

CRIME in the GEELONG REGION

1982-7

**A study of patterns of crime offences in
Geelong, based on the variables of age,
gender, birthplace and residence.**

Written and Prepared

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page No
About the Authors	i
Abstract	ii
Introduction	1
Methodology of the Paper	3
A Profile of Geelong	6
The Crime Profile and the role of the Media in Geelong	14
Discussion of the data obtained for the Study	19
Crime Rates for Geelong Suburbs	32
Offender Rates for Geelong Suburbs	39
The Selected Suburbs of Geelong Revisited	42
Conclusion	47
Footnotes	51
Acknowledgements	52
Appendix (including figures)	53

TABLES USED IN THE STUDY

		Page No
TABLE ONE	SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: AGE STRUCTURE OF POPULATION 0-24 YEARS FOR 1981 AND 1986	8
TABLE TWO	SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: AVERAGE INCOMES OF RESIDENTS 1986 CENSUS	10
TABLE THREE	SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG : OCCUPATION BY STATUS - SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS 1986	11
TABLE FOUR	SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: LEVEL OF QUALIFICATION OBTAINED 1986	13
TABLE FIVE	AGE by GENDER-Frequencies obtained in Crime Study	21
TABLE SIX	MOST FREQUENT CRIMES BY AGE AND GENDER VARIABLES	23
TABLE SEVEN	TOP REPORTED CRIME CATEGORIES - Impact on these by major variables in the study	29
TABLE EIGHT	COMPARISON OF CRIME RATES FOR GEELONG SUBURBS AND DISTRICTS	33
TABLE NINE	OFFENDER RATES FOR GEELONG SUBURBS AND DISTRICTS	40
TABLE TEN	SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: COMPARISONS of CRIME and OFFENDER RATES	43

ABSTRACT

This study sought to measure and evaluate the incidence of crime in Geelong over the years 1982-87. The data for this study was obtained from a quota sample of 1957 crime arrest reports, gleaned from Geelong CIB records. The sample chosen comprised thirty-one categories of crime, each chosen systematically, at random, and in accordance with varying selection schedules. The study sought to compare the crime rates for different people according to the key variables of sex, age, ethnicity and social class.

In conjunction with 1981 and 1986 census data on Geelong's population, the survey data on crime arrests in the study were used to develop rates per thousand arrests for crime, and rates per thousand arrests for offenders, for each of Geelong's suburbs and regional townships.

The survey findings were subsequently compared with the results obtained from a similar study conducted by Biles and Copeland in 1976 for the Australian Institute of Criminology. This current study is more than a retrospective view of crime in Geelong; it hopes to identify in sufficient detail the more recent trends in the growth and decline of crime and offender rates in the Geelong region.

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CRIME IN THE GEELONG REGION : 1982-1987

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the changing patterns of crime in Geelong and to discuss any such changes in response to crime statistics collected in Geelong in 1988. Sources of information for this paper are varied and include police statistics of crime for the period 1982-1987, data from the population census of 1981 and 1986, the local newspapers, especially the Geelong Advertiser, and other secondary sources.

The paper includes the analysis of the demographic changes that have occurred within the Geelong region, a socio-economic comparison of suburbs and towns of the region, an analysis of the age structure of the population of the region and the local public perception of and reaction to the increase in crime in response to how crime is reported by the local Geelong press. We intend to compare the data obtained for this study of Crime in Geelong against results obtained by other studies in 1976.

There are only two major studies on crime in the Geelong region: David Biles and Alex Copeland's 'Crime in the Geelong Region' (1976) and Denbigh Richards', 'Crime Prevention: Planning and Participation in Geelong'. (1) The former work was compiled for a seminar held in Geelong over the week 9-13 February 1976, while the latter work was a summary of the discussion held during the seminar and elaborated upon the recommendations arrived at by the participants at that Seminar.

Biles and Copeland collected a total of 2067 crime cases from all sub-districts in 'J' (Barwon) Police District(which takes in Geelong), for two six-monthly periods in 1970 and 1974. The sample of offenders constructed in 1976 used all available crime reports for both the selected periods mentioned. The authors stated in the report that their time frame for data collection was limited and, consequently, their analysis of crime trends in Geelong was based entirely on the two blocks of data to which they had restricted themselves.

At the time of the 1976 reports Geelong was one of three major growth areas in Australia (the other two were Albury/Wodonga and Bathurst /Orange). The Australian Institute of Criminology believed that large scale population growth created additional problems for law enforcement authorities. Biles and Copeland wrote that:

In all places where there is a rapid increase in population a number of social problems may be expected unless very careful planning is undertaken to avoid them. Among these problems is an expected increase in crimes and delinquency, largely associated with the two factors of increased population density and population mobility. (2)

The empirical evidence from many sociological studies in different countries shows, according to Clinard in 1984 that the bigger the city the higher the crime rate. A persistent thread running through the theories advanced by sociologists about the proven positive correlation between increased city size and greater crime rates, is the assumption that social life in large cities is characterised by increased anonymity. In rural communities and small towns most people know each other directly and in

a small community there is no "other side of town" for an offender to get away to or hide from public view. In larger urban environments there is the cloak of anonymity to hide under and offenders against law and order can commit crimes with less chance of detection. In effect, as the population of an area grows, the social bonds of a community are stretched and weakened and formal social control through police and other agencies is weakened.

Australian evidence is sparse, but Vinson in 1972 showed that adult crime rates were higher in Sydney than large provincial cities such as Woollongong and Newcastle or for the rest of New South Wales. Similarly Krause in 1973 found there were higher delinquency rates in urban rather than rural areas. It is not the population increase alone which influences the crime rate, but several other factors associated with such an increase; the influx into larger cities of poor families, young single males, the most crime-prone group in the population, in pursuit of low skilled work. (3)

Methodology of Paper

The data used in this paper is based on a quota sample of 1957 crime arrest reports, drawn from the total number of police records kept for the three police divisions of Geelong for the period 1982-87. In effect this was an overall sample of one case in every twelve in the files. Between 300-350 crime arrest reports were collected for each year.

The sample was obtained by using several varying schedules of selection for different crimes. It was designed to include selected cases taken from all but three of thirty-one crime categories used for recording procedures by the Victorian police (due to very small occurrences we left out abduction, blackmail and deception over \$10,000). For each of the offenders the following information was provided: the principal offence, the location where the offence took place, the offender's home address, age , sex, occupation, country of birth, and the type of property stolen, if any.

The arrest forms allowed for recording of co-offenders, but only one person, the first person mentioned on the charge sheet of each case selected was included in the sample. The data was gathered by three collectors who directly transferred the required data information from the crime report sheets onto computer code forms by using a pre-designed codebook. To overcome the inherent bias that can creep into the final analysis through the 'data slice' approach of the Biles and Copeland study we chose to estimate the proportions of each crime category over a two year period and then use the rates obtained as the basis for the selection of quotas of each crime to make up the final composition of the sample of offenders to be used in the survey.

This procedure keeps under tighter control chance fluctuations in the rates of certain crimes so that there is little chance of misleading assessments being recorded for percentage increases or decreases of

particular crimes.

Our main aims were to evaluate the breakdown of the sample when cross tabulated with key variables such as age, gender, birthplace and residential location of the crimes committed and the residential area of the offenders. Therefore, on the basis of the monthly Crime reports for the period from July 1985 to June 1987 (24 months in total) for 'J' (Barwon) Police District (which includes 3 Divisions and 17 Sub-districts), we were able to obtain the average crime clearance rates for each of the crime categories for the two year period studied. Each of the 1957 cases in the sample were selected in respect to pre-determined schedules for each crime category (eg, every seventh sex offence, every fourteenth drug possession, every fifty-fifth shopstealing etc.)(*See statement on statistical limits of findings in the Appendix*). We found by examining the monthly crime reports for the period from July 1985 to June 1987, 24,343 crimes were reported of which 8244 (33.9 percent) were cleared (solved).

The rates of clearance of different crime categories vary from month to month, but over a yearly period and between years there is a remarkably consistent correlation between the crime rates and the overall percentage of crimes cleared by police in the region. Taken over the whole period of the study, on average, each year 4000-4200 cases of crime were cleared in Geelong, which is approximately 33 percent of the total reported crime in the area for any one year.

The selection schedules were based on calculations which estimated for each type of crime the proportional occurrence for a thousand cleared cases. Such a procedure was essential to establish what were strong consistent patterns of crime behaviour in Geelong over the six year period under study. From this stable base we hoped to evaluate and compare the frequencies of crime and the types of crime committed when the variables of gender, age, ethnicity and social class were introduced.

A Profile of Geelong.

Over the past decade the population of the Geelong region has increased at a rapid rate. The population of the region in 1976 was 156,446, and by the 1986 census this total had reached 177,569, an increase of 21,123. In the years covered by this study, the increase totalled 10,113 (an increase of 6.5 percent). This increase in population has been accompanied by major residential mobility of the population within the city, and the region as a whole. The older suburbs of Geelong have declined in population - Geelong City, East Geelong and Thomson, South Geelong, Newtown, West Geelong and Manifold Heights, North Geelong. The growth suburbs of ten years ago, Norlane and Belmont both registered net losses of population over the intercensal period 1981-86. Correspondingly for the same period, Grovedale, a newer suburb south of Belmont, Corio, a large public housing estate suburb constructed in the North during the 1960s and 1970s, the Bellarine Peninsula centres of

Ocean Grove and Clifton Springs, and the northern dormitory suburb of Lara, all registered large gains in population.

The selected suburbs used in the Profile of Geelong reflect the changing population trends of the Geelong City area. We decided to use these suburbs as typical types of the area, instead of analysing every suburb and town. The selected suburbs are Norlane, Corio, Highton, Belmont, Geelong West, Grovedale, and the adjoining suburban clusters of Herne Hill/Hamlyn Heights and Bell Park/ Bell Post Hill.

These suburbs are the largest numerically, represent both northern and southern sections of the city, reflect the movement of population within the city, and finally, reflect the concentrations of overseas born.

As youth crime tends to be over- represented in crime statistics the data relating to the age distribution of the population concentrates on the group 0-24 years. In 1981, 72,003 persons (42.9 percent of the population) in the Geelong region were in this group and 28,771 (17.3 percent) were aged from 15-24 years. Corresponding figures for 1986 are relatively similar; 71,327 (40.2 percent) and 29,487 (16.6 percent).

TABLE ONE

**SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: AGE STRUCTURE OF POPULATION 0-24 YEARS
FOR 1981 AND 1986**

AREA	1981				1986			
	0-24	%	15-24	%	0-24	%	15-24	%
Geelong Region	72003	42.9	28771	17.3	71327	40.2	29487	16.6
Norlane	5326	45.3	2073	19.2	4026	41.6	1718	17.7
Corio	8188	53.8	2992	19.8	8152	51.8	3177	19.8
Highton	3839	44.3	1480	17.1	3485	43.2	1502	17.4
Belmont	6381	41.0	2811	18.1	5820	37.7	2700	17.5
Grovedale	3252	49.2	679	10.3	3942	46.9	1065	12.7
Herne Hill/ Hamlyn Heights	4329	41.2	2211	21.1	3611	36.1	1869	18.7
Bell Park	1522	37.3	717	17.5	1481	34.6	701	16.4
Bell Post Hill	1481	34.6	701	16.4	2478	45.8	1037	19.1

The further breakdown of demographic data for the selected suburbs is found in Table One, which shows a certain degree of uniformity in the total of the populations under 24 years of age for each of the chosen suburbs. All suburbs except Bell Post Hill registered net reductions for this age group but Highton, Bell Post Hill and Grovedale registered net gains for the group 15-24 years. Data from the 1986 census for the Geelong population between 0-24 years show that there are greater numbers of persons in this age range in the northern suburbs than in the southern.

From the 1986 Census figures average incomes for the total population aged 15 for the selected suburbs can be ascertained.(see Table Two). To simplify the analysis we have condensed the fifteen wage categories into four: nil to \$12,000 ; \$12,001-\$22,000; \$22,001 and above; and not stated. The data shows the marked socio-economic divisions within the city. A total of 63.4 percent of the Norlane population and 55.7 percent of Corio earn up to and including \$12,000, while the percentage figures for those earning in excess of \$22,000 are 5.0 percent and 8.8 percent respectively. In comparison all the southern suburbs of Highton, Belmont and Grovedale have approximately half their populations of age group 15 years and over earning less than \$12,000, but have proportionally higher numbers earning in excess of \$22,001 (22.88 percent, 13.2 percent and 19.37 percent respectively). Figures for Bell Park/ Bell Post Hill and Herne Hill/Hamlyn Heights fall between the northern and southern extremes.

Clearly in Geelong as one moves from the northern suburbs of Corio and Norlane, through the more central suburbs of Herne Hill/ Hamlyn Heights and then south across the Barwon river into Belmont, Highton and Grovedale, affluence progressively increases. This disparity in the suburbs is seen again in the breakdown of the occupational types, an important measure of social status and personal prestige when coupled with income level in social surveys.

TABLE TWO

SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: AVERAGE INCOMES OF RESIDENTS 1986 CENSUS

	NIL-\$12,000		\$12,001-22,000		\$22,001+		NOT STATED		TOTAL
	Fig	%	Fig	%	Fig	%	Fig	%	Fig
Geelong									
Region	75010	55.3	33251	24.6	17365	12.8	10006	7.4	135692
Norlane	4665	63.4	1780	24.2	365	4.9	547	7.4	7357
Corio	6148	55.7	3055	27.6	969	8.8	859	7.8	11031
Highton	3284	49.2	1481	22.2	1529	22.9	387	5.8	6681
Belmont	6901	56.0	3089	25.1	1635	13.2	698	5.7	12323
Grovedale	2791	50.5	926	16.7	1071	19.4	321	5.8	5529
H/H-H/H	4483	54.7	2182	26.6	989	12.1	538	6.6	8192
Bell Park	1962	56.1	828	23.7	178	5.1	529	15.1	3497
Bell Post Hill	2139	53.9	1079	27.2	481	12.1	272	6.8	3971

There are slight differences in the income brackets for tables used in the two censuses, so the 1986 tables are used exclusively here. For the sake of simplicity we have grouped all managers, administrators professionals and para-professionals together. Similarly, we have grouped tradespersons, plant/machinery operators and labourers together. We have not included figures for the classifications of clerks, sales and the 'Inadequate Description' group. As Table Three shows, there is a marked difference between the southern and northern suburbs in the numbers of professionals and non-professionals. By far the majority of workers in Corio and Norlane were tradespersons and non-professionals (70.2 percent and 63.8 percent respectively) while only 8.5 percent and 11 percent respectively were classified as professionals.

TABLE THREE

SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG : OCCUPATION BY STATUS - SPECIFIC

OCCUPATIONS 1986

	Managers	Tradespersons	Overall
	Administrators	Plant/Machinery	Total
	Professionals	Operators	
	Para	Labourers	
	Professionals		
	%	%	
Geelong Region	26.9	44.5	69651
Corio	11.0	63.8	5809
Norlane	8.5	70.2	3143
Bell Park	11.5	66.5	2331
Bell Post Hill	17.3	55.5	6457
Herne Hill/			
Hamlyn Hts	23.8	45.0	4261
Belmont	28.3	38.2	6457
Highton	43.1	24.8	3849
Grovedale	29.2	37.3	3358

In the southern suburbs the gap between the two groups is either not so marked or there are more professionals than non-professionals (the percentage figure for professionals are listed first): Highton 43.7 and 24.8 percent, Belmont 28.3 and 38.2 percent and Grovedale 29.2 and 37.3 percent. The middle suburbs, Bell Park, Bell Post Hill and Hamlyn Heights/ Herne Hill tend to reflect the occupational profile of the suburbs of Corio and Norlane.

Clearly this is further evidence that there is a clear distinction between the economic and social mix of suburbs in the northern and

southern sections of the city of Geelong. A comparison of the tables from both censuses on the industry of employed persons indicates that there has been a gradual shift from the traditional, manufacturing -based, economic support of the city.

Although a high percentage of the population in 1986 was employed in the manufacturing sector (24.9 percent), this figure is slightly lower (3.7 percent) than in 1981. Obviously the retrenchments in the early 1980s by both Ford Motor Company of Australia Proprietary Limited and of International Harvester Company of Australia Proprietary Limited, two of the largest employers in the region, contributed to this decline.

By comparison there has been a marked increase in tertiary sector activity, most noticeably in the fields of finance/business, public administration/defence, community services, wholesale/retail.

Comprehensive unemployment figures for the period 1981-1987 were unobtainable. Figures for the latter years covered by this study have been withheld by Commonwealth government. However available information tends to support the findings of the foregoing analysis.

In 1981 total unemployment for the entire Geelong region, as recorded by the census of that year, numbered 5,497 (3,150 men and 2,347 women). This is 3.3 percent of the total population. The suburbs of Norlane and Corio collectively registered the highest rate of unemployment with 1,190 (or 21.6 percent of all unemployed). The remainder were spread throughout the region with the heaviest concentrations in West Geelong /Manifold Heights

(418), Herne Hill/Hamlyn Heights (329), Bell Park (174), Bell Post Hill (143), Belmont (397), Grovedale (76) and Ocean Grove (167).

In 1986 the distribution of unemployed remained very much the same as in 1981. Statistics published by the Geelong Advertiser in this year show that at May 1986, 4,513 persons were unemployed. The northern suburbs again had the highest incidence of unemployment (1,558 or 35.2 percent of all unemployed). Other totals included Belmont/Highton (605), Geelong East (625), Geelong West (489) and Geelong (City) (460).(4)

Data from the 1986 census for the level of qualification obtained again reflects the differences between the southern and northern suburbs. As Table Four shows, the northern suburbs are well below the regional average for the percentage of the population with degrees, diplomas or a trade, whilst they have a markedly higher proportion of unqualified persons.

TABLE FOUR

SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: LEVEL OF QUALIFICATION OBTAINED

	Total Popn	Degree %	Diploma %	Trade %	Other %	Not Qual	Not Stated
Geelong Region	135705	4.03	3.71	10.34	10.63	61.00	10.29
Norlane	7359	0.61	0.71	8.29	6.73	72.55	11.12
Corio	1133	1.28	0.93	10.50	7.78	70.66	8.86
Highton	6682	9.19	7.71	9.44	13.29	52.39	7.98
Belmont	12329	4.57	4.23	10.24	11.25	60.55	9.17
Grovedale	5526	3.49	4.71	12.81	11.93	59.17	7.89
H/H - H/H	8190	3.22	2.93	11.24	10.47	61.41	10.73
Bell Park	3495	1.37	0.69	8.98	6.58	65.18	17.20
Bell Post Hill	3969	2.02	2.44	12.60	10.58	62.69	9.67

Source:1986 CENSUS

Bell Park and Bell Post Hill have similar divisions. However, percentage figures for Highton reflect the high socio-economic status of the suburb; the figure for the percentage of the population with degrees/diplomas is well above the regional average. The remaining suburbs, Belmont, Grovedale and Herne Hill/Hamlyn Heights tend to reflect the regional averages.

In 1986, 19.8 percent of the Geelong region's population were overseas born. Migrants from a variety of nations have settled in the region but the numerically largest nationalities are United Kingdom/Irish, Germans, Italians, Dutch, Polish, Yugoslavians and New Zealanders. By far the largest concentrations of migrants occur in the northern suburbs, and for our selected suburbs the following figures obtained are significant: Corio, 1098 UK, 394 Yugoslav, 377 Dutch; Norlane, 454 UK, 980 Yugoslav, 247 Dutch; Bell Park/Bell Post Hill, 1598 Yugoslav, 409 Italian, 214 German; Highton, 516 UK; Belmont, 772 UK, 214 Italian.

The Crime Profile and the role of the Media in Geelong

Between 1977 and 1981 there was a marginal increase in the total number of offences reported; from 5,012 to 5,441 (an increase of 7.8 percent). In 1982 a total of 5,464 offences were reported to police and the total increased in every year thereafter. The corresponding total for the financial year 1987-88 (in 1984 the police commenced compiling statistics

for the financial year instead of the calendar year) were 8,117 - an increase in the reporting of crime of 32.6 percent from 1982. However the actual crime rate, based on arrests, has increased only marginally for the Geelong area as a whole. Major increases are evident in the crime categories of serious assault, robbery, burglary (factory, house and shop), theft from a motor vehicle and drug offences.

From our calculations of average Geelong crime rates we found for every thousand arrests there were three dominant categories of crime, namely, Shopstealing (174 cases), Other Theft (147) and Deception under \$10,000 (120). Other more moderate proportions were found for Summary offences (85), Drugs Possession (54), House Burglary (48), Drug Use (44), Theft from Motor Vehicle (43) and Unlawful Assault (37). All other crime arrest categories were at or below 30 cases per thousand. Crimes against personal and public property stand out as the most frequent. By comparison, other serious crimes against a person, such as Rape and Homicide were low with respective rates of seven and one per thousand.

In relation to public perceptions of crime, Geelong residents have become increasingly aware that their 'country town image' is now a dwindling thing of the past and the growing city area is increasingly plagued by the same pernicious forms of crime and violence that have become part of the way of life for residents in the Victorian capital of Melbourne, seventy kilometres to the North.

For years Geelong enjoyed its country style image; a peaceful, semi-industrial bayside city devoid of the ills of a metropolis.... The 60 kilometres of bitumen known as the Melbourne Road served as a suitable buffer ... (from) ... the 'Big Smoke' with ... [its] festering social problems. Certainly Geelong had its scallywags, but more serious crime and sordid matters were inherent of big cities. Unfortunately that cherished isolation has vanished.(5)

.... There was a time when we thought serious crime and the agonies of the drug scene were serious social problems more in keeping with life in the big cities, despite our nearness to Melbourne. But today it cannot be denied that these evils have widened their grip to threaten our community in a manner which is growing more serious by the day. Unless we recognise the significance of these menaces and assist the efforts of police in countering them, they undoubtedly will gain a firmer hold - a prospect which should play heavily on the minds of everyone in this city.(6)

There has been a substantial increase in the rate of house burglaries over the period 1981-1986 and police have been reported as stating that in many cases these burglaries are drug-related. The northern suburbs were reported as having the highest rate of burglaries followed by Highton, Newtown and Belmont. During June 1986 an estimated \$50,000 in goods and cash were stolen in four separate burglaries in a number of southern suburbs. In all cases, the police believed the offenders were drug users who were committing crime to finance their habits.

According to police, drug use has become more prevalent during the period covered by this study. However, evidence is scant and the relationship between drugs and theft may be one thing we could further explore. Available evidence indicates that heroin use has become more prevalent and that successive Operation Noah (an annual phone- in campaign conducted by police in Victoria by which people are encouraged

to inform on drug users and drug dealers) been relatively unsuccessful in combatting drug use. However, a month -long undercover campaign that culminated in late June 1987 did result in the arrest of 100 offenders and the seizure of drugs worth \$155,000. Approximately 25 percent of the offenders were women.⁽⁷⁾

Available evidence shows that the implementation of Neighbourhood Watch Schemes in a number of suburbs and towns has achieved a reduction of crime. By September 1988 forty-nine schemes were operating in the Geelong region. The first of these had been established in Bell Post Hill in December 1984 and met with immediate success; a 47 percent decrease in crime in its first year of operation.⁽⁸⁾ Similar claims have been made of all Neighbourhood Watch areas throughout 1986 and 1987.⁽⁹⁾ Despite these claims the incidence of burglary and theft have continued to increase. Evidently criminals are now targetting softer options; warehouses and schools instead of houses, or are moving their operation to areas that do not have Neighbourhood Watch Schemes.

Throughout the period covered by our study and especially during 1986-87, the Geelong Advertiser has run countless articles on crime and crime prevention. Generally these articles have concentrated on the rate at which the crime has increased and the corresponding cost of this increase to the wider community. Central to Geelong's only daily newspaper's coverage of crime has been continued emphasis on the upsurge in

vandalism, theft, house burglaries and the high incidence of youth crime.

There is no denying that the northern suburbs have regularly been shown to be more crime-prone than other sections of the region, but the bias against the northern suburbs in a large number of reports in the Geelong Advertiser has unfairly reinforced the public perception of where crimes have been committed and who have been largely responsible.

In May 1985, in a report that focussed on youth and the increasing crime rate, a sergeant from the Community Policing Squad was reported as having said that vandalism was committed by males who did not live exclusively in the northern suburbs. This contention that the youths committing vandalism, come from a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds is tested in this study.⁽¹⁰⁾

Nevertheless, the Geelong Advertiser continued to reinforce the accepted public stereotype of a crime-prone northern suburbs as compared to other suburbs. Three examples, taken from the daily paper over a three month period from September to December 1986 illustrates the biased attitudes towards northern suburbs we contend have prevailed in the local press. The first article, while concentrating on the links between worsening rates of truancy and the prevalence of youth crime, contended that 'most truants were aged between 13.5 and 14.5 years and many came from Geelong's northern suburbs.'⁽¹¹⁾

The second article highlighted the cost to the public and Telecom of telephone box vandalism and how repeated vandalism of several telephones

had forced Telecom to decommission a number of telephones. Telecom had not provided details of the location of the decommissioned telephones, but the newspaper still contended that 'one is believed to be in the Corio area'⁽¹²⁾ By far the most blatant example of this bias is taken from the lead article of 3rd of September that emphasised the need to reduce bicycle theft. An increase of bicycle theft had occurred over the twelve months to June 1986 and the most prone area for this type of crime was Corio. In commenting on this problem the leading article expressed the problem in the following terms:

Geelong is not immune to the problem. Since January this year, a total of 468 bicycles have been stolen in the Geelong area. Of these, 237 were stolen from the northern suburbs, compared with 260 from that area for the 12 months of last year. This year's total is expected to be much higher because the worst is yet to come with the approaching warmer weather which is considered by police (to be) the 'bike theft' season **(13)**

Clearly, the aim of the passages was to reinforce the fact that the northern suburbs is more prone to crime. Little is made of the fact that the frequency of bike theft for the northern suburbs is half of the overall total and therefore it must be the southern and eastern suburbs which make up the remainder.

Discussion of the data obtained for the study

The evidence from our study shows that crime of most kinds is predominantly a male activity. Males make up a disproportionate number of

Geelong's offenders. The 1986 census shows that males comprised 49 percent of the population of Geelong and Districts and females the remaining 51 percent. The crime sample for this study reveals 1558 male offenders (79.6 percent) and 399 (20.4 percent) females. In their 1976 Geelong study Biles and Copeland found only 9 percent of their 1612 offenders to be female. Our results for 1982-87 show a doubling of the female offenders from that found for the 1970 and 1974 periods used in the Biles and Copeland paper. This discrepancy in female frequencies may be explained however by the different ways the two samples were constructed, as stated earlier in the paper. However the doubling of female crime seems to be consistent with police verbal accounts.

The 80-20 split in male -female proportions of criminal offenders was fairly consistent across the six years studied from 1982-87 . Table Five shows the breakdown of frequencies for males and females in the different age categories used for our recent study of Geelong crime.(See also Fig 1 in the Appendix).The sample frequencies reveal just over 143 (7 percent) of the crimes were committed by persons under 15 years of age. As age increases the data shows that 13 percent of crimes were committed by persons under 16 years; 44 percent under 21 years ; 67 percent under 26 years; 80 percent under 30 years and 91 percent under 40 years. Only a small residual of 9 percent of crimes in Geelong can be attributed to persons over 40 years of age.

TABLE FIVE: AGE by GENDER-Frequencies obtained in Crime Study

N= 1957

Age category	Male Freq.	per cent	Female Freq.	per cent	Total Freq.	Total percent	M/F ratio
Under 15 years	99	6.4	44	11	143	7.3	2.3:1
15-19 years	502	32.2	85	21.3	587	30.0	6:1
20-24 years	399	25.6	90	22.6	489	25.0	4.5:1
25-39 years	424	27.3	129	32.3	554	28.3	3.3:1
40 years plus	133	8.5	51	12.8	184	9.4	2.6:1
Totals	1558	100%	399	100%	1957	100%	4:1

Therefore it can be claimed that two thirds of crimes in Geelong are perpetrated by persons 25 years or younger in age. In 1976 Biles and Copeland reported that 20 percent of their sample of offenders were under 15 years (3 times the finding from the same age group in our current sample) and 60 percent of offenders were under 20 years (we found 37.3 percent). We concur that the 15-19 age group are the predominant offenders. However, whilst Biles and Copeland obtained a 39 percent figure for that age group, our figure was much lower at 30 percent. It appears from our findings that the median age of offenders, while still young, has shifted upwards from about 18 years in the 1976 report to 21 years, an increase of three years in age for the average offender over the

past twelve to fifteen years.

The age of offenders has increased and the crime emphasis has shifted to the 15-29 years age range rather than remain with the under 21 years of age group. A closer examination of the percentages in Table Five shows higher percentages of the female sample size in both the under 15 years and the 40 years and over age categories. Females are represented mostly in the rates for minor crimes against property, with shopstealing, deception under \$10,000 and other theft, being their most recurring crime offences. Shopstealing accounts for half of all female offenders in Geelong and for this one and only crime category the percentage of females (58 percent) involved in a particular crime outnumbered males (42 percent). Compared with the overall ratio of 4 males to 1 female in the survey, the closer ratios of females to males in the extremities of the age categories ie, under 15 years and 40 years plus, indicates that young girls are more likely to be apprehended and charged for shopstealing and other minor thefts as are women 40 years+, especially for shopstealing and deception.

Relative to the upsurge of the frequency of male crime between 15-19 years the female crime rate drops appreciably in these same years. This may be explained by the earlier sexual and social maturation of females and a closer social affinity of females with males a few years older than themselves. The police also indicated that many young female offenders 'disappear' from the crime scene before the age of twenty years through early marriage and subsequent child-rearing at home. The steady

lift in female crime from 25 years of age and older indicates increase in the shopstealing rate at this stage in life for a host of reasons, but usually such thefts involve items such as clothes, personal toiletries (cosmetics) and food. However, it can be safely claimed from the survey data that in all but three crime categories females make up less than 10 percent of the offenders for any particular crime.

TABLE SIX: MOST FREQUENT CRIMES BY AGE AND GENDER VARIABLES

Age Range	Males	% of age category	Females	% of age category	% of Sample
Under 15 years	Shopstealing	(28%)	Shopstealing	(78%)	7.3%
	Other Theft	(19%)	Other Theft	(11%)	
	House Burglary	(12%)			
15-19 years	Other Theft	(15%)	Shopstealing	(46%)	30.0%
	Theft from motor	(10%) ^a	Other Theft	(20%)	
	House Burglary	(9%) ^b			
	Car Theft	(8%) ^c			
20-24 years	Other Theft	(14%)	Deception	(28%)	25.0%
	Deception	(12%)	Shopstealing	(26%)	
	Drug Possession	(10%)	Other Theft	(17%)	
	Theft from motor	(8%)			
	Drug Use	(7%)			
25-39 years	Deception	(15%)	Shopstealing	(38%)	28.3%
	Other Theft	(11%)	Deception	(20%)	
	Drug Use	(7%)	Other Theft	(9%)	
	Shopstealing	(7%)			
	House Burglary	(6%)			
	Sex Offences	(6%) ^d			
40+ years	Shopstealing	(22%)	Shopstealing	(83%)	9.4%
	Deception	(17%)			
	Other Theft	(14%)			
	Sex Offences	(11%)			

^a this is 50/92 or 52% of all sample cases

^b this is 46/106 or 44% of all sample cases

^c this is 38/57 or 67% of all sample cases

^d this is 39/87 or 44% of all sample cases

Crime is often seen in the public eye as the preoccupation of the young male adult. However when the gender variable is considered the crime rates for different age categories vary quite a deal. The overall occurrence of crime is very similar for three of the five age categories used in the study: 15-19 years (30 percent), 20-24 (25 percent) and 25-39 (28.3 percent). However, the tabulation of the frequencies by Gender and Age shows that males between 15 and 19 years commit just over a quarter (26 percent) of total crimes in Geelong- which is also 32 percent of all male crimes. Furthermore, this data shows that certain crimes are more prevalent for one sex than another in certain stages of life.

Biles and Copeland (1976) found that those offenders under 20 years were most arrested for theft, break and enter (now burglary), and motor vehicle theft. The persons over 20 years were most likely to have offences of assault, sex offences and behaviour against good order.

Biles and Copeland also found 44 percent of all sex offences were committed by offenders over 24 years of age. Our findings, detailed above in Table Six are very similar to those found by Biles and Copeland in their study. Table Six indicates the most frequent crimes for both sexes in the sample, with the percentages of offenders for each age category.

The police crime report arrest sheets provide for the recording of the birth place of the offender. We considered this information important principally to ascertain whether the crime rate for those born in Australia

was different to those born overseas and also for all persons born in Australia, whether there were any differences in crime rates for people specifically born in Geelong (local born). However the recording of this variable was occasionally omitted and often was recorded in general terms such as noting down Geelong, where a suburb of Geelong would have been more accurate and subsequently have allowed for a better analysis of the personal biography of certain cases. In all, 25 cases had no details recorded and 105 cases were unable to be accurately identified because the broad generic location of Australia was the only information indicated on the arrest forms.

Despite these difficulties a study of the 1932 recorded cases revealed that 642 (33 percent) offenders were born in Geelong and Districts. A further 350 (18 percent) were born in Australia, outside of Victoria; 329 (17 percent) came from Victorian areas outside of Melbourne and 241 (12 percent) were born in Melbourne suburbs. Finally 265 (13.5 percent) in the sample were born overseas.

We found approximately 62 percent of offenders were born in Victoria, whereas Biles and Copeland (1976) found 70 percent. We found less overseas offenders,(13.5 percent against the 20 percent found by Biles and Copeland) and more offenders from other states (18 percent against 10 percent). If the 5.5 percent who gave Australia as their place of birth were apportioned, the percentages for Victorian born and other states would increase by 2 to 3 percent in both categories.

In the passage of time between the two samples there has been an influx into Geelong of more persons born outside the city and in particular from outside of Victoria. Also there are up to a third less migrants now coming into the area. While only 33 percent indicated they were born in Geelong(local born) there were 87 percent (1673) in the sample who gave a residential address in Geelong at the time of being arrested for a criminal offence. It was not possible to cross-check every overseas -born person's current residential address, but hand tabulations did show that 72 percent of the overseas born (who made up only 13.5 percent of the whole sample) were permanent residents in Geelong. In effect this adds a further 10 percent to the permanent population of Geelong. When the overseas ethnic background of the offenders was checked it was found that 6 percent (115) were from the UK (England ,Wales, Scotland and Eire) while there were 2.3 percent (45) from Yugoslavia, 1 percent (17) from Germany and the same from New Zealand.

The 1986 Census shows that the percentage of overseas persons in crime arrests is in close proportion to their census numbers. There are no specific migrant communities which are strongly over-represented in the crime statistics of the sample taken. To the contrary most groups are in line with average rates or are under-represented. For example, the 1986 Census shows a very low percentage of 2 percent for Asians resident in Geelong but there were only eight cases of crime recorded for Asians in the sample (less than half of one percent). The Geelong crime figures

obtained shows Asians to be very law-abiding and this is contrasted against the poor press given to Asian crime, such as Vietnamese gangs and Triads, in Melbourne in the past two years.

The overall percentage of crime offenders who gave a Geelong residential address in the crime arrest reports was high at 87 percent. This can be taken as an indication that Geelong is a city which consistently has attracted a strong influx of people born outside its own environs. It was reported earlier that persons from other states had risen to 20 percent; double that found by Biles and Copeland (1976). While it can be reasonably stated that 87 percent of crime in the Geelong area is committed by people who are permanent residents, for every three crimes committed by the Geelong -born (local born) of Geelong's permanent residents, there are four crimes committed by Geelong residents who originally come from outside of Geelong and have later made it their home.

From the figures obtained it can also be shown that for the period of the study from 1982-87 Geelong imported 44 percent of its total crime offenders from the ranks of new to long-term "settlers". with a further 13-14 percent of crimes committed at the time by 'transient' persons who were resident permanently outside of the Geelong area.

Several factors can account for this profile of Geelong's crime offenders. Geelong has always been a city dominated by all types of light and heavy manufacturing and heavy industry in particular. These types of

industries attract a high turnover of semiskilled and unskilled workers from regions outside of the city. This is a well documented trend in regional cities which are centres of manufacturing industry and are characterised by population growth, partly as a consequence of their attraction as locations of work.

The occupational profile of the survey population shows that nearly 40 percent of all Geelong crime is committed by unemployed persons. Other non- specified occupations (including students of varying ages) account for a further 16.4 percent of crimes and labourers for 14.3 percent. Other types of workers who were shown to be more involved in crimes are, tradespersons (7.3 percent) and plant machinists (5.4 percent). The proportions of offenders for pensioner (6 percent) and houseperson (5 percent) are next in size and are slightly higher when compared with white collar occupations of different levels, such as salespersons (2.4 percent), clerical (1.3 percent) and professionals (1.3 percent).

Biles and Copeland (1976) also found that students(including secondary and tertiary levels), unemployed persons and unskilled/semiskilled workers were the dominant occupational categories of offenders. Within these categories they found students and housepersons (housewives) to be arrested most for theft and shopstealing. Students and unskilled workers were involved predominantly in theft of motor vehicles and the unskilled workers were the group involved more in the assault crimes. We found

similar patterns, but a more detailed assessment follows in Table Seven, which summarises most of the discussion outlined in the paper so far.

TABLE SEVEN **TOP REPORTED CRIME CATEGORIES -**
Impact on these by major variables in the study

R	%N	Type of Crime	percent F	M	Prominent Female age categories	Prominent Male age categories	Occupation categories > = increase	Birth Place categories < = decrease
1	17	Shopstealing	58	42	All ages <15 77% 40+ 83%	<15 28% 40+ 22%	Other 33% House. 18% pension. 17%	Overseas > 5% Other states <5%
2	14	Theft:Other	19	81	15-19 20-24	15-19 35%	Unemp. 36% Other 22%	No differences
3	12	Deception < \$10,000	27	73	> with age	> with age	Unemp. 60% wide spread	Geelong born < 5% Melbourne > 3%
4	6	House Burglary	4	96	No data signif.	15-19 43% 25-39 24%	Other 23% Unemp. 60%	Overseas < 3% Geelong born > 3% Other states > 3%
5	5.4	Summary Offences	9	91	25-39	15-19 36%	Unemp. 41% Labourer 10% Other 10%	Overseas > 4% Geelong born < 5%
6	5.1	Theft from motor vehicle	2	98	No data signif.	15-19 52% 20-24 32%	Unemp. 50% labourer 19%	Geelong born > 5% Other Melb > 3% Overseas < 7%
7	4.9	Drugs:Possess	10	90	25-39	20-24 45% 25-39 29%	Unemp. 42% labourer 25% Trades 18%	Other Vic > 5% Other Melb > 4%
8	4.0	Drugs: Use	10	90	20-24	20-24 39% 25-39 43%	Unemp. 35% Labourer 27%	Overseas > 3% Other states < 2%
9	3.4	Assault:serious	3	97	No data signif.	15-19 32% 25-39 31%	Unemp. 33% Labourer 35%	Melbourne > 5% Geelong born < 3% Other states < 5%
10	3.3	Car Theft	11	89	No data signif.	15-19 67% 20-24 25%	Unemp. 50% Labourer 19%	Geelong born > 7% Overseas < 3%
11	3.1	Assault :Unlawful	3	97	No data signif.	15-19 34% 25-39 30% 20-24 27%	Unemp 47% Labourer 33%	Other states > 3% Melbourne < 6%

TABLE SEVEN (cont)

12	3.0	Sex Offences	2	98	No data signif.	25-39 44%	40+ 27%	Labourer 23%	Unemp. 21%	Other Vic > 8%	Overseas < 5%
*	1.4	Rape & Attempted	8	92	No data signif.	25-39 45%	20-24 32%	Unemp. 30%	Labourer 25%	Other Vic. > 10%	Overseas < 10%
*	1.4	Homicide	19	81	No data signif.	20-24 43%	25-39 29%	Unemp. 46%	Labourer 20%	Geelong born > 17%	Overseas > 12%

Table Seven shows the top twelve crime categories, ranked in descending order. It also indicates for each category the relative percentage of males against female offenders, the predominant age categories for males and females for each type of crime, the prominent occupations recorded for offenders of each crime and finally the birth place of the offenders. From the Table it can be noted that the first three ranked crimes show that females are represented quite strongly, to levels greater than their 20 percent proportion of the sample. Females make up less than 5 percent of the total frequency for each of the remainder of ranked crime categories. Table Seven indicates where the crime rate for a particular group is either increased (>) or decreased (<). The base rate for a particular crime is set by our findings for the overall Geelong population and the crime rates for different groups can be measured against these base rates for particular crimes.

What is worth commenting on here is that the different crimes appear to have patterns in relation to the birth place of offenders, in addition to the variables of age and occupation. In percentage terms, over and above their proportion in the sample population, the locally born offenders in the

sample are more likely to be involved in house burglary, car theft and theft from cars than those born elsewhere. In our findings there is also a 17 percent increase in the incidence of homicide for Geelong- born people over and above the average rate of this crime for the Geelong population as a whole (this is based on a small total of 24 cases, however). The reverse picture shows less deception, summary offences and serious assault from the Geelong born.

For the Overseas born, there are small increases in summary offences, shopstealing and drug use and a 12 percent increase for Homicide. The increase in summary offences, which includes gaming and possession of firearms , may be the result of language difficulties and misunderstanding of the laws as these relate to gaming and firearm ownership. Similarly, shopstealing may result from language difficulties and misunderstandings of laws and customs. The police also indicate that often the shopstealing problem for overseas born is also related to increased open and accessible nature of the display of goods in large retail stores here. However the findings of this study reveal that the number of arrests for crimes for the overseas born are usually fewer in most crime categories than the native -born groups in the area.

From the data in Table Seven it can be seen that for overseas born residents the crime of sex offences is down 5 percent on the overall Geelong rate and rape is also down 10 percent for the overseas born group.

The lower percentages may perhaps be explained by reference to the stronger and generally tighter bonds of migrant communities, in comparison with the native-born Australian community. The crime categories of car theft and theft from cars are lower for the overseas -born; perhaps again because of restricted opportunities due to ethnic community control on what are predominantly crimes perpetrated by youths.

The findings for non-local, Australian born offenders reveals that rape (increase of 8 percent) and sex offences (increase of 10 percent) are proportionally higher for 'out of towners', perhaps because they are not bound by the 'home town ties' and the lack of common identification with the victim can be a strong factor in such crimes. Other statistical data suggests there are slight increases in drug possession, house burglary, deception and thefts from motor vehicles, while there are equally small (2 to 5 percent) declines in shopstealing, drug use and serious assault.

Crime Rates for Geelong Suburbs

For the purposes of this next section the population of the Geelong suburbs and regions is based on the average population figures of the 1981 and 1986 census data. The figures in the Biles and Copeland report in 1976 are based on June 1975 data.

TABLE EIGHT: Comparison of crime rates for Geelong and Districts

Sub-district	1976@ Popn	1988# Popn	Change in Popn	1976@ Rate/ 1000	1988# Rate/ 1000	Change Rate/ 1000	Percent Change
						> = increase < = decrease	
Areas with increase in crime							
Breakwater/							
Whittington	5599	7277	>1678	0.5	3.6	> 3.1	>620%
Rest of Bellarine ^A	2878	3203	>325	2.4	12.5	> 10.1	>420%
Lara ^B	2888	4710	>1822	2.4	8.5	> 6.1	>254%
Grovedale	3778	7520	>3742	1.6	5.6	> 4.0	>250%
Highton	9479	8661	<818	2.0	5.0	> 3.0	>150%
South Geelong	2300	1850	<450	7.4	18.4	> 11.0	>149%
Belmont	13674	15550	>1876	4.8	10.8	> 6.0	>125%
Leopold	2127	3196	>1069	2.8	6.0	> 3.2	>114%
Corio	11715	15581	>3866	7.3	14.9	> 7.6	>104%
West Geelong	9480	9166	<314	11.7	16.1	> 4.4	> 37%
Herne Hill/							
Hamlyn Heights ^C	13905	10226	<3675	2.5	3.4	>0.9	>36%
Queenscliff	2809	2893	> 84	5.0	6.3	>1.3	>26%
Areas with decrease in crime							
Barwon Heads	1137	1448	> 311	21.1	10.3	<10.8	<51%
Norlane	7429	10065	>2636	30.1	14.8	< 15.3	<50%
East Geelong ^D	7079	7559	>680	11.3	5.6	< 5.7	<50%
Bell Park	5322	4177	<1145	8.8	4.8	< 4.0	<45%
Torquay	2373	2286	< 87	30.3	17.8	<12.5	<41%
North Geelong	2461	3712	>1251	30.1	19.7	< 10.4	<34%
Ocean Grove	3906	6286	>2380	9.0	6.4	< 2.6	<29%
Anglesea	1244	1561	>317	12.9	9.6	< 3.3	<26%
Newcomb	3480	5194	>1714	9.2	7.1	<2.1	<22%

	1976@	1988#	Change	1976 @	1988 #	Change	Percent
	Popn	Popn	in Popn	Rate/ 1000	Rate/ 1000	Rate/ 1000	Change

Sub-district >= increase < = decrease

Areas with Little or no change in crime rates

Geelong City ^E	2968	2891	< 77	146.2	183.3	> 37.1	> 25%
Portarlinton	2588	2174	<414	8.5	8.2	<0.3	steady
Bell Post Hill	4425	5277	>825	0.7	0.6	<0.1	steady

No comparable figures for Bannockburn, Winchelsea and Inverleigh

Legend

@ Based on population at end of June 1975 as per Biles and Copeland study

Based on average of 1981 and 1986 census figures

A. 1988 study includes Marshall, St Leonards, Pt Lonsdale and Indented Head

B. 1988 study excludes Little River

C. 1988 study includes Manifold Heights

D. 1988 study includes Thomson

E. Central Geelong figures are very high for it includes the Central Business District

In 1976 Biles and Copeland estimated the crime rate in Geelong to be 10.5 per thousand persons. The figure we obtained from our study was a crime rate of 11.3 per thousand- an overall average increase of 12.4 percent over the previous figure and based on an average of 1981 and 1986 census population figures. The crime rates for the different suburbs of Geelong and surrounding regions are based on the reported locations of offences. Therefore, the crime rate may be up in areas where the victims live and do not reflect the suburbs/areas of the Geelong region that the actual offenders themselves come from.

A first look at the raw data for 1982-87 shows that an overwhelming number of offences are committed in the Geelong city area. It must be remembered that all types of theft, including shopstealing, and deception under \$10,000 are very high in the central business district: three times the local crime rate average for the region. Also assaults, car theft and theft from motor vehicles is highest in the city centre where many youth congregate.

Outside of the central Geelong area the results we obtained for the survey put Corio as the suburb with the highest number of crimes committed with 232 or 12 percent of the sample. The next highest was Belmont with 168 (8.6 percent), followed by Norlane 149 (7.6 percent), Geelong West 148 (7.6 percent) and then a gap to North Geelong with 73 (3.7 percent) and Newtown 59 (3.0 percent). Several other suburbs such as Highton, East Geelong, Ocean Grove, Lara and Torquay each have about 2 percent of the sample as did the aggregated suburbs under 'Rest of Bellarine'. However, because the raw percentages do not give the complete picture, a crime rate per 1000 cases was calculated for each suburb or area and compared with the rates calculated by Biles and Copeland in their study in 1976. Details of the increases and decreases in crime rates are found in Table Eight. (See also Figs: 2, 3, 6 and 7 in the Appendix).

Irrespective of whether the rate of crime for a particular suburb altered, some suburbs have consistently higher rates than others. From the population data obtained from the Census and the survey data we

calculated the ten highest crime rates (in descending order), for the following suburbs: Geelong City (183.3 crimes per thousand of suburban population), North Geelong (19.7/1000), South Geelong (18.4/1000), Torquay (17.8/1000), West Geelong (16.1/1000), Corio (14.9/1000), Norlane (14.8/1000), Rest of Bellarine (12.5/1000), Belmont (10.8/1000) and Barwon Heads (10.3/1000).

From the data in Table Eight it may not be immediately obvious to the non resident of Geelong but the areas where crime offences have increased are the rapidly growing suburbs spread in all directions around Geelong. The areas of Corio and Lara to the North; Belmont, Grovedale and Highton to the South; Breakwater/ Whittington and Leopold to the East. In the more central areas of West Geelong and Herne Hill the crime rates for each have grown at a slower pace but against the trend of falling populations.

Geelong city has a characteristically large crime rate at any time due to the location there of the Central Business District. Almost half of all deception and shopstealing is recorded for Central Geelong. The city area also has 25 percent of all serious assault, car theft and theft from motor vehicles. The 530 cases in the present study sample who offended in Geelong city (27 percent) is to our mind slightly exaggerated, because nearly one hundred crime arrest reports were not fully detailed, and where this occurred, Geelong was designated as the city area.

The middle class suburb of Grovedale in the South has shown rapid

growth in the period of 12-15 years between the data collections of the two samples. Grovedale is now a dormitory suburb occupied by families with a high proportion of sub-teenage and teenage children. The crime rate in Grovedale has effectively increased two and a half fold (250 percent) from 1.6 to 5.6 crimes committed per 1000 people.

The southern suburbs of Belmont and Highton contain a mix of working class and lower middle, to upper middle class respectively. Both are suburbs with increasing numbers of teenage youth and young adults. Both areas have significant youth problems, which may partially account for the 150 percent increase in crime in Highton from a low base of crimes from 2.0 to 5.0 per 1000 and Belmont with a 125 percent increase from a higher base of crimes from 4.8 to 10.8 per 1000 persons in the same time period. In the northern fringe suburbs of Corio and Lara the crime rates have also mirrored the suburban change developments in the south. Lara has grown rapidly over 12-15 years, as has Grovedale, and is also a lower middle class area with a mix of young families and families with teenagers. It has had an increase in the rate of crime offences from 2.4 to 8.5 per 1000, an increase of 254 percent.

The large working class suburb of Corio on the northern fringe of the heavy industrial sector of Geelong has effectively doubled its crime rate (104 percent) from a previously high base level of 7.3 up to 14.9 per 1000 people. In the suburbs with smaller populations the rates are subject to

greater fluctuation. In the rapidly growing working class corridor of Breakwater/ Whittington the crime rate is still relatively low at 3.1 per 1000, however, there has been a six -fold increase and more (650 percent) in the crime rate , from a very low 0.5 per 1000 in 1976. It can be seen from the Table above that Leopold, other aggregated areas of Bellarine Peninsula and South Geelong have crime rates now at double or more than the previous survey finding's estimates.

In contrast with those suburbs or areas with increased crime rates several surprises emerged. The northern working class suburb of Norlane has halved its crime rate since the 1976 findings, and this on first appearances, seems to be attributed to a cyclical decline in teenagers and the rise in the number of older, more established couples who now reside in the area. Norlane possibly has moved into a quieter phase. Similarly, East Geelong, Bell Park and North Geelong reveal similar declines in their crime rates. These are all suburbs from which significant numbers of the young adults have shifted. The resultant residential areas, populated as they are by middle age couples, have become more settled as a consequence.

It is also noticeable that several beach suburbs in the area have a declining crime rate, notably Barwon Heads, Torquay and Ocean Grove. These suburbs have become increasingly popular and sought after as a place of permanent residence by middle class young families , a trend which started and has continued strongly since the early 1970s. Perhaps it is the the increase in middle class families in these areas that has alleviated the

previous higher crime rates to an extent. It appears that this is the case, though seasonal tourist impact on these suburbs can affect crime rates substantially, making accurate predictions of specific crime rates in response to social and demographic changes difficult.

Finally there are several suburbs which have shown very little fluctuation over the time period covered by the previous major study and this study of Crime in Geelong. Several Bellarine coastal towns have only small rate changes (around 20 percent). The coastal town of Portarlington shows little change in its crime rate, but from a solid base rate of 8.0 per 1000 . The northern Geelong suburb of Bell Post Hill remains unique among others in that it has an almost negligible rate of crime in both studies.

Offender Rates for Geelong Suburbs

At this stage in the study we have only looked at one half of the picture; the areas in Geelong and districts where the crimes were committed. The second half of the picture will be to look at where the offenders arrested for committing the crimes live in Geelong.

In our analysis we considered it important not to allow raw frequencies to sway our judgement. The data reveals that Norlane is the home suburb of most offenders comprising 220 cases, (11.2 percent) of the sample. Other suburbs with high levels of offenders are: Corio 194 (10 percent); West Geelong 172, (8.8 percent); Belmont 134 (6.8 percent);

Geelong City 89 (4.5 percent); Highton 72 (3.7 percent); Newtown 68 (3.5 percent); Breakwater/Whittington 67 (3.4 percent); and Herne Hill/Hamlyn Heights 66 (3.4 percent).

TABLE NINE

Offender rates for Geelong Suburbs and District towns

Rank	Suburb/District	Offender Rate/1000	Rank	Suburb /District	Offender Rate/1000
1	Geelong City	30.8	2	Norlane	21.9
3	West Geelong	18.8	4	South Geelong	17.2
5	Corio	12.6	6	North Geelong	12.1
7	Newcomb	11.2	8	Bell Park	10.2
9	Breakwater/Wton	9.2	10	Torquay	9.1
11	Belmont	8.6	12	Highton	8.3
13	East Geelong	8.2	14	Other Bellarine	8.1
				Other Barrabool	
15	Ocean Grove	7.8	16	Barwon Heads	7.6
17	Leopold	7.5	18	Drysdale	7.4
19	Newtown/Chilwell#	7.2	20	Herne Hill/Ham Hts	6.5
21	Lara /L River	5.8	22	Anglesea	5.7
23	Portarlington	5.3	24	Grovedale	4.5
25	Queenscliff	4.4	26	Clifton Springs	3.6
27	Bell Post Hill	3.4			

Note Rates were not given for surrounding towns such as Inverleigh, Bannockburn, Winchelsea because the populations are small and even a few offenders would give larger rates which could be misrepresentative.

#It should be noted that Newtown without the inclusion of Chilwell would have given a much higher rate of 9.5.

It must be recognised that many of the suburbs listed in Table Nine have been identified as areas with large and further increasing populations.

Again it is worth mentioning that the offender rates were calculated by dividing the overall frequency of offenders for each suburb by the average census population for the suburb (average of 1981 and 1986 census figures) and then multiplying by a thousand.

The average offender rate for the Geelong region as a whole is 11.2 per 1000 persons. Because Geelong City has a large crime rate due to a drift of offenders into the CBD it skews the overall analysis. With Geelong City removed from analysis the rate is 10.7 per 1000.

From the data in Table Nine it can also be seen that there are seven Geelong Suburbs/areas over the District average. Apart from Geelong City with a rate of 30.8/1000, Norlane and Corio are still the problem areas for police because these suburbs have both high crime rates and high level of offenders. The rates for offenders tapers off in the more inner northern suburbs of North Geelong and Bell Park. The offender rates of 18.8 and

17.2 for West Geelong and South Geelong respectively are surprising. In the East, Newcomb and Breakwater/Whittington have rates at about the Geelong average, but higher than all but five other Geelong suburbs.

The rates for Belmont, Highton and Newtown are very similar and are an indication that both the rate of crime offenders and the perpetration of crime have increased in these predominantly middle class suburbs.

The larger, closer coastal towns of Torquay, Ocean Grove and Barwon Heads had similar rates, around 7 to 8 per 1000 people, with Torquay the highest at 9.2 per 1000, while the smaller coastal towns show lower rates. For details of this data see Table Nine above. (See also Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 in the Appendix)

The Selected Suburbs of Geelong Revisited

We now return to the selected 'typical' suburbs which were featured in the earlier part of the paper. We now can look more instructively at the crime rates and offender rates for each of these chosen suburbs. For our analysis we have included the size of the population of each suburb, the offender rate, (the number of offenders who live in the suburb and have been caught), the crime rate for the suburb (how many crimes are committed in the suburb), the percentage of total crime in the study attributed to the suburb and finally the percentage of male and female offenders from the suburb covered by the study. Details of the data

obtained from the survey can be found in Table Ten below. (See also Fig. 8
in the Appendix)

**TABLE TEN SELECTED SUBURBS OF GEELONG: COMPARISON OF CRIME AND
OFFENDER RATES**

Suburb	Popn Size	Offend rate/ooo	%Total crime	%female offenders	% male offenders	Crime rate/ooo	Type of Crime	% area Crime
Corio	16013	12.6	11.9	16.3	10.8	14.9	shopstealing other theft deception	34 12 8
Norlane	9673	21.9	7.7	6.0	8.2	14.8	other theft shopstealing	13 9
Bell Park /BPost H*	9672	10.2	1.2	1.0	1.2	4.7	other theft shopstealing	13 3
Herne Hill /Ham Hts	9941	6.5	1.8	0.5	2.1	3.4	Handle stolen property other theft	12 6
Belmont	15444	8.6	8.6	13.6	7.4	10.8	shopstealing deception other theft house burglary	33 18 17 8
Highton	8666	8.5	2.2	2.5	2.1	5.0	shopstealing theft from motor vehicle	16 12
Grovedale	8393	4.5	1.2	0.5	1.4	5.6	house burglary other theft	16 15

The northern suburb of Norlane has the highest level of offenders (21.9 per thousand) and just misses the distinction of the having the highest rate of crime offences within its home area (14.8 per thousand as against Corio with 14.9 per thousand). With a population of 9673 the residents of Norlane account for 7.7 percent of Geelong's crime offenders, while the female proportion of offenders in Norlane is low with only 6 percent of those in the study.

By contrast Corio has a large population of 16013, which is predominantly younger, being made up of young families and a high number of families with teenage children still at home. The Corio area is shown to have a very high percentage of female offenders with 16.3 percent of all females in the study. A closer look at the prominent types of crime in Corio shows that shopstealing is first rank with 34 percent of all crimes recorded for the area.

The offence level of Corio makes up 11.9 percent of all the crime cases in the survey and further reveals that the people who live in Corio offend in their own territory 2.7 times as much as those in Norlane. This may be largely attributable to the younger age of residents in Corio who are apprehended for petty crimes such as theft, shopstealing and other youth-related offences such as deception, car theft and theft from motor vehicles. The findings in this study for the southern suburb of Belmont

reveal that the proportion of female offenders in that suburb is surprisingly high, with a figure of 13.6 percent of all females in the current study. It can be shown that shopstealing is also a main component of crime in Belmont with 33 percent of all area crime, followed by deception (18 percent), other theft (17 percent).

With a large population of 15,444, Belmont is also an area characterised by families with teenage and young adult children. It is a suburb that is undergoing an increase in the incidence of youth-related crime and social problems. Belmont has an offender rate of 8.6 percent, which is well down on Norlane and 50 percent lower than Corio. On the other hand Belmont is a victim area with a crime rate of 10.8 offences per thousand people. It is noted that house burglaries are high at 8 percent of all crime in the area.

When the chosen suburbs closer to the centre of the city area are reviewed, the crime rates are surprisingly low by comparison. Both the Bell Park/Bell Post Hill and Herne Hill/ Hamlyn Heights areas have populations of similar size; just under ten thousand persons. It can be seen that offences for shopstealing are almost negligible for both suburban areas and the percentage of both male and female offenders for both areas is miniscule in size when compared with the results for the whole of the Geelong sample (1957 cases). The proportion of crime offenders for Bell Park is three for every one in Bell post Hill area, so the 10.2 per thousand offender rate obtained for the combined area of the two suburbs does not

truly reflect the lower rate for Bell Post Hill.

Why is crime so low in these areas? Perhaps it is only a coincidence but Bell Park/Bell Post Hill is the residential home to many upwardly mobile migrants from major ethnic communities in Geelong. The suburb of Bell Post Hill was settled in the mid- seventies by migrants and in 1986 had approximately 1600 Yugoslavs, 400 Italians and 200 Germans as residents. This suburban area became characterised as the next rung up on the socio-economic ladder for migrants, who aspired to the goal of owning a better home and creating a better home and social life for their children than that which they first experienced as newly arrived migrants in the hostels of Norlane, further north. The people in this area are hard working first and second generation migrants who are strongly law-abiding according to the data on crime offenders gained from this study.

Finally let us look more closely at the southern suburbs of Highton and Grovedale. The data obtained in the study reveals that both suburbs are predominantly middle class in composition- Highton is older and more established in tone- Grovedale is a newer, brick-veneer style, dormitory suburb composed of middle class professionals and tradepersons. Highton is an older area and this is reflected in the crime profile for the suburb. The offender rate is double that of Grovedale and the female component is slightly higher than that of males in the area.

Shopstealing is the most common crime for the area of Highton closely

followed by theft from motor vehicles. Highton contributes only 2.2 percent of Geelong's offenders and those persons are of varying ages and are mainly involved in theft of one type or another. Grovedale by comparison has a higher crime rate than offender rate. It is a victimised area, as evidenced by the high prominence of house burglary in the area at 16 percent and of other theft at 15 percent.

Conclusion

By comparing the variables of age, gender, birth place, location of the offence, the place of residence (by specific suburb if located in Geelong) in connection with the types of criminal offences, we were able to get a specified assessment of the rates of crime for each of the Geelong suburbs and also a clearer idea of the biography of the persons who are the typical offenders in the Geelong area as a whole and in specific suburbs.

Towards these aims we analysed the data for the whole of Geelong and then applied a more specific focus to selected suburbs, using census data on age levels, occupations, average incomes and birth place of residents.

Our research shows that there are changing patterns of crime in Geelong. The quota sample of 1957 cases used as the data base for the analyses conducted in the study were drawn from the files of six years of arrests for thirty-one different crime categories. We directly contrasted our findings with the only other comprehensive coverage of Geelong crime

conducted in 1976.

Our analysis shows that the average offender is still predominantly male, though females have alarmingly doubled their rate of offending from 10 percent to 20 percent of the surveyed cases since 1976. The female rate of offending is lifted by high rates in three major categories of crime: shopstealing, other theft and deception under \$10,000. Comments made by several police indicated that increased involvement in drugs was behind the lift in female thefts. While respect and credence is given to the statements of the police on the ground, so to speak, this collective assertion was inconclusive in our data.

What was conclusive however was that the average age of offenders has increased upwards from 18 to 21 years. The age group from which most offenders come is still the 15 to 19 years group, though a gradual spread into the 20-24 age group is now more pronounced. The suburbs which have a social mix characterised by a predominance of families with teenage children, such as Corio, Lara, Breakwater/Whittington, Other Bellarine, Leopold and Belmont reflect similar crime patterns, of high levels of shopstealing, other theft, theft from motor vehicles, deception, and other summary offences.

We were able to develop rates for the crimes committed in each suburb, showing the level to which a suburb is offended against as distinct from rates obtained of the actual offenders who live within a specific suburb. These two rates allowed us to ascertain which suburbs were facing

the problems of high levels of offenders, or high levels of crime offences, or a combination of both.

A final review of the aggregated crime rates given to us by police for 'J' (Barwon) Police District Division (incorporating Geelong) reveals that there has been an average increase of 13.9 percent in all crime in Geelong from 1982 to 1985-6, which was most of the years our study covered. For all serious crimes, based on average rates calculated from the police data, there has been an increase of 19 percent in the same years. A breakdown of the aggregated frequency of serious crime showed that the crime on the rapid increase was house burglary with a 37 percent increase.

Other areas of major crime, with large enough occurrences to make useful evaluation of trends, were theft from motor vehicles with a 30 percent increase, other theft with a 36 percent increase, an 11 percent increase for motor vehicle theft and a 25 percent lift in fraud.

Surprisingly, shopstealing was down 24 percent, perhaps indicating that store security may be better or thieves are targetting private houses more frequently. Drug offences have shown a doubling of the average rate from 1982 to 1985-6, with the actual 1985-6 frequency being 295 offences against 93 in 1982, or an increase of three times from each specific frequency. The figures on serious assault, while small, show a doubling of the number from 33 in 1982 to 70 in 1985-6. The figures for rape and sex offences are small in comparison with other crime categories and have remained generally stable over the years.

We are confident that our study has outlined the facts about major trends in crime in Geelong and in the process has also dispelled some myths often supported and augmented by the folk wisdom of the local press about crime offenders and rates of offences, which seem to have arisen in Geelong over the past decade. There is no doubt that crime is increasing at a greater pace than the population of the city and environs

(about double in fact), but the biggest area for concern for the local police and Geelong residents alike is the crimes against property, mainly involving private households through thefts, burglary and damage.

The possible links of burglary and theft as direct actions to secure money for purchase for drugs is of major concern. While 80 percent of all crimes are committed by males, mainly young males under 24 years of age, there are also some alarming trends in the increase of theft offences for young females under 19 years and females 40 years and over.

Further work needs to be done for the better evaluation of specific crime rates in Geelong. The two main areas of offences in Geelong that are causing the police concern, and that need closer examination, are the large increase in the incidence of major types of theft and burglary and the increase of drug-related offences.

FOOTNOTES

1. Both papers were published by the Australian Institute of Criminology in Canberra.
2. David Biles and Alex Copeland, 'Crimes in the Geelong Region', January 1976, p.1.
3. Braithwaite, J.B. 1975 'Population and Crime' in Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, Vol 8: 1 pp 57-59
4. The Geelong Advertiser, 23 September 1987, p.1
5. The Geelong Advertiser, 16 March 1987, p.4.
6. The Geelong Advertiser, 13 June 1986, p.4.
7. The Geelong Advertiser, 23 June 1987, p.1 See also 12-13 June 1986 pp1 and 4 respectively and The Geelong News, 23 September 1986, p.5. The Geelong Advertiser, 23 September 1986, p.4.
8. The Geelong Advertiser, 11 December 1984, p.3. and 27 February 1986, p.5.
9. For example see The Geelong Advertiser, 7 July 1987, p.1.
10. The Geelong Advertiser, 13 May 1985, P.5.
11. The Geelong Advertiser, 19 September 1986, p.1.
12. The Geelong Advertiser, 11 December 1986, P.1.
13. The Geelong Advertiser, 3 September 1986 p.4
See also 7 June 1986, p.1

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Finally we thank the dedicated data collectors, Anne Malpass, Andrew Beswick and Kristyn Saunders for their assiduous file-sifting and coding of selected cases; Hun Wei Soong for computer data entry and programming and the secretarial staff of the School of Humanities who typed the voluminous Census data into the tables we required.

Neville Millen & Warwick Eather

June 7th 1989

Appendix

Note on Statistical Limits Imposed on the values in the study

All the frequencies and values obtained from the sample data (1957 cases) can approximate to the wider Geelong population with an error of plus or minus 2.5 percent, an overall error of 5 percent. Therefore if 80 percent of offenders are reported as males in the study, this is accurate to the larger Geelong population within the range of the estimate from 77.5%- 82.5%. The central limit theorem confirms that a sample size close to 2000 cases allows the use of a sample statistic from the study to approximate to a general population parameter, based on the 175,000 people in Geelong, to an accuracy of 95 percent, i.e., with a 5 percent sampling error.

Figures.

The following figures are included and should be read in conjunction with the text where indicated:

1. Geelong Crime 1988 : Age by Gender
2. Geelong Crime 1988 : Areas of Decreased Crime Rate since 1976
3. Geelong Crime 1988 : Areas of Increased Crime Rate since 1976
4. Geelong Crime 1988 : Areas with Lowest Offender Rates
5. Geelong Crime 1988 : Areas with Highest Offender Rates
6. Geelong Crime 1988 : Suburbs with Lowest Crime Rates
7. Geelong Crime 1988 : Suburbs with Highest Crime Rates
8. Geelong Crime 1988 : Selected Suburbs- Crime and Offender Rates

FIG.1 GEELONG CRIME 88: Age x Gender

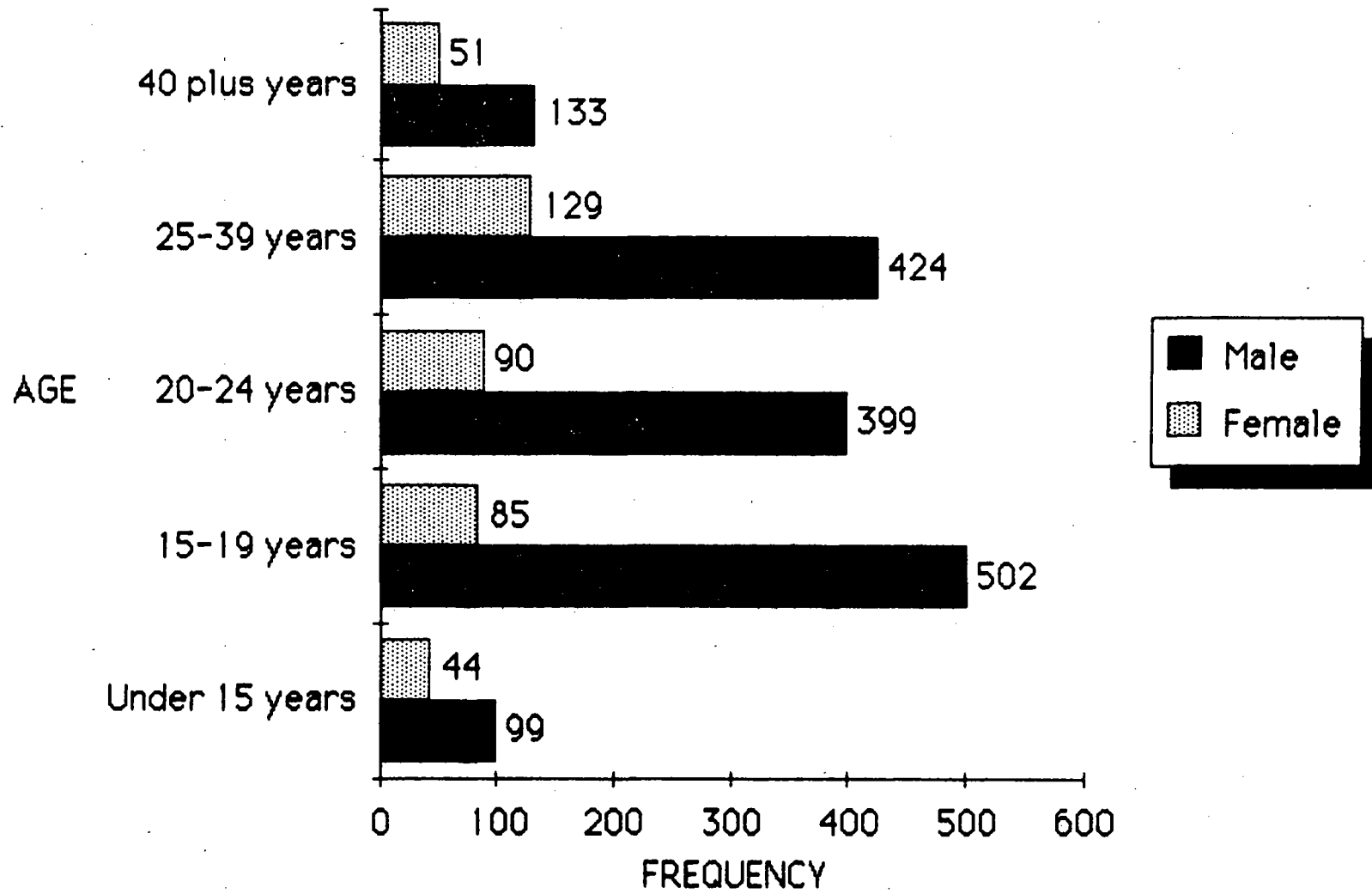


FIG.2 GEELONG CRIME STUDY: Areas of Decreased Crime Rate since 1976

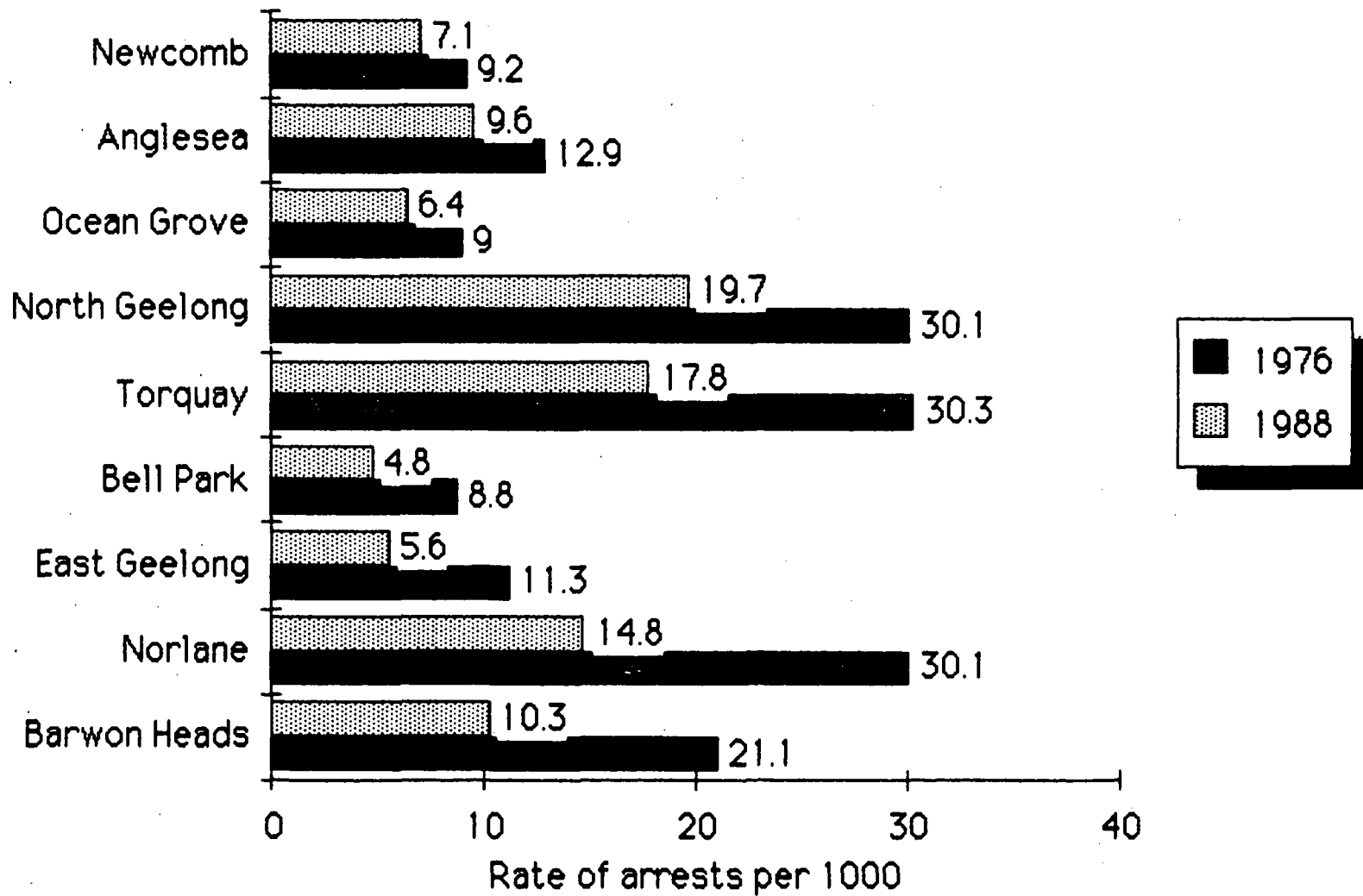


FIG. 3 GEELONG CRIME STUDY 1988: Areas of Increased Crime rate since 1976

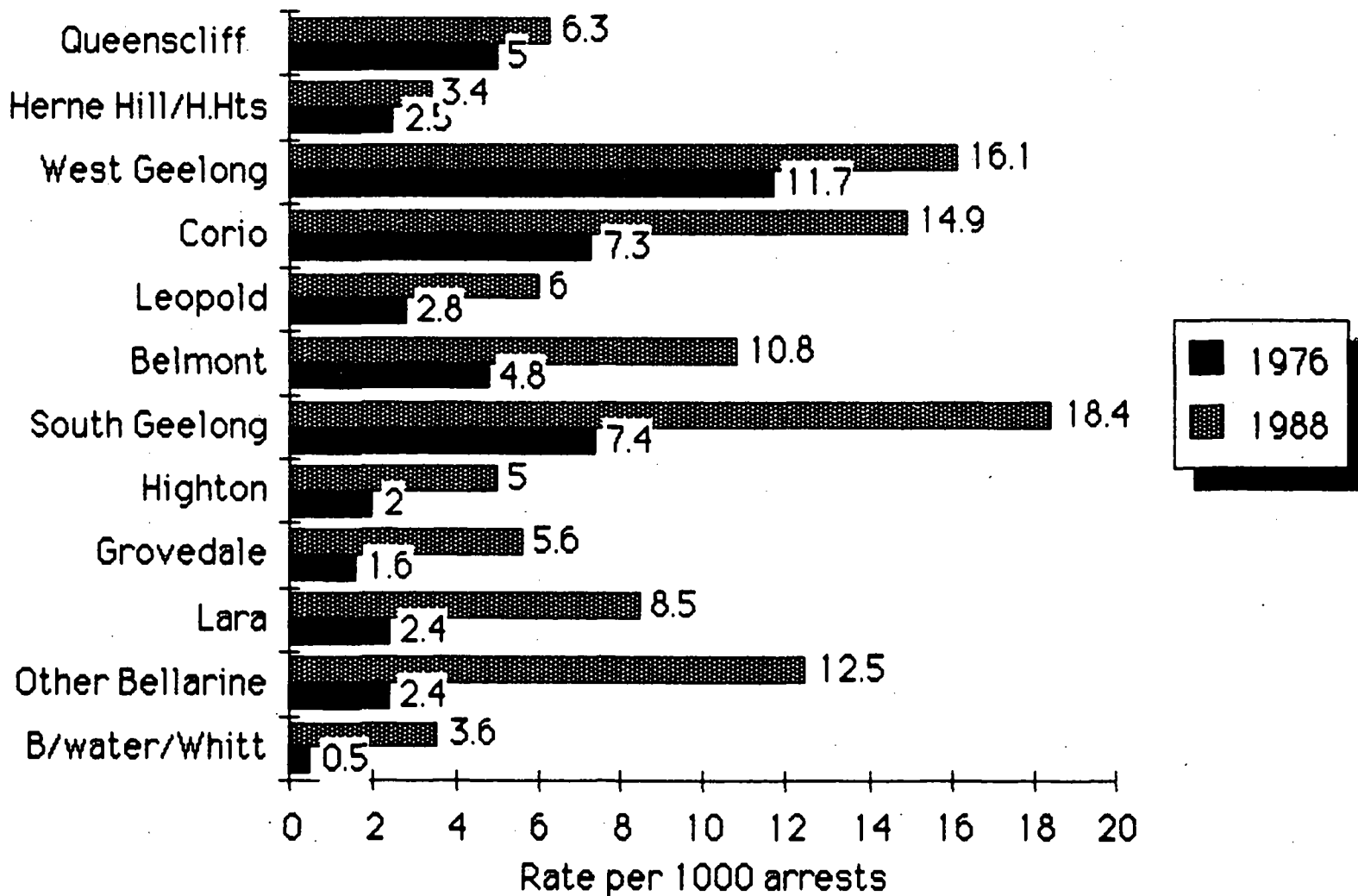


FIG. 4 GEELONG CRIME 88: Areas With Lowest Offender Rates

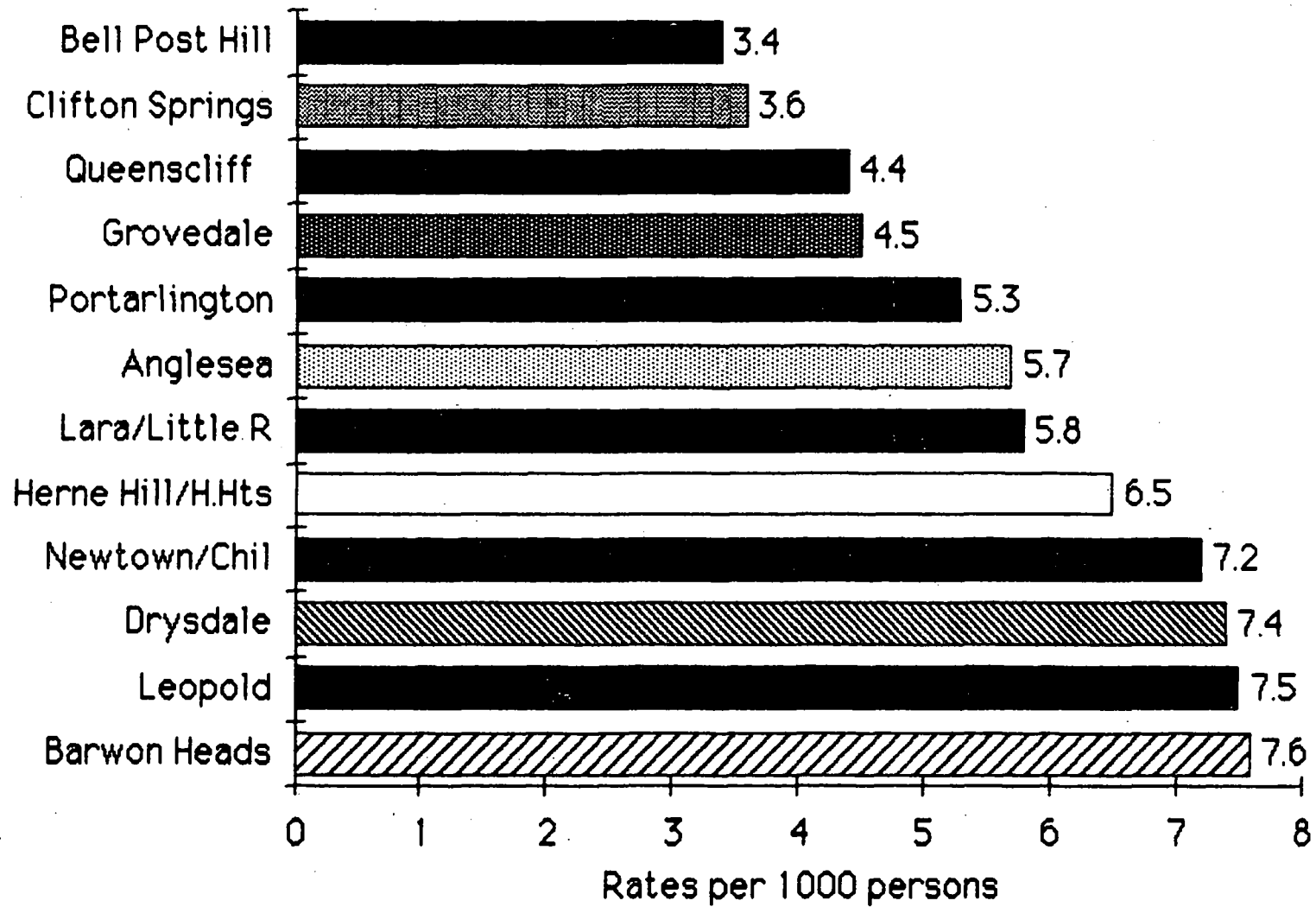


FIG. 5 GEELONG CRIME 88: Areas With Highest Offender Rates

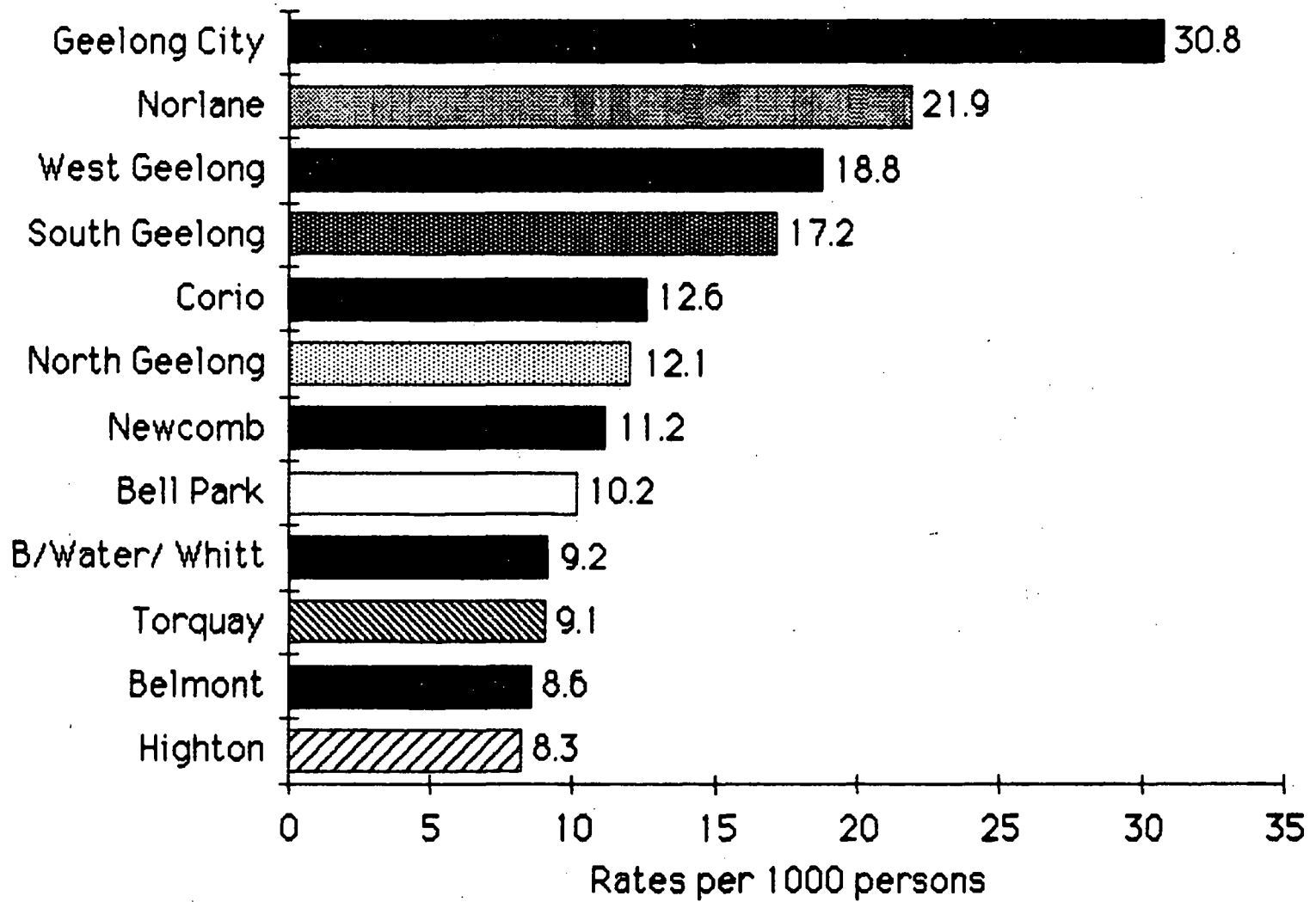


FIG.6 GEELONG CRIME STUDY 1988: Suburbs with Lowest Crime Rates

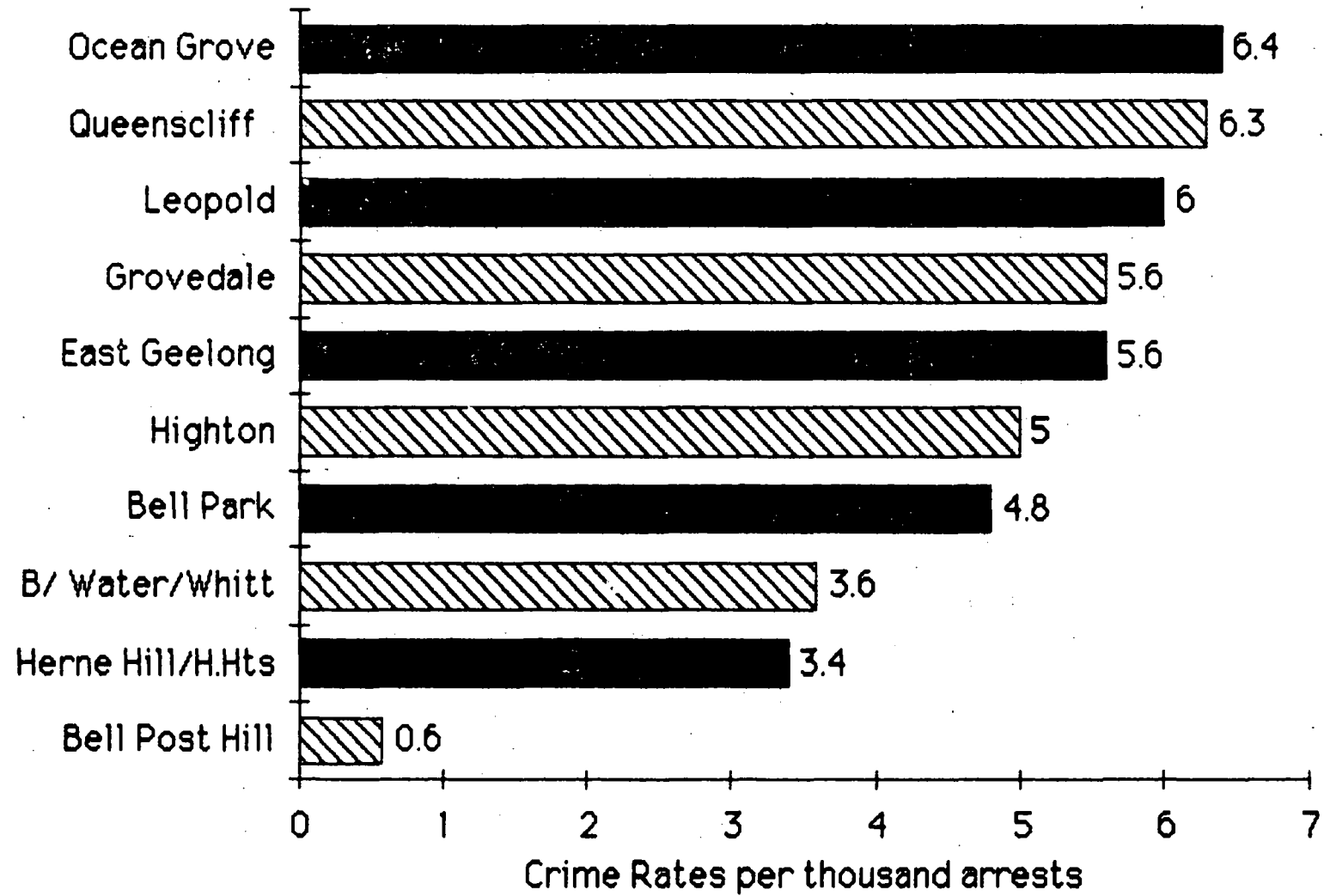


FIG.7 GEELONG CRIME STUDY 1988: Suburbs with Highest Crime Rates

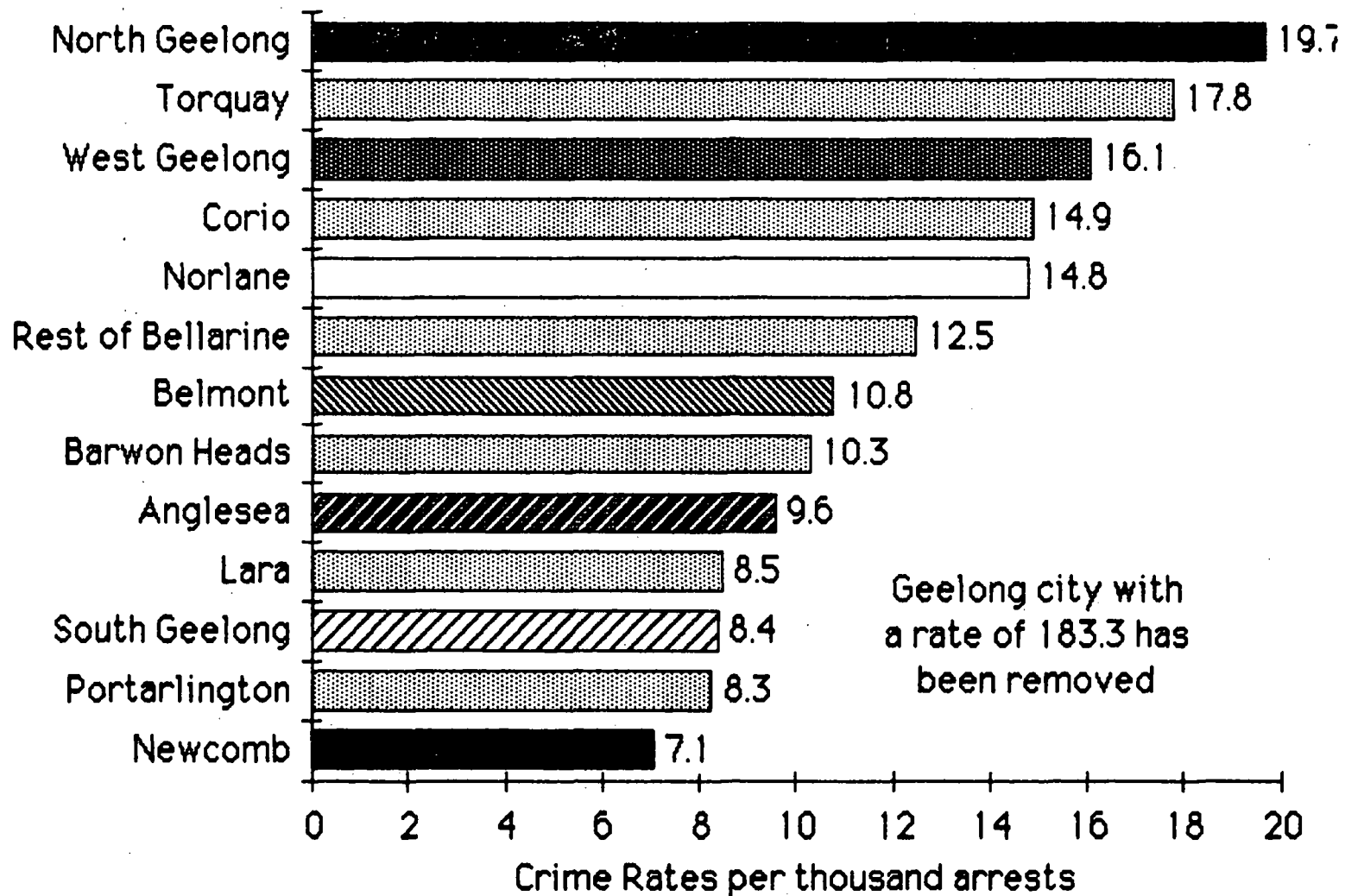
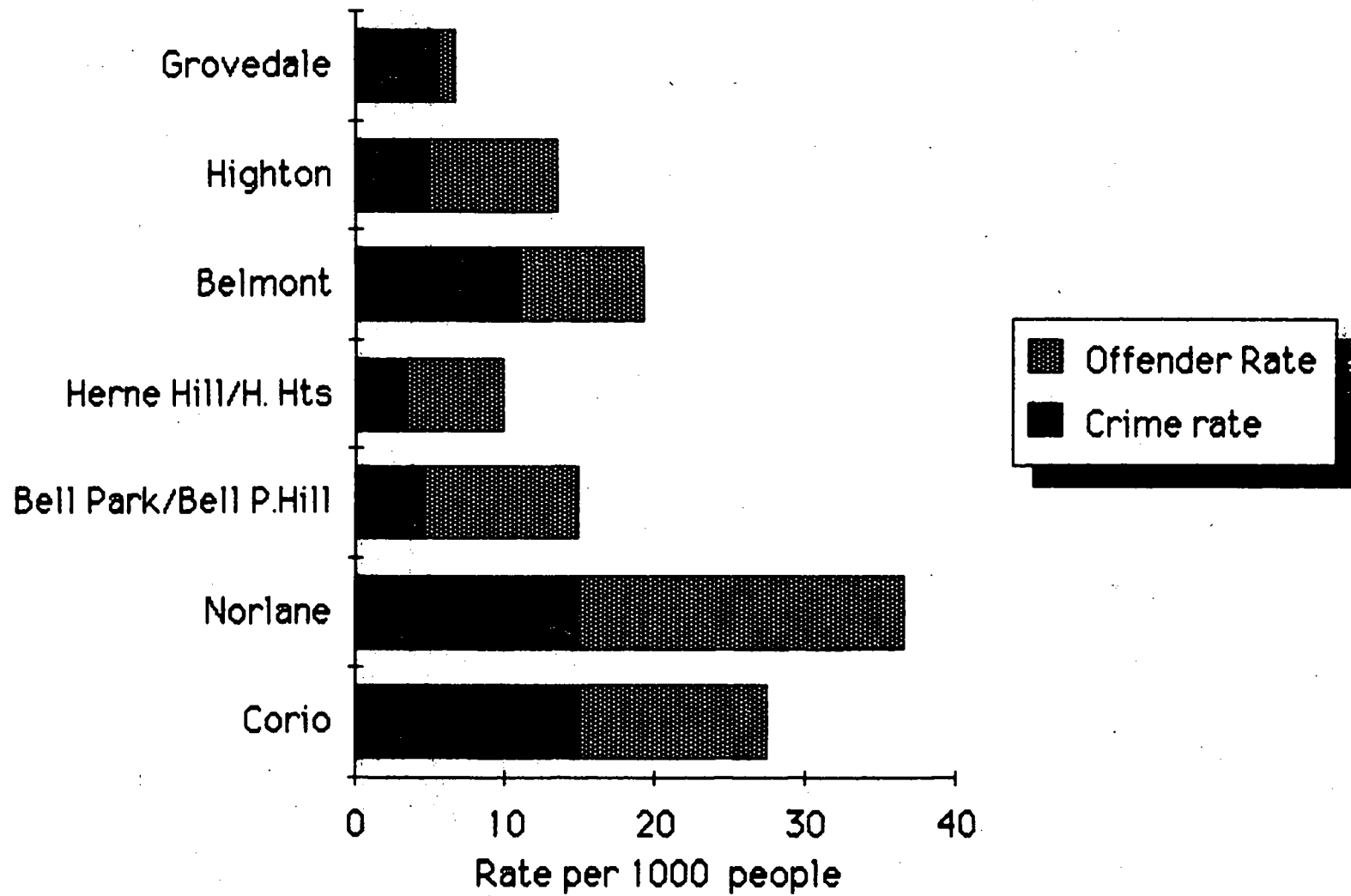
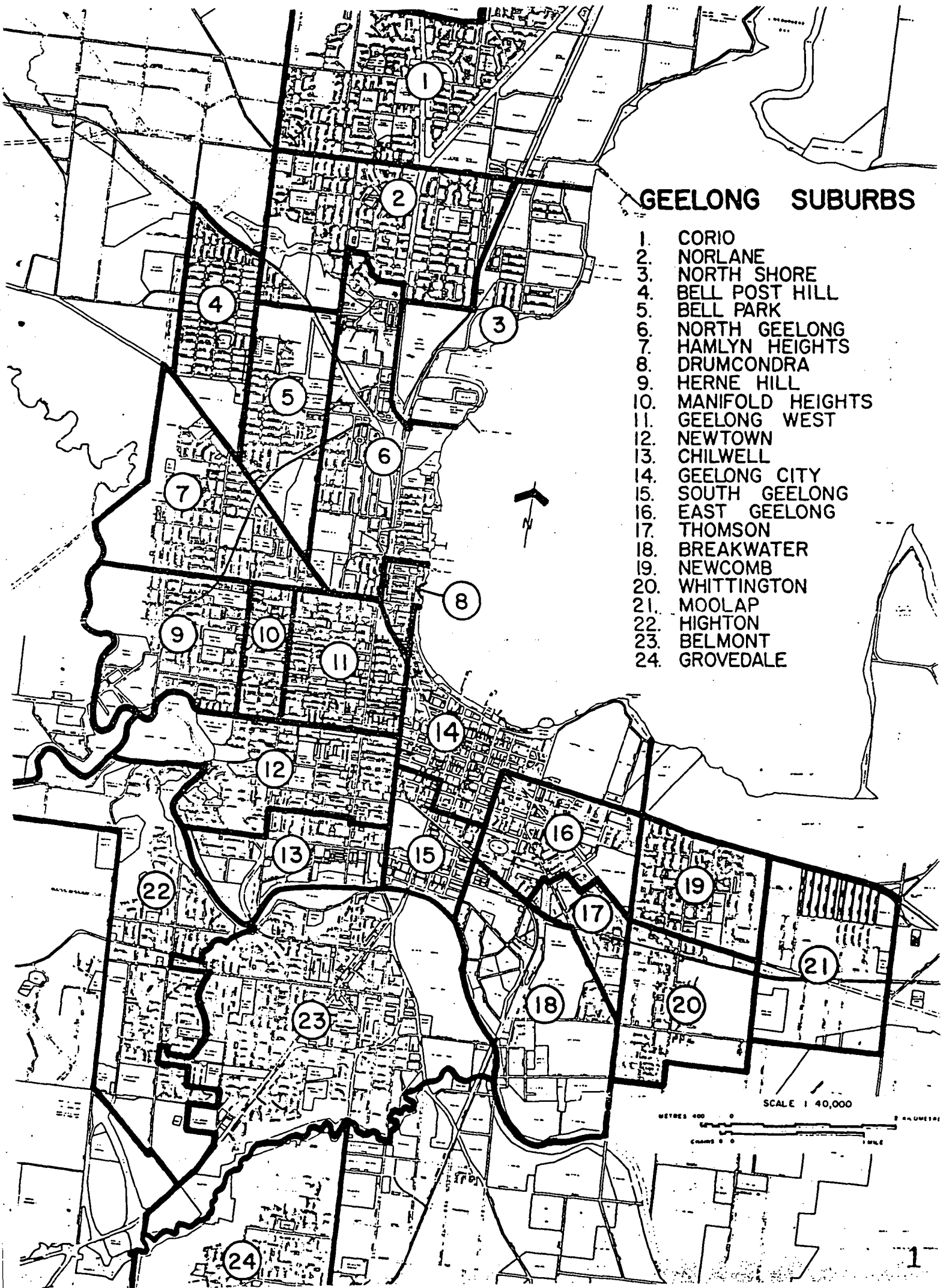


FIG. 8 GEELONG CRIME STUDY: Selected Suburbs-Crime and Offender Rates



GEELONG SUBURBS

1. CORIO
2. NORLANE
3. NORTH SHORE
4. BELL POST HILL
5. BELL PARK
6. NORTH GEELONG
7. HAMLYN HEIGHTS
8. DRUMCONDRA
9. HERNE HILL
10. MANIFOLD HEIGHTS
11. GEELONG WEST
12. NEWTOWN
13. CHILWELL
14. GEELONG CITY
15. SOUTH GEELONG
16. EAST GEELONG
17. THOMSON
18. BREAKWATER
19. NEWCOMB
20. WHITTINGTON
21. MOOLAP
22. HIGHTON
23. BELMONT
24. GROVEDALE



SCALE 1:40,000

METRES 400 0 400 METRES
CENTS 0 0 1000