, with burglary and robbery also experiencing significant reductions. Brooks' (2008) analyses also found that positive effects of BID adoption could be sustained long term.

Karl and Anna-Karin (2020) examined the crime-prevention effects of a Swedish inner-city BID in a neighbourhood characterised by high levels of disadvantage, crime, and fear of crime. The BID funded additional cleaning of public areas; removed graffiti; negotiated police monitored CCTV in high crime areas; restricted vehicular access to some areas; and collaborated with a local insurance agency to provide members lower premiums, security inspections, and precautions such as security doors, locks, and lighting. **Results demonstrated a 23% reduction in reported crime in the intervention area** compared to control areas. Some

evidence of diffusion of benefits and no displacement of crime were observed. However, this **overall crime reduction was mainly driven by a decrease in reported property crime, particularly vandalism (28.7%) and burglary (17.1%)** when compared to control areas. No reductions were found for violent crime in public places.

MacDonald et al. (2009) examined the impact of all of Los Angeles' 30 BIDs on recorded crimes and arrests across 12 years immediately before, during, and after BID implementation. They found significant reductions in robbery, assault, burglary, and vehicle theft crimes and arrests for BIDs, with no displacement, although crime declined similarly for non-BID areas (Cook & MacDonald, 2011). BIDs had small effects on reducing violent crime and robbery (MacDonald et al., 2009). The authors concluded that **BIDs that hired private security, cleaned streets of rubbish, and co-ordinated with city service agencies to address business and resident concerns were 'more effective agents of community-level change'** (Ibid, p. xv).

Piza et al. (2020) examined the impact of a BID funded police substation in a downtown area of Newark characterised as a commercial and transport hub with an illicit drug trade. This BID featured 'quality of life [QOL] ambassadors' who patrolled the area on foot to identify and solve issues impacting the community, which were predominantly public intoxication, vandalism, and aggressive begging. QOL ambassadors could report crime or disorder issues to the police substation via a two-way radio. QOL ambassadors were increased from 15 to 25 and police provided six officers to patrol the target area twice daily for three years. A control group analysis found significant reductions of burglary (52%) and motor vehicle theft (54%) in the target area over the three-year intervention and post-intervention periods (Piza et al., 2020), however these effects were not maintained long term. However, robbery and theft from automobile increased in surrounding areas. These results suggest that **proactive policing and QOL foot patrol contributed to ongoing reductions for motor vehicle theft and parking infringements, but not for other property or violent offences or disorder incidents.**

Hoyt's (2004) BID study evaluated the impact of nine Philadelphia BID security and sanitation programs on crime in commercial areas where crime and the fear of crime were key concerns. Uniformed security personnel were co-ordinated with local police by radio or telephone, trained to identify and report crime, invited to police-led meetings, and conducted foot or bicycle patrols. Uniformed sanitation personnel also undertook 'massive' repairs, removed graffiti, sealed vacant properties, and contributed to guardianship by being trained to identify and report unlawful behaviour. A comparison of property crime statistics for areas with and without BIDs across four years found that property crime for BIDs dropped more than twice that for non-BID areas (5% compared to 2.3%). **BID security services were significantly associated with decreases in property crime such as theft and burglary**, although these decreases could be due to varying police presence, social support outreach services, and other situational crime prevention methods such as retail loss prevention training.

Han et al. (2017) investigated the effects of 15 Philadelphia BIDs on nuisance crimes of graffiti, illegal dumping, and disorderly conduct over 12 years. After controlling for the higher crime nature of BID areas, the researchers found **significant decreases for each of these disorder offences in the first five years of BID existence.** However, effects were difficult to maintain longer term.

Hoyt (2005) measured the impact of BIDs on crime in and around commercial areas. Street cleaning and graffiti removal were universal BID features, while improved lighting and public amenities, unarmed civilian foot patrols, government advocacy, and co-ordination with police were common. Results demonstrated that **BIDs were associated with lower property crime rates** (including theft, theft from and of motor vehicle) **with no evidence of displacement**. Little to no difference was found for burglary, robbery, disorderly conduct, or drug related crimes. Hoyt (2005) suggested that these results **may reflect a street-level commercial safety focus** of BID security officers where burglary and robbery were more likely to occur indoors away from their observation.

MacDonald et al. (2013) compared violent victimisation of youths living in 30 Los Angeles BID neighbourhoods with those in similar non-BID neighbourhoods. On average, these BIDs spent 35% of their budget on removing physical signs of disorder such as graffiti, rubbish and landscaping; 23% on private security for public safety; 18% on BID staff and administration; and 15% on marketing. The study found no effect of BIDs on violent youth victimisation. However, they did find that youth violence was strongly correlated with neighbourhood collective efficacy and family-related social control.

D'Souza (2020) examined how BID 'Public Service Officers' (PSOs) used behavioural strategies to establish guardianship and order within four large BIDs in two North-eastern American cities. All BIDs were managed by retired police, and all used enhanced images of safety and security to attract more customers and improve their local economies. PSOs had purely civilian status with no enforcement powers, so behaviour management techniques were key to ensure public co-operation and personal safety, including being polite, fair, and providing rationales for requests. Failure to move on or stop begging were dealt with by simply physically holding ground to deter donations or using their radio to achieve compliance. **Worrying interactions with the public were described as 'extremely rare' (p. 79), and police were never called for assistance** during the study. **Homelessness** was seen to contribute to public 'unease and fear' **for all BIDs** (2020, p. 78) with most BIDs working closely with shelters and outreach programs. PSOs generally agreed that homeless people 'should be removed from the area' (p. 78), with only one PSO describing the homeless as great sources of information due to their enduring presence. Most interactions with homeless people were 'extremely short' with homeless people moving on without comment and refusing service (p. 78). Most BIDs focussed on aggressive begging, loitering, and reporting drug use and dealing to police. Order and maintenance were achieved by reporting instances of graffiti, vandalism, cracked pavements, and broken power lines to either a cleaning crew for immediate remedy, or local government.

Lee and Ferguson's (2019) study of three BID collaborations with social service providers demonstrated that **business communities 'can meet not only physical needs but also the emotional and self-actualization goals of homeless' people** (p. 389). Interviews with BID leaders, security personnel, and outreach social workers revealed three ways in which business partnered with social organisations to address homelessness: (1) engage and connect homeless people with support and housing; (2) employment opportunities; and advocacy around participation in daily activities and access housing. Training of BID and

business staff in the needs of homeless people and collaboration with welfare services was seen to lead to permanent behavioural, housing and employment solutions that benefitted both homeless people and business owners. Employment was supported by free transport passes to get to work, coffee and snacks to ensure workers weren't hungry, and a general positive attitude towards the public service work performed by people experiencing homelessness. The outreach program was expanded to a neighbouring BID and **the employment program gained national recognition for solving homelessness, recidivism, and public space management issues.**

Walby and King's (2022) case study of a BID in Winnipeg, Canada examined annual reports, operational plans, safety, and media reports to identify policy ideas and claims about safety. Winnipeg was characterised by visible poverty, disorder, and crime, with 88% of people reporting they would not feel safe walking around the area alone at night. The BID partnership established neon green uniformed BID 'ambassadors' instead of police foot patrol to engage intoxicated people. Ambassadors worked closely with a local Indigenous men's organisation to facilitate connections with people with lived experience of crime and disorder. Public and private security cameras were monitored, and information relayed to security contractors. A radio channel was shared between private security, police, and outreach teams. Outreach teams provided holistic education, addiction, mental health, and other long-term supports. The authors surmised that while the Winnipeg BID was clearly less aggressive or criminalising than police or private security, their **activities were 'still orientated towards moving people out of certain spaces, especially areas around the entertainment district'** (pp. 11-12). The authors concluded that **the BID thereby offered more public reassurance than safety.** Governance issues regarding privacy and sharing of personal information collected, the monopoly of powerful stakeholders, and accountability of BID operations were also identified.

COST EFFECTIVENESS

Cost effectiveness evaluations regarding crime and disorder were found for each strategy considered in this review. Outlines of each strategy and study cited are described above.

The evidence on the cost-effectiveness of foot-patrols is mixed. Barbrey's (2004) study of the effectiveness of enhanced police foot patrol in conjunction with other community driven strategies cost approximately (US)\$8.3 million over ten years which found no discernible effect on crime or disorder. The marginal and time-limited impacts of police foot patrol found in other studies suggest that **police foot patrol is not a cost-effective approach** (e.g., Andresen & Lau, 2014; Bilach et al., 2022; Novak, 2106; Ratcliffe et al., 2011; Sorg et al., 2013 outlined above). Ariel et al.'s (2016) foot patrol study estimated savings of prevented crime and costs of increased foot patrol to find a **potential return on investment of up to 26 to 1.** The researchers concluded that even small increases in paraprofessional foot patrols can reduce crime to the same effect of hard police approaches that rely on the threat of immediate arrest. Another study of foot-patrols in residential areas found that (UK)£1.44 was saved for every £1 spent, and a further alcohol-related intoxication and disorder study

claimed that the cost of one violent assault on UK emergency and health systems was equivalent to repeating the place manager risk management audit intervention 17 more times (see Douglas & Welsh, 2022).

For community partnerships, according to a British Home Office Report (GBNAO, 2005), one Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership prevented 262 crimes which led to public savings of over £200,000 after spending £281,000, as well as undefined improvements in people's quality of life (GBNAO, 2005). **This suggests that community partnerships might achieve cost effectiveness.** Based on a large, randomised study of the impact of CTCs on 24 US communities' youth which saw a 21% reduction in delinquency and 38% reduction in smoking for year eight students, a cost-benefit ratio of 5.3 to 10.23 was achieved (Welsh et al., 2015). This study placed community partnerships as the most cost-effective community crime and delinquency program.

Three studies examined the cost effectiveness of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) . Cook and MacDonald's (2011) study found that 28 fewer serious crimes in each BID translated into savings of between (US)\$183,000 and \$208,000, compared to BID costs of \$10,000. Adding arrest savings of \$5,000 produced a benefit-cost ratio between (US)\$18.8 and \$21.3 for every dollar spent. Welsh et al.'s (2015) review of the cost-benefits of criminal justice programs found that while **benefits exceed costs for most crime prevention programs**, this was **especially so for target hardening, improved lighting, and Business Improvement Districts programs**. Welsh et al. (2015) considered Cook & MacDonald's (2011) findings as **evidence of BIDs being the most cost-beneficial community programs available**, alongside community development programs. Brook's (2008) large, longitudinal study of crime and arrest impacts found that BIDs on average spent (US)\$150,000 per annum, with \$50,000 spent on security services. Brooks (2008) attributed all BID expenditure to violent crime reduction, ignoring the impact of expenditure on 'many quality-of-life crimes' (p. 388). She found that BIDs spent \$21,000 to prevent one violent crime, which was substantially lower than the \$57,000 conservative social cost of a violent crime, leading her to conclude that **'BIDs are cheap'** (p. 401).

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Readers are directed to the Phase 1 Nambour Community Safety Review literature review (Chapter 1) for theoretical underpinnings of the approaches discussed here, and for an overview of research and directions for reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder in entertainment precincts.

This paper provided an overview of evidence regarding popular front-line or community-based approaches to address crime and disorder, all of which have been in existence for many decades. CPTED strategies and enhanced security or patrol, were components of all the strategies. Collaborative approaches, community investment, and legislative provisions also featured. Although the more successful impacts were described as moderate, results seemed to reflect the situational prevention techniques applied to the area, strengthening confidence that interventions were indeed causing the effect (Karl & Anna-Karin, 2020).

The effectiveness of collaborative public health approaches in creating long-term change in interaction between public drug and alcohol use and dealing, socio-economic disadvantage, mental health issues, homelessness, and criminalisation, is supported by the literature reviewed. **Equitable, respectful, integrated approaches** to reducing crime and disorder, rather than heavy handed criminalising approaches, **were strongly supported**. Practical knowledge about local conditions and availability of family or other support services to assist were also considered useful techniques (Coggan et al., 2008; Corsaro & Engel, 2020; GBNAO, 2005; Karl & Anna-Karin, 2020; Lee & Ferguson, 2019; Watson-Thompson et al., 2018; Wood et al., 2014).

Half of the **police foot patrol studies reviewed found reductions in at least one crime type** (Andresen & Hodgkin, 2018; Hatten & Piza, 2022; Piza & O'Hara, 2014). The effects on street violence, property, and nuisance crimes were variable and reductions were statistically small and temporary, evaporating as soon as three months after intervention or diminishing to non-significance during longer interventions (Bilach et al., 2022; Braga et al., 2019a; Hatten & Piza, 2022; Novak et al., 2016; Sorg et al., 2013). Further, reductions were **often associated with spatial or temporal displacement**, meaning that people and issues were simply moved – temporarily - to other locations (Andresen & Hodgkin, 2018; Braga et al., 2019a; Hatten & Piza, 2022). Findings that service orientated approaches were as, or more, effective than enforcement orientated foot patrols suggest that **service orientated approaches can reap more benefit, at less human, social and financial cost**, than legalistic practices (Ariel et al., 2016; Piza, 2018; Wood et al., 2014). Perceptions of safety studies indicated that a uniformed presence generally increased feelings of safety but did not need to be police or security guards (Doyle et al., 2016).

Braga et al.'s (2019b) review of disorder focussed policing interventions found that **community policing approaches were not only more effective than aggressive law enforcement approaches in reducing crime but were associated with diffusion of crime control benefits**. The evidence for **the effectiveness of place managers to prevent crime and disorder** without substantial displacement effects is **promising** and supported by strong theoretical foundations of situational crime prevention and criminal opportunity (Douglas & Welsh, 2022; Hoyt, 2004; Pate & Annan, 1989). Some argued place managers, as already established components of the community, were well placed to balance public safety, privacy and civil liberty concerns without the cost associated with formal guardianship strategies of police or municipal foot patrol, or electronic surveillance (Douglas & Welsh, 2022). Two of three **volunteer patrol studies** found no impact despite community support for continuation of the programs (Larsen et al., 2015; Swann et al., 2015). More **rigorous testing is required** to draw a firm conclusion about this approach. Other studies indicated that community improvement projects need to be carefully managed to limit increasing unintended opportunities for crime and disorder (Anderson et al., 2017).

Evidence regarding the **effectiveness of Crisis Intervention Teams (CITs) is inconclusive**, owing in part to a lack of rigorous testing and contrary findings regarding impact of training on police thinking and attitudes (Kane et al., 2018; Peterson & Densley, 2018; Watson et al., 2017). One review found that multi-faceted approaches driven by community partnerships

seemed to work best, but that this was not a feature of CITs (Kane et al., 2018). Overall, it can be said that CITs ‘make sense’ and should be trialled in locations where problems of public disorder and crime intersect with issues of drug and alcohol misuse, mental illness and homelessness.

All community partnership evaluations found reductions in either crime or disorder, with impacts of England’s Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships described as modest (Kelman et al., 2013). Strong analysis of local data, identifying weaknesses of previous approaches, building inter-agency trust and co-operation, multi-component programs, and removing alcohol advertising to reduce anti-social behaviour were seen as particularly successful features of community partnerships (Kelman et al., 2013; Knai et al., 2015). The impacts of collective neighbourhood action in organising and informing the development of interventions appear to be more effective and enduring than police-led approaches, with benefits increasing over time and sustained for up to ten years, particularly for perceived improvements (Brooks, 2008; Donnelly & Kimble, 2006; Watson-Thompson et al., 2018). One study found that while local government took a leadership role in the first two years of partnership, later years were characterised by community organisations facilitating most changes (Watson-Thompson et al., 2018). Enhancing service and opportunity were more likely to be sustained than training (Watson-Thompson et al., 2018). These findings suggest that start-up efforts and cost might diminish across the life of community partnerships. Participatory arts programs were also seen as a valuable empowerment tool when owned by the community (Anderson et al., 2017; Coggan et al., 2008).

All but one **BID evaluation saw enduring reductions in crime and/or disorder, particularly for property crime**. One study noted strong diffusion of benefit and lower levels of displacement for some property and violent offences (Piza et al., 2020). The impacts on violent crimes were mixed. Some studies found BIDs reduced serious crime (Brooks, 2008), while MacDonald and colleagues’ (2009, 2011, 2013) studies yielded mixed results, and Calanog’s (2006, unpublished) study showed no effect of BIDs on violent crime (Hans et al., 2017). The more robust studies all found crime reduction benefits lasting between three and twelve years (MacDonald et al., 2009), while one intervention and one correlation study saw a lack of benefit after 23 months and five years (Piza et al., 2020; Han et al., 2017). These **waning benefits** may reflect the novelty effect of crime prevention strategies, a change of underlying reasons for crime and disorder, or a change in local conditions or relationships between stakeholders. The potential for waning benefits emphasised the importance of regular monitoring and re-assessment of community crime and safety risk and strengths and intervention strategies.

All the successful BID studies included CPTED strategies to address physical signs of disorder, which focussed on street cleaning, vandalism and street repair, graffiti and rubbish removal, and improved landscaping, lighting, gating, signage, public facilities and addressing dilapidated buildings (Hoyt, 2005). CPTED strategies to address cleanliness and appearance were also features of successful community partnership and community policing studies (Anderson et al., 2017; Corsaro & Engel, 2020; Donnelly & Kimble, 2006; Douglas & Welsh, 2022; Coggan et al., 2008; Watson-Thompson et al., 2018). BIDs also incorporated natural

guardianship not only through the use of civilian foot patrol, but through the revitalisation of urban areas that attract more business operators, customers and residents (Han et al., 2017).

BID evaluations also highlighted the use of social support outreach services, particularly regarding the homeless (Hoyt, 2004; D’Souza, 2020; Lee & Ferguson, 2019; Walby & King, 2022). Lee and Ferguson (2019) found that close work between partnership members, welfare services, and business operators to provide supported employment opportunities for disadvantaged people contributed to solving their public disorder, recidivism and space management issues. Retail loss prevention was also a feature of Hoyt’s (2004) seminal BID study that found small but significant reductions in property crime over four years. Integrated and educative approaches appear to be important for the success of interventions regarding the homeless and other disadvantaged groups.

Studies based on residential estates and town vitality indicate that **increasing residential opportunities in the Nambour CBD** could be successfully managed to enhance **collective guardianship and place management** while improving town vitality and business viability (Coggan et al., 2008; Corsaro & Engel, 2020; Donnelly & Kimble, 2006; Douglas & Welsh, 2022; Pate & Annan, 1989; Watson-Thompson et al., 2018). Increasing residential opportunities could help address 1) the lack of visitor accommodation in the CBD which would support entertainment venues and events, 2) homelessness and related issues, while 3) assigning purpose, occupancy and income to vacant buildings.

Community partnerships and BIDs were the most cost-effective crime prevention programs available. However, collaborative approaches such as these include funding challenges that impact quality and consistency of services, information sharing, and decisions made regarding crime and disorder problems (van Steden, 2017; Walby & Lippert, 2014; Welsh et al., 2015). BIDs address this issue through a voluntary tax initiative, but other programs relied on state and federal government funding or philanthropic sources (Thompson & Allison, 2022); City of Swan, 2022; Coggan et al., 2008; Corsaro & Engel, 2020; Kelman et al., 2013; Watson-Thompson et al., 2018). BID rate levies could be attached to appearance and/or occupancy where reduced levies are provided for well maintained and tenanted buildings within the CBD. Member insurance premiums and service discounts, low-cost finance for the upgrading of dilapidated buildings, and the use of damage resistant materials were also suggested (Grabosky, 1995; Karl & Anna-Karin, 2020).

The prevalence of **sexual violence** across public arenas such as work, online, social venues, and music festivals indicates a broad social problem requiring a holistic approach. The nature of music festivals share some characteristics of Nambour – visible drug and alcohol use, existence of isolated spaces, and transient nature of community events. **Improved lighting to diminish opportunity, improved signage to establish and manage behavioural expectations, and reduced access to isolated areas**, are popular responses to prevent sexual and other types of public violence and **have seen positive impacts** as outlined in the studies reviewed. Information about consequences for perpetrators, reporting, and support options, increasing female responders, and providing specialist training, are other key features of ensuring appropriate responses.

Spending public resources to implement citizen impact programs demands accountability, which can only be achieved by **rigorous empirical evaluation**. For instance, the publicly funded Community safety officer (CSO) model emerged in the late 1990s and featured in many local Australian safety initiatives, yet no evaluations of its effectiveness on crime or disorder were found (den Heyer, 2021; Walby & Lippert, 2014). Therefore, its successes, failures and lessons learned cannot be considered or extended within this review.

Public support provides basic accountability for public spending but is not always achieved even when crime prevention programs prove successful (Ratcliffe et al., 2015). While agency support for community partnerships is generally stable and enduring, public support is questionable owing to varying levels of personal interest in crime and disorder issues, limited awareness and success of interventions, and effectiveness of public consultation (Corsaro and Engel, 2020; Houghton, 2011). Community consultation of stakeholders including hard-to-reach groups is essential to inform interventions and their evaluations (Grabosky, 1995; Houghton, 2011). Equally, efforts should be made to raise awareness of crime prevention programs as this may reduce fear of crime in as of itself (Chataway & Hart, 2018).

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Appendix 2

Nambour Community Safety Review: Phase 2

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) Audit Comments Report

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

This report comprises an analysis of Crime Prevention through Environment Design (CPTED) auditor comments made regarding Nambour's town centre in Phase 1 of the Nambour Community Safety Review project. The audit used 11 CPTED concepts including guardianship, activity support and image maintenance. The audit rated features of Nambour's town centre and encouraged comments to explain ratings and identify potential improvements. The auditor comments included many recommendations concerning specific aspects of the town centre environment that could be modified to reduce opportunities for crime and improve feelings of safety.

Key positive findings concerned the perceived presence of legitimate activities, potential for entertainment, and accessible parking. Key areas of improvement included the perceived absence of natural surveillance and informal guardianship, lack of maintenance, poor lighting and garden maintenance, restrictions on defensible space, presence of empty shopfronts, worn and damaged signage, up-keep of public amenities, and need for more formal guardians – associated with inadequate signs of guardianship. Areas of improvement to support and build on positive features focussed on improving attractiveness to increase legitimate activities and use. It is expected that inviting spaces increase use (which in turn increases informal guardianship), can lead to improved perceptions of safety, and reduced perceptions of the potential for crime. These findings specify guidance on possible actions to support the success and safety of the Nambour Special Entertainment Precinct (SEP).

METHOD

Twenty-three audits were conducted across the Nambour Entertainment Precinct central business district area during nine audit times. Audits were conducted from 11am to 1pm and 7pm to 10pm on weekdays and weekends over a two-week period. The final scheduled two audits were cancelled due to an incident of sexual and verbal harassment.

106 items were assessed across 11 categories to measure characteristics of CPTED, the perceived purpose of the area, the types of activities observed during the audits (both prosocial and antisocial), and auditor's recommendations on what may need to be improved overall. Table 1 below identify the eleven CPTED categories used for the audit and the types of characteristics measured.

Table 1: CPTED Categories and Relationship to Key CPTED Principles

Audit Category	Key CPTED Principles
Status (eight items)	Purpose, use and composition of area, general impressions.
Lighting (nine items)	Surveillance, Access Control, Target Hardening, Safety
Sightlines (six items)	Surveillance, Guardianship, Target Hardening, Safety
Ownership of Space (eight items)	Territoriality, Activity Support, Guardianship, Social Cohesion, Safety, Image Maintenance, Target Hardening

Perceptions of Crime and Safety (six items)	Access Control, Guardianship, Safety
Signage/CCTV (10 items)	Surveillance, Image Maintenance, Target Hardening
Movement (13 items)	Access Control, Activity Support, Image Maintenance, Target Hardening, Social Cohesion, Connectivity
Landscaping (11 items)	Activity Support, Image Maintenance, Target Hardening, Safety
Space Use – Use Mix and Activity Generation (28 items)	Surveillance, Guardianship, Access Control, Activity Support, Target Hardening, Social Cohesion, Connectivity
Maintenance and Management (15 items)	Image Maintenance, Target Hardening, Connectivity
Expansion (six items)	Legitimate / illegitimate activities and crime, improvements.

The audit area was divided into three sectors to facilitate comparisons within the CBD. Sector 1 included the public transport hub, Nambour Mill Village, Council offices, public library, museum and theatre, as well as C-Square and its private parking tower. Sector 2 included the RSL, Hotel Beach House, Supercheap Auto with underground parking, a shopping mall, Nambour Town Square, public toilets, two bridges and an underpass crossing Petrie Creek. Sector 3 was dubbed ‘the banking district’ as it contains five financial institutions as well as a lane consisting of arts, food, beverage, and music shops.



Twenty-three completed audits were used for analysis. 16 audits were conducted during the day and seven at night. All audit comments were transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet as per audit day and time, CPTED category, and rating¹. To identify themes, specific indicators of

¹ Uninformative comments such as “n/a” or “during the day” were removed from the analysis.

success, and issues, comments were analysed for each category for the overall audit area, for each Sector, and for time of day (day or night).

FINDINGS

LIGHTING

Lighting items addressed the degree, consistency, and maintenance of lighting. Of the 107 comments for the Lighting category, most comments for all Sectors were made regarding the consistency of illumination (18), ability to easily identify a face 25 meters away (16) and walkways and alternative routes being adequately lit (13). Comments about the 'overall sufficiency' of lighting item were mostly positive (6 of 9 comments) although night audit comments consistently indicated a need to improve night lighting.

great lighting except for empty shop spaces; felt safe in most areas (Audit 15, Sector 1, 7pm Friday)

While the underpass to the train station was considered "well lit" (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday), under-cover carparks, the Currie Street underpass and alleyways were considered inadequately lit, even during the day. Mitchell Street, Short Street toilets, and streets and laneways off Currie Street were identified as key issues at night, with auditors also identifying decreased lighting on Mill Lane towards the bus stop. Issues related to missing, flickering, or broken lights, and foliage obstructing lighting. Night lighting for C-Square seemed to substantially improve during the audit indicating possible maintenance works to repair or replace broken lights.

Currie St - lighting reasonably consistent, but some missing/broken lights along street (doesn't heavily impact visibility); Bury St - limited and inconsistent lighting; Mitchell St - limited to no street lighting, foliage obstructing what limited lighting there is (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday)

Mill Ln - Between cafes only 2 lights out of 6 (Audit 8, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Comments regarding facial visibility from 25 meters away for day and night centred around installing mirrors to see around corners and trimming vegetation to enhance sightlines, particularly for Sectors 1 and 2. Mirrors were suggested for the train station underpass and exit to car park, the Currie Street underpass, and the Short Street toilet block.

Along paths are good; underpass not good; can't see around corners; toilet block short street has concealment spaces at entry & exit points needs mirrors to see around corners, doors also close on their own, safety/assault issue. Doors should swing / stay open on their own (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Lighting measures:

- Illumination is consistent
- Main walkways are well lit
- Lighting is maintained on main walkways
- Alternative routes are well lit
- Entry and exit points are well lit
- Lighting is properly maintained at entry and exit ways
- Lighting is free from obstruction
- You can easily identify a face 25 meters away in all directions
- Overall sufficiency of lighting

Comments around Lighting most often appeared with comments relating to Landscaping (11). Landscaping issues mostly related to overgrown or obstructing foliage affecting lighting. Entrapment (safety and crime) and Movement (7 each) were also related to Lighting, reflecting feelings of safety and potential for crime or potential for offender escape. Movement issues also included the condition of footpaths presenting trip hazards at night. Maintenance and Management comments (6) related to Lighting included broken or cleaning of lights. Most co-category comments were made during night audits (24 of 29), indicating that Lighting at night could affect people's perceptions of hazards and risks.

Lighting was mostly sufficient throughout the CBD, but lighting in under-cover carparks, underpasses, and alleyways could be enhanced to increase perceptions of safety (especially at night)

SIGHTLINES

Sightlines measures:

- Sightlines between car parks, public toilets, parks, other recreational and business facilities, and infrastructure are not obscured
- Users can clearly see 25 meters ahead
- There are no external hiding places
- Public streets are not crowded by public infrastructure
- Buildings have 'soft edges' (easily see around corners)
- Parking spaces are adequate and do not obstruct street view

Sightline items addressed street views, use of public infrastructure, and presence of hiding/concealment places. Of the 104 comments for the Sightline category, most comments were made regarding external hiding places (19), soft edges on buildings (19), sightlines being obscured (17), and streets being crowded by infrastructure (17).

Comments about being 'able to see clearly 25 meters ahead' and 'soft edges on buildings' were mostly positive and occurred for each Sector during day and night audits (9 of 16 and 11 of 19 comments, respectively). Wide roads and paths, the use of glass, mirrors, and rounded corners of buildings were identified as enabling sightlines. However, several comments regarding sightline obstruction were made for each Sector during day and night audits. Issues for each of these items included blind or hard corners, overgrown foliage, and

dark areas for alleyways, particularly around Short Street and the Currie Street underpass. Proposed solutions included the use of mirrors, enhanced lighting, and landscaping maintenance:

visible in front of self but too dark along alleyway in Howard St & Currie St ... (Audit 24, Sector 3, 7pm Tuesday)

... green boxes obscuring ends/corners of public toilets (Short Street); high & bushy plants on corner of Matthew St & Currie St. (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

near McDonalds - needs mirror (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

... A few alley ways are not lit, but are fenced off & locked. The underpass along Currie St is dark. Needs some lighting, CCTV & reflective mirrors at entry/exit points (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Comments regarding infrastructure crowding streets were mostly positive (10 of 17 comments) for each Sector and for day and night audits. Nonetheless, issues were identified for each Sector and appeared to relate to private and Council bins, electrical boxes, and greenery on paths, as indicated by the following comments:

overall great sightlines + open spaces (Audit 17, Sector 1, 11am Tuesday)

*Cnr Mill St + mill lane, junction box in the middle of pathway in front of chairs
Occasional benches with no lighting or pathway access (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday)*

Mill Ln - tree in walkway (Audit 8, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Comments for external hiding places occurred for all Sectors during day and night audits. Comments focussed on the amount of and access to alleyways, although the Currie Street underpass and recessed shopfronts also featured, particularly on Currie Street and the Ann Street medical centre as below:

many concealed places, alleyways, carparks, sidestreet/driveways with no barricades and all have easy access for anyone (Audit 19, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday)

Comments were overwhelmingly positive regarding the amount of public parking (11 of 15 comments). However, seven comments indicated the amount and direction of parking may obstruct visibility.

Plenty of parking & signage. However all parks are parallel with pedestrian paths thus causing obstruction to street view. Turning them so they are diagonal facing pedestrian paths provides surveillance & access. (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Co-categories with Sightlines related predominantly to Landscaping (43), indicated how overgrown landscaping and foliage may obstruct clear views and lines of sight throughout Nambour's CBD.

Overgrown landscaping and foliage may obstruct clear lines of sight throughout Nambour's CBD

OWNERSHIP OF SPACE

Ownership of Space items addressed the presence of legitimate and illegitimate activities, informal and formal guardianship, and definition of public and private space and transition zones. Comments about the appearance of legitimate activities were mostly positive and occurred for each Sector during the day (9 of 12 comments). Night audit comments (3 of 12) indicated a lack of activity for Sectors 1 and 2 and delinquent activity for Sector 3. Concerns

were expressed regarding illegitimate users at day and night for each Sector (6 of 12), as demonstrated by the following comment:

good use of area & public seating. Workers having lunch, people waiting for public transport, rest points etc. but illegitimate use of "town square" area with people in groups drinking alcohol & smoking, roaming dogs, homeless people. (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Of the 137 comments for the Ownership category, most comments were made regarding the appearance of formal guardianship and territorial markers (21 comments each) with comments indicating good signage (15 of 21 territorial marker comments) for each Sector and for day and night. Most comments regarding formal guardianship indicated its absence (12 of 21). Six comments about formal guardianship indicated mostly a passive presence of police vehicles or the police station in Sectors 1 and 3, with two comments about police officers being present in Sector 3, and a further four comments indicating the presence of CCTV in parts of each Sector. No other forms of formal guardianship (e.g., security personnel) were identified. Comments regarding public / private spaces were mixed across Sectors and times of day. The train station, Coles, C-Square, Queen Street, McDonalds and Hungry Jacks were cited as examples of good indicators of ownership. Issues with cleaning, maintenance, visibility, and prominence of signage were noted, as well as a lack of foot traffic indicators for car parks and territorial markers for the back of businesses:

Ownership of space measures:

- Space is clearly public or private
- There are territorial markers (street signs, hours of use, building names)
- Transitional zones are defined (road crossings, pathways)
- Legitimate activities are easily detected
- I feel as though I am a capable guardian in this space
- Offender behaviour would attract attention
- Informal guardianship is apparent (residents, public, business)
- Formal guardianship is apparent (police/security)

Good signage however most signage bent, weathered or unclear due to graffiti (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Porters Lane back of buildings/businesses no signage or business name looks more like houses (Audit 24, Sector 3, 7pm Tuesday)

Filling empty or abandoned shopfronts, increasing outdoor dining, and enhancing public amenities could help to create a lively atmosphere that attracts residents and visitors to Nambour's CBD and enhances informal guardianship

Comments of auditors 'feeling I am a capable guardian' were mostly positive for day audits across Sectors, but not for night-time. Comments regarding the presence of informal guardianship were also more positive for day audits than night (4 of 10 daytime comments: 1 of 6 night-time comments). Issues identified were uncomfortable areas such as carparks and alleyways, instances of public disorder "yelling out at people" (Audit 20, Sector 1,

11am Thursday), and a lack of lighting or activity support for guardianship.

Nearly half of formal guardianship comments noted the presence of police or CCTV for each Sector (10 of 21), with night audits noting CCTV more frequently than police presence. Most comments for offending behaviour attracting attention indicated that it depends on time, place, lighting, or other circumstances such as concealment opportunities and guardianship (14 of 20 comments), as demonstrated by the following comments:

dark and lonely, no one around to report crime. (Audit 8, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

TOD [time of day] – Yes [feel as a capable guardian], despite some illegitimate activities. (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Wouldn't walk by myself around the area not Currie St but Lowe St; criminal opportunity accessible within area of Queen St & Currie St (Audit 24, Sector 3, 7pm Tuesday)

Lots of businesses empty or closed, and no outdoor dining or seating areas. No shade on public seating, not weatherproof, discourages informal surveillance (Audit 11, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Comments regarding transitional zones were mixed both within Sectors and across times of day. Issues most frequently identified a lack of zebra or supported pedestrian crossings for all Sectors, and an absence of, or damaged, tactile paving for disability access, as demonstrated by the following comments:

Limited zebra crossings where pedestrians are encouraged to cross (Audit 11, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Crossing "man" (green) cnr Currie St & Lowe St do not make a beep sound when pedestrians can cross. More crossings could be in place crn Ann St & Matthew St between RSL & recreational skate park and Matthew St from gravel parking lot to RSL (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Public hub and entertainment precinct are not defined. (Audit 7, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Ownership of Space comments aligned with categories of Signage (32) and Space Use (23). Signage issues mostly related to damaged, unclean, or absent signage generally or for cultural heritage, with some instances of good signage. Space use issues mostly related to “loitering”, the presence of “homeless people”, disorderly conduct, or the absence of cultural indicators.

ENTRAPMENT – SAFETY AND CRIME POTENTIAL

Entrapment measures:

- Recessed areas are secured (e.g., laneways)
- There is no sense of isolation
- This area feels safe
- There are clear indicators of crime in this space
- There is potential for crime in this space
- There are appropriate methods to control traffic congestion (laneways, street parking, bus lanes, taxi ranks etc)

Auditors felt safe during the day

Entrapment items addressed feelings of safety, isolation, potential, presence and indicators of crime, presence of security measures, and control of traffic congestion. Comments about feeling safe were mostly positive (7 of 12 comments) and occurred for each Sector during the day. A typical comment was as follows: *“most streets were safe; some areas / behaviours are uncomfortable”* (Audit 3, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday). Several positive comments were also made about *“ample parking”* and public transport access to control traffic congestion for all Sectors.

Of the 86 comments for the Entrapment category, most comments were made regarding recessed spaces (18), sense of isolation (16) and the potential for crime (15). Concerns about feeling safe were universally identified at night for each Sector. Issues identified were a lack of lighting and guardianship at night, particularly for Mitchell and Bury Streets. A sense of isolation was noted during the day and night for parts of all Sectors, particularly for Mitchell Street and away from Currie Street. Several comments noted locked gates and fences while others indicated barriers were broken or easy to overcome. Four comments were made regarding a lack of police or formal guardianship to enhance feelings of safety and reduce the potential of crime.

Mitchel St - very isolated feeling; council building car park + theatre area - isolated and open but secluded; Bury St - long stretch with some businesses but none open and no activity (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday)

Many laneways gates are broken or non-existent (Audit 8, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Alleys were gated, community hall alley had spiked top of gate; docks locked up except supercheap auto, very accessible (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

Importantly, no instances of physical violence were observed by auditors during the audit period. Potential (15) and clear indicators of crime (11) mostly referred to low-level property offences and public disorder offences, including graffiti (10) and public drinking (5). Public drinking was twice associated with verbal confrontation, littering (4), and loitering (3). Damaged property and lighting were also noted.

Public drinking (town square); graffiti (underpass, H&R Block building, abandoned shop fronts), stickers (on signs, poles, walls & fencing); unrestrained, no collar or leash dog (town square); homeless blankets & clothing under RSL (Matthew St); intoxicated

persons yelling out to us & public; homeless male yelling at us & drinking on Currie St (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Graffiti, litter, burnt/derelict buildings (Audit 11, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Removing graffiti and enhancing shop frontages could increase perceptions of safety

Comments around Maintenance/Management (17) and Space Use (11) often co-occurred with perceptions of crime and safety. Maintenance and Management issues mostly related to graffiti and degraded facilities and shop frontages. Most co-category comments were made during night audits (34 of 49), indicating perceptions of safety were lower at night.

SIGNAGE / CCTV

Signage / CCTV items addressed the presence and condition of signage and CCTV. The most positive aspect of signage comments was for parking with most comments regarding 'traffic, parking and street use' indicating obvious, plentiful, and easily visible parking signage (6 of 12) for all Sectors and times of day. For example:

good parking signs, lots around & areas well signed (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday).

Of the 128 comments for the Signage/CCTV category, most comments were made regarding 'adequate law enforcement' and 'emergency services signage' (27), 'visible and obvious directional signage' (17), 'relevant and adequate directional signage' (16) signage was 'well-maintained' (15), and that 'CCTV was signed' (15). Comments about 'overall signage' were mostly equivocal or critical for each Sector and time of day (10 of 12 comments).

Sector 3 attracted the most positive comments for directional signage such as *"Obvious, sufficient heights, well maintained"* (Audit 5, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday), although not all comments for that Sector were in agreement *"None noted or seen"* (Audit 19, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday). Sector 1 and 2 comments indicated a need for more directional signage, particularly for one-way streets, as well as height adjustment and maintenance.

Comments regarding sign maintenance were mostly critical for all Sectors and time of day, with a general consensus appearing to call for repair and maintenance of signage (13 of 15 comments). All Sectors also indicated a need for disabled access, cultural

Signage measures:

- Directional signs are visible and obvious
- Direction signs are relevant, adequate, and culturally appropriate
- CCTV is signed and includes 24-hour operation
- There is adequate signage for emergency services and responses
- There is adequate signage for law enforcement
- There is adequate signage for maintenance services in public areas
- There is sufficient signage for traffic, street use, and parking hours
- Overall signage
- Signage is well maintained

heritage, and emergency services signage, with emergency services signage observed only once for the public transport area in Sector 3. Several comments indicated a lack of CCTV signage including for banks. Other comments called for more CCTV on Currie Street and for public toilets. The following comments express general sentiments as well as some specific issues and suggestions:

Most signage is damaged or dirty (Audit 19, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday)

There could be more signage in the area particularly for directional, they need to be cleaned up and put on a level everyone can see. (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

No emergency service and responses signs found. A sign is required to tourists, maybe even with different languages / a QR code to a website that chooses languages. (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

No disabled access/open and close times found. No culturally appropriate or interpreted signs found. More signage like these are needed. (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

Adequate signage for parking was present throughout Nambour's CBD, but maintenance could be enhanced

Comments around Signage were often related with Maintenance/Management (44) and Ownership (33). Maintenance and Management issues mostly related to the quality, condition and use of signage for direction and reporting purposes. Ownership issues related to emergency services contacts, cultural heritage, delineation between public and private spaces, and maintenance of directional signage.

MOVEMENT

Movement items addressed control and accessibility to, from and throughout the audit area for public and private pedestrian, vehicle, and cyclist modes of transport. This category includes aspects of safety and potential offender movement. The most positive aspect of Movement was for parking with most comments regarding 'car parks are close to facility entrances' indicating obvious, plentiful, and easily visible parking (11 of 14) for all Sectors and times of day. For instance:

This is a real positive in Nambour, there is plenty of parking, all very close to facilities :) (Audit 22, Sector 2, 11am Thursday).

Comments about 'safe routes from edge to centre of the precinct' were mostly positive for daytime (4 of 5 comments) for Sectors 2 and 3, although lighting and landscaping were identified as issues. Night audit comments (3) also suggested better lighting and CCTV particularly around car parks would enhance safety of routes in and out of the precinct:

Daylight, open spaces, and foot traffic enhanced a sense of safe movement

Movement measures:

- Pedestrian routes are clear and predictable
- Footpaths allow for freedom of movement and surfaces are in good condition
- Footpaths allow for disability access
- Modes of transport are separated (pedestrian/vehicle/cyclist)
- There are multiple exit points
- There is no access via balconies
- Easy to legitimately enter and exit space
- Entry and exits are directed and controlled
- End of route is visible
- Car parks are close to facility entrances
- Public transport areas are accessible and safe
- Routes from edge to centre of precinct are safe
- There are vehicle barriers
- Offenders cannot easily disappear

During business hours yes, lots of foot traffic for natural surveillance (Audit 4, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday).

Basement of supercheap could be lit up more with vegetation surrounding carpark trimmed, same with RSL (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday).

Short St access is full of carparks - it doesn't appear too safe, people can hide in bushes / cars (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

Of the 177 comments for the Movement category, most comments were made regarding 'offenders cannot disappear easily' (19), 'footpaths allow for disability access' (17), that 'footpaths allow free movement and are in good condition', and that 'pedestrian routes are clear and predictable' (16 each). Most comments for all Sectors and times of day indicated multiple access, exit and hiding places for offenders to potentially hide or escape (15 of 19 comments). Specific issues included landscaping, car parks, roof access, and poor sightlines:

Many access points (service access / residential access / alleys etc) present in the majority of the area ... pub balcony access point (saw someone climb into a window from the roof) (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday)

There is stairs and roof access to almost every balcony (Audit 19, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday)

Comments regarding the condition of footpaths indicated they need repair or maintenance in all Sectors (27 of 32 comments). Landscaping was also indicated as obstructing pedestrian access in each Sector. Comments regarding disability access for all Sectors and times of day indicated that while the width of some footpaths and disabled parking enabled access, most comments indicated improvements regarding repair, resurfacing, tactile prompts and clearing obstacles (10 of 17 comments):

Obstructions such as bins, trees need to be cleared from footpaths [and] There are poles and bins in the way. Uneven paths. (Audits 6 & 7, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Most paths except Lowe St need repairing or flattening, hilly, bumpy, uneven & clearly patched (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

Comments regarding 'conflicting modes of transport' indicated that while wide roads facilitated separation of bicyclist and vehicle traffic, there was a lack of bike lanes (5 of 13

comments). Comments also indicated a need for zebra crossings (3 comments), particularly for Short Street which hosts public toilets in the middle of a car park.

Short St has no crossings or pathways for pedestrians - could use barricades for footpaths (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

Public transport was observed for all Sectors for day and night (9 of 10 comments). Two night comments indicated that the public transport hub in Sector 1 appeared remote and had poor lighting. For example:

Railway well maintained. Bus stops need better lighting. (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Comments indicated that vehicle barriers were in use in all Sectors. Comments suggested that bollards could be extended to protect banks, Currie Street, and archery premises, and for street parking (6 of 14 comments). One comment also identified the apparent misuse of vehicle barriers:

bollards on Currie street lower end toward pub; lack of upper end Currie St; misuse of bollard on Bury St (Audit 21, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Comments around Movement were predominantly related to Landscaping (32) and Maintenance/ Management (15). Landscaping issues related mostly to access to vulnerable areas and foliage creating obstacles for footpaths or other public amenities. Maintenance and Management issues universally related to footpaths.

Maintenance and repair of footpaths throughout Nambour's CBD may require attention

LANDSCAPING AND PUBLIC SPACE DESIGN

Landscaping items addressed how buildings, gardens, and infrastructure - such as overpasses and tunnels - are inviting, enable access and sightlines, and are well maintained. Although positive features of greenery were identified for all Sectors, and mostly during the day, comments regarding the design of green spaces and them being inviting were mixed. Overgrown foliage was the most commonly identified issue, mostly impacting sightlines, particularly for Sectors 1 and 2: Comments included:

The use of greenery and the availability of seating featured throughout Nambour's CBD

"Mill st park / open area is inviting" and "café area - good disability access; open; well maintained" (Audits 21 & 11, Sector 1, 11am Thursday).

Council gardens need trimming. Generally Townsquare outside community hall seating is somewhat secluded / obstructed by vegetation (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Of the 166 comments for the Landscaping category, most comments were made regarding ‘public amenities are available and accessible’ and ‘vulnerable areas are not easily accessible (e.g., back of buildings)’ (19 each), and ‘public seating is available and appropriate’ (18).

Comments regarding public seating were mostly positive or indicated the existence of public seating for all Sectors and times of day (11 of 18 comments). Issues identified focussed on maintenance, cleaning, sheltered seating, and a lack of seating for some areas. Conversely, most comments regarding the availability of public amenities were more equivocal (8) or negative (8 of 19), particularly at night, as demonstrated by the following comments. Nonetheless, three very positive comments were made for Sectors 1 and 2, along with suggestions to enhance amenity:

This area has great potential. There are many op-shops and specialty stores. More outdoor dining and a children's playground / area with cafes / restaurant would be great (Audit 22, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

Seats outside NAB bank are more inviting as the seats appear newer and have more garden space near them All seats appear easy to use ... Limited seating on Howard, Ann and Queen Street. Lowe Street has more seating, mostly in the sun with limited shade (Audit 4, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday)

some [public seating] along Lowe St are covered in bird poo & same in town square. Need cleaning. One of the red timber chairs in town square is broken at the front (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

There were no public toilets seen, all footpaths were accessible by wheelchair (Audit 4, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday)

Landscaping measures:

- Public and private space divisions are clear
- Sightlines are clear and maintained appropriately
- Building, tunnels, or overpassed are designed in a way that does not allow for shadowed space
- Vulnerable areas are not easily accessed
- Public amenities are available and accessible
- Public amenities are clean and well-maintained
- Public seating is available and appropriate
- Public seating is inviting and easy to use
- Gardens and green spaces have been appropriately incorporated into the design of this area
- There is an adequate mix of demographics
- Public amenities and seating use ‘anti-homelessness’ devices
- The area makes sense

Access to buildings and landscaping were identified as issues in the night audits

Comments regarding accessibility to vulnerable areas reflected comments for the Movement category in terms of multiple entry and exits points and were mostly critical for all Sectors and time of day (17 of 19 comments). While accessibility to carparks was rated positively, specific issues regarding pedestrian accessibility and landscaping of buildings were observed for all Sectors and were universally negative for night-time audits (5 of 5 comments):

Back of buildings on Currie St not gated - can fully access. (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

... Construction sites not locked on Bury St. (Audit 20, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

supercheap loading dock open, no fencing or signage short street behind bottle-o accessible through bistro/pub and drive through / driveway (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

Co-categories were predominantly Movement (33) and Sightlines (22). Movement issues related to access to vulnerable areas, offenders being able to easily disappear, footpath, amenity, and disabled access. Landscaping issues related mostly to foliage creating obstacles for sightlines and public amenities.

SPACE USE – USER MIX AND ACTIVITY GENERATION

Space Use – User Mix and Activity Generation items addressed the presence of legitimate and illegitimate activities, guardianship, activity support, feelings of safety, demographic, and user mix. Comments about legitimate activities being easily detected were mostly positive (10 of 14) for all Sectors and times. Comments about a sense of inclusiveness were also mostly positive (7 of 11) for all Sectors. Only one night audit comment was made about inclusiveness, which was positive. Comments for both these items highlighted multiple opportunities for social interaction in the context of business activities. Comments about the presence of informal guardianship were also mostly positive (10 of 18) for all Sectors during the day. A lack of activity away from shopping/ business hubs, particularly at night, as well as the presence of illegitimate activities, seemed to be the main issues for these items. The following comments summarise feedback about legitimate activities, inclusion, and informal guardianship:

Plenty of opportunities for prosocial activities were observed in Nambour's CBD

Stores of a variety, Church, licensed venues, many different food styles, community hall, skate park bordering boundary, medical centre, tattoo parlour, street art. (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Legitimate activity can be seen through the area however there wasn't many people in town on this night (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

Of the 407 comments for the Space Use – User Mix and Activity Generation category, most comments were made regarding the presence of illegitimate activities, outdoor dining, licensed premises, children's facilities, guardians, and efforts to reduce loitering (18 each), as well as signs of drug or alcohol use (17) and the presence of a suitable number of formal guardians (16). Feelings of safety regarding property or crimes against the person also attracted a total of 29 comments. Comments identified illegitimate activities for all

Observed antisocial behaviour included loitering, graffiti, and signs of alcohol use during the day

Space use measures:

- Legitimate activity is apparent
- Illegitimate activity is apparent
- Intended activities are clear and supported
- I feel safe from crimes against the person
- I feel safe from property crime
- Multiple legitimate uses are apparent
- Cultural identity and heritage is clear and supported
- There are clear opportunities for social interaction
- Outdoor dining areas are present
- Licensed premises are present
- Non-local accommodation is present
- After hours use areas are frequent and cared for
- There is a sense of inclusiveness
- Passive/casual surveillance is available
- Legitimate and illegitimate activities are co-located
- Users appear comfortable
- Users appear compatible with each other
- Children's facilities are visible, supervised, and safe
- There are apparent signs of alcohol or drug use in this area
- There are efforts to reduce loitering in this area
- I feel as though I can approach individuals in this area if I am in need of help
- I feel threatened by individuals in this area
- There is a suitable number of informal guardians in this area
- There is a suitable number of formal guardians in this area
- Areas attracts potential offenders and suitable targets

Sectors, particularly during the day (10 of 18). Illegitimate activities were mainly loitering, although graffiti, and "*suspicious behaviour*" also featured (Audits 2 and 3, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday). Nearly half of comments regarding signs of alcohol or drug use identified intoxicated persons or discarded alcohol containers in all Sectors, particularly during the day (8 of 17 comments). Comments identified a predominance of licensed premises in Sectors 1 and 2 (12 of 17 comments). Nearly half of comments indicated an absence of effort to reduce loitering (8 of 18). Five comments identified positive features to reduce loitering including lighting, natural surveillance, signage, and CCTV cameras. The following comments are indicative of illegitimate activities, loitering, and presence of licensed venues in Sectors 1 and 2:

Followed for a little bit before being approached by a woman on a bike who mentioned ice and cleaning up the streets; couple of drunks wandering around aimlessly; someone climbing into a window at the "hotel" rooms at the pub (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday)

Town square at least 7 people, homeless male shouting crn Currie at & Lowe St carrying alcohol (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Nearly half of comments regarding outdoor dining (8 of 18) identified outdoor dining opportunities for all Sectors, with four auditors suggesting increased outdoor dining to enhance natural surveillance. Children's facilities were noticeably lacking for all Sectors apart from the library play area, and the skate park which bordered the audit area. Anti-homelessness devices were observed for the Currie Street underpass, roof access points and seating area in Sector 3, and concrete barriers and ledges in Sector 2. The following comments summarise sentiments about outdoor dining, children's facilities, and presence of homelessness:

Some [outdoor dining], but more would be better for natural surveillance (Audit 15, Sector 1, 7pm Friday)

None in area [children's facilities]; skate park seem popular but out of zone (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

There is no anti-homelessness devices found - evidence of homelessness was found in town square and in bushes outside of the RSL (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

Most comments regarding feelings of safety were negative or equivocal for all Sectors at day and night (27 of 29). Issues identified were poor lighting, sense of seclusion (particularly Currie Street underpass), presence of graffiti, rubbish and poor building maintenance, intoxicated people, and verbal abuse. Most comments about the suitable number of formal guardians indicated the absence or lack of police, security or place managers (13 of 16). Feelings of safety were associated with daytime and being in a group. For instance:

Currie Street underpass and Town Square were identified as areas where safety could be enhanced

Town square super uncomfortable with the homeless & intoxicated people, unrestrained dogs, underpass very scary, not well lit or inviting due to rubbish, graffiti & lack of path (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Co-categories were predominantly Ownership of Space (9) and Entrapment (6). Ownership of Space issues related mostly to the easy detection of legitimate activities and also capable guardianship. Entrapment issues related to a sense of isolation, indicators and potential for crime, capable guardianship, and feelings of safety, particularly during the night audits.

A NOTE ON HOMELESSNESS

Several auditors made comments about people they perceived to be homeless throughout Nambour's CBD. Auditors made comments about the behaviour observed from people without homes (i.e., shouting, drinking) and how they felt in their presence (i.e., uncomfortable). Although we acknowledge this may impact on people's perception of safety, local governments should be mindful to not further ostracize and disadvantage an already vulnerable population (Laurenson & Collins, 2006). There are several explanations for why people may perceive people without homes to be at additional risk of offending, including (1) by living in a public space, behaviour is more easily witnessed and monitored and more likely to be perceived as 'loiterers', (2) those struggling to find stable accommodation may have to engage in 'survival offending,' such as theft, and (3) substance abuse is used as a coping mechanism. People without stable housing may struggle with a complex mix of factors including alcohol and drug misuse, mental health problems, financial struggles, family violence, and increased risks of victimisation (Larney et al., 2009). We would caution the use of punitive policies and strategies (i.e., banning sleeping in public places, increasing anti-homelessness design features) that could further exclude those without stable housing in Nambour. Instead, we would encourage inclusive policies that foster support from local service providers (see Laurenson & Collins, 2006 on how local governments can support people experiencing homelessness).

Local governments can help support services and increase affordable housing to create inclusive and safe public environments for everyone

MAINTENANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Maintenance and Management items addressed the condition and cleanliness of buildings, fences and infrastructure, the existence and security of external storage, the cohesiveness of the area's layout, the suitability of drop-off zones, and whether materials, colours and textures make the place feel safe and attractive. Comments regarding drop-off zones were mostly positive (7 of 11 comments), particularly for Sector 1. Comments regarding the flow of road traffic were largely positive (6 of 12 comments), particularly for Sectors 2 and 3, commonly noting the presence of wide roads for all Sectors. Suggestions to improve traffic flow included the increased use of mirrors and signs. For instance:

Wide streets noted. Installation of more corner mirrors would be beneficial (Audit 14, Sector 1, 11am Saturday)

Blind corners and semi-easy flow of traffic, parking on side of streets makes hard for looming corners and the tram line (Audit 19, Sector 3, 11am Tuesday)

Comments regarding the precinct layout were positive or neutral for Sectors 1 and 3, with only one night comment. Comments regarding the layout of Sector 2 suggested more pedestrian and general signage, such as:

Not enough pedestrian directory signs, more clear signs for toilets & private parking territory beginning on Short St (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday)

Art murals were viewed positively and contributed to attractive public space in the CBD

Comments regarding materials, textures, colours, and features making the place seem safe and attractive were mixed across Sectors but were proportionally more positive for night audits. Examples of positive features included wall art and murals and comments suggested

these should be extended. Other comments reflected maintenance, repair and abandoned buildings issues discussed further below:

Wall art noted. As well as aesthetically nice looking shops & cafes. Feels safe. (Audit 14, Sector 1, 11am Saturday)

Maintenance measures:

- Free from racist, sexist or gang/crime related graffiti and vandalism
- Clean and free from litter
- Quality and condition of doors/windows/shutters
- There is no external storage
- External storage is lockable
- Condition of public buildings and furniture
- Amenities are easily identifiable and functional
- Area appears cared for
- Area appears abandoned
- Clear direction on reporting maintenance
- Public and private fencing is properly maintained and signed
- Construction of roads allow for an easy flow of traffic
- There is a suitable number of designated drop-off zones for shops or entrainment areas
- The layout of the streets make sense and are appropriately signed
- Materials, textures, colours, and/or features make the place feel safe and attractive

Murals deter graffiti. More murals and better lighting would definitely make a huge difference. (Audit 20, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Of the 208 comments for the Maintenance and Management category, most comments were made regarding the 'condition of public buildings and furniture' (17), the area being 'clean and free from litter' and 'materials/ textures/ colours/ features make the place feel safe and attractive' (16 each). Apart from two positive comments regarding the condition of buildings, fittings and furniture, comments were mostly negative or equivocal for all Sectors and times of day (27 of 32 comments).

Worn down or empty shopfronts can negatively impact people's perceptions of maintenance and care

Comments regarding the 'area appearing cared for' or 'abandoned' were also mostly negative or equivocal for all Sectors and times of day (11 of 13 and 7 of 15 comments respectively). Issues identified were mostly general condition, damaged and weathered buildings, cleaning – including graffiti, and the presence of empty shopfronts. The following comments were typical for these items:

Building across from station requires new glass and door repairs. Public furniture (seating) seemed clean and adequate. (Audit 10, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Run down and dirty not presentable; Building at Howard St near crossing sign off building is burnt vandalised; Back of businesses along Porters lane caution tape upstairs of building, run down / abandoned (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Most buildings are rusted / old / rundown (Audit 3, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

... brewery dark and closed appears abandoned... Vacant shops and seemingly abandoned buildings bring down area. (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Comments for clean and free from litter were mixed but mostly neutral or negative for all Sectors and times of day (12 of 16 comments). Litter included cigarette butts, shopping trolleys and general rubbish. Suggestions included more bins and cigarette butt disposals for all bins:

Good amount of bins. Not much litter. All bins need cigarette bins. Where they aren't there are butts on the ground. (Audit 20, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Most areas except underpass & creek. Trollies in creek, clearly been for a long time, lots of rubbish/litter in areas, most areas adequate bins (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

Comments regarding the presence of 'racist, sexist or gang related graffiti' were made for each Sector, with Sector 1 receiving the most negative comments. One auditor linked the presence of art with the absence of graffiti:

All areas with murals or artwork appeared to be graffiti and vandalism free. Areas that did not have artwork generally had some tagging or graffiti present (Audit 16, Sector 1, 7pm Saturday)

Comments regarding the existence of secured external storage were mostly positive across all Sectors, although some issues were identified for specific areas, particularly regarding the quality of security and the Supercheap Auto loading dock.

In abandoned shops along Currie st bridge, bikes and boxes of storage stored behind glass dead bolt lock doors (Audit 17, Sector 1, 11am Tuesday)

loading docks on Short st crn Ann st locked up, Supercheap dock messy & open ... garage door closed but easily accessible to doors & area (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)

The predominant co-category with Maintenance and Management was Signage/CCTV (44), reflecting the predominance of worn or damaged signage. Entrapment (17), Landscaping (16), Movement (15), Ownership (10), Space Use (8), Sightlines (7) and Lighting (5) categories were co-indicated regarding the condition of footpaths and shopfronts and the presence of litter, graffiti and need for cleaning.

STATUS AND EXPANSION COMMENTS

Auditors were provided with open-ended questions during the CPTED audit to provide comments about the purpose, ownership, general impressions and how the space supports social and anti-social use of the area, including large scale projects, late night operations, and recreational facilities. Status comments regarding purpose of the area used terms such as

Status questions

1. Describe purpose of area
2. Describe ownership of area
3. Describe use of area (are licenced premises present?)
4. Any large-scale projects, institutions or activities such as schools, hospitals, large shopping centres, car parks (50+ spaces) or construction sites etc?
5. Any night-time, 24-hour operations, public telephones, toilets, services stations, after hours use, or public transport present?
6. Describe space facilities and use of
7. Describe social/anti-social behaviours supported by space
8. Five words that describe your general impression/comfort/overall attractiveness of area

Expansion questions

9. Is there a potential for legitimate entertainment in this space?
10. Is there a potential for crime in this space?
11. What CPTED principles were most lacking in the area you observed?
12. Suggestions for improvement?
13. What prosocial behaviours did you witness during the audit?

‘entertainment’ and ‘leisure’, with ‘social’ being the most popular term used for all Sectors and times. Ownership was mostly described as Council, government, and private businesses, with one auditor identifying “community” ownership for the Town Square on market days (Audit 12, Sector 2, 11am Thursday), while another added that ownership was “delinquent” (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday).

Pro-social features for status included alleyway cafes, food industries, other stores, public markets and art works, and the skate park. Auditors suggested that pro-social behaviours could be expanded through enhanced use of outdoor spaces including live music, markets and play areas, shopping, cafes and dining, people attending licensed venues, other forms of public socialising, and presence of workers and public transport users.

Anti-social features and behaviours for both status and expansion categories included dark and secluded spaces such as alleyways and carparks, loitering, yelling, observing or being approached by intoxicated people, other disorderly or suspicious behaviour (suspected criminal activity, people climbing through hotel windows, unrestrained dogs, teen smoking), graffiti, empty shopfronts, and littering, the Currie Street underpass, skid marks in Short Street, and overgrown bushes. The Town Square, licensed venues and C-Square were described as encouraging both social and anti-social behaviour. While descriptions of general impressions were mixed, as demonstrated by the following comment, negative features predominated with only five of 21 descriptions being entirely or mostly positive:

Quirky, trendy, outdated & abandoned in some areas (Audit 13, Sector 3, 11am Thursday)

Descriptions of open space, parks and youth facilities were mostly positive (11 of 21 comments), identifying various outdoor recreational opportunities in each Sector during the day. Six of seven night-time comments indicated no parks or open spaces for each Sector, as well as issues with accessibility to back of buildings and evidence of homelessness. The following comments demonstrate positive and negative examples of open spaces and parks for day and night:

Open space/park Mill st, small change expresso. Open space + facilities Bury st council area (Audit 11, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

Space of carparks and open square along Short Street had litter indicating a use for homeless people and transients (Audit 23, Sector 2, 7pm Tuesday)

10 empty shops (Audit 3, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday),

Expansion items addressed the potential for legitimate entertainment and crime, social and anti-social activities observed, and what could be improved overall. Comments regarding the potential for legitimate entertainment were overwhelmingly positive for all Sectors and times (17 of 19 comments), with only two neutral comments. Nonetheless, each comment suggested improvements to support entertainment activities. Most comments related to the use or maintenance of empty or run-down buildings (6 of 19), improved lighting (4 of 19), and guardianship (3 of 19). For instance:

Yes. Surprisingly not as unsafe as I thought it would be. However bad lighting or lack of lighting detracts from the space. Lots of vacant shops could be repurposed for entertainment on main St. (Audit 6, Sector 1, 7pm Tuesday)

Expansion comments also universally identified potential for crime (19 comments), with suggestions mostly identifying guardianship (8 of 19), most of which included formal guardianship (5 of 8), lighting (4 of 19), and improved accessibility/amenities and reduced isolation (5 of 19) to decrease the perceived risk of crime. For instance:

Entertainment will always attract crime. Though with adequate surveillance, access & community inclusivity this could be prevented. (Audit 10, Sector 1, 11am Thursday)

CPTED principles identified as mostly lacking for all Sectors and times were natural and formal surveillance including CCTV (16 of 18), territoriality, ownership and activity support (7 of 18), image/aesthetics (6 of 18), and run down / vacant shops (4 of 18). Suggestions for overall improvement were:

- improved formal surveillance including police, security and CCTV (8 of 18)
- improved natural and informal surveillance (8 of 18),
- building maintenance / upgrading / murals (7 of 18),
- improved lighting and garden maintenance (6 of 18 each),
- improved signage and footpaths (5 of 18 each),
- use of empty shopfronts (4 of 18),
- and more outdoor dining, entertainment and live music (5 of 18). For instance:

Live music; More lighting; Better protection doors / surveillance for businesses; Better maintenance on run down buildings; more security and police patrols; services for after dark security curtesy (Audit 24, Sector 3, 7pm Tuesday)

DISCUSSION AND NEXT STEPS

The analysis of CPTED audit comments enabled a more detailed examination of what works to enhance safety and attractiveness, and reduce crime opportunities, for Nambour's Special Entrainment Precinct (SEP). CPTED Status and Expansion comments provided an overall picture of what works well, as well as identifying what could be improved to support the success of Nambour's CBD and planned SEP. CPTED category comments analysis provides more detail to guide and prioritise action to ensure safety and success of Nambour's SEP.

Most comments by auditors focused on sightlines, ownership, and maintenance/management – suggesting these are priority areas for Nambour's CBD

The lack of comments for night audits meant that it was difficult to draw definitive conclusions for some specific items. However, clear and specific strengths and issues were identifiable from the comments data. This level of detail enabled overall trends to be observed for most night audit items and categories.

WHAT WORKS WELL

The potential for legitimate entertainment was consistently positively described for all Sectors and times through auditor comments. The purpose of the audit area was mostly commonly described as social, with entertainment and leisure purposes also commonly indicated. Comments indicated that legitimate activities were already easily detected during the day and night. Pro-social activities identified were using outdoor spaces including live music, markets, play areas and art works, shopping, cafes and dining, other forms of public socialising, presence of workers and public transport users, and people attending licensed venues. Outdoor dining was described as a positive feature for all Sectors. A sense of inclusiveness was also positively indicated. These pro-social activities were mostly identified during day audits. Public infrastructure was described as mostly good, with several aspects identified as positive features of the environment. Parking was a commonly identified positive feature of Nambour.

Parking is obvious, plentiful, visibly signed, and close to facility entrances. Traffic flow and the presence of drop-off zones were also positively indicated for all Sectors. Other examples of good signage and territorial markers for day and night were the transport hub, Coles, C-Square, Queen Street, and fast-food outlets.

Positive aspects of Nambour's CBD

- Prosocial & leisure activities
- Parking and traffic flow
- Signage and territorial markers
- Green space
- Pedestrian movement
- Public transport and public seating
- Sightlines around buildings
- Feeling safe during the day

The presence and attractiveness of greenery was a positive feature for all Sectors, with the Mill Street park area and Council building forecourt cited as examples of good and attractive design. Wide roads and paths were other positive features supporting sightlines, pedestrian movement, and traffic flow, with wide paths and disability parking enhancing disabled access. The use of rounded corners, soft edges on buildings, glass, and mirrors also contributed to the ability to see clearly 25 meters ahead during the day and night. The presence of public transport and availability of public seating for all Sectors was also identified as positive features of the environment. The precinct layout was indicated as a positive feature for Sectors 1 and 3.

Comments indicated most auditors felt safe most of the time during the day. This reflected positively on perceptions of space ownership and inclusiveness, informal guardianship, and safety. Routes from the edge to the centre of the precinct were mostly described as safe, owing to daylight, open spaces, and the presence of foot traffic. The overall sufficiency of lighting during the day and presence of CCTV were also viewed as positive features for all Sectors, with lighting associated with feelings of safety.

The Nambour CBD provides many opportunities for prosocial and leisure activities

These positive features of the Nambour audit area serve as important foundations to support and develop a successful and safe SEP.

AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Despite many positive descriptions of the audit area, critical comments were made by the auditors during CPTED observations. While legitimate activities were readily identified, the presence of illegitimate activities were also identified for all Sectors, especially during the day. Further, comments indicated the need for safety enhancements, particularly at night. The Town Square, licensed venues, and C-Square were described as encouraging both social and anti-social behaviour, with one auditor describing the Town Square as having “*delinquent ownership (Audit 18, Sector 2, 11am Tuesday)*”.

Anti-social activities observed included graffiti, public drinking and intoxicated people, loitering, suspected criminal behaviour, and unrestrained pets. Anti-social physical features included the Currie Street underpass, dark and secluded spaces such as alleyways and carparks, overgrown bushes, and empty shopfronts. Empty shopfronts in main thoroughfares were associated with poor lighting and maintenance/management, a sense of isolation, and a lack of care and attractiveness of the environment.

Empty shopfronts in the main CBD thoroughfares were associated with poor lighting and maintenance/management, a sense of isolation, and a lack of care and attractiveness of the environment

The lack of activity observed for areas away from business hubs for all Sectors, particularly at night, was identified as contributing to reduced guardianship, an increased sense of isolation, and reduced feelings of safety. Comments indicated that the combination of poor lighting, feelings of isolation, presence of indicators of crime - or anti-social activities, and a lack of care of the physical environment, were seen to reduce feelings of safety and attractiveness, and increase perceptions of the potential for crime.

Enhancing legitimate activities and users and reducing illegitimate activities and users were seen to decrease isolation and the perceived risk of crime and enhance feelings of safety for day and night. Suggestions for improvement, in order of overall frequency of comments across all CPTED categories were:

- improved informal guardianship,
- building maintenance / upgrading / murals to enhance attractiveness,
- cleaning of graffiti and rubbish,

- improved lighting and garden maintenance,
- improved formal guardianship through police, security and/or CCTV to deter illegitimate use,
- improved signage to direct pedestrian traffic and send clear messages about expected behaviour,
- improved footpaths to enhance attractiveness and safe movement,
- use of empty shopfronts,
- cleaning and shading of public seating,
- and more outdoor dining, entertainment, and live music.

A perceived lack of care for the area was observed for all Sectors and times, indicated by the presence of rubbish and litter, empty buildings, and the condition of buildings, fittings, furniture, and footpaths. While wide roads and paths were seen to reduce conflict between different modes of transport, repair and maintenance of footpaths was indicated for all Sectors, impacting not only attractiveness, but also safe movement throughout the precinct. An increase of supported pedestrian crossings, including tactile paving for disability access, were indicated for all Sectors, and particularly for the Short Street public toilet. Suggested solutions to enhance attractiveness, safety, and general and disability access throughout the precinct included repair, maintenance and upgrading of building facades, the inclusion of cigarette bins on public bins, removing trolleys from the creek, trimming foliage, clearing obstacles from footpaths, and repair and resurfacing of footpaths including the use of tactile prompts. The addition of bike paths was also seen to enhance accessibility and reduce conflict.

The use of mirrors was further suggested to enhance foot and vehicular traffic flow, particularly around corners. While parking was an overwhelmingly positive feature, the amount and direction of parking was identified as a barrier to pedestrian sightlines and access. Diagonal rather than parallel parking was identified as enhancing sightlines and accessibility.

The use of public wall art and murals was seen to enhance attractiveness and perceived safety of the area, including at night. The presence of public art was also seen to deter graffiti and vandalism, and so can be seen to contribute to feelings of safety by reducing indicators of crime. An absence of cultural heritage indicators was also observed. The use of cultural heritage art and murals would further enhance attractiveness, improve feelings of inclusion and safety, and support legitimate activity, while reducing illegitimate activities such as graffiti and vandalism.

Although overall lighting was described as adequate for all Sectors during the day, audit comments indicated that inadequate lighting was associated with reduced feelings of safety, obstructed sightlines, reduced opportunities for guardianship, increased opportunity for crime, and reduced activity support, particularly at night. Missing, broken or flickering lights, and lights obstructed by foliage were indicated for each Sector.

Although the design and incorporation of green and open spaces was viewed as largely positive, the obstruction of sightlines by overgrown foliage was indicated as a key issue for safe movement through the precinct during the day and night. Other forms of sightline obstruction included blind corners, dark alleyways, the layout of Short Street, and the Currie Street underpass. Maintenance of greenery and the installation of mirrors and lighting were suggested remedies. Broader landscaping enhancements for public toilets, outdoor dining, and children's playgrounds, and a reduction of indicators of homelessness, were identified for improving general accessibility, legitimate activity support, informal guardianship, and hence feelings of safety.

Despite positive comments regarding the amount of people in main traffic areas during the day providing informal guardianship and a sense of inclusiveness, a sense of isolation was indicated for all Sectors during the day and night, particularly for areas away from main thoroughfares. Physical landscapes, and a lack of lighting and activity, can contribute to feelings of isolation. Hiding places and multiple access and exit points to the back of buildings were seen to negatively impact feelings of safety, potential for pro-social activities, and perceived risk of crime, particularly at night. Comments focussed on the negative impact of alleyways, the Currie Street underpass, and vulnerable areas on Queen, Ann, Currie and Mitchell Streets and Porters Lane. Addressing external storage and access issues were further highlighted for the back of pubs, exposed gas bottles, and publicly viewable loading docks (Supercheap Auto). Comments indicated that safety was enhanced by daylight and travelling in groups. Suggestions to reduce concealment opportunities included improved lighting, reducing access to vulnerable areas such as alleyways, large car parks and rooftops, and trimming foliage to enhance sightlines and safe movement. Other solutions could include the activation of lanes and alleyways through the use of public art and pop-up programs discussed next.

Lighting is a key CPTED strategy to reduce opportunities and increase risks of crime, while simultaneously delivering increased opportunities for informal guardianship and enhanced perceptions of safety (Welsh & Farrington, 2003). Lighting is also seen to contribute to community cohesion and a sense of care for the environment (Welsh & Farrington, 2003). A systematic review of the impacts of lighting on crime across 13 UK and US studies found that "improved street lighting significantly reduces crime" during the day and night, "with few negative effects and clear benefits for law-abiding citizens" (Welsh & Farrington, 2008, p.3).

Hiding places and multiple access and exit points to the back of buildings were associated with poor lighting and were seen to negatively impact landscaping, sightlines, movement, ownership of space, feelings of safety, potential for pro-social activities, and perceived risk of crime, particularly at night

The use of empty shopfronts in Nambour could tap into 'pop-up' culture

Abandoned buildings were seen to detract from the attractiveness and feelings of safety in the area due to a sense of reduced guardianship. First floor shop space can “establish the social identity of the area and bring in more people”, satisfying the financial and social needs of owners, tenants, and community members alike (Ward & Vanecko, 2021). Pop-up programming has been associated with low-cost customer retention, greater job opportunities, increased community revenue and business sustainability, and improved community relationships, particularly for communities that seek to enhance their identity (Humphrey, 2017). “Pop-up programming can bring in new audiences, drive foot traffic and reframe how people view a given street or district”, creating “a constant churn of activity, [and] opportunities for people to come back again and again”, thereby contributing to the financial and social success of the town (Ward & Vanecko, 2021, p.2). Reducing or waiving of fees or charges can facilitate low-cost innovation and uptake. One US town co-opted the use of empty storefronts during its monthly ‘art-wine-snack-shop’ evening event to attract customers and foot traffic (Bjork, 2010). Other uses of empty shopfronts have been for advertising purposes (Field, 2008). The use of empty shopfronts in Nambour could tap into ‘pop-up’ culture to reduce unsightly shop vacancies and provide centralised outdoor dining, children’s play areas, entertainment and live music opportunities auditors sought, while contributing to an enlivened identity for the Nambour entertainment precinct.

Signage maintenance was indicated as needing improvement for all Sectors during the day and night. Issues focussed on cleaning and repair but also included directional signage for foot and vehicular traffic, particularly for the back of businesses and car parks (Short Street), and re-positioning for prominence. Emergency services signage was not observed for any Sector at any time of day, and very few cultural heritage indicators were observed. Comments also called for enhanced CCTV on Currie Street, car parks at night, and public toilets, and improved CCTV signage for banks. Co-incidentally, Sector 2 auditors were verbally sexually harassed by people in apartments above the Royal Hotel below which a large “Crack a Woody” sign appears. The influence of signage on behaviour is discussed below.

The most widely used strategies for reducing anti-social behaviour in the largest US municipal recreational areas were removing rubbish and graffiti, and improved signage and lighting (McCormick & Holland, 2015)

The most widely used strategies for reducing anti-social behaviour in the largest US municipal recreational areas were removing rubbish and graffiti, and improved signage and lighting (McCormick & Holland, 2015). Empirical studies suggest that signage can positively influence public behaviour in a variety of ways. Some studies have found that while signage reduces littering, behavioural cues from others, such as the presence or absence of litter - or prominent sexualised signage, may have a stronger effect (Meis & Kashmina, 2017; Reiter & Samuel, 1980). This research emphasised the importance of behavioural cues such as regular cleaning to set behavioural expectations. More recent research focused on the impact of co-operative rather than threatening language to co-opt behavioural compliance more effectively (Meis & Kashmina, 2017; Svennevig, 2021). The influence of signage on behavioural compliance can be seen in the sexualised behaviours of those inhabiting space above the prominent sexualised sign on the Royal Hotel.

Further, signage can reduce illegal behaviour, such as bicycle theft, but this reduction can come with a displacement effect (Nettle, Knott & Batesman, 2012). An example of the lack of impact of signage to encourage legitimate use of a space is public drinking in the Town Square amidst highly visible liquor store signage and accessibility to the Town Square which serves to undermine the impact of non-alcohol signage for this area. To maximise the effectiveness of signage, responses therefore need careful consideration of the style, type, and placement of signage, and co-location with other behavioural influencers and opportunities.

A need for enhancing formal guardianship featured across several CPTED categories and matched the proportion of informal guardianship comments at times. Police were the most popular form of formal guardianship, while private security, CCTV, and place managers such as Council workers also featured. While CCTV was a popular suggestion for deterring crime, and may enhance feelings of safety, longitudinal research conducted in Ipswich, Queensland demonstrated that CCTV has no impact on crime reduction (Prenzler & Wilson, 2019). Given the expense associated with installing and operating CCTV, and the lack of empirical evidence regarding its effectiveness in reducing crime, other forms of perception of safety and crime enhancements should be prioritised. Police and other forms of formal guardianship to positively impact town centre entertainment spaces will be addressed in the Phase 2 literature review.

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Appendix 4

Nambour Community Safety Review:
Phase 2

Crime Data Report

INTRODUCTION

An analysis of crime data was undertaken to better understand the times and places in which particular offence types occur in the Nambour entertainment precinct. The analysis was performed to maximise efficiency of targeted prevention initiatives and to inform recommendations regarding improving the safety and reducing crime for the Nambour entertainment precinct. This analysis extends and deepens the analyses undertaken in the Nambour Community Safety Review Phase 1 Report (2022).

METHOD

The analysis considered two data sources across a five-year span 2018 to 2023: reported crime and arrest data recorded by the Queensland Police Service (QPS). Reported crime and arrest data were obtained for the entertainment precinct, while reported crime data was also obtained for the suburb of Nambour. The data provided a useful contemporary snapshot of crime locations; including time of day and day of the week in which offences occurred, proportions of crime types across specific locations across the Nambour entertainment precinct, and how this differed from crime characteristics of the Nambour suburb overall. The complexity of the data enabled several analyses and representations.

Crime data was analysed as follows:

- arrest data was analysed by frequency per year, by time of day, and day of the week
- arrest data was analysed within and between micro-areas within the entertainment precinct
- reported crime data for suburb and entertainment precinct were compared to each other and to arrest data
- the places and times of reported crime in the Nambour entertainment precinct
- in response to public concerns about commercial burglary in the Nambour CBD, an analysis of commercial burglary within the Nambour entertainment precinct compared to residential burglary for the Nambour suburb for a one-year period.

Further analysis of arrest data within and between micro-areas within the entertainment precinct required confirmation of micro-area boundaries. This information could further inform the existence of crime and disorder ‘hot-spots’ and assist in the targeting of interventions to specific areas within the Nambour town centre.

Readers are encouraged to explore QPS map site themselves at <https://qps-ocm.s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/index.html>.

Trends and averages for arrest and reported crime data may be unreliable due to the impact of COVID lockdowns and changed police practices, particularly for the period 2020-2021.

FINDINGS

ARREST DATA RESULTS

The **main crime arrest categories for the Nambour entertainment precinct** across the five-year period 2018 to 2023 were **'Theft (Excluding Unlawful Entry)' (361)** followed by **'Good Order Offences' (306)**, and **'Drug Offences' (255)**. The rarest crimes were the most serious, being homicide (1), arson (1) and sexual offences (3). Each five-year figure and their total for each crime type are demonstrated in Table 2 below.

Most offence arrest types appear to have reduced during 2020-2021 and not yet returned to pre-COVID levels. These offence types include Robbery, Theft, Good Order Offences, Drug Offences, Traffic Related Offences, and Handle Stolen Goods. Some offences have exceeded pre-COVID levels in the entertainment precinct, namely Assault, Trespassing and Vagrancy, Unlawful Entry, and Other Offence Against the Person. Sexual offences also appear to have risen post-COVID (2 arrests in 2022-2023), but the rate of offending is so low that it is difficult to determine any trends.

Time of day and day of week trends

Figure 1: Nambour CBD arrests by time of day from 2018-19 to 2022-23

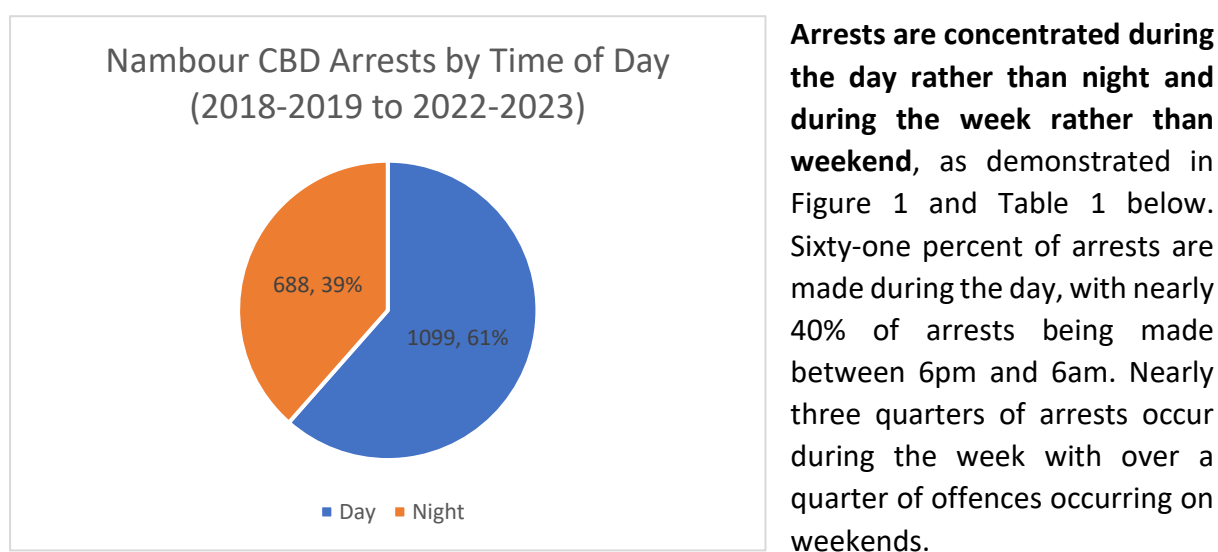


Table 1: Number and percentage of arrests on weekends and weekdays annually from 2018-19 to 2022-23

	Year from 7 March to 6 March					
	2018-2019	2019-2020	2020-2021	2021-2022	2022-2023	Total
Weekend	122 (24.7%)	117 (30.2%)	77 (26.2%)	88 (31.9%)	93 (27.8%)	497 (27.8%)
Weekday	373 (75.3%)	270 (69.8%)	217 (73.8%)	188 (68.1%)	242 (72.2%)	1290 (72.2%)
Total	495	387	294	276	335	1787 (100%)

Table 2: Number of criminal arrests occurring in Nambour entertainment precinct annually from 2018-19 to 2022-2023 in order of total frequency, by time of day and time of week

Offence	Year from 7 March to 6 March						Day*	Night	Weekend (6pm Fri - Sun)	Weekday
	2018- 2019	2019- 2020	2020- 2021	2021- 2022	2022- 2023	Total				
Theft (Exc. Unlawful Entry)	116	92	53	49	51	361	255	106	91	270
Good Order Offences	85	47	66	53	55	306	193	113	80	226
Drug Offences	57	56	60	48	34	255	154	101	75	180
Traffic Related Offences	47	51	29	21	28	176	106	70	66	110
Property Damage	38	43	20	30	34	165	78	87	56	109
Fraud	49	34	19	18	38	158	105	53	35	123
Assault	19	14	9	14	27	83	53	30	20	63
Trespassing & Vagrancy	23	4	7	7	27	68	45	23	22	46
Weapons Act Offences	8	17	6	5	10	46	28	18	9	37
Unlawful Entry	11	7	3	9	14	44	18	26	14	30
Handle Stolen goods	13	8	9	7	1	38	19	19	11	27
Other Offence Against Person	5	1	5	4	6	21	10	11	4	17
Liquor (Exc. Drunkenness)	6	6	3	2	2	19	10	9	6	13
Robbery	10	4	0	3	2	19	8	11	4	15
Miscellaneous Offences	4	1	2	4	1	12	7	5	4	8
Unlawful Use of Motor Vehicle	3	1	2	2	3	11	6	5	1	10
Sexual Offences	0	0	1	0	2	3	2	1	0	3
Arson	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Homicide	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
*Day calculated as between 6am and 5:59pm					Totals	1787	61.50%	38.50%	498	1289
							1099	688	27.87%	72.13%

Nambour Entertainment Precinct Micro-Area Comparison

To better understand potential crime and safety influences for specific areas within the Nambour entertainment precinct a comparison of arrest offence types across micro-areas was made. Table 3 demonstrates the total offence count for each micro-area within the Nambour entertainment precinct across the five-year period 2018 to 2023. Table 4 demonstrates the frequency of each offence type for each micro-area across five years from 2018 to 2023.

Table 3: Total offences for each micro-area for years 2018 to 2023

Micro-Area	Offence Count
30563058100	403
30426780000	349
30563980500	344
30426891000	184
30426641000	176
30426410000	171
30425502000	160
Total	1787

Table 4 demonstrates that those **micro-areas that attract most arrests also attract a range of crime types**. For instance, micro-area 30426410000 experienced the most arrests for Trespassing and Vagrancy (20) and while micro-area 30563058100 experienced the next highest rate of arrests for Trespassing and Vagrancy (15) it was also the area that experienced the most arrests for all crime types (403), Good Order Offences (102), Drug Offences (60), Other Property Damage (53), Assault (25), and Homicide (1) across the five-year period. Micro-areas 30426780000 and 30426891000 also experienced elevated levels of Drug Offences arrests (46, 47) with micro-area 30426780000 also experiencing the second highest rate of overall arrests (349) and Good Order Offences (59), and the most arrests for Unlawful Entry (11), Robbery (7) and Liquor (excluding Drunkenness) (9).

Table 4: Nambour entertainment precinct micro-area arrest comparison for years 2018 to 2023

	Micro-Area Number							
Offence	30425502000	30426410000	30426641000	30426780000	30426891000	30563058100	30563980500	Total
Other Theft (Exc. Unlawful Entry)	45	36	30	76	19	44	111	361
Good Order Offences	17	35	18	59	46	102	29	306
Drug Offences	27	21	23	46	47	60	31	255
Traffic Related Offences	17	13	66	39	5	15	21	176
Other Property Damage	19	10	5	28	35	53	15	165
Fraud	8	14	7	32	0	34	63	158
Assault	7	4	6	17	10	25	14	83
Trespassing and Vagrancy	4	20	1	5	12	15	11	68
Weapons Act	2	6	3	10	5	10	10	46
Unlawful Entry	8	7	6	11	0	7	5	44
Handling Stolen Goods	2	4	5	7	2	11	7	38
Other Offences Against the Person	2	0	2	1	0	3	13	21
Liquor (Exc. Drunkenness)	1	0	0	9	1	8	0	19
Robbery	1	1	2	7	0	5	3	19
Unlawful Use of Motor Vehicle	0	0	2	1	1	5	2	11
Sexual Offences	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Arson	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Homicide	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Totals	159	173	176	348	183	399	338	1775*

* Total excludes Miscellaneous Offences (8)

Note: Red – most offences; Green – least offences

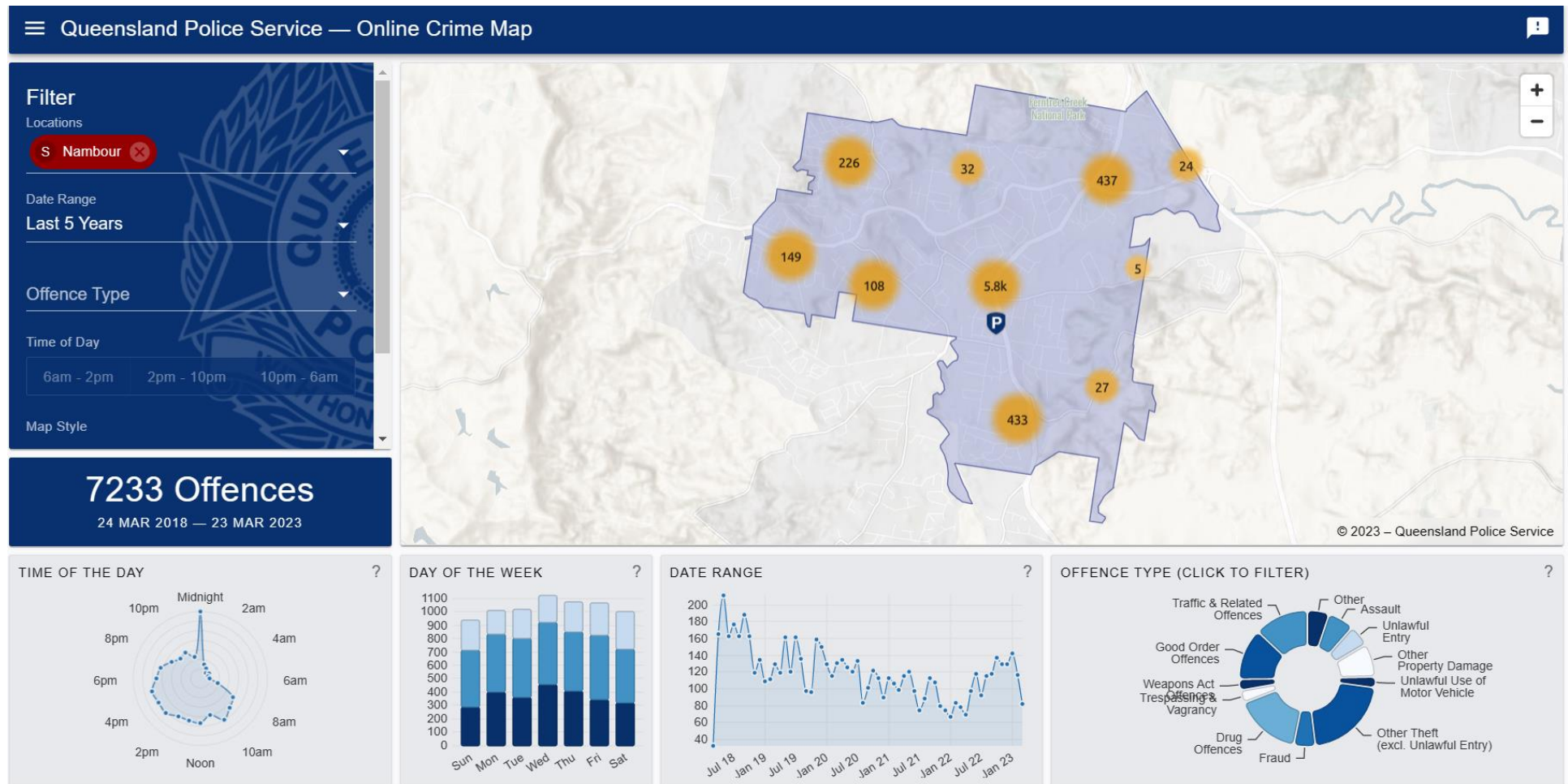
COMPARISON OF QPS REPORTED CRIME AND ARREST DATA

QPS crime map data reflects the number of individual crime incidents reported to and recorded by police. QPS crime map data can be analysed by QPS Division, suburb, or individual street block areas. QPS arrest data reflects the date and time of arrests made in the Nambour entertainment precinct. The Nambour entertainment precinct is a subset of the CBD area, which is a subset of the suburb, and is bordered by Bury, Currie and Ann Streets, Petrie Creek, Civic Way and Mill Lane. Attrition is expected between reported and arrest types of crime measurement, so the number of arrests for a similar geographical area would be expected to be less than the number of reports of crime.

As per Figure 2 below, **the main crime categories of reported crime for the suburb of Nambour** for the five-year period 24 March 2018 to 23 March 2023 **were 'Other Theft (Excluding Unlawful Entry)' (1,576 offences), followed by 'Drug Offences' (1,188) and 'Good Order Offences' (903).**

Similarly, a manual calculation of individual crime data from QPS maps below revealed that **the frequency of reported crime for the Nambour special entertainment precinct** for the same period **was 'Other Theft (Excluding Unlawful Entry)' (512), 'Good Order Offences' (379), and 'Drug Offences' (290).** These figures are also presented in Table 5 below.

Figure 2. All offences for Nambour suburb for five years



Source: QPS Crime Map Data 24 March 2018 to 23 March 2023.

The following Table 5 compares the proportion of the Special Entertainment Precinct (SEP) and whole suburb offences, as well as the proportion of arrests to reported crime for the SEP.

Table 5: Offences by Nambour suburb, entertainment precinct, arrest, and report to police for 2018 to 2023

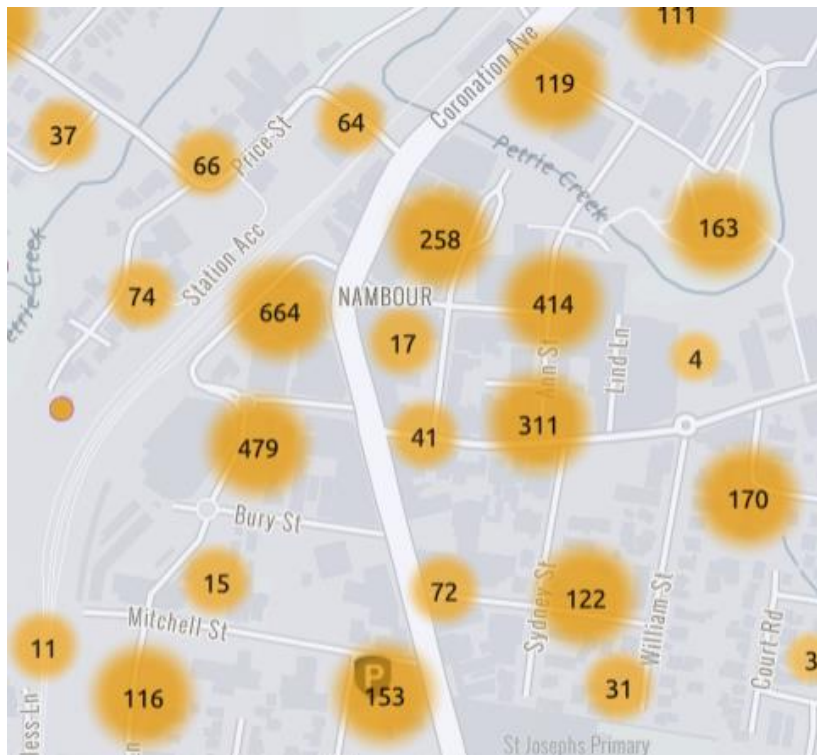
Offence	Suburb Reported Crime (2018-2023)	SEP Reported Crime (2018-2023)	Proportion of SEP to Suburb Crime (2018-2023)	Nambour SEP Arrests (2018-2023)
Other Theft (Excl. Unlawful Entry)	1,576	512	32.5%	361
Good Order Offences	903	379	42%	306
Drug Offences	1,188	290	24.4%	255
Other Property Damage	587	194	33.1%	165
Trespassing and Vagrancy	198	104	52.5%	68
Assault	440	96	21.8%	83
Unlawful Entry	350	60	17.1%	18
All Offences	7,233	2,383	33%	1,787

Table 5 indicates that one third (33%) of all reported crime in Nambour occurred in the SEP. This rate of crime for the entertainment precinct changed depending on the crime. For instance, 52.5% of Trespassing and Vagrancy and 42.0% of Good Order offences for Nambour occurred in the entertainment precinct. Conversely, some offences were less likely to occur in the entertainment precinct than overall crime. These include Unlawful Entry (17.1%), Assault (21.8%) and Drug offences (24.4%).

CRIME MAP REVIEW

QPS reported crime maps for the five-year period 2018 to 2023 confirm the concentration of crime in Nambour's CBD (as demonstrated in Figures 2, and 4 to 10). This concentration occurs for overall crime as well as for each specific crime type examined.

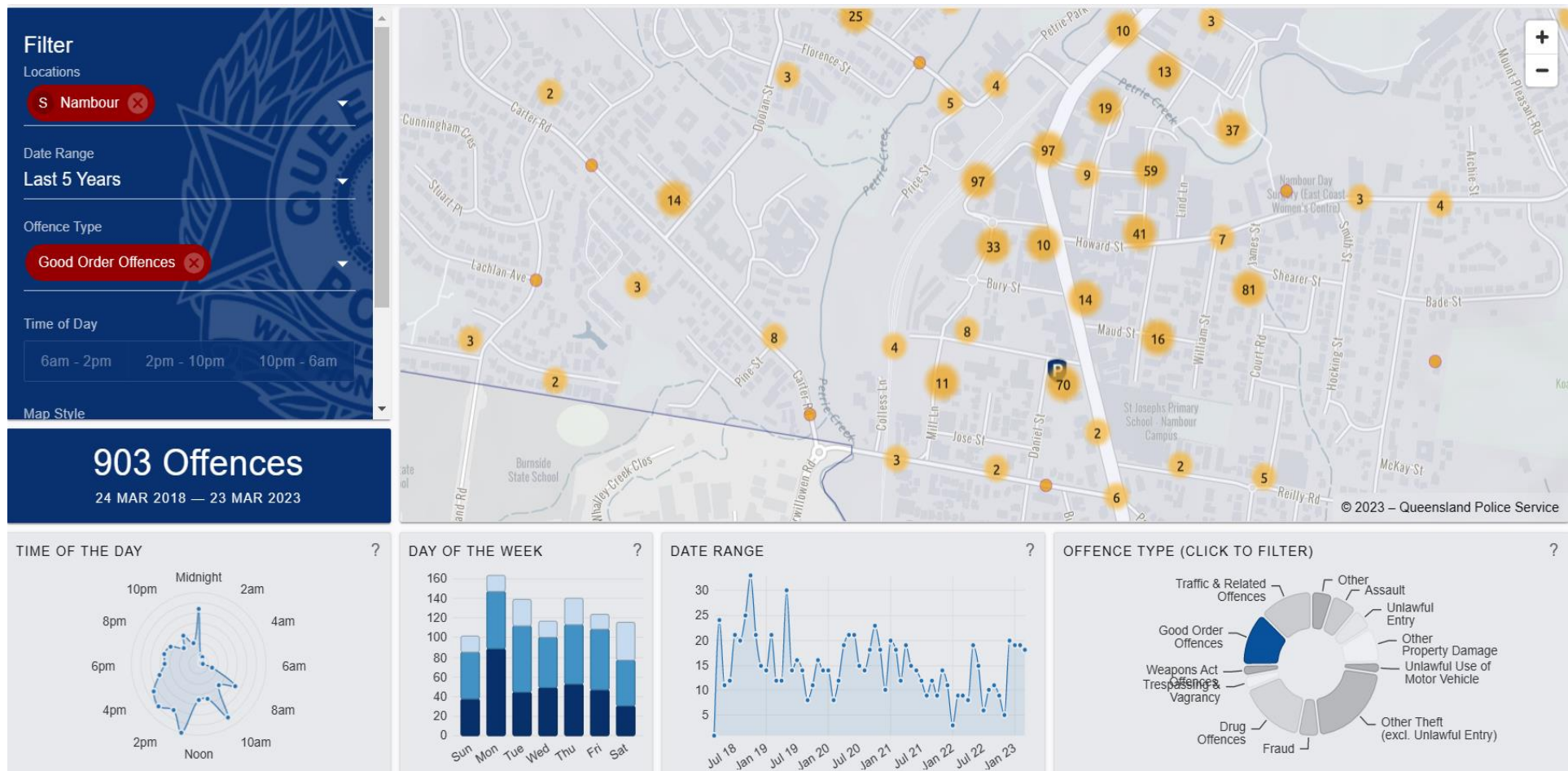
Figure 3: All offences in Nambour entertainment precinct 2018-2023



Overall, crime in the SEP seems to concentrate near the public transport hub, Coles shopping area, along Ann Street shopping area and between Currie Street and the Town Square area (as demonstrated in Figure 3).

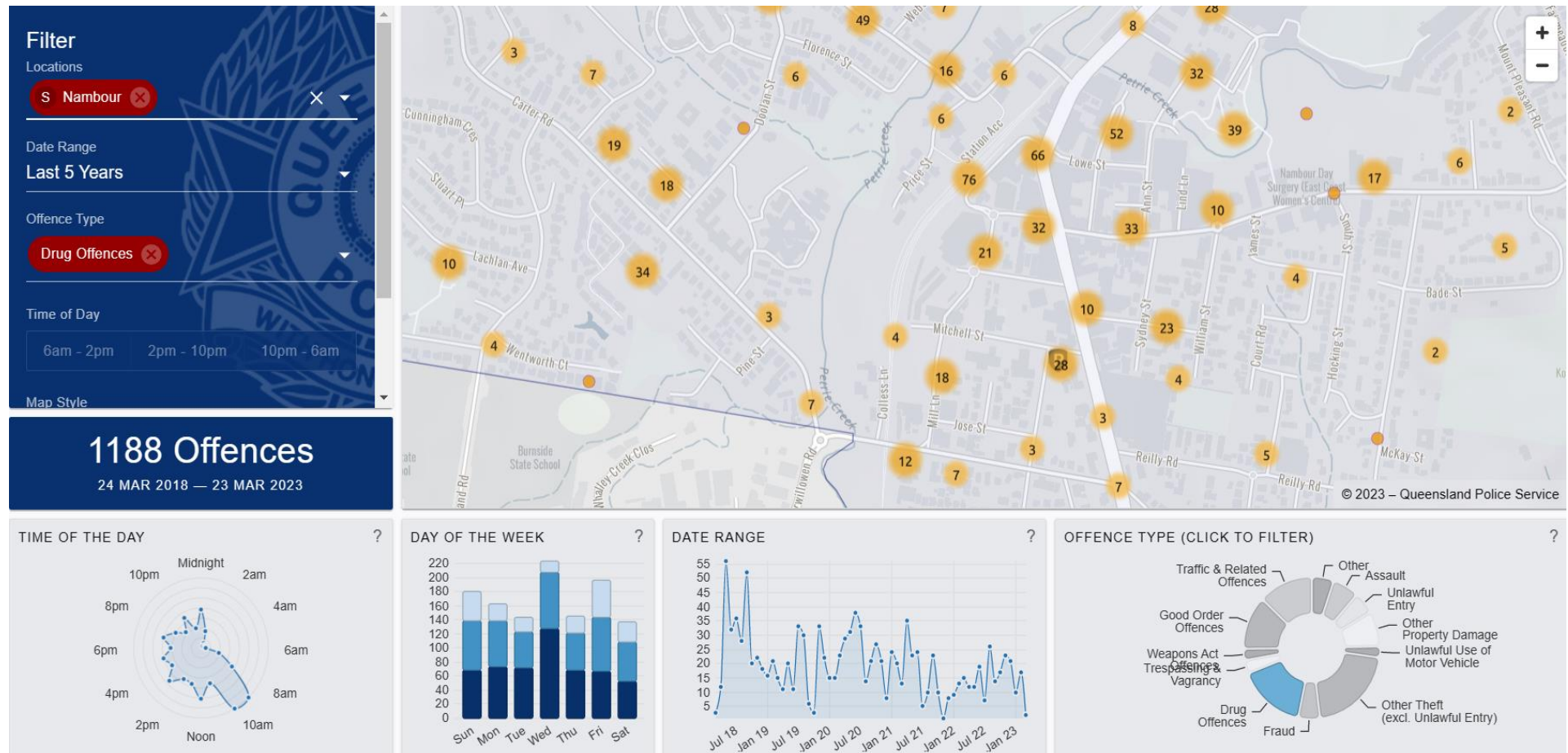
Overall, as demonstrated by Figures 2 and 4 to 10, it appeared that the time of day of all reported offences for the Nambour suburb was predominantly influenced by Theft and Unlawful Entry offences that peaked at midnight, whereas other crimes such as Good Order, Drug, Assault and Trespass and Vagrancy offences were more likely to occur during the day. General and individual reported crime types were more likely to occur during the week for the Nambour suburb, with Trespassing and Vagrancy being the only offence examined that demonstrated elevation on the weekend (Sunday).

Figure 4: Good order offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



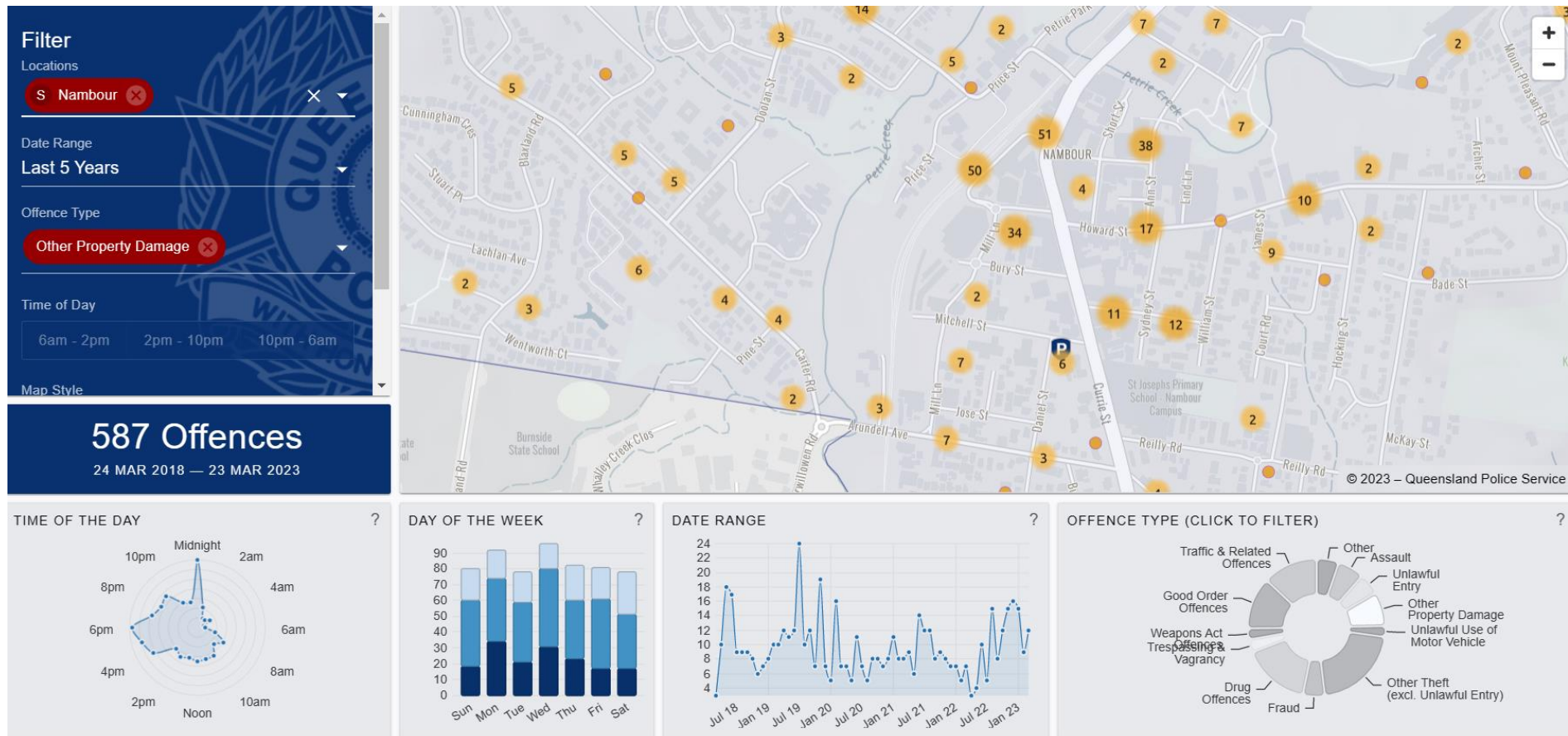
Good Order offences appear concentrated near the public transport hub and C-Square, near Nambour Plaza on Lowe and Ann St, and around James and Shearer St. Good Order offences seem to peak around noon as well as 10am and midnight. Good Order offences peak on Monday and fluctuate during the week with the lowest rates occurring on Saturday and Sunday.

Figure 5: Drug offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



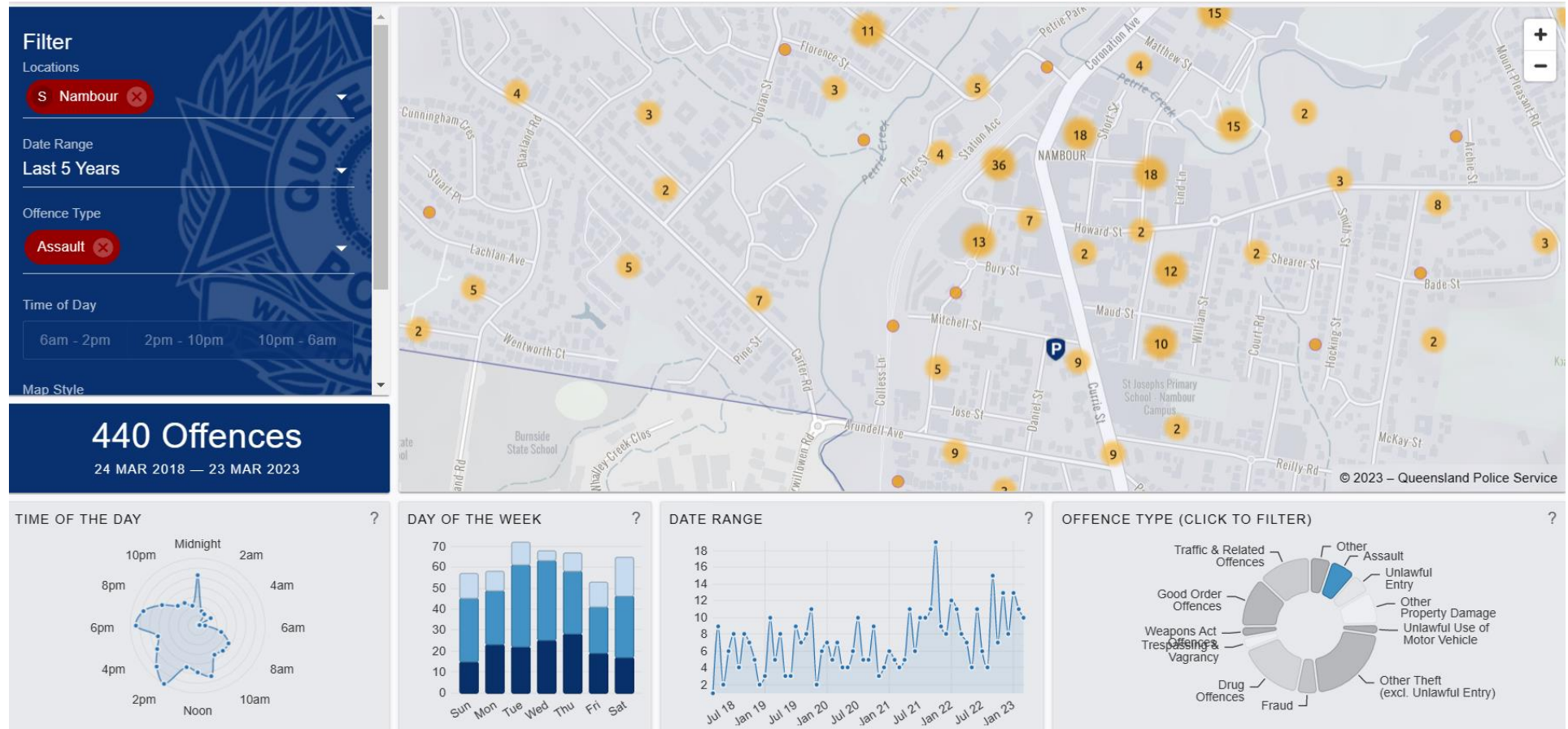
Drug offences seem to be concentrated by the public transport hub and C-Square and around Short Street. Drug offences peaked between 6am and 10am and on Wednesday with the lowest rates occurring on Saturday, Tuesday and Thursday.

Figure 6: Property damage offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



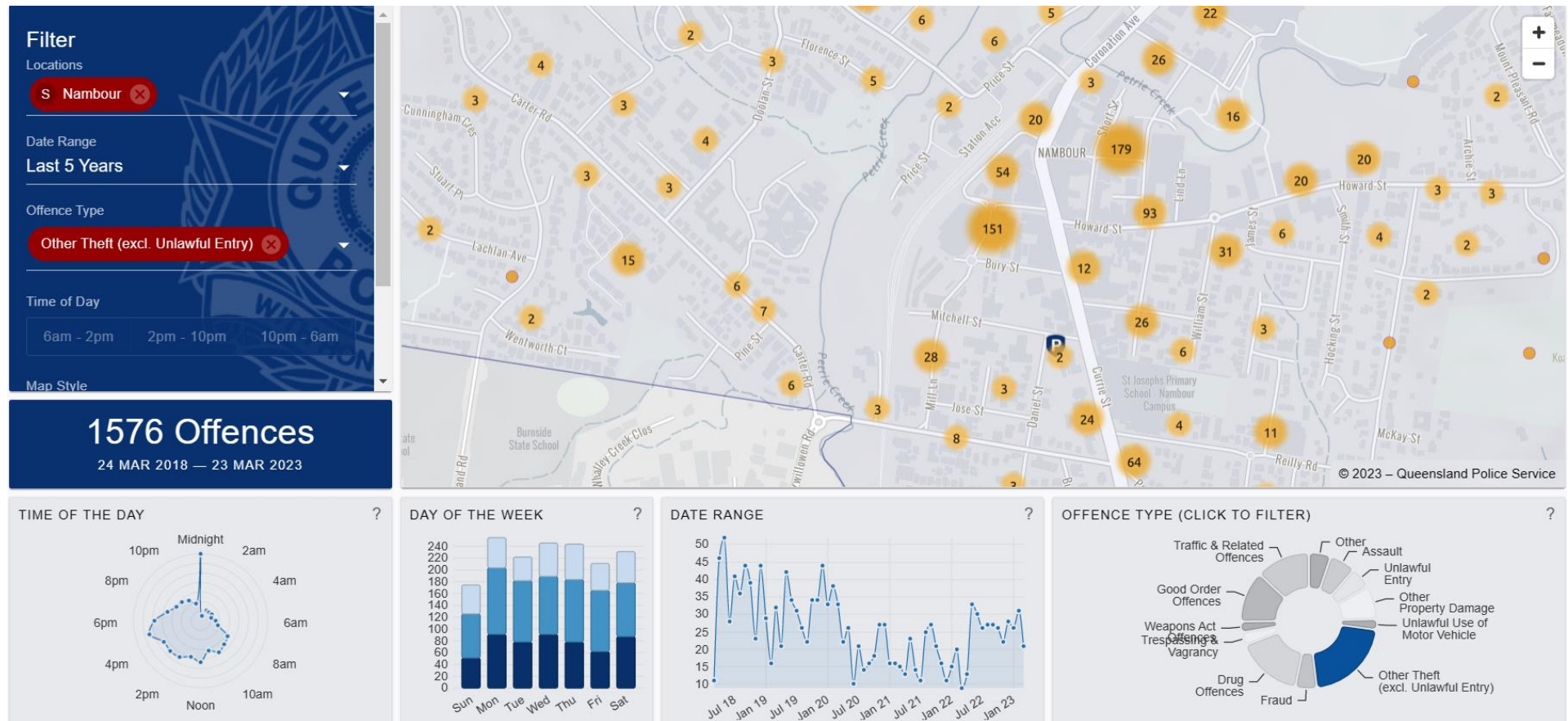
Property damage appears to concentrate near the public transport hub and C-Square, as well as near the Town Square end of Ann Street and in the recreational area across from Coles. Property Damage offences peak at midnight and also between 4pm and 6pm, with weekday patterns like that of Drug offences.

Figure 7: Assault offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



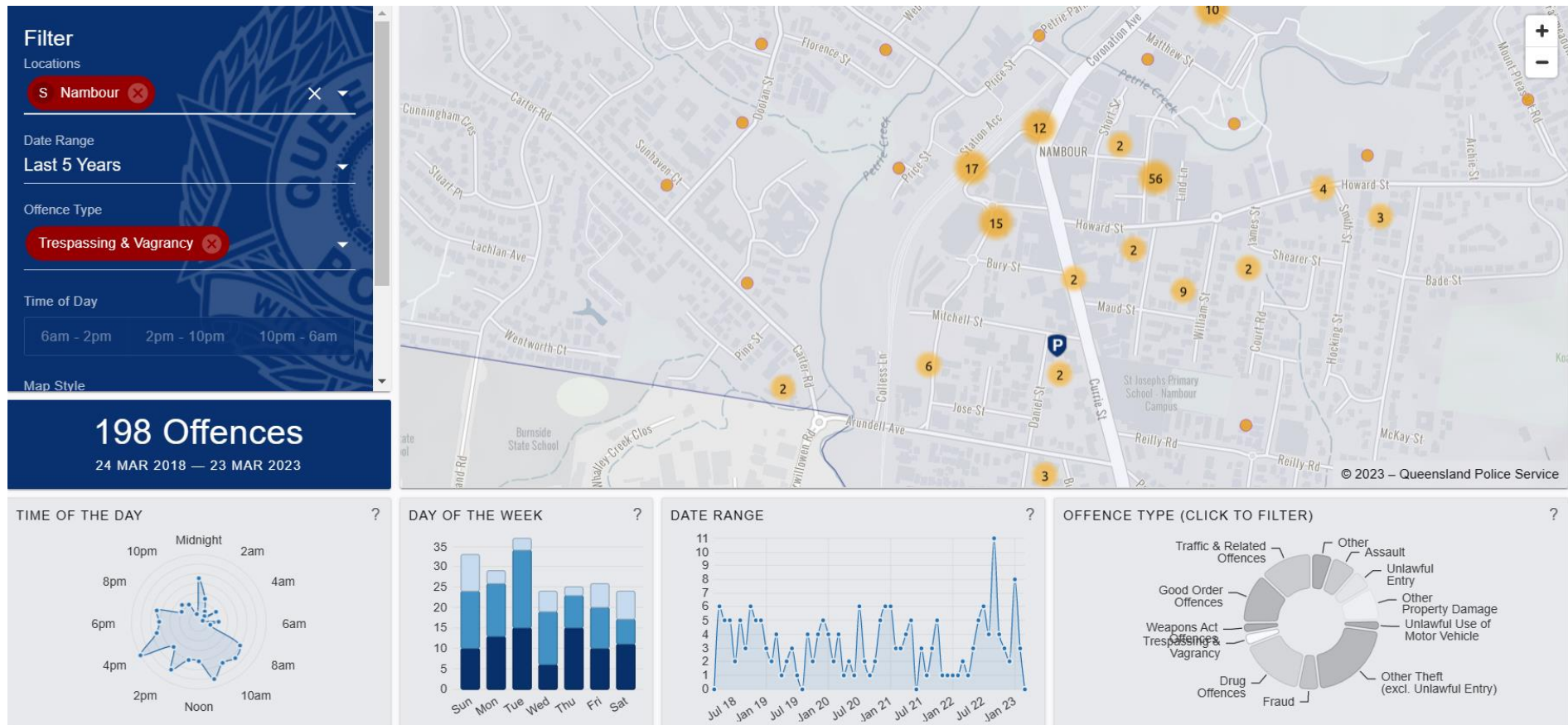
Assaults are less common than property crime and disorder offences throughout Nambour, but appear to concentrate near the public transport hub, close to the Beach Hotel, Nambour Plaza, and Coles supermarket. Assault offences peak at 2pm and 6pm and at midnight. Assault offences peaked on Tuesday through to Thursday with the lowest levels on Friday through to Sunday.

Figure 8: Theft offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



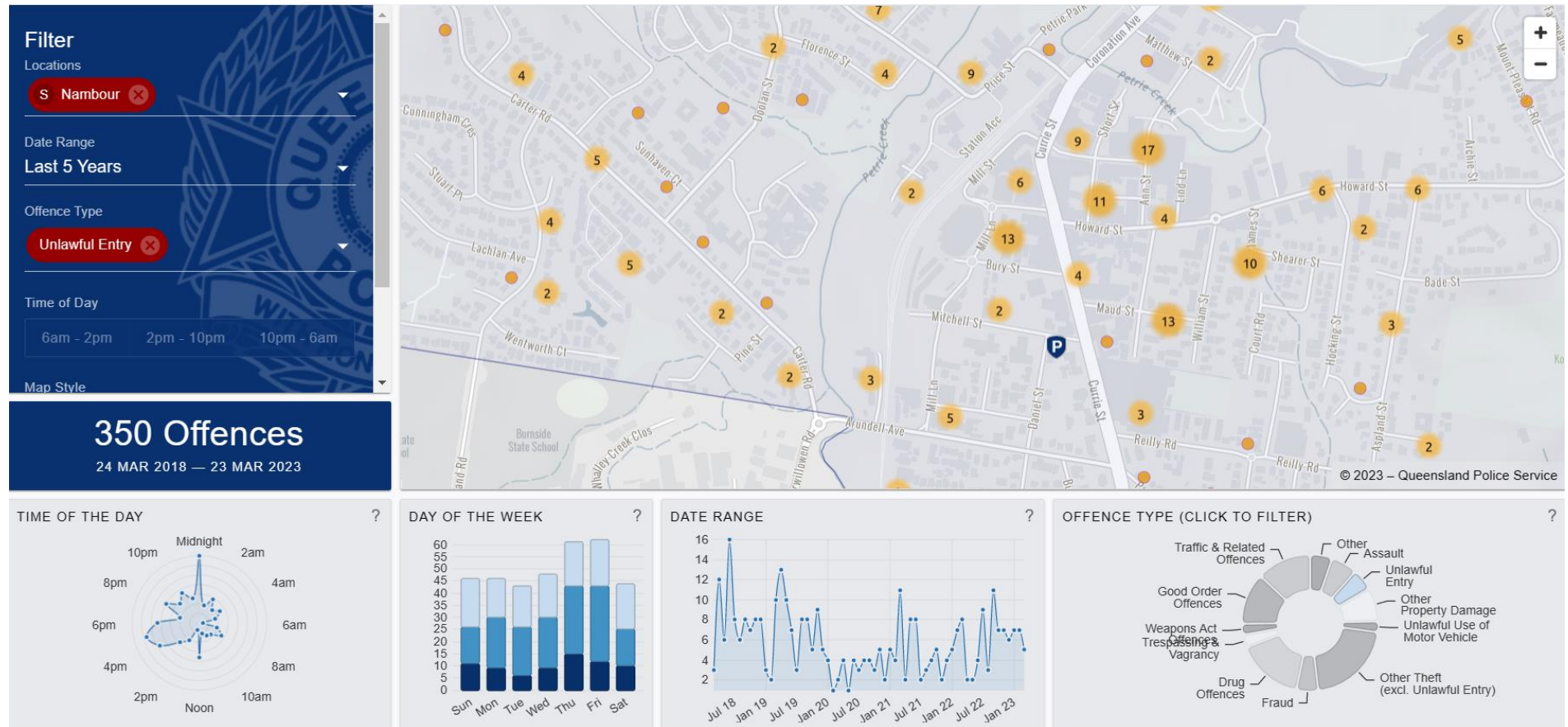
Unsurprisingly, theft is concentrated around shopping centres, with high levels around the Coles supermarket and the Town Square. The Nambour Plaza and Discount Chemist area also experienced an elevated theft rate. There was a clear spike at midnight with reported offending being highest on Monday then fluctuating down to a low on Sundays.

Figure 9: Trespass and vagrancy offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



Trespassing and Vagrancy offences concentrated on Ann Street around Nambour Plaza. Trespass and Vagrancy offences peaked at 4pm, 2pm, 11am and at midnight. Reports peaked on Tuesday after rises on Sunday and Monday and lulls on Wednesday and Saturday.

Figure 10: Unlawful entry offences in Nambour suburb and entertainment precinct 2018-2023



Unlawful Entry offences seemed to concentrate towards the Town Square end of Ann Street, as well as in the recreational area across from Coles and along Queen Street.

COMMERCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY

Another area of interest is the comparison between burglary for the CBD compared to Nambour generally, by looking at the offence of Unlawful Entry.

To explore shop owner feedback regarding commercial burglary in the town centre, QPS reported crime map data for the Nambour Police Division was compared to the Nambour CBD for a 12-month retrospective period from 15 March 2022 (Figures 11 and 12 and Table 6). As Table 6 demonstrates, the proportion of all crime that Unlawful Entry comprised for the Nambour QPS Division was 5.24% compared to 7.16% for the CBD. Further, while all reported offences for the CBD comprised 25.8% of offences for the QPS Nambour Division, **Unlawful Entry reports for the CBD comprised 35.3% of Divisional reports of Unlawful Entry.**

Figure 11: Nambour QPS Division Reported Crime 16 March 2022 – 15 March 2023

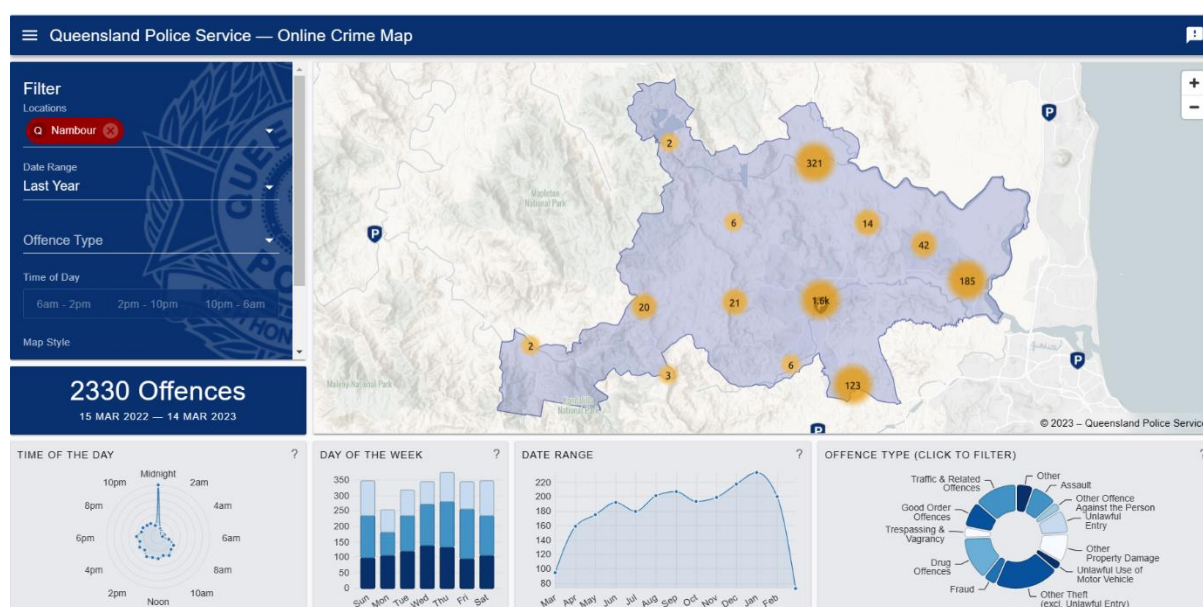


Figure 12: Nambour CBD Reported Crime 16 March 2022 – 15 March 2023



Table 6: Number and proportion of Unlawful Entry and total offences for Nambour QPS Division and CBD (Mar 2021–2022)

Offence	Nambour Police Division Reported Crime (Percentage of Total)	Nambour CBD Reported Crime (Percentage of Total)	CBD Proportion of Division
Unlawful Entry	122 (5.24%)	43 (7.16%)	35.3%
Total Offences	2330	601	25.8%

Nambour's CBD is characterised by commercial rather than residential properties. The relatively low proportion of Unlawful Entry offences for both QPS Division and the CBD suggest that burglary is not a particular crime problem for Nambour. A slightly elevated proportion of reported Unlawful Entry offences for the Nambour CBD compared to the Division appears to be consistent with general trends of crime being concentrated in town centres. However, the proportion of CBD compared to Division-wide offences is nearly 10% greater for burglary (35.3%) than for all offences (25.8%). A disproportionate occurrence of commercial compared to residential burglary offences may be supported by this data. Further comparison of these figures to those for other areas such as Caloundra, Maroochydore and the Sunshine Coast overall might help clarify whether Nambour has a particular CBD commercial burglary problem.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Crime patterns in the entertainment precinct are different to crime patterns for the Nambour suburb. **Overall, crime in the Nambour entertainment precinct has reduced to below pre-COVID levels.** However, spikes in arrests for Assault, Trespassing and Vagrancy and Unlawful Entry have occurred in Nambour's entertainment precinct over the past year.

If reported crime and arrest data reflect the increased likelihood of crime occurring in the Nambour entertainment precinct during peak shopping times of weekdays, community concerns about crime and safety in the Nambour CBD / entertainment precinct are supported. Whether reported crime and arrest data reflects the actual day and time of the alleged offence rather than police recording practices should be confirmed prior to devising interventions that target currently identified hot spots and hot times.

Recent spikes in Assault, Trespassing and Vagrancy, Unlawful Entry and Other Offence Against the Person in the entertainment precinct over the past year may explain perceptions of pronounced problems associated with homelessness, violence, and burglary in the Nambour CBD. Possible reasons behind sudden spikes in Assault, Trespassing and Vagrancy, Unlawful Entry and Other Offence Against the Person from a variety of relevant stakeholders (police, business owners, patrons etc) should be explored to inform potential interventions.

The rise in arrests may also indicate a rise in these type of offence incidents, an increase in their visibility, a rise in reports to police regarding these types of incidents, an increase in evidence collected to support arrest, and/or a change in police practice to focus on enforcing the law regarding these types of incidents. These rises occurred in conjunction with stakeholder feedback regarding concern about violence, homelessness and burglary in the CBD and may explain perceptions of pronounced problems associated with homelessness, violence, and commercial burglary in the Nambour CBD.

The most frequent crimes for which people are arrested in Nambour's entertainment precinct were Other Theft (Excluding Unlawful Entry), Good Order and Drug Offences. Each of these offences have sustained reductions in arrest over the past five-year period 2018-2023. The Nambour Community Crime and Safety Report (2022) (the Phase 1 Report) indicated that disorder offences, as indicated by 'Good Order offences' were second lowest for Nambour compared to other Sunshine Coast areas, and much lower than Maroochydore across a five-year period. **This indicates that although these crimes are the most frequent for Nambour's entertainment precinct, they are occurring at a lesser rate than for other comparable areas.** As indicated in the Phase 1 Report, 'beginning with a relatively low crime environment means that these crime risks should be more manageable' (p. 54).

Reported crime data for the past year demonstrated that the proportion of CBD Unlawful Entry offences compared to Divisional Unlawful Entry offences was substantially higher (35.3%) than the proportion of all CBD offences to Divisional offences (25.8%) (Table 6). This indicates that **Unlawful Entry was nearly 10% more likely to occur in the CBD than all other offences together on average during the past year.** Five-year data indicated a recent rise exceeding previous years in Unlawful Entry for the entertainment precinct. This recent trend suggests that while Unlawful Entry is less likely to occur in the CBD than other offences, it has increased in the past year to levels that not only exceeded those for the past five years but exceeded rates of change for most other offences in the CBD. Similar but more pronounced trends can be observed in five-year arrest data for Assault and Trespassing and Vagrancy (Figure 1).

Spatial analysis, or 'hot spots', of reported crime maps confirms results from the Phase 1 Report that both overall and specific **crime** types concentrate in the Nambour CBD, which is typical for any urban environment. **Crime within the Nambour entertainment precinct tends to concentrate near the public transport hub, Coles and Nambour Plaza shopping centres, and between Currie Street and the Town Square.** Spatial interventions to target overall crime and specific concerns could focus on these geographical locations to achieve maximum impact. For instance, as Unlawful Entry appears to concentrate in areas behind Currie Street, enhanced lighting and reduced access in non-main thoroughfares may reduce access, increase visibility and reduce opportunity for burglary to occur. Social support and advocacy interventions to minimise vagrancy could target the Ann Street shopping centre area.

The variance in the number and types of arrests across different micro-areas in the Nambour entertainment precinct not only indicates that specific areas within the Nambour SEP attract more crime and disorder than others, but that specific areas attract different types of crime and disorder. Equally so, it could be said that specific areas within the Nambour SEP are

protected from overall and particular types of crime and disorder. An understanding of the physical and other characteristics of these specific micro-areas would further inform the targeting and composition of interventions to reduce crime and disorder in the Nambour CBD.

The concentration of reported crime and arrests occurring during normal business hours is contrary to general and specific crime trends concentrating during evenings and weekends as found in the Phase 1 crime data report. These elevated levels of crime occurring during weekdays may indicate a relationship between reported crime and guardianship where crime is more likely to be reported because it is more likely to be observed. So, while guardianship is seen to deter crime, it can also increase its reporting. Elevated crime levels during weekdays may also reflect that arrests may be more likely to be made after investigation of an offence by detectives who may tend to operate during normal office hours. Reported crime data may reflect the actual day and time of an offence or may reflect police recording practices. **If the reported crime and arrest data reflects actual day and time of crime occurring, then the increased visibility of crime occurring in the Nambour CBD during the day and weekdays may be contributing to the perception that Nambour has an elevated crime problem** compared to other areas where crime tends to concentrate during the weekend and evenings. Whether reported crime and arrest data reflects the actual day and time of the alleged offence rather than police recording practices should be confirmed prior to devising interventions that target currently identified hot spots and hot times.

A relatively high proportion of offences occur in places within the CBD but outside of the entertainment precinct, such as over the Petrie Creek border towards the RSL and skate park. Both areas are popular entertainment venues bordered by parkland. Good Order, Drug and Assault offences are also increased for these areas compared to other areas bordering the entertainment precinct. These are offences of particular concern for the entertainment precinct. These spaces may attract vulnerable targets, potentially motivated offenders and low guardianship at the same time and place, thereby increasing the likelihood of crime. **Spatial displacement resulting from any proposed interventions will need to be monitored** given the close spatial relationship between areas and crimes of concern for the SEP.

Appendix 5

Nambour Community Safety Review:
Phase 2

**Community Survey and Focus Group
Results**

INTRODUCTION

A survey and a series of focus groups were conducted to understand people's perceptions of crime and safety within Nambour's CBD. These strategies aimed to explore any disparity between lower recorded crime rates and elevated community perceptions of crime for the Nambour CBD. The survey and focus groups were used to explore three areas of interest:

- People's perceptions and experiences of crime in Nambour
- How responses to crime and disorder could be enhanced, and
- What community members would like to see for the future of Nambour's CBD and the Special Entertainment Precinct.

DATA SOURCES

SURVEY DATA

A 10–15 minute online anonymous survey targeted three groups of people:

- (1) Those who lived in Nambour (and surrounding suburbs of Nambour such as Rosemount, Burnside etc),
- (2) Those who owned a business or worked in Nambour, and
- (3) Those who visited Nambour.

The survey was open for a two-week period in November 2022. To attract participants, the following recruitment methods were used:

- Information about the survey and survey link were posted on the Sunshine Coast Council's "Have Your Say" website,
- Flyers with the survey information and link were posted around Nambour CBD and distributed to businesses. Business owners and employees asked customers/clients to complete the survey on behalf of the research team,
- Information and links to the survey were posted on social media pages by the research team, including the "Living in Nambour" Facebook group page.

The survey asked participants' demographic data, how safe they feel in Nambour CBD during the day and at night, the types of problems they believe occur in Nambour's CBD, and how they have responded to witnessing crime and disorder in the past 12 months in Nambour. Questions specific to residents included their perceptions of safety and experiences with crime and disorder on their street. Similarly, business owners and employees were asked about their perceptions of safety and experiences with crime and disorder in the area immediately surrounding their workplace. Participants were provided with the option to supply free-text comments about the types of crime and disorder they witnessed in Nambour and any other additional comments they had around crime and safety in Nambour's CBD.

398 survey responses were used for this analysis. The characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 1. Approximately two-thirds of the sample were women, most of the

sample identified themselves as Australian and/or Caucasian, with participants ranging from 16 to 80 years of age. Just under three-quarters (73%) of survey respondents were residents of Nambour (or surrounding towns), with 50% of participants also identified they worked or owned a business in Nambour. Approximately one-third of the sample both lived and worked in Nambour. Of those that lived in Nambour, their length of residence ranged from three months to 61 years.

Table 1: Characteristics of survey participants (*N* = 398)

	<i>n</i>	%	Min	Max	Average
Gender					
Male	150	37.7			
Female	245	61.6			
Not disclosed	3	0.8			
Ethnicity					
Australian and/or Caucasian	371	93.2			
Indigenous	11	2.8			
Other/Not specified	16	4.0			
Age (years)			16	80	46.2
16-24	36	9.0			
25-44	146	36.7			
45-64	169	42.5			
65+	47	11.8			
Length of residence (years)			0.3	61	13.8

FOCUS GROUPS

Three focus groups comprised of 27 participants were conducted in November 2022. Participants included Nambour residents, business owners and employees, members of The Chamber of Commerce and Sunshine Coast Council, members of community groups and not-for-profit agencies, and police. Focus group participants ranged in age from teenagers to elderly. The Council Steering group helped recruit local representatives to take part in the focus group. Questions included how they would describe Nambour, what are the issues facing Nambour and perceptions of safety in town, and thoughts on future plans for the Special Entertainment Precinct (SEP) and Nambour's CBD.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

A thematic analysis was used on focus group transcripts, free-text responses in the survey, and researcher notes, with coding and analysis undertaken using NVivo software. The coder adopted a combined deductive and inductive approach, guided by aims of the research and questions asked in focus group, but allowing flexibility for key themes and ideas to be explored in the data. Transcripts, free-text survey responses, and notes were read multiple times with relevant segments of text coded line by line. The key themes found within survey responses and focus groups are presented and discussed in the following sections of this report.

RESULTS

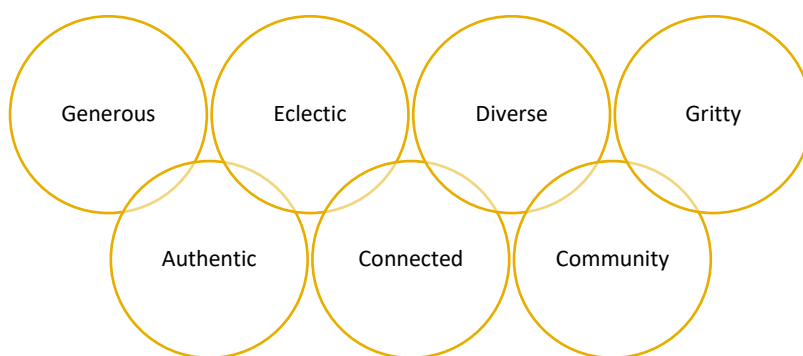
Four key themes were found throughout the survey responses and focus groups. Overall, findings suggest that:

- 1) Nambour is a generous community with strong social capital
- 2) Negative perceptions around people's safety persist due to visible public disorder – often associated with drug and alcohol use
- 3) People's desired responses to crime and disorder in Nambour's CBD were varied, and included increased police foot patrol and/or support services for rough sleepers and those with addiction issues
- 4) Plans for the SEP include embracing local art and culture and creating family-friendly and community-based events.

These four themes are discussed further below.

NAMBOUR IS A GENEROUS COMMUNITY

Participants in focus groups were asked about how they would describe Nambour and how they think others perceive Nambour. Almost all focus group participants described Nambour in positive terms, using descriptions like *“very generous, eclectic, gritty, authentic.”*



Nambour was described as a generous community with high levels of social capital and connectedness between the people who live and work in the town. For example, focus group participants explained:

We see a massive section, all different sections of people and community and lives and generosity is the word I would use, as well we see some absolutely amazing things from the people of Nambour. Some things that really remind me of community and what community is supposed to be and how communities are supposed to work together.

[Nambour's] well connected and that there's a high degree of social capital. People know each other and are willing to help each other and support each other and spend time with each other and work collected toward different goals together. And that's kind of the core of Nambour and the greater Nambour community.

Nambour's fiercely communal. There's a fiercely strong community around making it prosper.

Participants also frequently proudly commented on how Nambour provided an alternative place to other parts of the Sunshine Coast, including its *“real grittiness”* and *“grunge”* and that created a sense of history and authenticity in the town, with one participant remarking *“Nambour is eclectic, it's diverse.”*

The history and culture of First Nations people was seen as strength of Nambour, with participants commenting *“Nambour is the centre, it's the heart of Kabi Kabi people,”* and *“also can't help but acknowledge the First Nations people then and that historic and ongoing connection that they have to Nambour.”*

PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND DISORDER IN NAMBOUR CBD

Both survey and focus group participants provided information on *perceptions* of crime and disorder in Nambour. Six themes around perceptions of crime and disorder were found in survey responses and focus groups including perceptions of safety at night and for young people. However, there were differing perspectives from community members on how safe Nambour's CBD was with divergent views on how crime and disorder has changed over the past few years.

Participants were asked to select the crime and disorder problems they believed were a problem in Nambour CBD and the size of the problem. As demonstrated in Table 2, **half of survey participants believed loitering and drugs were major problems in Nambour CBD** (50% and 49%, respectively). Vandalism and shop theft were also considered to be major problems (37% and 36%, respectively). **Serious forms of violence, including assault and robbery were less likely to be perceived as major problems.** Likewise, sexual harassment was rarely seen as a significant issue within Nambour's CBD.

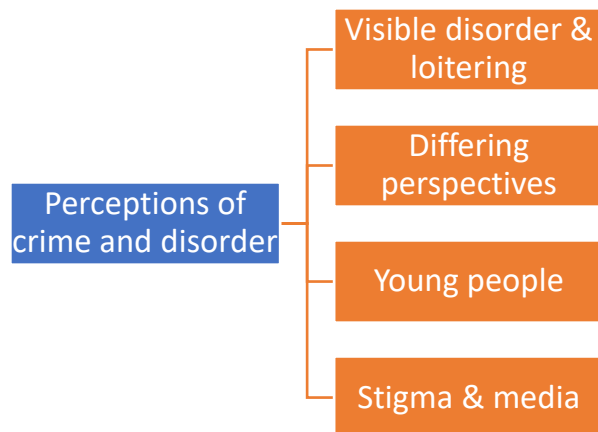


Table 2: Survey responses to type and size of crime and disorder issues in Nambour

Type of problem	Size of problem			
	None (%)	Little bit (%)	Somewhat (%)	Major (%)
Litter	11	30	39	20
Vandalism	4	27	32	37
Loitering	6	18	26	50
Sexual harassment	33	37	23	8
Dangerous driving	18	37	29	16
Shop theft	6	26	33	36
Drug dealing	7	17	27	49
Assault	17	30	35	17
Robbery	14	32	33	21

Visible disorder and loitering

Focus group and survey participants understood how witnessing disorder and people acting strangely on the street could impact people's perceptions of safety, as illustrated by focus group participants:

I can understand how people feel a bit unsettled about people yelling in the street, most of them are quite harmless and they're too busy dealing with themselves. They're not actually engaging in criminal activity, but I can understand how that would make people nervous, definitely.

Its visible, or more visible than it may be other places...that rowdiness that you sometimes see in Nambour doesn't necessarily equate with unsafeness. For a lot of people, that might express as not being safe.

I'm seeing a lot of just drugs...it's just people cracked out. And so I think what you'll find is on some days, it is a great town, and on other days, it's not. And you just never know what day you're going to come in. And that's probably the problem in that it does create an anxiety and fear.

Other participants commented on how the image of Nambour and a lack of maintenance around town contributing to perceptions of people feeling unsafe: *"it's aesthetics in terms of the image of the town itself...so it looks like crap so it's gonna get a bad image."* Comments by Nambour residents in the survey echoed this sentiment:

The CBD looks run down – it adds to a sense of hopelessness and neglect. It's a real shame because there is a lot of really good businesses and groups around the area.

The main street looks unsafe because street lighting has been out for months.

Comments around verbal abuse, shouting, and swearing were found in several survey responses. It was perceived that alcohol and drug misuse and mental health issues contributed to public disorder and even when the shouting/swearing was not directed at anybody, it created a sense of unease in central Nambour. Example comments around this theme include:

Abusive language, screaming and physical violence in the streets makes people feel uneasy.

The people walking the streets at night screaming.

Survey participants were then asked to rank the biggest three crime problems in Nambour's CBD. As shown in Table 3, loitering was most frequently ranked as the biggest problem, followed by drugs and theft from shops. Violent types of crime and harassment were generally not selected in the top three crime issues within Nambour (e.g., assault, robbery, sexual harassment).

Table 3: Survey rankings of crime and disorder issues in Nambour

Type of problem	Biggest problem (%)
Loitering	28
Drug dealing	21
Shop theft	12
Vandalism	6
Dangerous driving	5
Assault	5
Robbery	3
Litter	2
Sexual harassment	1

Further, it was perceived by survey respondents that people experiencing homelessness contributed to perceptions of crime and a lack of safety in Nambour. Survey comments revealed that homeless people were often associated with abusing drugs and alcohol and making people feel unsafe, particularly around people sleeping rough around Petrie Creek, Quota Park, and near the train line, with example comments including:

People living near the train bridge in tents is not a good look and makes me feel uneasy when nearby.

Homelessness appears to be a major contributor to residents perceptions of crime and safety and gives a bad image to the town.

Differing perceptions of safety in Nambour's CBD

Several different perspectives on crime and disorder in Nambour were found in the surveys and focus groups. As a focus group participant stated:

I think you'll find here people who believe nothing is happening, and people who believe everything's happening. And the whole picture...is they're both true at the same time.

Differences in perceptions of safety were found across (1) the day and at night, (2) gender, and (3) trends in crime over time.

Survey participants were asked about their perceptions of crime and safety in Nambour CBD during the day and night and are presented in Table 4. **Overall, people feel generally safe walking through Nambour CBD during the day (58% feel safe doing this), however, feelings of safety decrease at night (only 18% feel safe doing this).** Feeling unsafe at night was a consistent theme across men and women of all ages in the survey. At night, it was uncommon for people to feel safe waiting for public transport or walking through the parks in central Nambour (8% and 6% of participants feel safe doing this, respectively). Example comments include:

I just have a feeling of not being in central Nambour after dark unless I had to, and I don't like walking through the parks there either (72-year-old female)

It is not safe for people to walk after dark 8pm-5am (22-year-old male)

I do not feel safe being out at night alone (32-year-old female)

Just over half (53%) of survey participants feel Nambour is less safe than it has been in previous years. The responses for each of the safety questions were added together to create a 'safety' score for each participant. **Women were significantly more less likely to feel safe**

in Nambour CBD than men². Similarly, women were significantly more likely to perceive Nambour as less safe than previous years than men³. These **competing perceptions about safety and crime trends** in Nambour were reflected in the survey comments:

Nambour is safer now than 5 years ago. It feels safer all the time. Much better now with more young families.

I feel safer in Nambour than I did probably 10 years ago.

I hate going to town...I was born here & grew up here & it's the worst it's ever been...I always feel unsafe.

It's not a perception. This community isn't safe.

Table 4: Survey responses regarding feelings of safety in Nambour

I feel safe...	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)
During the day			
Walking in Nambour	25	17	58
Waiting for a bus or train	37	27	36
Walking through parks	39	19	42
Visiting a shopping centre	16	17	68
At night			
Walking in Nambour	68	14	18
Waiting for a bus or train	71	21	8
Walking through parks	79	15	6
Visiting a shopping centre	55	19	27
Nambour is less safe now than in previous years	21	26	53

Just over half (53%) of survey participants feel Nambour is less safe than it has been in previous years. The responses for each of the safety questions were added together to create a 'safety' score for each participant. **Women were significantly more less likely to feel safe in Nambour CBD than men⁴**. Similarly, women were significantly more likely to perceive Nambour as less safe than previous years than men⁵. These **competing perceptions about safety and crime trends** in Nambour were reflected in the survey comments:

Nambour is safer now than 5 years ago. It feels safer all the time. Much better now with more young families.

² An independent samples t-test was performed to compare perceptions of safety for men and women. Women were significantly less likely to report feeling safe in Nambour than men; $t(387) = -4.655, p < .001$.

³ A chi-square test indicated a significant difference between gender and perceptions of safety in Nambour $\chi^2(2, n = 392) = 7.3, p = 0.26$.

⁴ An independent samples t-test was performed to compare perceptions of safety for men and women. Women were significantly less likely to report feeling safe in Nambour than men; $t(387) = -4.655, p < .001$.

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I feel safer in Nambour than I did probably 10 years ago.

I hate going to town...I was born here & grew up here & it's the worst it's ever been...I always feel unsafe.

It's not a perception. This community isn't safe.

Young people's perception of safety

Perceptions of safety were also compared across the four age groups (i.e., 16-24; 25-44; 45-64; 65+), which found a significant difference in perceptions of safety across age groups⁶. Results identified that **those aged 16-24 felt the least safe in Nambour's CBD, especially young women**. Survey comments provided additional context to young people's safety, with multiple comments made by young people including:

It's not a safe place to live or walk around definitely going to move in the near future (18-year-old male).

Very unsafe place (21-year-old female).

This issue arose in the focus groups, with one participant who worked in a non-profit with young people commenting *"And there will be quite a few girls that will say 'please not Nambour because I don't feel safe in Nambour,'...and safety for that younger age groups seems to be a bit of a concern."*

There were also multiple focus group and survey comments young people's safety in town, particularly around public transport stops. Example comments around this included:

When I'm catching a bus into Nambour, I always have to have someone meeting me at the bus stop that I know I can trust and because I've met a lot of dodgy people in Nambour. So, coming in, it's just like 'What if I bumped into him? What if there's drama, will I end up getting bashed?' Yeah, my main concern is coming to Nambour.

My daughter has to frequently catch buses in and around Nambour and rarely if ever feels safe or isn't harassed or approached by problematic individuals on the street. She is 17. She rarely feels safe and hopes we relocate sooner rather than later.

My teenagers do not feel safe waiting for public transport in the town...When teens are afraid to be in the town there is a major problem.

There were further perspectives on age and safety, with older people who participated in the survey describing Nambour as *"Intimidating,"* (69-year-old female). Further, a local business manager in the focus group commented that *"elderly now are not feeling safe"* around their business and walking into town.

⁶ An ANOVA found significant differences in perceptions of safety across the age groups: $F(3,388) = 4.35, p = .005$.

Nambour’s stigma

Focus group and some survey participants generally considered that when it came to issues of safety and crime, Nambour was not exceptional, explaining “*I think like anywhere, it’s obviously got an underbelly.*” It was believed that ‘outsiders’ of Nambour held these negative perceptions due to not knowing the community and people in the town, and that visitors “*only see the bad parts.*”

Nambour is no different to any other town in the region, they all have crime. Nambour has been seen as the gutter of the Sunshine Coast. But its central it provides services that other communities have so a lot of those people seeking services end up in Nambour.

But I just think people may be critical of Nambour, but I think some people don’t know Nambour, and they’ve hardly ever been here, but they’ll tell you what it’s like.

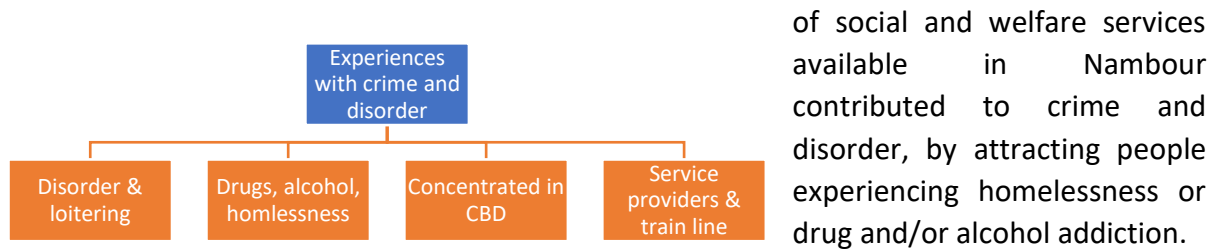
Table 5: Survey responses regarding media coverage of crime

Media	Seen (%)
Never	22
Once a week	39
Daily/almost daily	39

Participants were asked how often they had seen crime stories about Nambour in the news media in the past fortnight. As shown in Table 5, just under 80% of survey participants had seen at least one story about crime in Nambour within the past two weeks. Those that had seen crime stories **daily or almost daily had significantly lower perceptions of safety than those who had seen such stories less frequently**⁷.

CRIME PROBLEMS

Focus group and survey participants were asked to reflect on their *experiences* with crime in Nambour’s CBD. A few key themes around crime and disorder problems were found from people’s responses. The predominate problems in Nambour were perceived to stem from disorder, public nuisance, and loitering and it was recognised that these problems concentrate in Nambour’s CBD. It was commonly believed that the train line and the number



Survey participants were asked to count the number of times they had witnessed (directly seen) the following types of crime and disorder occur in Nambour CBD in the past 12 months. As Table 6 demonstrates, **over 9 in 10 people had witnessed loitering in Nambour in the past year**, and over two-thirds had witnessed this behaviour more than five times. **Dangerous**

⁷ An ANOVA found significant differences in perceptions of safety and regularity of seeing crime media around Nambour: $F(2,343) = 11.34, p < .001$.

driving, litter, and drug dealing were also commonly reported types of crime and disorder. Robbery and sexual harassment were not often seen, with more than half of respondents reporting they had never witnessed these types of crime in central Nambour.

Table 6: Survey responses regarding frequency of crime and disorder witnessed

Type of crime	Number of times witnessed			Total % witnessed
	Never (%)	1-5 times (%)	More than 5 times (%)	
Litter	20	37	43	80
Vandalism	22	43	35	78
Loitering	8	23	69	92
Sexual harassment	55	37	8	44
Dangerous driving	18	43	39	82
Shop theft	47	36	17	53
Drug dealing	31	42	28	69
Assault	42	45	13	57
Robbery	68	27	6	32

Further analyses showed a significant difference in the number of crime and disorder incidents witnessed and age groups, showing that **young people aged 16-24 witnessed significantly more crime and disorder events than those in older age groups⁸**. Unsurprisingly, the number of types of crimes witnesses was significantly correlated with perceptions of safety – that is the more types of crimes a person directly witnessed, the lower their perceptions of safety were. **This may suggest why younger people had the lowest perceptions of safety in Nambour – they are exposed to more crime and disorder, significantly decreasing their sense of safety.** On average, young people aged 16-24 witnessed seven different types of crime and disorder in Nambour's CBD, compared to those aged 65 and above, who witnessed an average of four types of crime and/or disorder.

Overall, responses found that public nuisance and disorder type offences were most commonly observed, with specific behaviours commented on by survey and focus group members including (1) verbal abuse, (2) begging for money, and (3) public intoxication, as highlighted by the following comments:

Abusive language and swearing loudly whilst children are present. Intimidating behaviour if looked at.

Not the begging, but the actual trying to force money out of people, particularly vulnerable elderly people, it's a massive issue in this town at this very moment...It's essentially menacing for money. It's not begging. It's menacing.

⁸ An ANOVA found significant differences in the number of types of crimes witnessed across the age groups: $F(3,366) = 7.53, p < .001$.

The amount of people I've seen drugged, drunk, abusive language is extremely disturbing.

Issues around dangerous driving were also mentioned in several survey comments including *"reckless driving/hoon behaviour,"* and *"The amount of red light runners is phenomenal."*

Drugs, alcohol, and rough sleepers

It was believed that issues around crime and disorder were primarily caused by people who used drugs and/or alcohol and who were sleeping rough in parks around town. This idea was particularly prevalent in the survey responses from community members with one resident commenting *"Drugs and the people on them! That is the problem in Nambour."* Survey comments often linked the use of alcohol and drugs in public spaces with issues around safety and disorder. There was a consensus across surveys and focus groups that crystal methamphetamine (i.e., 'ice') was the drug responsible for most of the problems in the CBD, with many people witnessing injecting drug use and used syringes in parts of town. Example survey comments included:

People swearing, a lot of drinking openly out of wine and/or spirit bottles, drug dealing, people very obviously high on drugs who behave very erratic and/or paranoid. Major ice problem.

Public intoxication drugs, alcohol and resulting behaviour of those people under the influence. This at times can be quite confronting, particularly when people are aggressive.

Some residents explained they avoided going to areas where rough sleeping and drug use was common, especially near Petrie Creek and Quota Park.

The homeless are camping along the creek and no one can safely take their kids to the park.

Problems are concentrated in Nambour's CBD

Participants were concerned with crime and disorder in Nambour and believed these issues were concentrated to a small group of people in Nambour's CBD. For example, one survey respondent commented that *"Nambour is a nice town. The problems are caused by an annoying minority."* This issue arose in focus groups with similar ideas expressed:

There's virtually no crime issues whatsoever in the Nambour Police District, other than within our CBD. I believe our CBD is a hotspot...And the core issue is this tiny little group of people that are making life so uncomfortable for the other people.

There's definitely a problem with antisocial behaviour and with crime in the CBD.

I think it's important when we talk about gangs, not to sensationalise, when I talk about it, there's only one little crew that I know of.

Focus group participants and survey respondents identified areas they believed were most dangerous and places where they had witnessed or experienced crime. From this data, **crime**

and disorder issues were found to be concentrated in (1) car parks, including the carpark for the RSL, Supercheap auto, and the three major supermarkets (Woolworths, ALDI, and Coles), (2) the train station, and (3) the area along Petrie Creek and Quota Park.

A local business manager spoke about the problems occurring in their business carpark:

We had a 14-year-old girl beaten in the car park with a frypan. We've had stabbings, we've had murder. I've seen countless drug deals up and down my stairwell.

The sentiment that crime and disorder is concentrated in the CBD was reflected in the survey, with many residents feeling safe on their own street but less so around businesses. Survey respondents who lived in Nambour and immediate surrounding suburbs (e.g., Burnside) and those that worked or owned a business in Nambour were asked additional questions about their experiences and perceptions of crime on the street they lived and around their workplaces. These results are presented in Table 7. **Just over half (51%) of respondents did not believe crime was a problem on their street and most residents (80%) felt safe walking on their street during the day.** Forty-one percent of residents disagreed that their street had become less safe over the previous years. **Alternatively, almost half (47%) of workers in Nambour's CBD felt crime was a problem around their workplace and over two-thirds (68%) did not feel safe walking to and from their workplace at night.**

Table 7: Perceptions of crime and safety around residential streets and workplaces

	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)
My street			
Crime is a problem	51	24	26
I feel safe walking during the day	13	7	80
I feel safe walking after day	43	12	45
Is less safe than it was in previous years	41	27	33
My workplace			
Crime is a problem	41	13	47
I feel safe walking to/from during the day	22	18	60
I feel safe walking to/from at night	68	12	20
Is less safe than it was in previous years	34	30	37

Residents and workers were asked how often they observed different types of crime and disorder and are presented in Table 8. **Nine out of 10 survey respondents had witnessed dangerous driving on their residential street, followed by litter (77%) and loitering (68%).** It was less common for residents to witness sexual harassment (37%), shop theft (31%) or robbery (29%). **For workers in Nambour, loitering was the most common form of crime and disorder witnessed, with 88% seeing this at least once in the prior year.** Dangerous driving (84%), litter (83%), and vandalism (82%) were also commonly witnessed. Robbery was the least commonly seen type of crime in Nambour.

Table 8: Rate of crime and disorder witnessed around residences and workplaces

Type of crime	Number of times witnessed			Total % witnessed
	Never (%)	1-5 times (%)	More than 5 times (%)	
On my street				
Litter	23	48	29	77
Vandalism	45	38	17	55
Loitering	32	35	33	68
Sexual harassment	63	28	9	37
Dangerous driving	10	41	49	90
Shop theft	69	23	8	31
Drug dealing	44	34	22	56
Assault	55	36	9	45
Robbery	70	26	3	29
Around my workplace				
Litter	16	34	49	83
Vandalism	18	53	29	82
Loitering	12	27	61	88
Sexual harassment	46	47	7	54
Dangerous driving	16	51	33	84
Shop theft	32	40	28	68
Drug dealing	27	46	28	74
Assault	31	53	16	69
Robbery	53	38	9	47

Problems are concentrated in Nambour's CBD

Survey responses reflected concerns about the concentration of health and welfare services in Nambour's CBD and the impact this had on people's (perceptions of) safety. The location of the methadone clinic and needle-exchange were concerns as these survey comments demonstrated:

Dumping more "services" here which just encourages more vulnerable and disadvantaged people to the town which creates more issues for the poor shopkeepers just trying to earn a living. Services have to go somewhere but they shouldn't all be located in one town. Nambour is carrying more than its fair share.

The methadone clinic should be moved out of the CBD and police should be moving on the undesirable element that hang around outside Nambour Plaza.

The needle exchange being located in a social/community hub is a terrible idea. People cannot congregate in the C-Square courtyard because it is regularly occupied by strung out addicts banging on windows and yelling. It needs to be moved so C-Square can be a safe place.

Nambour being on a train line also raised some concerns with focus group participants and survey respondents, underpinned by the belief that 'undesirables' were catching the train in

and out of Nambour. It was believed that people who used the train to come and go from Nambour were primarily responsible for disorder in the CBD. One survey respondent commented that antisocial behaviour and crime was *“centered around the train station and main CBD areas.”* Other survey respondents commented:

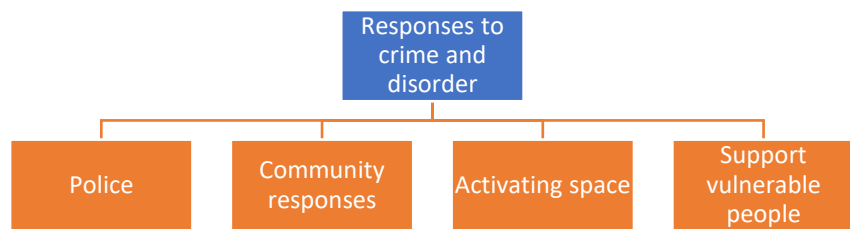
The trains are a wonderful service to have for the town, however it also brings outsiders for the wrong reason.

Railway brings in drug users from other areas.

RESPONSES

Both survey and focus group participants provided information on responses to crime and disorder in Nambour. Four issues around

responding to crime were found, including police action, community responses, activating and maintaining places throughout Nambour’s CBD, and the importance of supporting vulnerable community members.



Police

When community members were asked about responses to crime and disorder in the CBD in the focus groups and surveys, the most common response revolved around police. It was common to see *“more police”* in survey responses. Residents spoke of how police and Police Liaison Officer’s (PLOs) used to walk through Nambour’s CBD on a regular basis and the positive impacts this had on crime:

Up until recently we had a daily walk through by police. This tended to keep unwanted behaviour at bay.

That beat walk was making a massive difference...we didn’t see it as such a policing act, but as a community act and they got to know people, new people that come into town, they would connect with them.

If we can have a stronger police presence that makes these people uncomfortable to commit unlawful acts in our town centre, then I think we have a way to improving the perceptions of our town and really making it the liveable place we all want.

The visible presence of police *“on bikes and walking”* was seen as a critical need in Nambour by community members, especially at night and on weekends. However, community members in the focus group recognised that local police *“resources are so stretched”* and police had to balance competing priorities around calls for serious forms of violence, including family violence.

Focus group participants also spoke of the importance of agencies partnering with police to provide additional health and welfare support. For example, one participant spoke about the prior success of *“crisis assessment treatment teams”* but how these had largely been defunded and were now limited. Another participant spoke of the importance of partnering with other agencies to ensure the same problems don’t reoccur:

A business owner said to me the people are outside the business everyday screaming their heads off which is an extremely difficult thing for the business owner. I just think to myself, we can get the police down and remove them...but what do we do to make sure that person isn’t down on the street outside that business, which means maybe helping them with their drug addiction.

Community responses to crime and disorder

Although community residents had firm beliefs in the need for a more visible police presence, respondents also seemed cognizant that police themselves cannot solve all the problems in Nambour’s CBD and spoke about responses to crime as a *“a community issue as well.”*

The Nambour community is active in implementing programs that respond to community needs, with community centres such as The Shack and The Nest, and several food-based programs on offer throughout the week in Nambour. It was well recognised by community members that responses to crime and supporting vulnerable people required Council, police, and community input. As focus group participants explained:

I think when there’s a problem for any of us, it’s good to complain as say “oh yeah, we should have police. And we have this, we should have that.” But I think as a group, you need to show that you’re doing something about it too.

I think it’s a Council responsibility, police responsibility, but I also think it’s community’s responsibility as well.

Themes around the need for the community to support people from vulnerable or disadvantaged backgrounds was present in focus groups and survey responses:

As a society, we have to take responsibility where some of these things end up. And it’s not easy. I was thinking that if these people had the resources to help...or somehow, we provide things for them, they wouldn’t actually be on the street misbehaving.

Some of the root causes of crime here in Nambour is poverty and homelessness which exacerbates people’s mental health and substance misuse. More support directed towards these areas would help decrease crime rates. More affordable housing, more drug and alcohol rehabilitation services, more grassroots support services, more youth activities, more mental health supports, more community development.

Past initiatives between local businesses and police were spoken about in the focus group and included **Nambour Safe** and **Business Safe**. Nambour Safe was a collaboration between Council, the Chamber of Commerce, and community members where *“we used to do audits, lighting, that sort of thing in the town, have a walk around at night-time and then try and alert the businesses that would be really good if they had lights on.”* Community feedback and

audits were used to alert businesses and Council of safety issues and relevant precautions (e.g., lighting at night), prompting both to conduct maintenance and repairs throughout Nambour (e.g., fix broken footpaths). Business Safe extended this program in conjunction with the police to educate business owners about crime prevention and managing safety concerns, as a focus group participant explained:

We did education about things like don't count the money on the front counter, when you finish at the end of the day, lock up and take it around the back. It was all about education for them and connecting with the police.

Activating and maintaining Nambour's CBD

Focus group participants spoke about the importance of landlords investing in their buildings and the town to maintain a vibrant image *"you go down the main street and it looks derelict in a lot of areas and needs the onus put on the landlords"*. Local business owners spoke about positive experiences with landlords investing money, paint and upgrading buildings in Nambour:

Before it was mouldy and rusty and the window frames were yellow, which didn't look appealing at all...and everyone's like it looks great now.

The new guy in Nambour is passionate and driven. They own a bunch of buildings in town, they can see the value in reviving the town.

Maintaining the image and buildings of Nambour's CBD was seen to create opportunities for activating spaces and enliven the CBD to enhance feelings of safety. As focus group participants explained having people in the CBD and local community events can create inclusive and safe places:

If there's more people walking down the street, then it's safer.

Having life on the street, like the foot traffic, the movement, eyes and people talking and chatter and all of that aids like for a safe environment.

I think the activation of this space on a Thursday night, the activations of burgers up here on the Anglican Church on Friday night, Friday nights out here [Chambers Forecourt]. It's sensational out here. What's happened with the soup kitchen on a Monday, it's activated spaces where people can actually feel inclusive, which is terrific, feel welcome, feel valued, that just then brings the whole level of people feeling unsafe down.

Focus group participants spoke of how the Nambour Community Dinners meant *"there is a presence, so people have a tendency not to get too socially unacceptable during those times...these guys actually do a very quiet, effective safety role."*

However, this was viewed as a kind of 'chicken and egg' scenario where *"you somehow got to get people to come out and reclaim their street."*

It is a vicious cycle, you need more people out and more businesses trading on weekends and late night to make people want to come to Nambour but they do not want to come because of the emptiness of the place (which creates safety concerns).

Lots of small, cheap, and local activities were seen as possibilities to activate Nambour. Having lots of options for food, entertainment, and shopping would mean that people would want to come and spend time in the town: *“people will start to walk from one venue to another destination.”* Focus group participants spoke of the possibility of resuming regular weekly markets in town and increasing the number of positive activities for young people to do, such as regular touch-football games and a skating rink at the back of a local business. As a Nambour resident in the survey commented:

The town needs people...people who live...people who dine...people who play sport...people who like live music...people who shop...build it and they will come.

Ideas for activating spaces included community events and promoting the diversity, art, and eclecticism of Nambour. Participants spoke of promoting the *“vintage and retro trails and Instagram environments”* and *“murals and graffiti”* around the town centre.

Supporting vulnerable community members

Supporting vulnerable people was viewed as requiring an all of community response. One survey respondent commented *“It’s everyone’s job to have a safe and inclusive community”* with a focus group participant explaining the importance of supporting young people:

My hope is that we can take vulnerable at-risk young people or people with mental health issues, we as a community invite them in. We lift them up and then they want to stay. They don’t want to go anywhere else because we’ve done such a good job of lifting them up and bringing them in. That’s my hope that we could create something like than in Nambour.

Some of the community-based initiatives spoken about in the focus groups included The Nest, The Shack, the Thursday Nambour Community Dinners, Thursday Town Square Markets, Friday burger night at the Anglican Church, the soup-kitchen on Monday, and the touch-football nights for teenagers. Inclusive community places were seen as a starting point in building community connections and reducing public disorder:

We got down once a week to The Nest and it’s so inclusive. So we’re talking about the people that are causing the issues that are engaging down there. It’s beautiful. And then the same at the Shack...it’s them, it’s that feeling included. How do you make the people that are kind of causing the issue feel included.

They’ll actually go into the community centre and they’re getting food there and showering there and forming connections there because they had sort of a big level of trust to the community centre. It’s a start, it just needs to be scaffolded by others.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SEP & FUTURE OF NAMBOUR

Table 9: Survey respondents' knowledge of Nambour's SEP

SEP knowledge	(%)	
Yes	72	Participants in the focus group viewed the SEP positively and believed it could bring activation and community-oriented events into Nambour's town centre. Survey participants were asked whether they knew that the Nambour CBD had been classified as a SEP. As presented in Table 9, almost three-quarters (72%) responded that they were aware of this. Three key ideas emerged from the survey and focus group feedback around the future of Nambour and opportunities that the SEP could bring to the town centre.
No	22	
Unsure	6	

Family and community events

Building on the positives of Nambour's community and local arts, survey and focus group participants

recognised the opportunities the SEP could create to facilitate community events and showcase Nambour's talent. As one participant in the focus group commented, the SEP could *"bring people in to promote artistry, promote music."*



Focus group and survey participants spoke about how the SEP could build on current and past community events such as Tram Fest and the Sugar Cane Festival to capitalise on the existing arts culture in Nambour and showcase local produce. The use of the SEP to build a late-night club district was not in community interests, with a focus group participant clearly stating, *"None of us will ever give you an endorsement for a nightclub."* Instead, the prominent theme from the focus groups was that the SEP should focus on community and family-based events and smaller venues with good food:

For me, it's come down to probably smaller boutique venues – intimate.

Marketing it as it's family centric. It's community centric. Sure, you can come and we can do the big family picnics at the park and listen to live music and support local acts. And I would love to see more of that come in.

So the idea was if you have good food, if you've got music, the two just gelled together.

Gives you the opportunity to go out and see live music and to engage with the community and it's very community family-centric. So I really enjoy that type of thing because that's something I could take my kids to."

Focus group participants also spoke about opportunities for young people and how the SEP would allow places for loud activities:

Provide for young people a place to come along and if you want to sing really loud or play the drums as loud as you want. There's a safe place to do it where you're not going to get complained about.

The SEP was viewed by community members to provide opportunities for community relationships to grow and help people feel safer in Nambour. As participants explained:

Those sorts of events allow for those lovely emergent moments when people run into each other in the street...and that allows for that social capital to build.

I think that further activation opportunities, including SEP activities, could assist with increasing the number of people and foot traffic in the centre of Nambour at various times of the day, which could enhance perceptions of safety.

Celebrate local art, history, and food

Many focus group and survey participants spoke about the importance of the SEP and the future of Nambour to embrace and promote the local art and creative scene, First Nations history, and the local produce. For example, one focus group member spoke about building on existing strengths of local art and theatre:

I think we've got some really good bones in regards to entertainment. We've got the Black Box Theatre, we've got Lind Lane Theatre, we've got potential with PCYC. I think it's really important to continue to strengthen those assets. Because the music industry on the Sunshine Coast is really burgeoning as well as some really talented artists here. And I think that we do have an opportunity to capitalise on that if it's done in the right way. And I do think that we could do it and do it in a Nambour way.

The importance of acknowledging history and the importance of Traditional Owners and First Nation people was spoken about in focus groups, with one participant stating: *"Nambour is the centre it's the heart of Kabi Kabi people."* Participants spoke of revitalising the Cultural Heritage Trail and changing the name of local parks and places (such as Quota Park) to their traditional First Nation names.

Celebrating local food and produce was mentioned frequently in focus groups with participants explaining *"the Hinterland is like, it's goldmine, food bowl."* Participants expressed the desire to promote local food in restaurants and markets and this could bring opportunities to showcase Nambour and increase vitality in the town:

We've got access to some of the best fruit and veg. Most of it goes down to the restaurants on the coast and whatnot. But literally, we've got fruit and veg in our backyard, so that we should be doing something around our food, and how we use our food and whatnot with our music, I think that there has to be together.

I like it can be the Hinterland markets, you know, and there's so much food run through that hill. And then little handmade [stalls], if they can come there for free people will do it.

Comments by residents in the survey focused more on the potential for Nambour, reflecting on the natural beauty of Nambour's parks with another resident commenting *"Nambour could really flourish with cool cafes, music venues and art culture."*

Reduce 'red-tape'

Focus group participants and survey respondents spoke about reducing 'red-tape' to facilitate opportunities for events in the CBD. For the SEP to be a success, focus group and survey participants spoke of alleviating barriers such as relaxing '*all this red-tape and all this confusion*' regarding permits, building and parking codes, and commercial landlords. One focus group participant explained this level of bureaucracy may be discouraging people from opening businesses in the CBD as part of the SEP.

We've sat on the steering committee for the SEP for 12 months and discuss lots and lots of things around the SEP and how it might get going. And there's been some people who've tried to get venues up and speaking to landlords and had difficulties around that. So currently, 12 months on there is there is no application for a venue that I'm aware of.

Local business owners spoke in the focus groups of how much effort it was to organise small local events and how current community initiatives like Community Dinners were being jeopardised for lack of proper permits:

I wanted to run a fitness thing that we're doing...I just couldn't be like it's such an effort and then go get a permit and do all this and organise the dates and stuff so I'm like "Never mind." That's where it gets difficult when you don't have the time, I'm running a business. I'm busy.

These sentiments were reiterated in other focus groups and in the survey responses with people commenting the red-tape could "*inhibit business investment*":

I believe the SEP precinct zoning is a fantastic thing for Nambour and should be encouraged and supported by Council rather than being bogged in and made unviable by red tape.

And they're [Thursday Nambour Community Dinners] constantly still in a battle to get recognised by Council to the point, you know, that it's been hinted that, you know, if you continue to be here without the right permits...

SUMMARY

Overall, the focus groups and community survey found that Nambour is a generous community with many opportunities for future development provided by the SEP. There is potential to use the existing strong social capital within the Nambour community to increase the vibrancy and activity within the CBD.

The survey and focus group raised concerns about experiences and perceptions of crime in Nambour. Although violent crime was rare, community members were concerned with antisocial behaviour and disorder in the CBD. The disorder was visible, intimidating, and has affected how safe people feel within the centre of Nambour. Issues around public drug use and drinking, loitering, and homelessness were concerns of community members. However, in responding to these issues, community members primarily wanted to see further support offered and recognised these problems can't be solved by only criminal justice interventions.

Community members outlined the importance of public housing, addiction and health services, and mental health treatment in responding to disorder problems in Nambour.

Community members were mostly positive about Nambour's future, with the SEP providing opportunities to produce more community events, provide safe and prosocial activities for young people, and to celebrate and showcase the creative talent within Nambour.