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INTRODUCTION

This report is part of the DCU in the Community research paper series and is published in partnership with Innovate Ballymun. These papers aim to disseminate information to increase knowledge of the most critical social issues in the Ballymun area. They also aim to offer insight into how the community, stakeholders, and voluntary and statutory agencies respond to the needs and challenges of the area.

This report comes at a time when the demands of social regeneration are still pressing with indicators of social deprivation in Ballymun still acute. There is a need for improved service provision for both individuals and families in the area, with a view to offering real progress in terms of social and economic development. In the spirit of social innovation,¹ a coalition of the Ballymun Whitehall Area Partnership, Dublin City University and Dublin City Council has come together to drive a new phase of sustainable social regeneration, through Innovate Ballymun.

While the vast majority of Ballymun residents are law abiding and want the best for themselves, their families and the community, the area still contains pockets of disadvantage, combined with unacceptable levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Public order offences and criminal damage are the most common types of crime with drug, alcohol and anti-social offences being a strong feature in some locations.

Arising from concerns about serious offending and anti-social behaviour, drug dealing related activity and general public order problems in the electoral district of Ballymun C (Shangan, Coultry and Whiteacre Crescent), a number of agencies came together in 2013 under the Ballymun Sustaining Regeneration Committee to discuss possible responses. Following on from this, the Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force, together with the Probation Service, An Garda Síochána, the Garda Crime Analysis office, the Irish Prison Service, Dublin City Council and the Ballymun Network began work on an Integrated Offender Management Programme (IOMP) for this area (see page 28).

The programme commenced in 2014 and the Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force requested that DCU in the Community and Innovate Ballymun conduct a collaborative research project into the community's response to crime and safety in the area, with a view to establishing a benchmark for this new non-custodial system of justice. The Task Force intends to monitor the community's response on an annual basis, in order to evaluate the IOMP.

DCU in the Community and Innovate Ballymun expect that the dissemination of this report will serve as a foundation for an open, inclusive and informed consideration and discussion of the issues around anti-social behaviour and crime reduction, with a view to putting in place lasting solutions to increase feelings of safety and well-being within the community.



¹ *New ideas to meet unmet social needs in the public good*

BALLYMUN OVERVIEW

Ballymun, in North Dublin, was the most significant high-rise housing estate project conceived in the Republic of Ireland. It was developed to address a severe housing crisis that erupted in the 1960s, leaving hundreds of families in unsafe living conditions. In an attempt to solve the problem, Dublin Corporation (now Dublin City Council) built one of the largest public housing estates in Europe to accommodate these families. The Ballymun Towers, comprising seven separate buildings, were built between 1966 and 1969. Each building was fifteen stories high, with ninety flats to each tower and six to each floor. When the families first arrived in 1966, they were delighted to have luxuries such as hot running water, central heating, flush toilets and lifts. However, this enthusiasm waned as the area became victim to lack of investment, with poor public amenities and services and increasing unemployment. By the 1980s, Ballymun was experiencing severe social problems with increasing levels of drug dealing and crime.² This triggered widespread community mobilisation to address these issues.



² Dublin City Libraries, <http://dublincitypubliclibraries.com/dublin-buildings/seven-towers-ballymun>

In 1987, the Ballymun Task Force was set up by members of the local community, the Area Health Board and elected members of the government, to develop a housing plan for Ballymun. Their main aim was to create an atmosphere of security and to give tenants control over access to their homes, while improving the visible appearance and environment of the area.³ An ambitious proposal was made to the government, which required a high level of investment that would take a minimum of 10 years to implement.⁴

Following government approval, Ballymun Regeneration Limited (BRL)⁵ was established by Dublin City Council, to work with the community to design and implement a 'Masterplan'⁶ for the physical, social and economic regeneration of the area. A voluntary board was elected comprising of local councillors, tenants, representatives from the Housing Task Force and the Ballymun Partnership, community representatives, private sector, gardaí and local womens' groups and chaired by Dr. Daniel O'Hare former president of Dublin City University (DCU).⁷

The Masterplan included an indication of where housing, roads, parks and commercial spaces should be built. It also emphasised the need to increase the number and type of new houses in the area, including the provision of different types of ownership contracts and rental options.⁸

In 2003, BRL published 'A Reply to the Citizens Jury Report'⁹ which included recommendations of local people across a wide range of areas, including education; crime prevention; law enforcement; community service agreements; funding streams; and communication. As a result, 'Neighbourhood Action Plans' were devised for the development of five new neighbourhoods (Poppintree, Sillogue, Balcurris, Shangan and Coultry), each with its own local access to services such as childcare, meeting rooms, playgrounds, leisure facilities, retail space and facilities for small enterprises – as well as new houses.¹⁰

By 2013, the landscape of the area had changed dramatically. Most of the tower blocks had been demolished and 2,800 new houses and apartments had been built, as well as facilities for retail shops and public amenities.¹¹ While the physical and housing regeneration has concluded, short-term supports were retained to develop economic and social aspects of the area via Dublin City Council. The community responded positively to these changes and a vibrant atmosphere of resilience through civic engagement was established. However, Ballymun still faces challenges in terms of social regeneration, pointing to the need for more employment creation, further development of local infra-structure, education opportunities and greater efforts to eradicate crime and anti-social behaviour.

³ Reflecting City: The Reconstruction of Dublin, 'Ballymun: Recent History' <http://www.reflectingcity.com/ballymun/comments/ballymun-recent-history/>

⁴ Reflecting City: The Reconstruction of Dublin, 'Ballymun: Recent History' <http://www.reflectingcity.com/ballymun/comments/ballymun-recent-history/>

⁵ Ballymun Regeneration Limited, 'Sustaining Regeneration: A Social Plan for Ballymun' <http://www.brl.ie/>

⁶ Ballymun Regeneration Limited, 'Masterplan' <http://www.brl.ie/second.htm>

⁷ Reflecting City: The Reconstruction of Dublin, 'Ballymun: Recent History', <http://www.reflectingcity.com/ballymun/comments/ballymun-recent-history/>

⁸ Ballymun Regeneration Limited report, 'Environmental Appraisal of the Ballymun Masterplan: In the Dublin Corporation Area', <http://www.brl.ie/pdf/envapp.pdf>

⁹ BRL Initiatives for Combating Anti-Community Behaviour, 'A Reply to the Citizens Jury Report', http://www.brl.ie/pdf/brl_reply_citizens_jury_rep.pdf

¹⁰ Ballymun Regeneration Limited, 'Environmental Appraisal of the Ballymun Masterplan: In the Dublin Corporation Area', <http://www.brl.ie/pdf/envapp.pdf>

¹¹ Ballymun Regeneration Limited, 'Completion Report', http://www.brl.ie/pdf/BRL_Completion_Report_Web_opt.pdf

OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

The objective of this research was to obtain the views of the residents of the electoral district of Ballymun C - Shangan, Coultry and Whiteacre Crescent (referred to throughout this document as Ballymun), regarding the positive and negative aspects of living there and to elicit opinions as to what was necessary to improve the quality of life in the locality. It also sought to collect information around people's perceptions of crime, safety and well-being, and to establish the levels of community involvement among the participants. Ballymun C was chosen because of the high level of general public order problems in this area.

This research will serve to support the implementation of the Integrated Offender Management Programme (IOMP), as the Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force intend to monitor the community's response during the first 24 months of the programme in order to evaluate its effectiveness.



RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted using a quantitative approach, that of a survey, which involved the use of a paper-based structured questionnaire. It consisted of 36 questions divided into four sections under the headings: profile of respondents, local area, safety, and crime.

- Profile of respondents – there were seven questions covering demographic topics such as gender; age; parenthood; housing and employment status; overall health and well-being, and level of satisfaction with their lives.
- Local area – this section consisted of 12 questions on the levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with living in the area; the social and community bonds in which residents engage locally, and the use of local parks.
- Safety – there were four questions investigating the residents' feelings about safety during the day and after dark, and their level of confidence in allowing (a) their children to be outside, but near the house and (b) teenagers to be outside, but away from the house.
- Crime – this section consisted of 13 questions on the perceptions of crime in the area over a one year period. This included opinions of the most prevalent crime problems in the area and reasons why people become involved in crime. It also asked about the level of satisfaction with Gardaí activity and the level of satisfaction with Gardaí follow up where the residents were victims of, or witness to, a crime.

The survey was implemented using a door-to-door approach. This approach enabled us to engage with the residents in their own homes, which allowed conversation to flow and opinions and impressions to emerge. In a pilot run, the survey took less than 10 minutes to be completed but, in the implementation phase, respondents were given the opportunity to add comments or observations which could increase the time of response by up to an hour.

The materials used to administer the survey consisted of: a clipboard, 15 hard-copies of the survey, a map of the area, a spreadsheet to record house contact outcomes, and an information leaflet containing an explanation of the purpose of the research together with a list of relevant local support services.

A training session was held to allow researchers/volunteers to become familiar with the survey. They were encouraged to keep a relaxed and confident body posture and a friendly and approachable facial expression. They were instructed to start the conversation immediately after a resident answered the door with the following introduction:

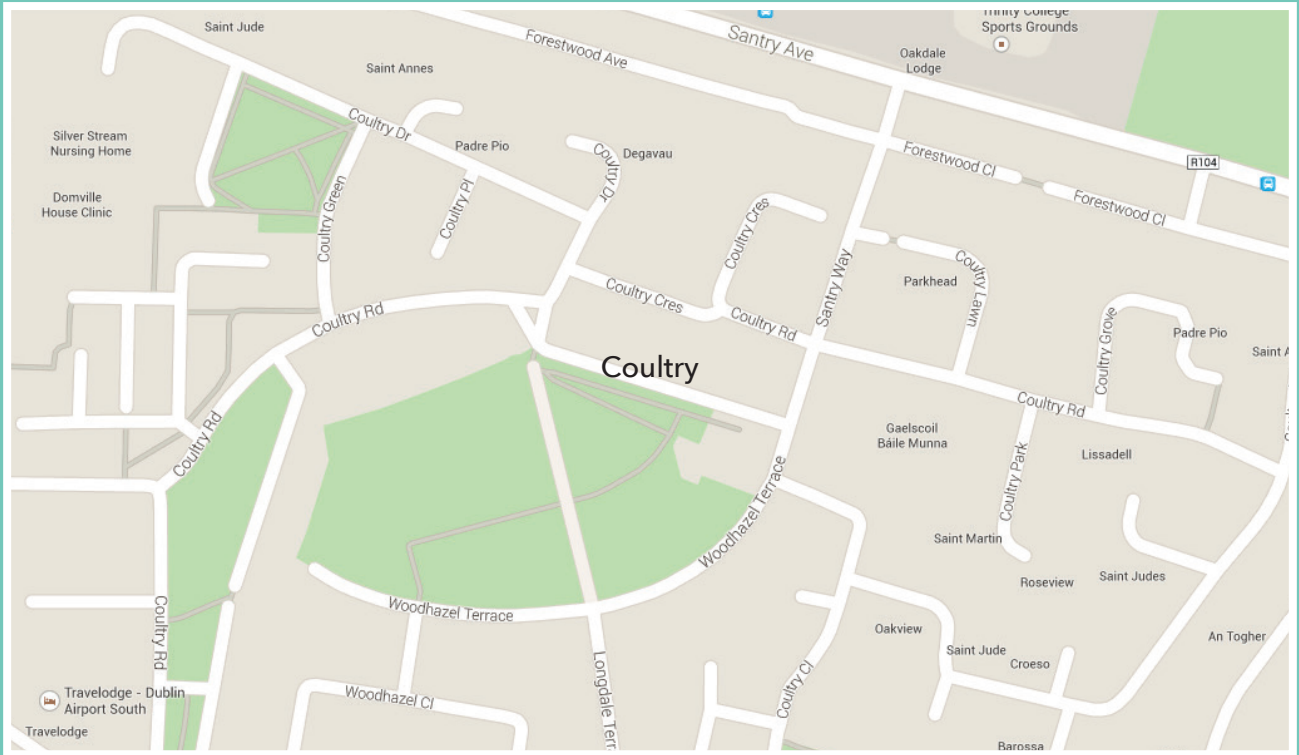
'Hi, good morning/afternoon, I am with DCU in the Community and we are carrying out a survey about quality of life and safety in this area. Would you have 10 minutes to talk to me? This survey will not take more than 10 minutes to complete. Everything you say will be treated as confidential information and you can withdraw from answering any question at any time you want.'

The survey was conducted between May 12th and May 16th, 2014, mostly in the morning/early afternoon period. Pobal maps¹² were used to determine which specific areas within Ballymun and the streets within these areas to survey. Each day, teams of two researchers/volunteers surveyed one street at a time, approaching houses individually. Following data collection, all participants reconvened in DCU in the Community to debrief and discuss the strategies and tactics that had a positive impact on the survey uptake and share that information. In total, 625 households were approached, of which 322 did not answer the door; 98 answered the door, but did not/could not complete the survey, mainly because they were busy with something else (like minding small children or leaving for work). Thus, 205 residents responded to the survey, a response rate of 33%.

The streets and parks surveyed are detailed in the table and maps below:

Shangan	Coultry	Whiteacre Crescent
Shangan Gardens	Coultry Close	'The Gap'
Shangan Avenue	Longdale Terrace	Oldtown Avenue
Shangan Court	Woodhazel Terrace	Oldtown Road
Shangan Green	Coultry Terrace	Oldtown Park
Shangan Park	Coultry Drive	Whiteacre Crescent
	Coultry Place	Whiteacre Place
	Coultry Green	Shanliss Road
		Shanliss Avenue
		Shanliss Grove

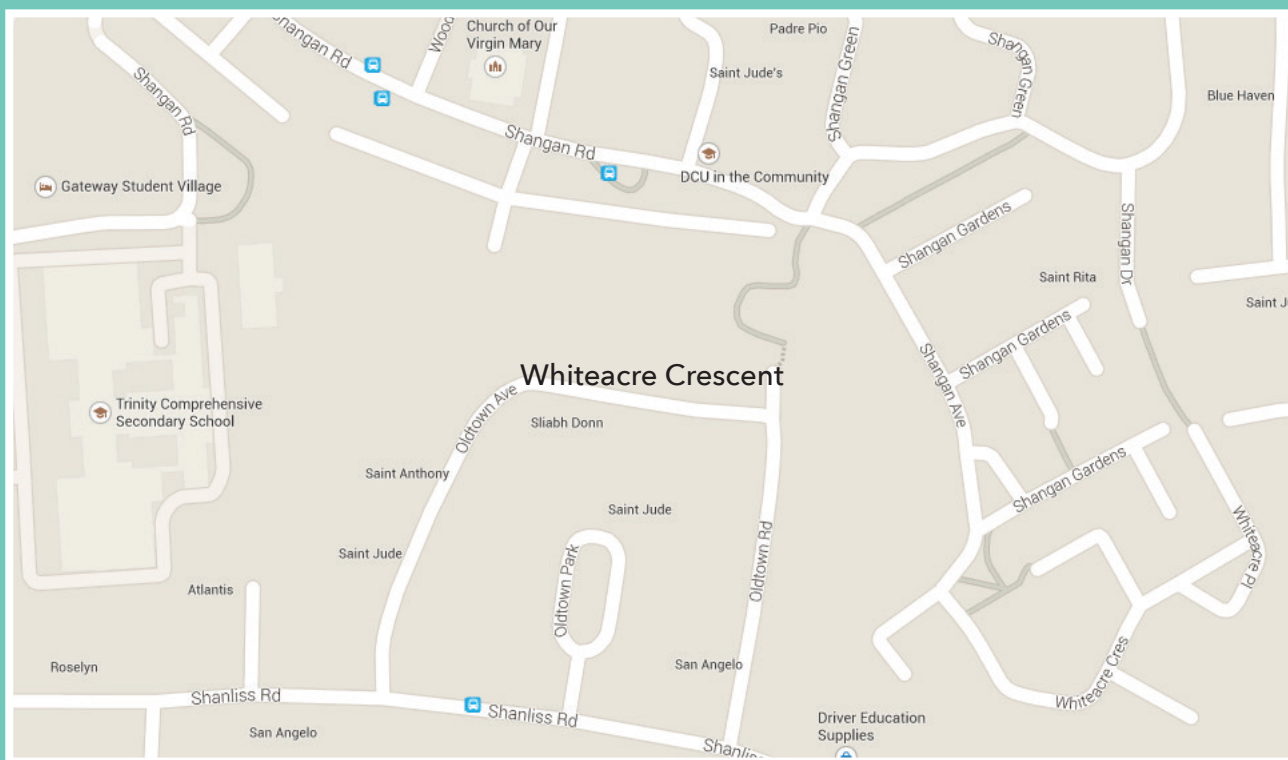
¹² <http://maps.pobal.ie/#/Map>



Coultry / Shangan (Ordnance Survey Map)
Ordnance Survey Maps, extracted from Google maps



Coultry / Shangan (Ordnance Survey Map)
Ordnance Survey Maps, extracted from Google maps



Whiteacre Crescent (Ordnance Survey Map)
Ordnance Survey Maps, extracted from Google maps

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The profile of the respondents interviewed is summarised in the bullet points below:

- 60% of respondents were female.
- The majority of respondents were aged between 38 and 52.
- 65% did not have children under 13 years of age living with them.
- 64% did not have teenagers between 13 and 19 years of age living with them.
- 59% rented houses from local authorities.
- 66% consider their overall health and wellbeing to be 'good' or 'very good'.
- 80% are 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with their lives at the moment.

Most respondents were, in general, satisfied with their lives in Ballymun and enjoyed a reasonably high level of good health and well-being.

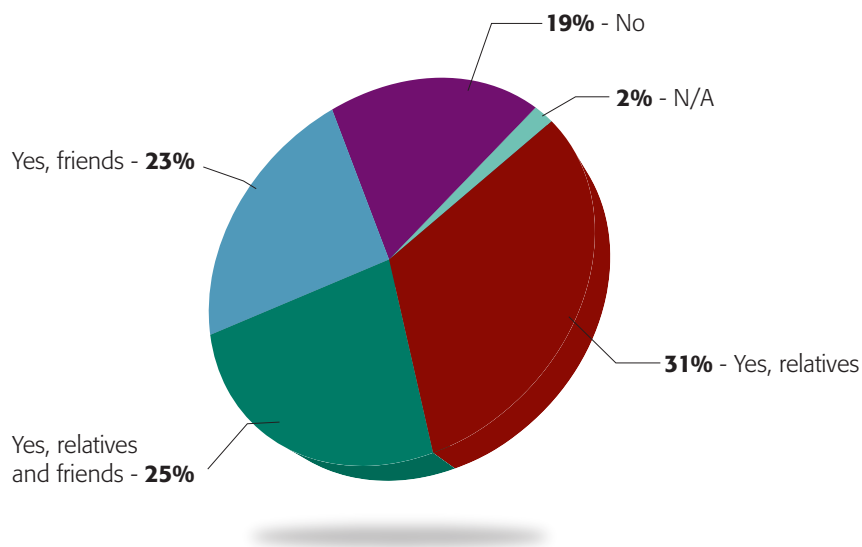
LIVING IN BALLYMUN

The second section of the survey focused on the residents' notion of community and their level of satisfaction with living in the area. This involved a number of questions around length of residency; nature of previous housing; best and worst things about the area; suggestions for improvements; the importance of having family and friends nearby; involvement with local community organisations and use of local parks.

The term 'community' has various definitions. Community can be a group of people organised under the same set of rules, usually living in the same place, under the same government or sharing the same cultural and/or historical legacy. The survey results indicate that in Ballymun the notion of community is of groups formed by families, friends and neighbours with a high degree of proximity to each other (see pie chart 1).

Pie chart 1

Are there relatives or friends living locally you can count on if you need them?



Perceptions of the local area

Results show that 63% of the respondents have been living in Ballymun for more than 10 years and 51% had lived in the Ballymun flats before they moved into the newly built houses. In total, 72% of the respondents were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with living in the area and 61% said they would not move out of Ballymun. Only 18% of respondents are 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with living in the area.

Although the majority of the respondents are satisfied with living in the area, when asked to comment further, their opinions were mixed, as can be seen from the following remarks:

- 'A lot in the area for kids compared to the last area I lived in.'
- 'I am happy with living in the area, however since the new houses have been built, things changed. The area has changed so much, different types of people than there was twenty years ago.'
- 'I have great neighbours and I love my house, but the park is facing my house and it can be a nightmare. This year so far it's not so bad, last year was hell. We done a clean-up last week and this was good, but not everyone participated, but those who did, enjoyed it. It made us feel we were doing something to improve where we live. When the area looks better, I feel better, I can be proud of my area.'
- 'People are moving out of the area hence they care less about the area/community.'

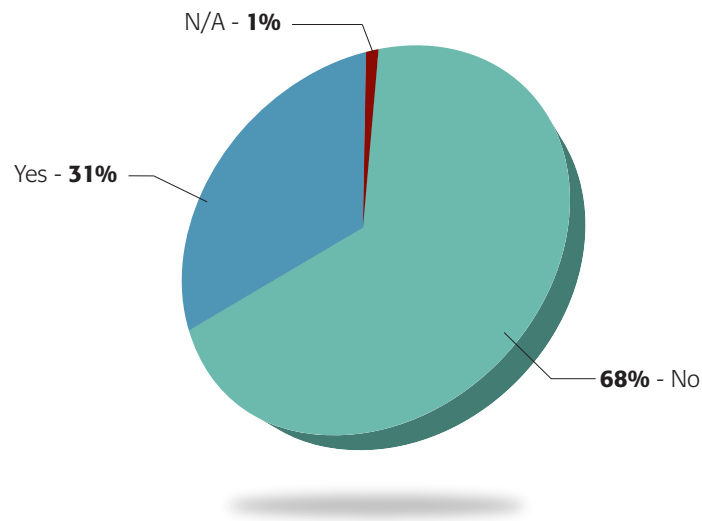
In terms of community capital, 58% of the respondents get on very well with their neighbours and 79% have relatives, friends or both living nearby that they can count on for help. However, when respondents were asked if they were involved with local organisations, social clubs, churches or sports clubs on a voluntary basis, 68% said no (see pie chart 2). These results indicate that, while the prevalent notion of community in Ballymun is established through networks of kinship and friendship, this is not translated into active engagement with local community organisations.

According to Andrew Montague, Local Councillor, some of the reasons for the lack of engagement with local community organisations can be explained by low literacy levels in the area, which can hinder an individual's ability to read, write and communicate adequately, thus affecting confidence. Mr. Montague also noted that another reason which may prevent residents from engaging with organisations is distrust, in that they perceive some organisations as a form of authority.

During the interaction with the respondents, it was noted that many people were unfamiliar with the role of community organisations and, in some cases, were unaware of the existence of such organisations. This is also a factor in why many residents do not avail of the services available to them.

Pie chart 2

Are you involved with any local organisations/ social clubs/ churches/sports clubs in the area on a voluntary basis, as a member or organiser?

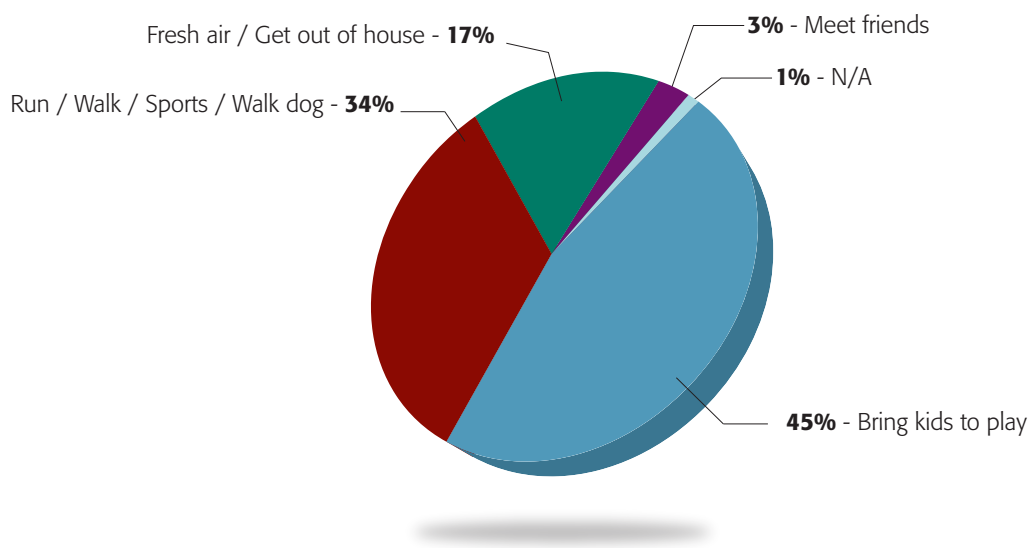


Perceptions of the parks

In total, 57% of the respondents use local parks for recreational purposes and the main reasons why residents use the parks are displayed in pie chart 3. Some 41% of the respondents do not use the parks and the main reason given for this is fear of a small number of groups of young people who use the parks to engage in anti-social activities.

Pie chart 3

What do you use the local park for?



Best and worst things about living in the area

In the respondents' opinion, the best things about Ballymun are friends/relatives nearby, the community, and the schools (see table 1). These results indicate the importance of community in Ballymun based on family/friendship ties.

Table 1 – What are the best things about the area?* Multiple choice answer.

Reason	Number of respondents	Reason	Number of respondents
Friends/Relatives nearby	94	Good housing	31
The community	67	Social services nearby	28
Schools	52	Amenities, parks	28
AXIS centre	41	Shops	19
Transport	34	Pre-School, crèche	19
Safe	32	N/A	12

Regarding the negative things about Ballymun, the top three reported were: drug selling, drug use and young people hanging around (see table 2).

Table 2 - What are the worst things about the area? * Multiple choice answer.

Reason	Number of respondents	Reason	Number of respondents
Drug selling	102	Poor amenities, shops	36
Drug use	88	No jobs	30
Young people hanging around	67	Deprivation/ Poverty	16
Crime	54	N/A	16
Alcohol use	48	Lack of community spirit	15
Litter/ Not cleaning the area	47	Poor transport	13
		Nothing to do	10

Improving the area

The respondents were given nine options on what could be done to improve the area. The top 3 choices are displayed in Table 3:

Table 3 - What could be done to improve the area? * Multiple choice answer

Reason	Number of respondents	Reason	Number of respondents
More Gardaí presence	103	More shops	62
More jobs	83	Clean up the area	46
Reduce anti-social behaviour	73	Community events	14
Reduce drugs crime	69	N/A	12
		Get to know neighbours	6

In conversation with respondents, these points were elaborated upon:

- 'More education, facilities and activities in the area for teenagers - more facilities and fewer parks.'
- 'No jobs - as promised to Ballymun people when developed.'
- 'Local supermarket badly needed.'
- 'Need for more public transport servicing the area.'
- 'There needs to be more done - tidy the area, cut the grass, etc.'
- 'Encourage more volunteering from local men to help local clubs.'

IMAGES OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The photographs of the sub-areas within Ballymun were taken in November 2014 and reflect the physical housing and street conditions of Shangan, Coultry and Whiteacre Crescent. They are supplemented by brief descriptions of the areas.

Images of Shangan

From the outset, designing and developing the Shangan neighbourhood posed a challenge in reconciling a series of opposing requirements. For instance, it involved weaving together servicing and access requirements for both residential and retail accommodation, private dwellings and public access to community facilities, and creating a new identity for a community that relates to both before and after the regeneration of the area.

In spite of these challenges, the Shangan Neighbourhood Centre was developed as part of the regeneration of Ballymun. A mixed development complex, comprising of 31 apartments, four retail units and a community centre, was built between Old Shangan and New Shangan, and completed in 2006.



Shangan Green (Old Shangan)



Shangan Park (New Shangan)



Shangan Gardens (Old Shangan)

Images of Coultry

Environmental improvements in the surrounding housing areas were also an integral part of the Ballymun regeneration scheme. The Masterplan highlighted the importance of the development of amenities / play space, and community facilities. Parks were designed on the basis of district parks, local parks and local greens, each fulfilling important requirements for active and passive leisure. Shangan Park and Coultry Park were developed to allow social interaction and a sense of common ownership of the area between the old and new residents. Coultry Park includes an eight-acre full size grass soccer pitch.



Woodhazel Terrace and Coultry Park



Coultry Road

Images of Whiteacre Crescent

Whiteacre Crescent consists of a combination of houses that were built long before the regeneration process and new houses constructed during the regeneration. Linking the 'new' and the 'old' community, a low dented fence was erected (informally called 'The Gap') which caused tension between the two communities. During the implementation of the survey, some of the residents of Oldtown Avenue said they would prefer to see 'the Gap' closed, whereas residents of the new community said the passage is an asset to them as it allows quicker access to public amenities, retail shops, the university (DCU) and bus stops in the area.



'The Gap'



Oldtown Avenue

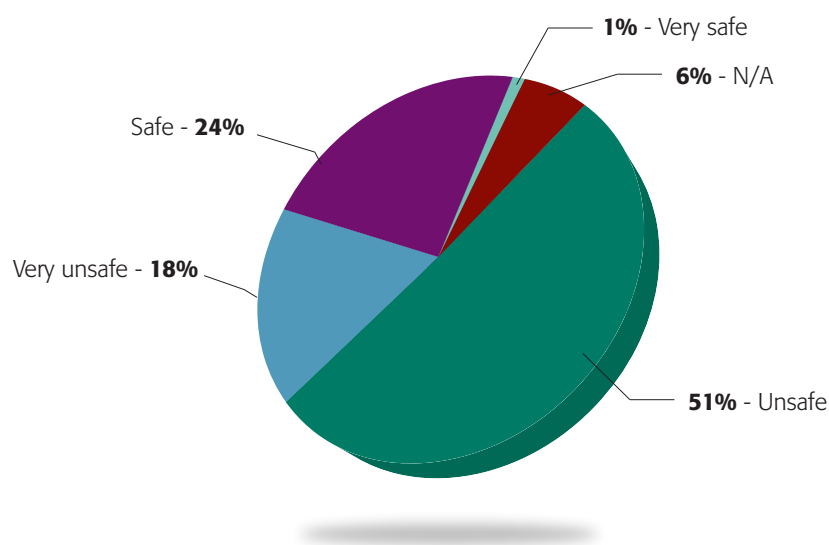
SAFETY IN THE COMMUNITY

Safety in Ballymun is an on-going challenge for local community organisations, statutory and voluntary agencies, and for the community itself. Immense effort has been made to increase the residents' feelings of safety and consequently, wellbeing. The survey findings reveal that 91% of the residents feel 'safe' or 'very safe' walking in the area during the day, with 78% considering it to be 'safe' or 'very safe' for children to be out during the day - near the family house. Some 59% consider it 'safe' or 'very safe' for teenagers to be out during the day - away from the family house.

However, the results are very different when it comes to evening and night time. In total, 48% of the respondents feel 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' walking in the area after dark and 69% consider it 'unsafe' or 'very unsafe' for teenagers to be out after dark (see pie chart 4).

Pie chart 4

Is it safe for teenagers to be out after dark?



When asked if there are any local areas they would avoid, 51% of the respondents said no and 41% said yes. Specific areas mentioned were:

- 'The Gap'
- All of the parks
- All local areas at night time
- Alleyways
- Ballymun Shopping Centre
- Coultry
- Finglas
- Local playgrounds
- Poppintree
- Sandyhill
- Santry
- Shangan Park
- Shangan Road
- The flats
- Whitegate Park
- Woodhazel Gap

Below are some of the residents' comments on safety:

- 'This place is ridiculous. I wouldn't recommend it to anybody, it's dangerous.'
- 'Don't go out alone.'
- 'Surveillance cameras should be installed in the Whiteacre Park area.'
- 'Meetings with the local community to stop drug dealing in the area - nothing done, several active drug dealers in the immediate area.'
- 'Traffic is a major issue - dangerous for children - need for more signs, to block off certain parts of the road.'
- 'Avoid the bandstand area.'
- 'Older people are nervous living in Ballymun - feeling of being watched.'
- 'Would try and avoid the whole place, it is a jungle out there, wouldn't let wife walk at night - too many gangs.'

CRIME AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE AREA

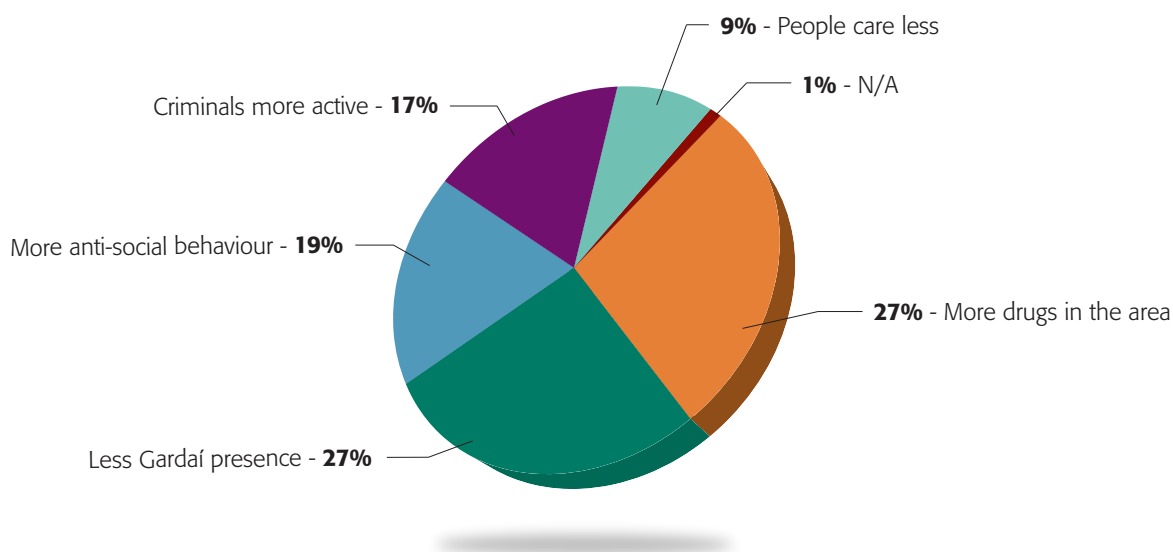
The first strategy for community safety in Ballymun post-regeneration¹³ was developed by Ballymun Regeneration Limited, Dublin City Council, An Garda Síochána, and the Ballymun community, through the promotion of specific activities to prevent, control and address violence and crime. These activities also sought to prevent the use of heroin and other drugs, to combat crime, discrimination and intolerance, and implement actions focusing on young people for the benefit of those parts of the community that are exposed to anti-social behaviour.

Crime situation

When asked if the crime situation was better or worse than the previous year, 40% of the respondents said it was the same, followed by 38% who considered that it had deteriorated. Only 18% considered that it had improved. The pie chart below outlines the reasons for this perceived increase in crime.

Pie chart 5

Why has the crime situation changed for the worse?

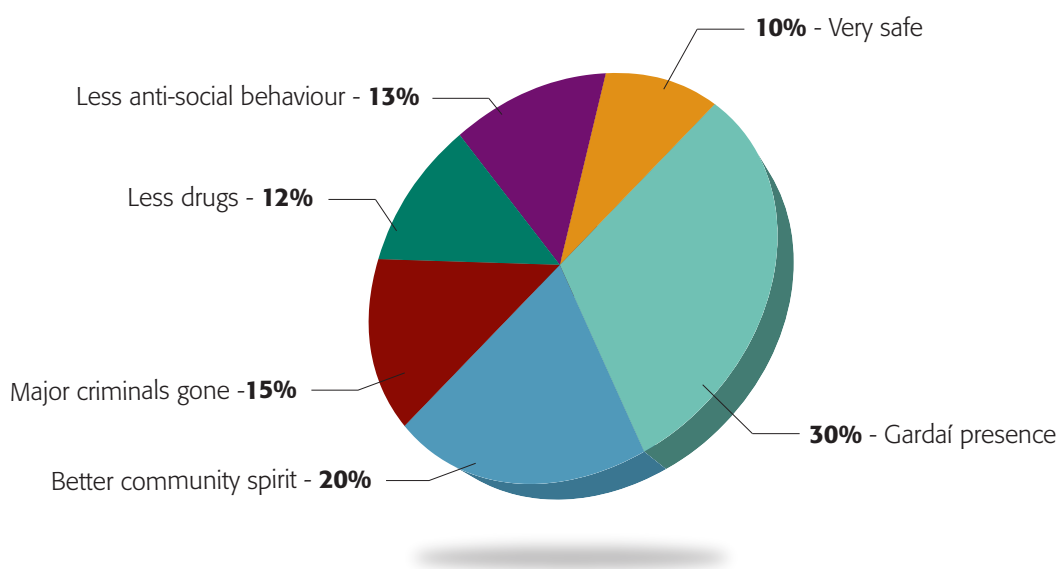


Amongst the 18% who considered that the crime situation had improved, they cited 'Garda activity' (30%) and 'better community spirit' (20%) as the main reasons for this change (see pie chart 6).

¹³ Ballymun Regeneration Limited, 'Safer Ballymun: A community-safety strategy', http://www.brl.ie/safer_ballymun/saferballymun_community_safety_strategy.pdf

Pie chart 6

Why has the crime situation changed for the better?



These results indicate very mixed feelings about the crime situation. However, it is important to highlight that when expressing their views, the respondents may have been influenced by their own subjective experience, rather than by an objective assessment of the reality.

Reasons for involvement in crime and responses to offenders

According to respondents, the main reasons why people get involved in crime are 'hanging out with the wrong people' (51%), 'poor family upbringing' (40%) and 'poverty' (36%). Table 4 displays the respondents' opinion on what could be done about people involved in crime.

Table 4 – In relation to people involved in crime, what do you think could be done about them? *
Multiple choice answer.

Response	Number of respondents	Response	Number of respondents
Education / Realise the consequences of crime	128	Put in prison	56
Community service	86	Move them from the area	23
Drug treatment	82	They will grow out of it	4

The results indicate that, despite the on-going presence of drug use and anti-social behaviour in the area, there is a widely held notion that these issues should be addressed mostly through education, community service and drug treatment, and not through recourse to the formal criminal justice system.

Anti-social behaviour and types of crime

According to the results, the most prevalent forms of anti-social behaviour in the area are 'drug taking' (44%), 'drunkenness' (20%) and 'vandalism' (19%). In total, 23% of the respondents were witnesses to crime and 19% were victims of crime 'once' or 'more than once' in the year preceding the survey. Those who were victims of crime, cited the following incidents:

Table 5 – What type of crime was it?

Reason	Number of respondents	Reason	Number of respondents
Harassment/Intimidation	10	Assault (not robbery)	3
Mugging (robbery)	7	Theft of bicycle	3
Theft of car/van	7	Theft from person	2
Damage to property	7	N / A	1
Burglary	6		

The residents' comments on crime and anti-social behaviour are outlined below:

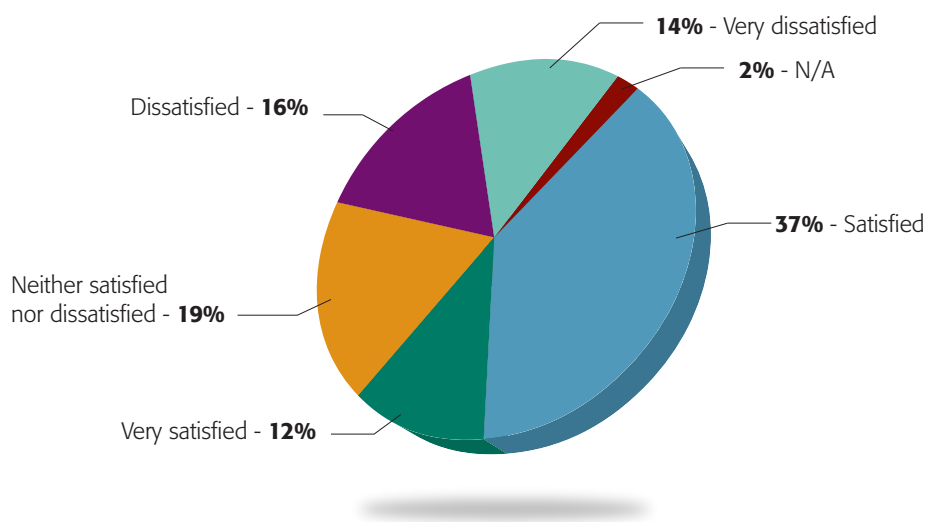
- 'Respect is so important'.
- 'Irish prisons are too lenient. Prison is like a holiday camp.'
- 'People (offenders, criminals) have no fear of the consequences of their crimes.'
- 'Need to address the issue of underage drinking on the streets at night.'
- 'Local people are not reporting crimes to the Gardaí – people are getting away with it.'
- 'Crime is driving people out of the area.'
- 'Hate walking past parks because of gangs.'

RESPONSES TOWARDS GARDAÍ ACTIVITY

When asked about their level of satisfaction with the job the Gardaí are doing in the area, 49% of the respondents are 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied', whereas 30% are 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' (see pie chart 7).

Pie chart 7

Are you satisfied with the job the Gardaí are doing in the area?



In total, 79% of the respondents who were victims of crime 'did report' the crime to the Gardaí. Of the respondents who 'did not report' only two people felt that the crime was 'not serious enough to report' and only one person believed that the Gardaí would 'do nothing about it'. Some 57% of the respondents who reported the crime to the Gardaí were 'satisfied' with the immediate response and 43% were 'satisfied' with the follow up.

These results reveal that the respondents have a moderate to high level of satisfaction with the job the Gardaí are doing in the area. However, the section on 'improving the area' shows that 103 respondents consider 'more Gardaí in the area' as the main action to be taken in order to improve the quality of life in the locality. Some of the reasons for the discrepancy in these results are explained by Councillor Andrew Montague, who suggests that while the Gardaí have done considerable amounts of undercover work to combat drug dealing and crime, the nature of this policing method does not allow the community to see it being carried out, which may give the wrong impression that the Gardaí are not doing their job.

The residents' comments on the performance of the Gardaí are outlined below:

- 'More Gardaí resources including follow up.'
- 'The Gardaí need more support from the Government.'
- 'The guards in the area are demoralised.'

THE INTEGRATED OFFENDER MANAGEMENT PROGRAMME

This research found that harassment/intimidation, mugging, theft of cars and vans, and damage to property are the most common types of crime in Ballymun, with drugs offences also a characteristic of some locations. However, much of the criminality is concentrated in a very small fraction of the overall population in the area. A strong working relationship between agencies in the areas of welfare, education, health, policing and others providing support to the community has been designed to tackle the crime and anti-social behaviour.

A multi-agency approach has been formulated to tackle these problems based upon the Integrated Offender Management Programme (IOMP) model that was developed in the UK by agencies connected to the Ministry of Justice. The IOMP is a model that brings together criminal justice agencies, specialist services and community resources to intervene directly with people who are causing the most amount of crime in a community. The objective is to target those offenders who are at high risk of re-offending, who are causing significant levels of harm and disruption to their community and who are not co-operating with criminal justice agencies or relevant services.

The IOMP model is not a centrally driven or tightly prescribed mandatory programme. Rather, it seeks to develop coherent and efficient structural arrangements into which existing programmes fit, in order to provide proportionate and effective responses to the challenges presented by the local offender population. The concept is to develop a framework within which services can work together in a strategic way by pooling resources, identifying and promoting best practice, and through local input, ensuring that interventions are implemented.

CONCLUSION

The main findings of this research show that the respondents are generally satisfied with living in Ballymun, and have a good level of health and well-being. The demolition of the towers and the consequent vacation of the flats did not affect the community ties, as there is still evidence of a strong sense of community, based on the closeness of neighbours and families. This indicates a high level of community resilience.

In spite of the strong sense of community spirit, many respondents do not engage with local organisations on a voluntary basis, either as members or organisers. We suggest that the reasons for this should be investigated through further research, as this information would be a crucial element in helping to enhance community participation in Ballymun.

With regard to the community's concerns around crime, most respondents do not take a 'law and order' perspective towards drug taking and other manifestations of anti-social behaviour. Instead, they would prefer to see more rehabilitation and education initiatives to re-integrate offenders back into society, than to see them go through the criminal justice system. The community would also like to see the provision of greater amenities for young people to prevent them becoming involved in criminal and anti-social activities.

In relation to the community's response to Gardaí activity, the respondents are generally satisfied with the performance of the Gardaí when responding to a victim's call. However, 'more Gardaí presence' is considered the main action to be implemented in order to improve the quality of life in the area, which indicates that the sense of public safety in the community is still low.

Finally, as Ballymun is now at the end of the physical regeneration process, it is concentrating resources on developing the next phase, which involves the social regeneration of the area. To accomplish this, further initiatives are necessary to help eliminate crime and anti-social behaviour, and improve the residents' sense of safety, which will, in turn, lead the people of Ballymun to a better future.

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