

**CRIME IN A
NEW COMMUNITY:
The Case of Tuggeranong**

Jeff Marjoram

Australian Institute of Criminology

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by

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CRIME IN A NEW COMMUNITY:

THE CASE OF TUGGERANONG

INTRODUCTION

Studies dealing with patterns of crime and delinquency in Australian cities are few. Vinson and Marshall (1973) compared crime rates for Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong with selected North American cities of similar size, and computed urban and rural crime rates for New South Wales. A detailed and systematic analysis of crime in Geelong has been made by Biles and Copeland (1976), while Jameson (1970) has examined the spatial distribution of crime and delinquency in the Australian Capital Territory.

Kraus (1973) compared urban and rural patterns of juvenile delinquency in New South Wales and Challinger (1971) investigated the distribution of juvenile offenders throughout Victoria, with particular reference to the Melbourne metropolitan area. Studies of juvenile delinquency in Hobart, Adelaide, Sydney and Canberra have been undertaken by Scott (1965), Ryder-Turner (1972), Rose (1949) and Woods (1972) respectively. A detailed investigation of social problems in Green Valley, Sydney, including a brief analysis of juvenile offenders and offences, has been made by Brennan (1973).

The present study describes patterns of crime in the new town of Tuggeranong, A.C.T. during the early period of its development. This description is based on an analysis of data on all offences committed in Tuggeranong during the years 1976 and 1978 and on all offenders apprehended by police in those years for committing these offences.

An investigation of Tuggeranong residents who committed crimes outside of Tuggeranong is beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of crime in Tuggeranong and other towns in Canberra has not been possible as the resources available for this study precluded the possibility of the necessary data being assembled and examined. However, comparisons between crime in Tuggeranong and in the A.C.T. as a whole have been made where appropriate to place the situation in Tuggeranong within the broader metropolitan context. While crime statistics for the A.C.T. are published on a financial year basis, it was possible to obtain unpublished crime data for the A.C.T. for the two calendar years under consideration.

The major limitation of this study arises from the fact that the assembled data refers only to offences reported, or becoming known to, police and to offenders apprehended by police in clearing such offences. The actual extent of crime in Tuggeranong is certainly greater than that indicated by the analysis of data pertaining to offences reported or becoming known, but the extent to which actual crime exceeds reported crime is impossible to ascertain.

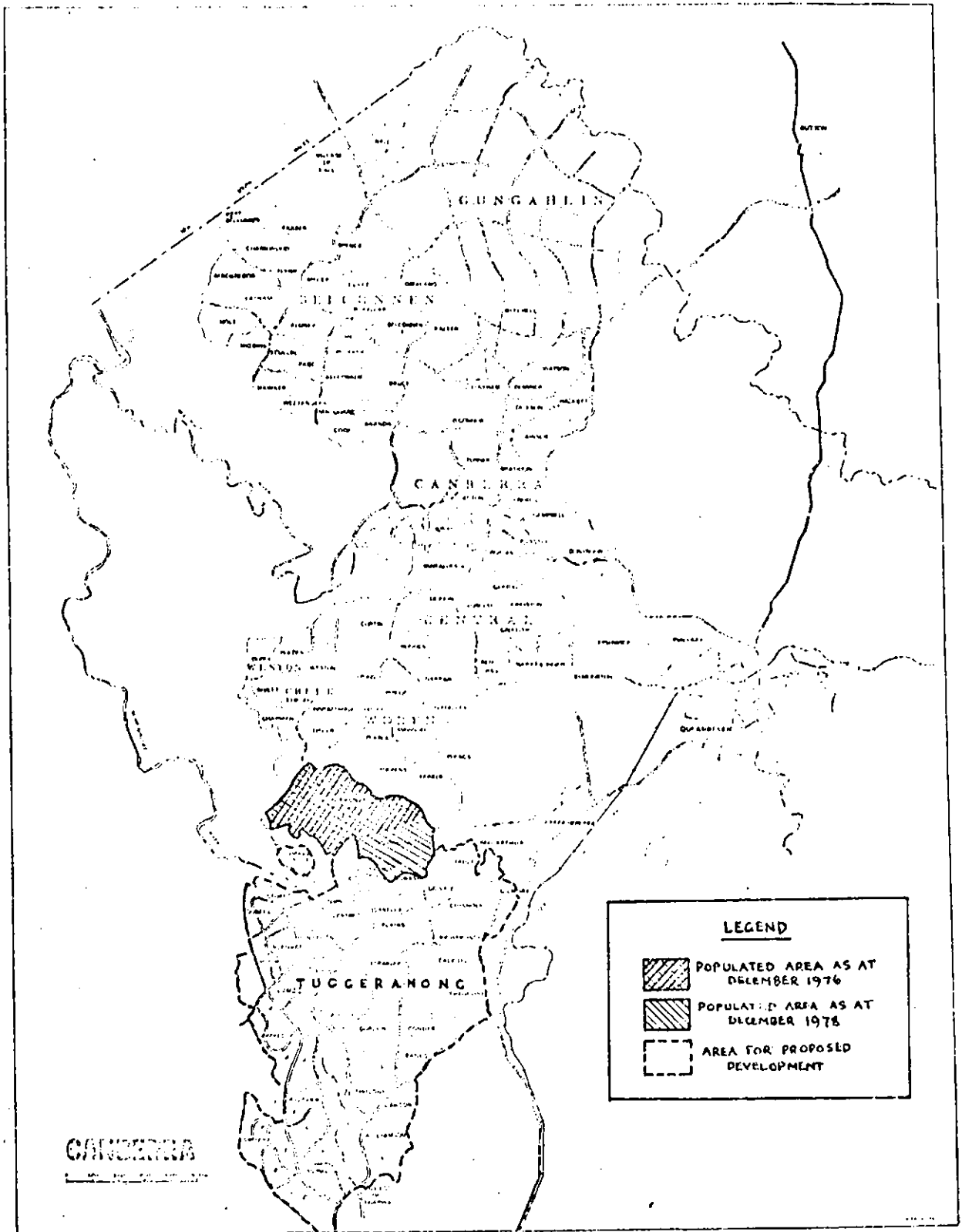
THE NEW TOWN OF TUGGERANONG

Tuggeranong is Canberra's third new town to be planned and developed by the National Capital Development Commission (N.C.D.C.) during the past fifteen years. The town is located south of Woden-Weston Creek some twelve kilometres from Canberra's central business district. Tuggeranong's site is in an undulating valley approximately 12,600 hectares (45 square miles) in area, sixteen kilometres long and ten kilometres in its widest part. (Map 1)

Although Canberra's new towns were planned within short intervals of each other, innovative concepts have been continually developed and are reflected in each town's physical structure. Several new concepts were incorporated within the structure plan for Tuggeranong, the most significant being the territorial unit and the activity and education spine. While the 'conventional' suburbs of Canberra are dependent for their size on such factors as the estimated number of children for a primary school, the territorial unit concept permits topographic factors, rather than particular catchment determinants, to form geographic and visual identity. This flexibility allows residential areas in Tuggeranong to vary in size from 10,000 to 30,000 people, rather than the usual 3,000 to 4,000 persons found in most other Canberra suburbs. The activity and education spine is based upon the interrelationships between community, retailing and educational facilities which are integrally located in an open space spine at the entries to residential areas.

Tuggeranong has a population capacity of between 150,000 and 180,000 persons. Residents began moving into Kambah, the first territorial unit located at the northern end of the Tuggeranong valley, during mid 1974. By June 1976

MAP 1
LOCATION OF TUGGERANONG



Tuggeranong's population was approximately 10,000 persons of whom almost 1000 were resident in Wanniasa, the second territorial unit where residents had first moved in during early 1975. Two years later Tuggeranong's population was estimated to be 18,000. Current population projections anticipate that Tuggeranong will achieve a population of 68,000 by 1988, this figure requiring an average annual growth rate of 14 per cent during the next decade.

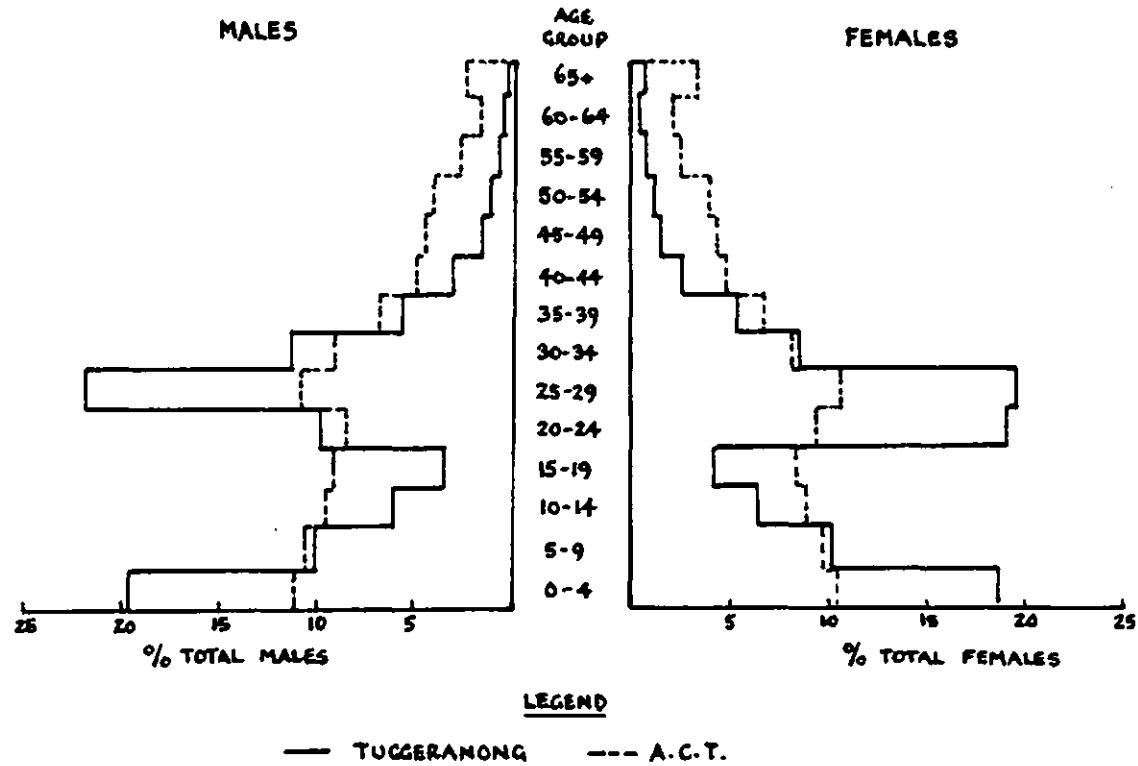
Tuggeranong, in keeping with other new residential areas in Australia has a youthful population, as can be seen from Figure 1 which depicts the town's age distribution as at June 1976. Compared with the A.C.T. population, itself by no means an aged one, Tuggeranong has much higher proportions of males aged less than 5 years and 25 to 29 years and higher proportions of females in both these groups and the 20 to 24 years age group. The proportions for both sexes in the 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 year groups are lower for Tuggeranong than for the A.C.T., and this is also the case for all age groups from the 35 to 39 year group onwards.

The majority of households in Tuggeranong can be described as young families comprising two parents and children, if any, of school age or younger. The Tuggeranong monitoring survey undertaken by the N.C.D.C. during April/May 1976 revealed that 30 per cent of the sampled households comprised a couple with no children, with a further 60 per cent couples with one or more children. Only some 8 per cent of households were found to be of types other than the nuclear family (e.g. single parent families, groups or aged persons living alone). In 44 per cent of households the youngest child was not yet at school, and in a further 13 per cent of households the youngest child was attending infants or primary school.

FIGURE 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN
TUGGERANONG AND THE A.C.T.

1976



Socio-demographic profiles of Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. are presented in Table 1, highlighting the similarities and differences between their respective populations. These statistics were derived from the Commonwealth census of population and housing which, conveniently, was undertaken during June 1976. As the census is a quinquennial count of population and housing it was not possible to generate comparative figures for 1978. A.C.T. data, rather than data for the Canberra Statistical district (that area of the A.C.T. incorporating the territory's urban population) have been used in this instance. As subsequent analysis of crime patterns compares the situation in Tuggeranong with that for the A.C.T. as a whole, it was decided to also compare the socio-demographic characteristics of Tuggeranong's population with those of the A.C.T., rather than Canberra only, population.

The youthfulness of Tuggeranong's population is again highlighted by the proportions of its population in the under 5 and over 59 year age groups. However, it can be seen that the proportions of both the Tuggeranong and A.C.T. populations in the 15 to 24 year age group are almost identical. In Tuggeranong most of this group are young married persons in their early twenties, while in the A.C.T. as a whole this group comprises substantial numbers of teenagers, and both married and single persons in their early twenties. Tuggeranong has lower proportions of persons aged 15 years or more and either never married, or separated, divorced or widowed, than the A.C.T. The proportion for the latter group again reflects the predominance of young, fairly recently married couples in Tuggeranong.

While both Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. have about one quarter of their populations with places of birth outside Australia, the proportion of overseas born persons living in Tuggeranong with less than five years residence in Australia

TABLE 1

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES - TUGGERANONG AND THE A.C.T.

1976

<u>Socio-Demographic variable</u>	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>
Population aged less than 5 years (%)	19.3	11.1
Population aged 15-24 years (%)	18.7	18.4
Population aged 60+ years (%)	1.1	5.1
Population aged 15+ years never married (% pop. 15+ years)	6.6	18.1
Population aged 15+ years separated, divorced or widowed (% pop. 15+ years)	4.8	8.0
Population born overseas (%)	23.1	23.5
Population born overseas with less than 5 years residence in Australia (% pop. born overseas)	27.1	14.4
Population aged 15+ years with bachelor degree or higher educational qualification (% pop. 15+ years)	8.9	15.7
Population aged 15+ years with no post high school educational qualification (% pop. 15+ years)	58.8	58.1
Population aged 15+ years earning \$15,000+ per annum (% pop. 15+ years)	5.6	9.0
Population aged 15+ years earning less than \$5,000 per annum (% pop. 15+ years)	29.6	39.5
Households with income of \$15,000+ per annum (%)	44.3	44.6
Households with income of less than \$5,000 per annum (%)	2.7	7.6
Population aged 15+ years receiving pensions or social security benefits (% pop. 15+ years)	5.5	11.0
Population aged 15+ years not in the labourforce (% pop. 15+ years)	15.5	20.9
Females in the labourforce (% labourforce female)	38.0	38.3
Married females in the labourforce (% female labourforce married)	84.0	65.5
Workforce in professional/technical occupations (%)	17.0	18.7
Workforce in clerical occupations (%)	35.1	31.4
Workforce in process/labouring occupations (%)	19.4	18.7
Private dwellings owned or being purchased by occupants (%)	65.6	62.5
Private dwellings with housing authority tenants (%)	28.0	17.8

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
Unpublished tabulations, Census 1976.

is almost twice as high as the figure for the A.C.T. More than one quarter of the overseas born residents in Tuggeranong are comparative newcomers to Australia.

In both Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. almost 60 per cent of the population aged 15 years or more have no qualifications beyond the high school level of education, but the proportion of these so aged with bachelor or higher qualifications is considerably lower in Tuggeranong. While it is difficult to accurately assess educational qualifications, given the diversity of these qualifications and differences in categorizing them both within Australia and in other countries, these figures indicate that Tuggeranong's population has, generally speaking, experienced less higher education than has the A.C.T. population.

With respect to individual income it can be seen that in Tuggeranong there are lower proportions of persons receiving both low incomes (i.e. less than \$5,000 per annum) and comparatively high incomes (i.e. more than \$15,000 per annum) than is the case for the A.C.T. population. While the proportions of households with high incomes is similar in both Tuggeranong and the A.C.T., the former has a significantly lower proportion of households with incomes of less than \$5,000 per annum. This would be largely attributable to the comparatively small numbers of aged persons, many of whom receive pension benefits of one type or another, in Tuggeranong. In fact, the proportion of Tuggeranong's population aged 15 or more years and receiving pensions or social security benefits is one-half the proportion for the A.C.T.

Table 1 also shows that Tuggeranong has a lower proportion of persons aged 15 or more who are not members of the labourforce than does the A.C.T., and that while the proportion of the labourforce who are females is similar in both, Tuggeranong has a considerably higher proportion of married women in the female labourforce than has the A.C.T. Again this may be interpreted as being indicative of the high proportion of married persons in Tuggeranong and reflecting the lower proportion of households with low incomes.

The distribution of the labourforce in the major occupational categories of professional/technical, clerical and process/labouring is essentially similar in Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. as a whole, although Tuggeranong has slightly higher proportions of its workforce in the last two categories. The proportions of private dwellings owned, or being purchased, by occupants does not differ markedly, but Tuggeranong has a distinctly higher proportion of government built dwellings rented by tenants than does the A.C.T.

The above points illustrate both the similarities and differences between selected aspects of the socio-demographic structure of Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. Tuggeranong's population is younger and in many ways more homogeneous than the A.C.T. with relatively fewer separated, widowed and divorced persons, persons with high educational qualifications, persons and households with low incomes, persons receiving social welfare benefits, and members of the workforce in professional and technical occupations. Conversely, Tuggeranong is characterized by relatively more recently arrived overseas born persons, married women in the female labourforce, persons employed in clerical and process/labouring occupations, dwellings owned by occupants, and government built dwellings rented to tenants, than is the A.C.T.

A more detailed analysis of the population and housing in Tuggeranong is beyond the scope of the present study. Perhaps the most important aspect to be noted is the rapid growth of population which was experienced by Tuggeranong since the town's creation. This growth rate was considerably greater than that experienced in Canberra's other major districts and far exceeded the A.C.T.'s rate of growth. In 1975 the population was approximately 3,550 but this total almost trebled to about 10,200 in 1976, the growth rate for 1975 - 1976 being some 184.5 per cent. During 1976-1977 the population increased by almost 50 per cent and in 1977-1978 the population increased by a further 4,500 persons to over 19,000, the growth rate being about 30 per cent. Such a dramatic increase in population growth was well above the average annual growth rate for Canberra of 4.7 per cent during the period 1975-1978.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA AND ITS SOURCES

As mentioned previously the first residents of Tuggeranong moved into the territorial unit of Kambah during mid-1974, and twelve months later the first residents of Wanniasa, the second territorial unit, settled in. By mid-1976 Tuggeranong's population was approximately 10,000 persons, and by mid-1978 the town's population had almost doubled to approximately 19,000 persons. Given the nature of such a build-up of population it was decided to investigate crime which was committed during the years 1976 and 1978.

For each type of offence committed in Tuggeranong during these years the following data was extracted from records maintained by the A.C.T. police:

- (a) the number of offences reported or becoming known;
- (b) the territorial unit (i.e. suburb) where the offence occurred;
- (c) the month during which the offence occurred;
- (d) the number of offences cleared either by charge or other action, and the number of unfounded reports;
- (e) the age, sex and suburb of residence of offenders;
- (f) the value of property involved in, and recovered from, offences committed.

To enable comparisons to be made between patterns of crime in Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. the following data pertaining to offences committed throughout the territory during 1976 and 1978 was assembled for each offence category:

- (a) the number of offences reported or becoming known;
- (b) the number of unfounded reports;
- (c) the number of offences cleared either by charge or other action;
- (d) the value of property involved in, and recovered from, offences committed.

Population data for both Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. was derived from the census of June 1976 and quarterly estimates of population compiled by the N.C.D.C.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The system employed by the A.C.T. police to record the incidence of crime on a day-to-day basis incorporates a categorization of approximately forty seven offence types. These offence categories range from the serious (e.g. murder, serious assault, robbery and rape) to the comparatively minor (e.g. drink methylated spirits, vagrancy, sacrilege and unlawfully on lands or in buildings). Traffic offences and offences of drunkenness are recorded separately and are not included in the present study.

In order to reduce the number of offence categories and thus make the analysis and interpretation of data more manageable and meaningful, a classification incorporating eight major offence categories was employed. This classification is identical to that used by the A.C.T. police in publishing statistics of major crime in their annual reports. The major offence categories are as follows:

Homicide; includes murder but excludes attempted murder, manslaughter and culpable driving causing death.

Serious Assault; includes assaults of serious nature such as woundings, causing bodily harm, assaults with a weapon etc. and attempts of this nature but excludes sexual assault and robbery.

Robbery; includes stealing involving threatened or actual violence, attempts of this nature, or assault with intent to rob.

Rape; includes attempted rape but excludes unlawful carnal knowledge and indecent assault.

Breaking and Entering; includes breaking and entering a building and committing or attempting to commit a crime.

Larceny; includes general larceny, larceny in a dwelling, theft of a bicycle and/or parts, larceny of motor vehicle parts, theft from a motor vehicle, shopstealing, larceny from building sites, stock theft and attempts of this nature, but excludes motor vehicle theft.

Motor Vehicle Theft; includes illegal or unauthorized use of a motor vehicle and attempts of this nature.

Fraud, Forgery, False Pretences; includes embezzlement, misappropriation, fraudulent appropriation, falsification of accounts, uttering, valueless cheques, currency offences and attempts of this nature.

While the above categorization of offences was the principal one employed in the present analysis, it was also considered advantageous to briefly analyse offence data on the basis of whether offences were committed against the person, property or good order. This alternative categorization of offences, which makes no distinction between the above serious crimes and other offences, is as follows:

Offences against the Person; includes homicide, serious assault, rape, attempted murder, manslaughter, culpable driving resulting in either death or grievous bodily harm, common assault, indecent assault and other sexual offences.

Offences against Property; includes robbery, breaking and entering, larceny, motor vehicle theft, fraud etc., receiving, unlawful possession, malicious damage, arson and similar offences.

Offences against Good Order; includes indecent behaviour, indecent language, unlawfully on lands or in buildings, sacrilege, drug offences, and offences against the Games, Wagering and Betting Ordinance.

It must be remembered that the data employed in the present study refers to offences reported or becoming known to police, offenders apprehended by police and the value of property involved in reported offences. Undoubtedly there was more

crime committed in Tuggeranong, and indeed the A.C.T., than the data on offences reported or becoming known indicates, but the extent of unreported crime remains unknown. While it would have been desirable to undertake victimization studies aimed at measuring this "dark figure" to augment the data employed in this study, limited resources prevented such an undertaking. Similarly, the number of offenders apprehended by police is undoubtedly fewer than the actual number of persons committing offences, and the data pertaining to the value of property refers only to that property involved in, and recovered from, reported offences. As with the "dark figure" for unreported crime, the actual number of offenders and the value of property involved in all offences, not just those reported, remains unknown.

Data pertaining to criminal offences, and to a similar extent offenders and property, may be presented in various ways including absolute numbers, rates per x population and percentages. While much of the analysis was based on expressing data in the form of rates based on population statistics, due recognition was given to the utility of both absolute numbers and percentages in describing trends and patterns, and these have been employed where considered appropriate. It should be noted that while most rates are expressed per 100,000 population, it was decided to employ rates per 10,000 population when analysing and describing crime patterns within Tuggeranong, given the size of populations within the town at different points of its development.

CRIME IN TUGGERANONG

A. Offences

(1) Offence Rates

The numbers of offences committed in Tuggeranong and subsequently reported to, or becoming known to, police during 1976 and 1978 were 298 and 398 respectively, this representing an increase of 33.6 per cent between 1976 and 1978. The number of major offences (203 in 1976 and 312 in 1978), however, increased by 53.7 per cent, while the number of other offences (95 in 1976 and 86 in 1978) decreased by 9.5 per cent. During 1976 major offences accounted for 68.1 per cent of all offences committed in Tuggeranong, but this had increased to 78.4 per cent in 1978. Table 2 summarizes both the population and criminal offence data for Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. for the two years under consideration. It is particularly noteworthy that the percentage increase in the number of major offences committed in Tuggeranong during 1976 and 1978 was more than double the increase for the A.C.T. as a whole.

1976 and 1978 offence rates per 100,000 population for major crimes committed in Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. are given in Table 3. The following comments briefly summarize the situation with respect to the categories of major offences detailed previously:

Homicide: No offences of homicide were committed in Tuggeranong during either years.

Serious Assault: One offence in 1976 and two offences in 1978 gave Tuggeranong rates for this offence of 9.8 and 10.4 respectively. The small number of offences requires that these rates be treated with caution. During both years Tuggeranong's rate for this offence category was less than half the rate for the A.C.T.

Robbery: Two robbery offences were committed in Tuggeranong during 1978, giving a rate of 10.4 compared to the A.C.T. rate of 5.6. Again the small number of offences must be borne in mind.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF POPULATION AND CRIMINAL OFFENCES

TUGGERANONG AND THE A.C.T. 1976 and 1978

	<u>TUGGERANONG</u>				<u>% Change 1976-1978</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>				<u>% Change 1976 - 1978</u>
	<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>			<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
Population	10,200		19,200		+ 88.2	203,300		214,500		+5.5
Major Offences	203	(68.1)	312	(78.4)	+ 53.7	6,503	(74.3)	7,986	(75.3)	+22.8
Minor Offences	95	(31.9)	86	(21.6)	- 9.5	2,249	(25.7)	2,623	(24.7)	+16.6
Total Offences	298	(100.0)	398	(100.0)	+ 33.6	8,752	(100.0)	10,609	(100.0)	+21.2

Sources: N.C.D.C. Annual Report 1977-1978, N.C.D.C. Canberra, 1978
A.B.S. A.C.T. Statistical Summary 1977, A.B.S., Canberra, 1977
A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations
N.C.D.C. Unpublished tabulations.

TABLE 3

OFFENCE RATES ⁽¹⁾ FOR MAJOR CRIMES - TUGGERANONG AND A.C.T

1976 and 1978

<u>Offence Category</u>	<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>	
	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>
Homicide	-	1.0	-	0.9
Serious Assault	9.8	21.2	10.4	25.6
Robbery	-	9.8	10.4	5.6
Rape	-	1.5	5.2	2.8
Breaking and entering	578.4	666.5	572.9	843.8
Larceny	1,264.7	1,768.3	906.3	2,322.6
Motor Vehicle Theft	88.2	250.9	83.3	268.5
Fraud, forgery, false pretences	49.0	479.6	36.5	253.2
Sub-total : major offences	1,990.2	3,198.7	1,625.0	3,723.1
Sub-total : other offences	931.4	1,106.3	447.9	1,222.8
TOTAL : all offences	2,921.6	4,305.0	2,072.9	4,945.9

Notes:

(1) Rate per 100,000 population as at 30 June

Source:

A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

Rape: One rape offence was reported in Tuggeranong during 1978 compared to six for the A.C.T. Again, while Tuggeranong's rate of 5.2 was thus higher than the A.C.T. rate of 2.8, these figures must be cautiously interpreted.

Breaking and Entering: During 1976 59 offences of this type were committed but by 1978 the number had almost doubled to 110. The rate for 1976 of 578.4 was, however, marginally higher than the 1978 rate of 572.9. For both years the rates for Tuggeranong were lower than for the A.C.T. The rate for breaking and entering dwellings increased slightly, from 186.3 in 1976 to 218.8 in 1978 while that for breaking and entering shops increased more than four-fold from 19.6 to 83.3. While these rates were all below those for the A.C.T., the rate for breaking and entering other buildings in Tuggeranong during 1976 (372.6) was considerably higher than the A.C.T. rate of 259.2. Breaking and entering was the second most numerous offence committed in Tuggeranong, including minor offence categories, during both 1976 and 1978.

Larceny: Larceny was the most frequently committed offence in Tuggeranong during both years. During 1976 and 1978 the number of larceny offences in Tuggeranong was 129 and 174 respectively, giving rates of 1,264.7 and 906.3. The former rate was less than three-quarters the A.C.T. rate, while the latter was approximately four-tenths the magnitude of the A.C.T. rate. In 1976 larceny from building sites had the highest rate (764.7) followed by general larceny (274.5) and theft of bicycles/bicycle parts (78.4). By 1978 the highest rate was for general larceny (406.3) followed by theft of bicycles/bicycle parts (161.5) and larceny from building sites (156.3). With the exception of larceny from building sites during both years and attempted larceny during 1976, rates within this offence category were lower in Tuggeranong, usually considerably lower, than corresponding rates for the A.C.T.

Motor Vehicle Theft: Nine offences in 1976 and 16 during 1978 were committed in Tuggeranong, the corresponding offence rates being 88.2 and 83.3. Both rates were approximately one third the magnitude of rates for the A.C.T. As with larceny and breaking and entering the offence rate in 1978 was less than that for 1976.

Fraud, Forgery, False Pretences: Five offences in 1976 and 7 during 1978 were committed in Tuggeranong giving rates of 49.0 and 36.5 respectively as compared to the A.C.T. rates of 479.6 and 253.2. In both instances the 1978 rates were lower than the rates for 1976, Tuggeranong's rate decreasing by approximately one-quarter.

Tuggeranong's offence rates for all major crimes during both years were well below the rates for the A.C.T. The 1976 rate of 1,990.2 was approximately one third the A.C.T. rate and the 1978 rate of 1,625.0 less than half the magnitude of the A.C.T. rate. While the A.C.T. major offences rate increased by some 16.4 per cent between 1976 and 1978, that for Tuggeranong declined by 18.4 per cent. Thus, while it was noted previously that the number of major offences committed in Tuggeranong increased by more than 50 per cent between 1976 and 1978, and that such offences accounted for a higher proportion of all offences in 1978 than in 1976, the near-doubling of population during this period resulted in a lower rate for major offences in 1978 than in 1976.

Table 3 also presents rates for other crimes besides the major crimes considered above. A detailed breakdown of offence rates for these other crimes is given in Table 4.

Some twenty eight categories of other offences are utilized by the A.C.T. police in their record keeping system. There were no offences committed in Tuggeranong during either 1976 or 1978 for seventeen of these categories, including attempted murder, manslaughter, culpable driving (causing either death or grievous bodily harm), indecent assault upon a male, carnal knowledge, indecent behaviour, indecent language, and offences against the Child Welfare and Games, Wagering and Betting Ordinances. The A.C.T. rates for these seventeen types of offences are given in aggregate form under the "other minor offences" category in Table 4. The remaining eleven other offence categories pertain to those offences which were committed in Tuggeranong during 1976 and/or 1978.

TABLE 4

OFFENCE RATES⁽¹⁾ FOR OTHER CRIMES - TUGGERANONG AND A.C.T. 1976 AND 1978

<u>Offence Category</u>	<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>	
	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>
Common Assault	39.2	136.3	62.5	149.2
Indecent Assault (female)	-	14.8	5.2	12.6
Indecent exposure	39.2	46.7	20.8	41.0
Unlawfully in building/on lands	372.5	64.4	20.8	35.4
Receiving	-	8.4	10.4	14.5
Unlawful possession	19.6	13.8	-	11.2
Drug Offences	-	44.8	41.7	73.7
Malicious Damage	352.9	445.2	239.6	594.4
Arson	-	3.4	5.2	4.2
Firearms Ordinance	49.0	11.3	5.2	10.3
Post and Telecommunications Ordinance	58.8	71.3	36.5	44.3
Other Minor Offences	-	245.9	-	232.2
TOTAL : Other Offences	931.4	1,106.3	447.9	1,222.8

Notes: (1) Rate per 100,000 population as at June 30

Source: A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

From Table 4 it can be seen that the highest rates in Tuggeranong during 1976 were for unlawfully in buildings or on lands (372.5), followed by malicious damage (352.9) and offences against the Post and Telecommunications Ordinance (58.8). Tuggeranong's 1976 rate for unlawfully in buildings or on lands, unlawful possession (19.6) and offences against the Firearms Ordinance (49.0) were all higher than the comparable A.C.T. rates, although there were only small numbers of offences within the two latter categories.

During 1978 the highest rates for other offences in Tuggeranong were those for malicious damage (239.6) followed by common assault (62.5) and drug offences (41.7). Again there were only small numbers of offences within the two latter categories so these rates must be interpreted carefully.

With respect to offence rates for all crime categories other than major ones, it can be seen from both Tables 3 and 4 that such rates for Tuggeranong (viz. 931.4 in 1976 and 447.9 in 1978) were lower than those for the A.C.T. as a whole. It is particularly noteworthy that the 1978 rate for Tuggeranong was less than half the magnitude of the 1976 rate, while the A.C.T. rate in 1978 was some 10 per cent higher than it was in 1976.

During 1976 the rate for all crime in Tuggeranong, including both major and other offences, was 2,921.6, slightly more than two thirds the total offence rate for the A.C.T. By 1978 the total offence rate in Tuggeranong had declined by almost 30 per cent to 2,072.9, this being less than half the A.C.T. rate. As with the case of major offences, the number of all offences committed in Tuggeranong during 1978 was considerably higher than in 1976. However, by converting absolute numbers to rates per 100,000 population, and thus taking into account growth of population, it can be seen that the level of crime in Tuggeranong during 1978 was, in fact, lower than in 1976.

As mentioned previously it was decided to augment the above analysis by means of undertaking an alternative categorization of offences according to whether these were against the person, against property or against good order. The first two of these broad groupings include a combination of major and other offences while the third comprises solely offences other than major ones. Table 5 gives offence rates for both Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. according to this particular categorization. The following points are worthy of note:

Offences Against the Person: The 1976 rate of 49.0 was considerably lower than the 1978 rate of 83.3, and both these rates for Tuggeranong were well below those for the A.C.T. Common assault accounted for the bulk of offences against the person during both years.

Offences Against Property: The rate for Tuggeranong during 1976 (2,411.8) was approximately 20 per cent higher than the 1978 rate, and again both were much lower than rates for the A.C.T. The majority of offences against property during both years were in the breaking and entering, larceny and malicious damage categories employed previously.

Offences Against Good Order: Tuggeranong's rate during 1976 (460.8) was more than five-fold the 1978 rate of 88.6. While the former was higher than the A.C.T. rate, the latter was slightly less than one-quarter the magnitude of the A.C.T. rate. During 1976 the offence of unlawfully in buildings or on lands accounted for most of the offences in this group, while in 1978 this offence, in addition to drug offences and indecent exposure, comprised the bulk of offences against good order.

Thus during both years under consideration, rates for offences against property in Tuggeranong were far higher than those for either offences against the person or against good order. In 1976 property offences accounted for 82.6 per cent of all offences in Tuggeranong (86.4 per cent for the A.C.T.) and by 1978 this proportion had increased to 91.7 per cent (88.2 per cent for the A.C.T.).

TABLE 5

OFFENCE RATES ⁽¹⁾ FOR OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSONS, PROPERTY AND
GOOD ORDER - TUGGERANONG AND A.C.T.

<u>Offence Category</u>	<u>1976 and 1978</u>			
	<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>	
	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>
Offences against the Person	49.0	235.6	83.3	232.6
Offences Against Property	2,411.8	3,717.7	1,901.0	4,362.7
Offences Against Good Order	460.8	351.7	88.6	350.6
Total Offences	2,921.6	4,305.0	2,072.9	4,945.9

Notes: (1) Rate per 100,000 population as at 30 June

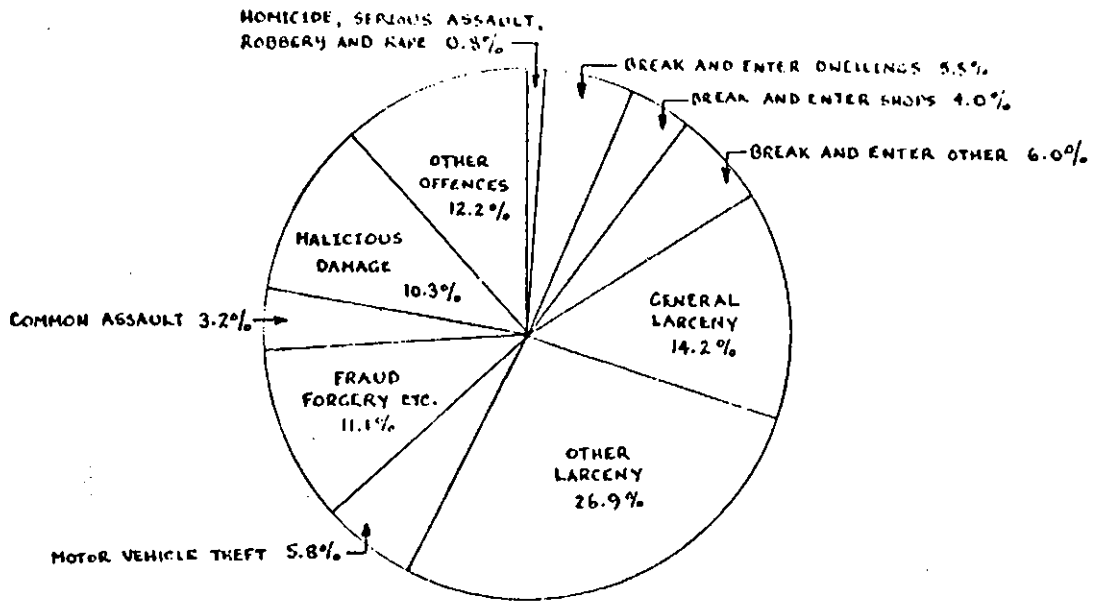
Source: A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

(2) Distribution of Offences

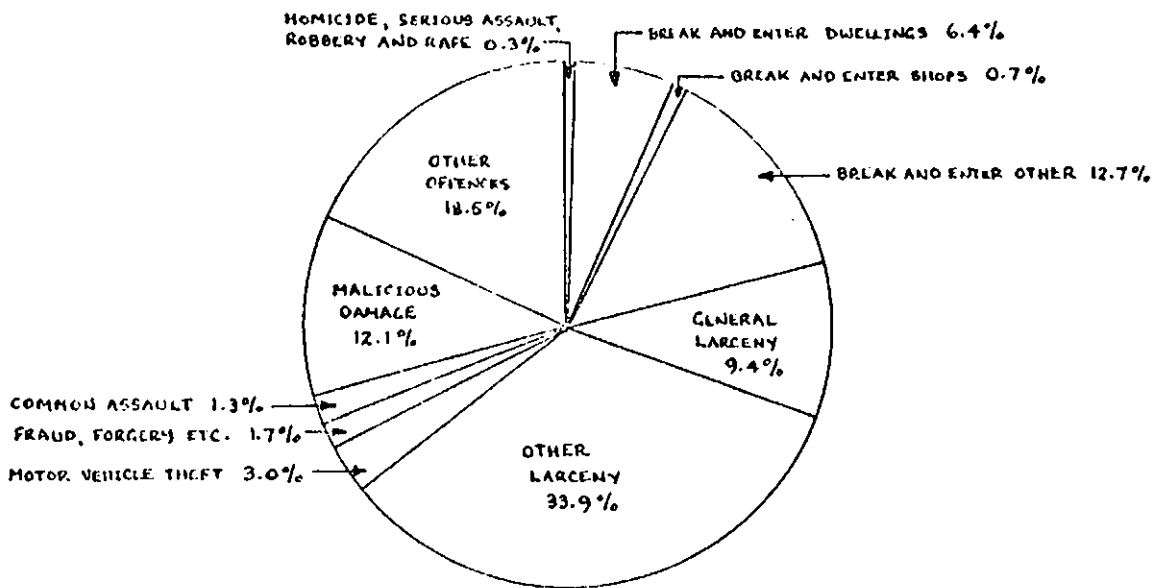
The percentage distributions of offences are given in Figures 2 and 3. In this instance the major offence categories and selected other offence categories have been employed, the former with some modification, to highlight differences between the 1976 and 1978 distributions and the distributions for Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. as a whole. The major offences of homicide, serious assault, robbery and rape have been grouped together due to the very small number of offences in each. Conversely the major offence category of break and enter has been broken into its three constituent sub-categories (dwellings, shops and other buildings) as these are frequently committed offences. Larceny, the most commonly committed of the major offences, has been divided into general larceny and other larceny. Common assault and malicious damage, two of the more frequently committed other offences, have also been included.

Figures 2 and 3 show that homicide etc., the three break and enter categories, general larceny, motor vehicle theft, and common assault each accounted for a higher proportion of total offences in Tuggeranong during 1978 than in 1976. In particular break and enter of dwellings increased from 6.4 per cent in 1976 to 10.5 per cent in 1978, break and enter of shops from 0.7 per cent to 4.0 per cent, and general larceny from 9.4 per cent to 19.6 per cent.

During 1976 break and enter of dwellings, break and enter of buildings other than dwellings and shops, other larceny and malicious damage each accounted for a higher proportion of total offences in Tuggeranong than the proportion of total offences in the A.C.T. In 1978 this was the case for the offences of homicide etc., the three break and enter categories, and general larceny.

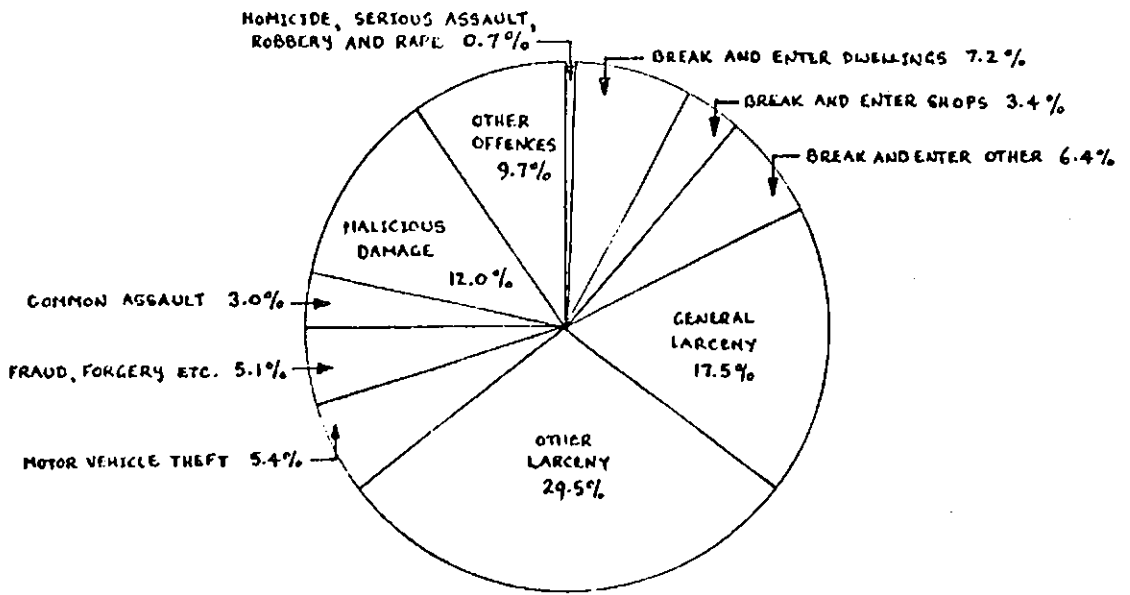


AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY (A.C.T.)

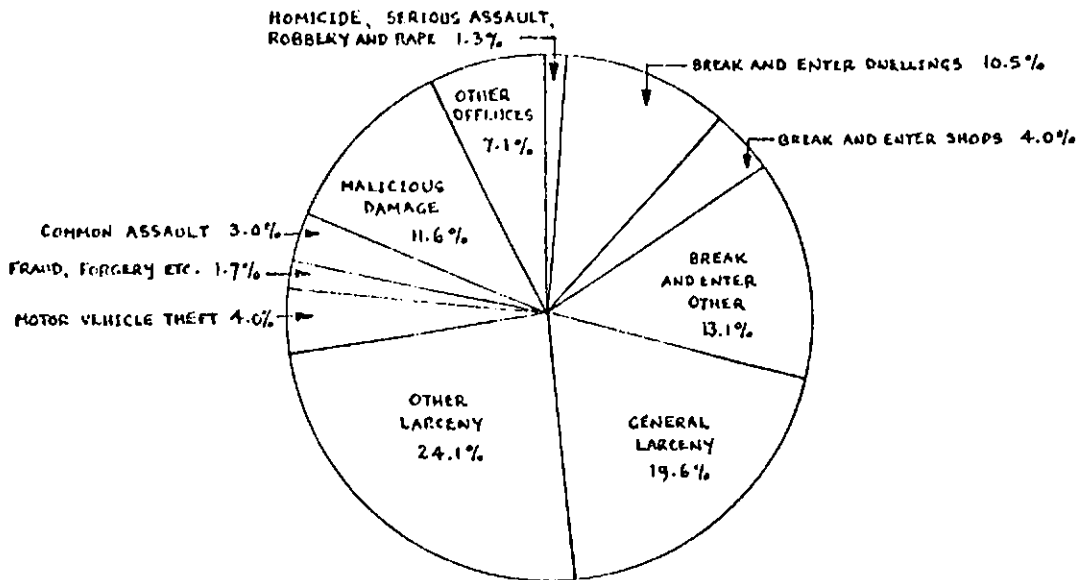


TUGGERANONG

FIGURE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENCES
TUGGERANONG AND THE A.C.T.
1976



AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY (A.C.T.)



TUGGERANONG

FIGURE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENCES
TUGGERANONG AND THE A.C.T.
1978

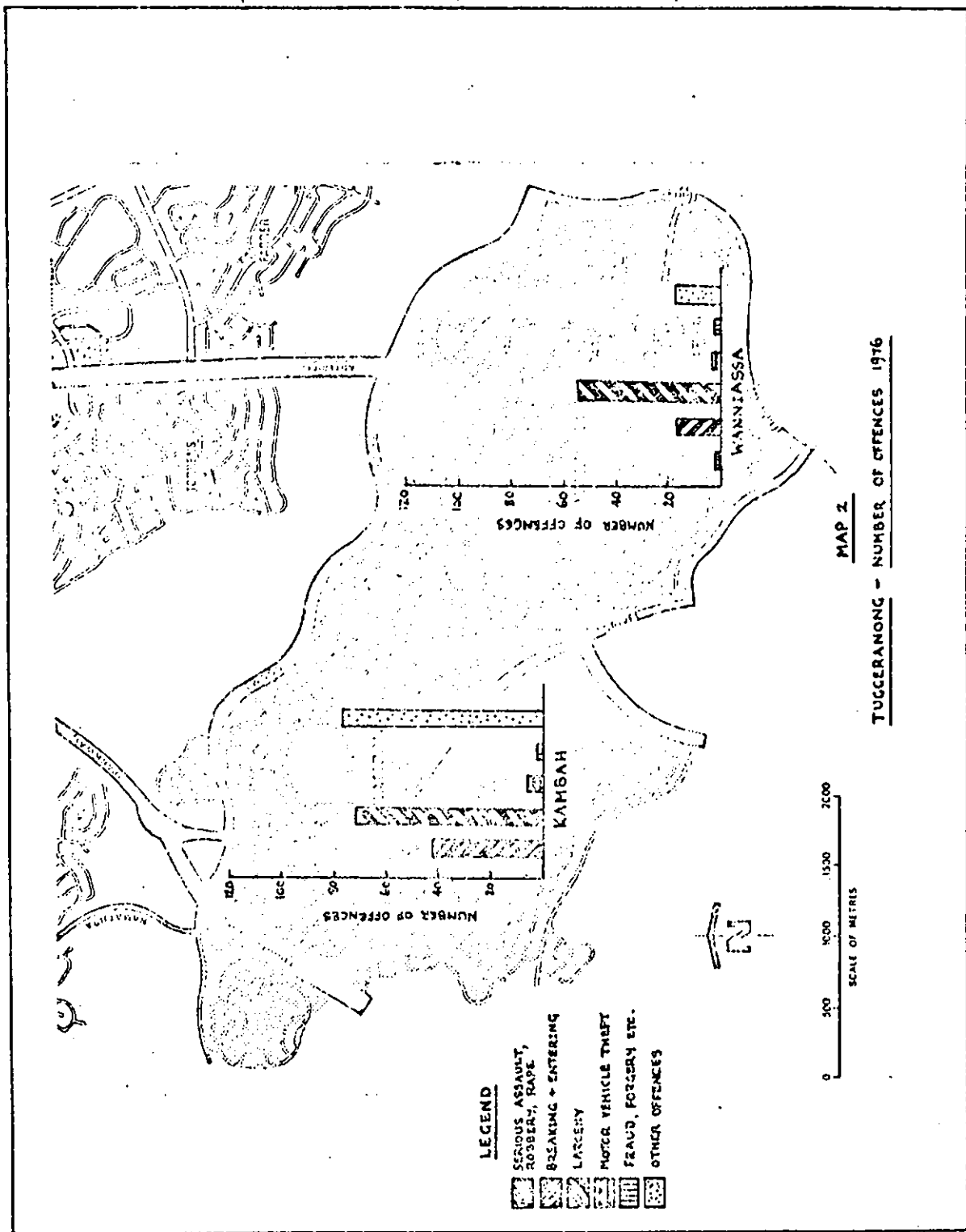
(3) Crime Within Tuggeranong

The number of offences committed within Kambah and Wanniasa during the two years under review are presented in Maps 2 and 3. Here the major offences of serious assault, robbery and rape have been incorporated into a single category (there being no homicides committed in Tuggeranong) and a category for offences other than major ones has been included.

In both years the majority of offences were committed in Kambah, 67.4 per cent in 1976 and 71.4 per cent in 1978. The number of break and entering offences in Kambah nearly doubled from 42 in 1976 to 78 in 1978 and the number of larceny offences increased sharply from 73 to 117. Overall the total number of offences committed in Kambah increased by over 40 per cent from 201 in 1976 to 284 in 1978.

The number of break and enter offences in Wanniasa, though considerably fewer than in Kambah, also nearly doubled, increasing from 17 in 1976 to 32 in 1978. This 1978 figure, however, includes five offences committed in the currently developing area of Monash, the handful of offences committed there being incorporated in figures for Wanniasa due to Monash's negligible population at the time of writing. With the exception of breaking and entering the number of offences committed in Wanniasa during both years was remarkably similar.

Offence rates per 10,000 population for major crimes committed in Kambah and Wanniasa are given in Table 6. As mentioned previously the rates pertaining to serious assault, robbery and rape offences need close scrutiny owing to the small number of offences committed. Comparatively few offences in the motor vehicle theft and fraud, forgery and false pretences categories were also committed. However, it can be seen that in 1976 the rates for breaking and entering and larceny in Wanniasa were approximately four-fold and seven-fold the magnitude of rates in Kambah. During 1978 the Wanniasa rate for these two offence categories were again higher than rates for Kambah, although the former included a small number of offences



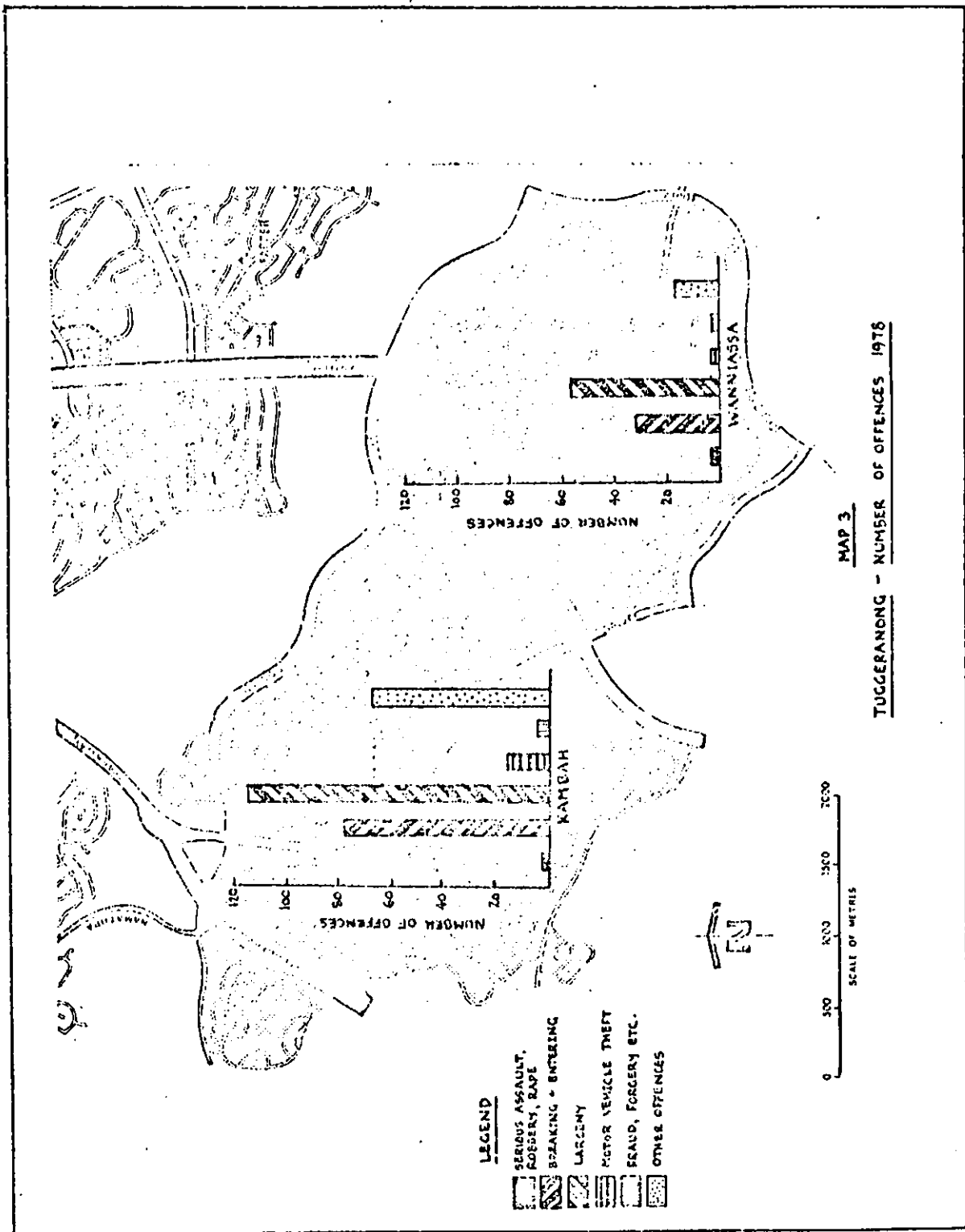


TABLE 6

OFFENCE RATES ⁽¹⁾ FOR MAJOR CRIMES - KAMBAH AND WANNIASSA

1976 AND 1978

<u>Offence Category</u>	<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>	
	<u>Kambah</u>	<u>Wanniassa</u>	<u>Kambah</u>	<u>Wanniassa</u>
Homicide	-	-	-	-
Serious Assault	-	10.0	0.7	2.0
Robbery	-	-	0.7	2.0
Rape	-	-	-	2.0
Breaking and Entering	46.2	170.0	54.5	65.3 ⁽²⁾
Larceny	80.2	560.0	81.8	116.3 ⁽³⁾
Motor Vehicle Theft	6.6	30.0	9.8	4.1
Fraud, Forgery, False Pretences	3.3	20.0	3.5	4.1
 Sub Total : Major Offences	 136.3	 790.0	 151.0	 195.9
Sub Total : Other Offences	84.6	180.0	47.5	36.7
 Total : All Offences	 220.9	 970.0	 198.5	 232.6

Notes:

(1) Rate per 10,000 population as at 30 June

(2) Includes 5 offences committed in Monash

(3) Includes 6 offences committed in Monash

Source:

A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

committed in neighbouring Monash.

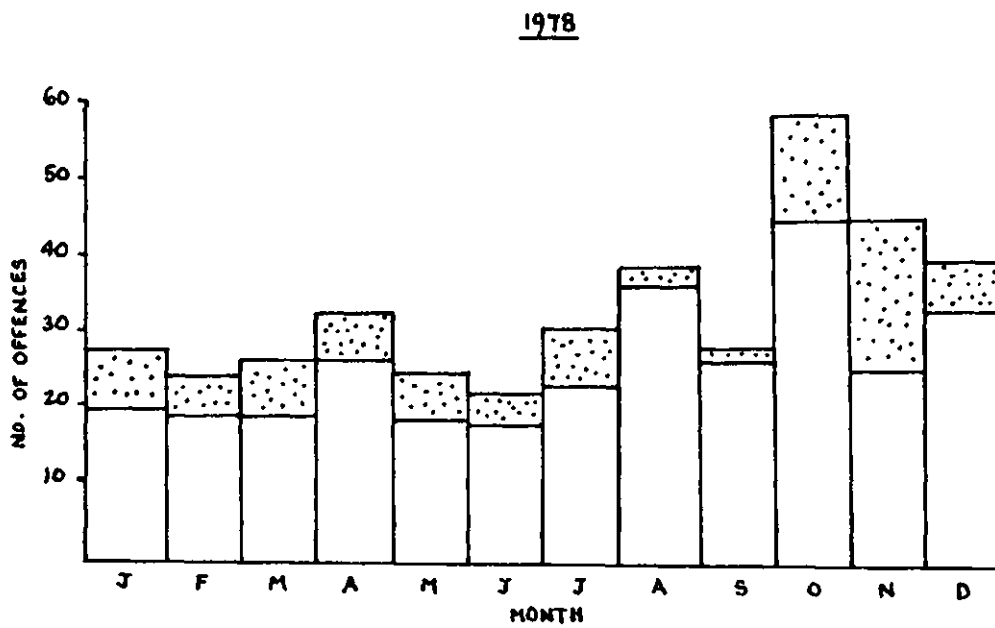
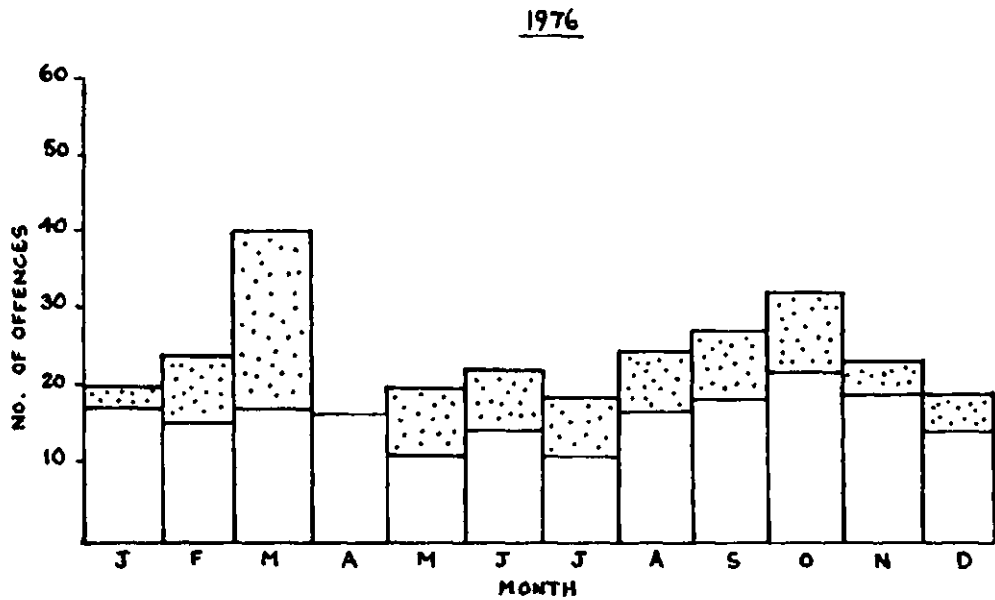
In both years the offence rates for major crime and total crime were higher in Wanniassa than in Kambah, although the differences between both pairs of rates were much greater in 1976 than in 1978. It is also worthy to note that in both areas the 1978 rates for other offences were lower than they were in 1976. Offences of malicious damage, unlawfully in buildings or on lands, common assault and offences against the Post and Telecommunications Ordinance accounted for the majority of other offences in both areas during both years.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this brief investigation into crime patterns within Tuggeranong is the disproportionate amount of crime committed in Wanniassa during 1976. In that year Wanniassa accounted for approximately 10 per cent of Tuggeranong's population yet 32.6 per cent of Tuggeranong's crime was committed there. A more balanced situation was, however, evident during 1978 by which time Wanniassa accounted for some 25 per cent of the town's population and 28.6 per cent of offences which were committed.

(4) Offences by Month Reported

Figure 4 presents the distribution of major and other offences committed in Tuggeranong on the basis of the month during which offences were reported. Whether this distribution is the same as that for the distribution according to month of occurrence is unknown, although it is reasonable to expect that most offences are reported fairly soon after they occur.

FIGURE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENCES IN TUGGERANONG
BY MONTH REPORTED
1976 AND 1978



LEGEND



MAJOR OFFENCES



OTHER OFFENCES

It can be seen that during both years more major offences were reported to police in the period August to December than earlier in the year, with the months of May and June having the smallest number of reported major offences. The distribution of other offences is more erratic and no clear trends can be identified from Figure 4.

(5) Offences Cleared

Offences classified as 'cleared' include the following:

- (a) those proven by police to be unfounded;
- (b) those cleared by police laying charges; and
- (c) those cleared by police taking other action (e.g. reprimand).

In the following analysis only those offences reported to police during 1976 or 1978 and subsequently proved to be unfounded have been considered. Offences reported in other years but subsequently identified as unfounded during 1976 or 1978 were excluded as this study is concerned only with offences reported during these two years.

During 1976 some 36 offences (12.1 per cent) committed in Tuggeranong were cleared and 50 (12.6 per cent) of the offences during 1978 were subsequently cleared during these respective years. The comparable figures for the A.C.T. were 29.3 per cent and 24.5 per cent for 1976 and 1978 respectively.

Offence clear-up rates for Tuggeranong and the A.C.T. are presented in Figures 5 and 6. The categories employed are identical to those used previously to depict the percentage distribution of offences, although the break and enter and larceny categories have not been subdivided in this instance. Again

FIGURE 5
OFFENCE CLEAR-UP RATES
TUGGERANONG AND A.C.T.
1976

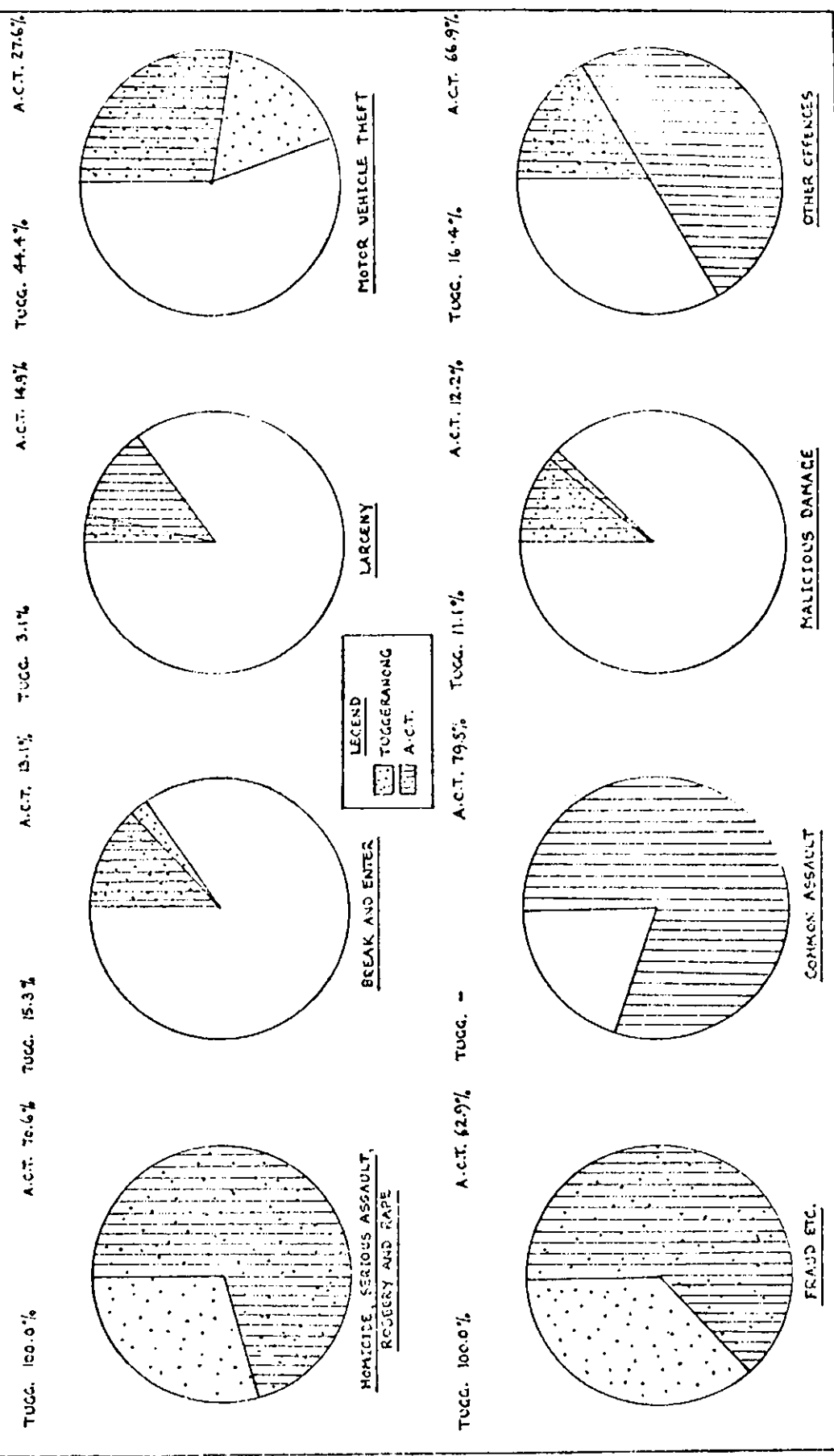
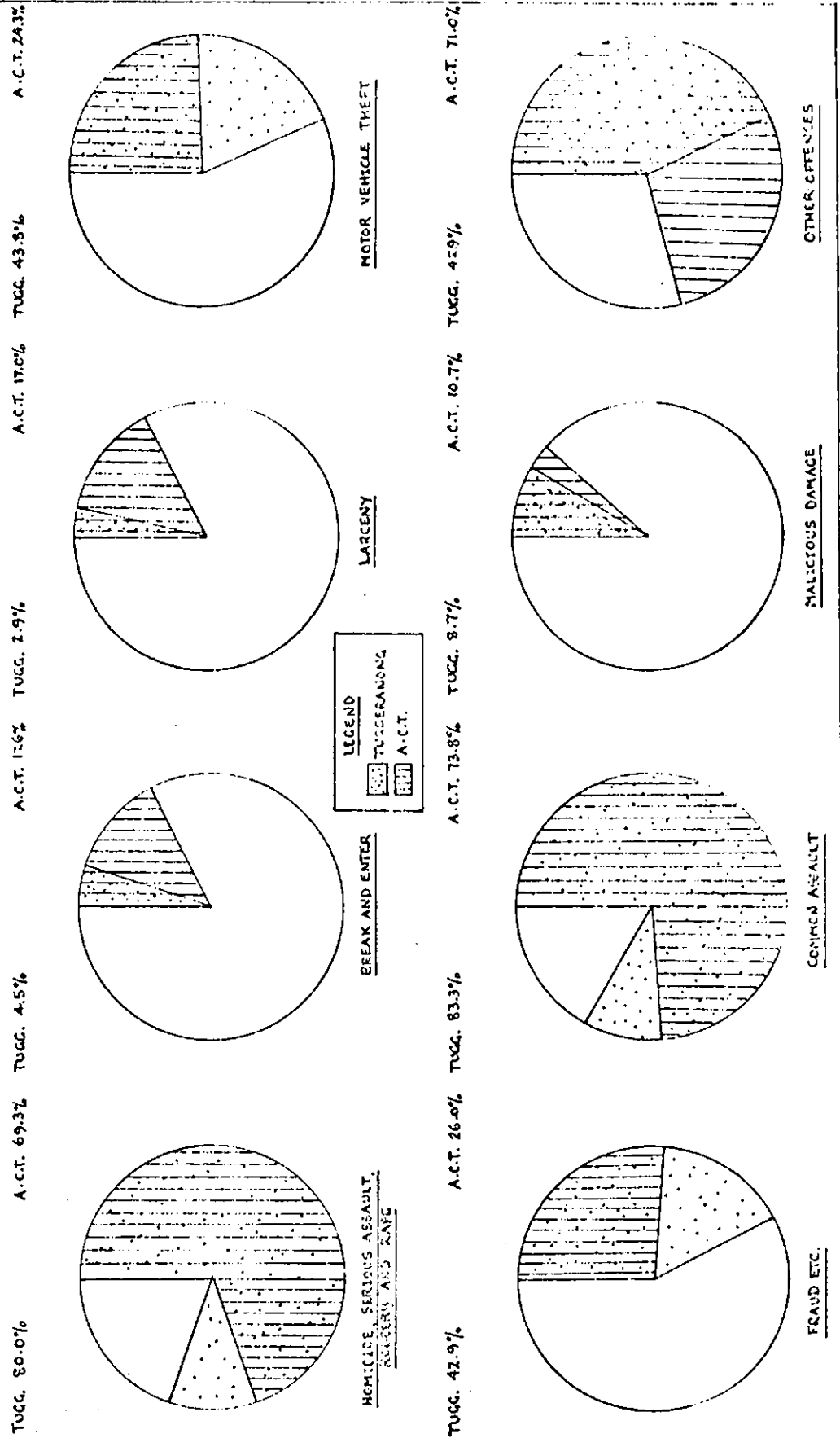


FIGURE 6
OFFENSE CLEAR-UP RATES
TUGGERANONG AND A.C.T.
1978



the small number of homicide etc., motor vehicle theft, and fraud offences committed in Tuggeranong should be borne in mind.

Figure 5 shows that the clear-up rates for homicide etc., break and enter, motor vehicle theft and fraud etc., were higher for Tuggeranong during 1976 than for the A.C.T. Conversely, 1976 clear-up rates for larceny, common assault and other offences were lower for Tuggeranong than for the A.C.T., while the rates for malicious damage were very similar. From Figure 6 it can be seen that during 1978 clear-up rates for homicide etc., motor vehicle theft, fraud etc., and common assault committed in Tuggeranong were above the A.C.T. rates with the reverse being the case for break and enter, larceny, malicious damage and other offences.

It is also worthy to note that the clear-up rate for break and enter offences in Tuggeranong declined from 15.3 per cent in 1976 to 4.5 per cent in 1978 while that for malicious damage decreased from 11.1 per cent to 8.7 per cent. On the other hand, clear-up rates for common assault and other offences were much higher in 1978 than in 1976. It must also be noted that the 1978 figures were assembled during early 1979 and thus offences reported during 1978 are still in the process of being cleared-up by police.

Overall, it is apparent that, generally speaking, the clear-up rates for offences committed in Tuggeranong compare favourably with rates for the A.C.T. as a whole. Furthermore, five of the six offences of serious assault, robbery and rape which were committed in Tuggeranong during both years had been cleared-up by police at the time of writing.

B. Offenders

During 1976 a total of 37 offenders were apprehended for committing offences in Tuggeranong in that year. These offenders were involved in some 31 offences cleared by police by means of charges being laid or, in a handful of cases, other action. Two of these offenders have been classified as 'multiple offenders' as each was charged with committing two separate offences. In 1978 the number of offenders apprehended for committing offences in Tuggeranong that year was 74 and the number of related offences was 50. One of these persons was a 'multiple offender' being charged with committing two offences some months apart. In both years there were numerous instances of two or more offenders being charged collectively with committing an offence or offences.

(1) Sex of Offenders

The overwhelming majority of offenders committing crimes in Tuggeranong during both years were males. There were only two female offenders in 1976 and a further two in 1978, i.e. 5.4 per cent and 2.7 per cent of total offenders respectively.

(2) Age of Offenders

The age distribution of offenders using conventional quienniel age groups is presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS

COMMITTING OFFENCES IN TUGGERANONG - 1976 and 1978

	<u>AGE (years)</u>					Total
	< 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30+	
<u>1976</u>						
No. of offenders	10	9	7	4	7	37
% of total offenders	17.0	24.4	28.9	10.8	18.9	100.0
<u>1978</u>						
No. of offenders	3	41	12	11	7	74
% of total offenders	4.1	55.4	16.2	14.9	9.4	100.0

Source: A.C.T. police. Unpublished tabulations.

The proportion of offenders aged less than 15 years, 20 to 24 years and 30 or more years all declined from 1976 to 1978, the proportion aged less than 15 years decreasing dramatically from 17.0 per cent in 1976 to 4.1 per cent in 1978 and the proportion aged 30 or more years in 1978 being about half the 1976 figure.

Conversely, the proportions of offenders aged 15 to 19 and 25 to 29 years were both higher in 1978 than in 1976. The proportion for offenders in the 15 to 19 year group more than doubled from 24.4 per cent in 1976 to 55.4 per cent in 1978.

An alternative age grouping of offenders is that based on the categories of juveniles and adults, the former comprising persons aged less than 18 years. Some 45.9 per cent of the 1976 offenders were juveniles compared to 39.2 per cent of those committing offences during 1978.

The average age of all offenders for 1976 was 21.5 years compared to 20.9 years for offenders committing crimes in 1978. Overall the age distribution of offenders shows that those committing offences in Tuggeranong during 1978 tended to be younger than those responsible for such offences in 1976. With respect to the former 59.5 per cent were aged less than 20 years, 75.7 per cent less than 25 years and 90.6 less than 30 years compared to the 1976 figures of 51.4 per cent, 70.3 per cent and 90.6 per cent respectively.

(3) Types of Offences Committed

Table 8 gives details of offenders by types of offences which were committed in Tuggeranong during both 1976 and 1978. In 1976 23 offenders (62.2 per cent) committed major offences compared to 47.3 per cent in 1978. The major offences with the highest number of offenders were breaking and entering in 1976 and breaking and entering and larceny in 1978. Perhaps the most important point to note from Table 8 is the decline in the average age of persons involved in breaking and entering (19.5 years in 1976 and 16.9 years in 1978). The average age of those responsible for all major offences also decreased from 22.4 years to 18.4 years. The data presented in this table must, however, be interpreted extremely carefully as the numbers of offenders for both years are small. As mentioned previously, offenders were apprehended for only 10.4 per cent of all offences committed in 1976 and

TABLE 8

NUMBER DISTRIBUTION AND AVERAGE AGE OF OFFENDERS BY TYPE OF OFFENCE

COMMITTED IN TUGGERANONG - 1976 AND 1978

<u>Offence Category</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>Offenders</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Total</u> <u>Offenders</u>	<u>Average</u> <u>Age of Offenders</u> <u>(Years)</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>Offenders</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Total</u> <u>Offenders</u>	<u>Average Age</u> <u>of Offenders</u> <u>(Years)</u>
Serious Assault	1	2.7	43.0	2	2.7	16.5
Rape	-	-	-	1	1.4	26.0
Robbery	-	-	-	1	1.4	28.0
Breaking and Entering	11	29.7	19.5	10	13.5	16.9
Larceny	4	10.8	29.5	10	13.5	16.5
Motor Vehicle Theft	4	10.8	16.0	9	12.2	19.5
Fraud, Forgery etc.	3	8.1	25.3	2	2.7	24.0
Sub Total : Major Offences	23	62.2	22.4	35	47.3	18.4
Sub Total : Other Offences	14	37.8	19.4	39	52.7	22.4
TOTAL : All Offences	37	100.0	21.5	74	100.0	20.9

Source: A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

12.6 per cent of those committed in 1978. Whether the characteristics of offenders who were apprehended by police were typical of the undoubtedly much larger number involved in offences that were either not reported to, or cleared by, police remains unknown.

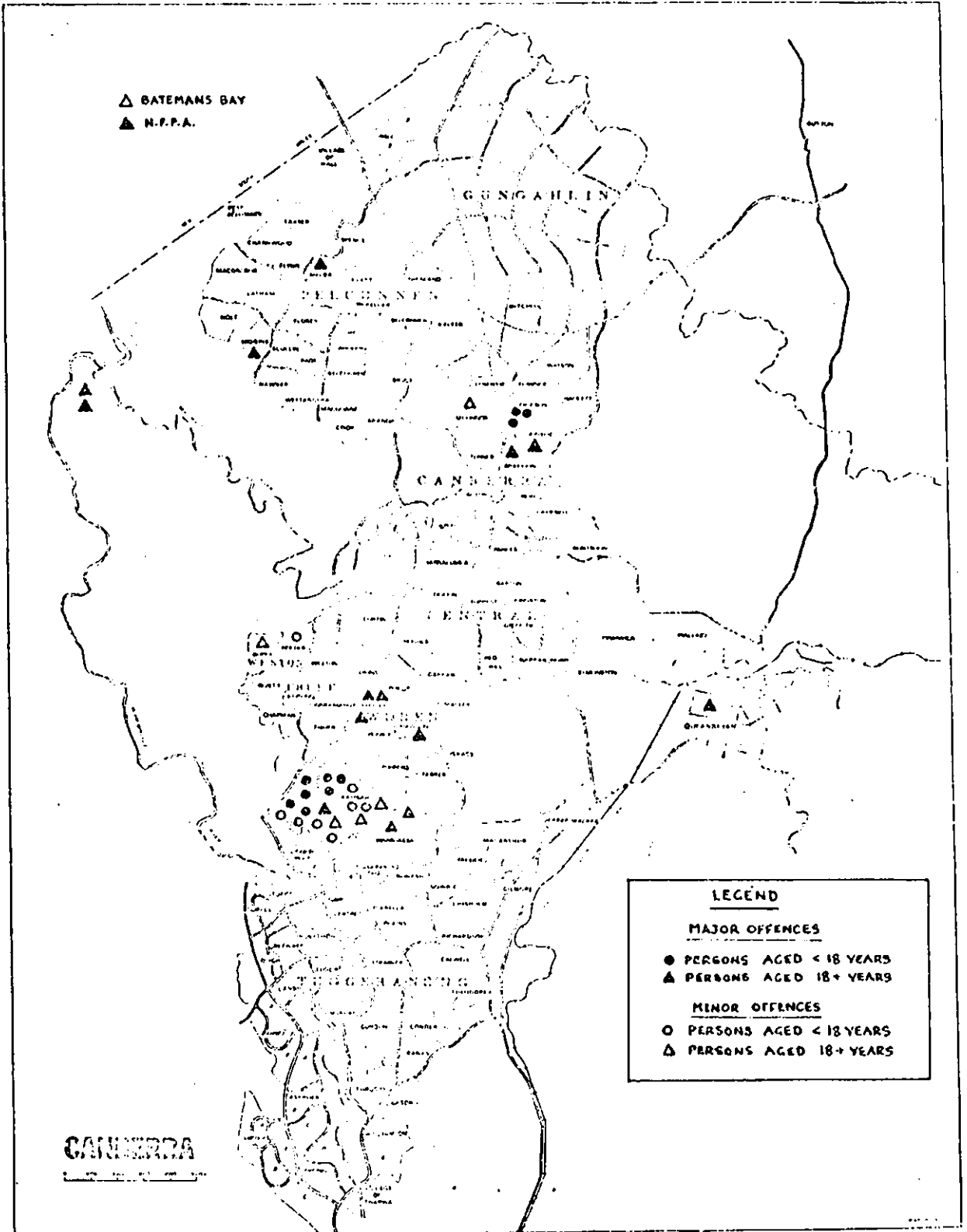
(4) Place of Residence

The place of residence of both juvenile and adult offenders who committed major and minor offences in Tuggeranong are depicted in Maps 4 and 5 which highlight the greater number of Tuggeranong residents who committed offences during 1978 than in 1976.

Table 9 gives the number and distribution of these offenders by both their place of residence and the type of offence they committed. In 1976 almost 40 per cent of those who committed major offences were Tuggeranong residents, but by 1978 this had increased to 68.6 per cent. The proportion of those who committed other offences and were Tuggeranong residents also increased, though less dramatically, from 71.4 per cent in 1976 to 79.5 per cent in 1978. With respect to all offenders, it can be seen that the proportion who were residents of Tuggeranong increased from approximately 50 per cent in 1976 to nearly 75 per cent in 1978.

Finally it is appropriate to briefly consider jointly the age and place of residence of offenders. The number and distribution of offenders by their age and place of residence are presented in Table 10. In 1976 almost one half of the offenders who were Tuggeranong residents were aged less than 15 years, and slightly more than one quarter were aged 15 to 19 years. Conversely, almost three quarters of the offenders resident outside of Tuggeranong were aged 20 or more years.

MAP 4
PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF PERSONS COMMITTING OFFENCES IN 1976



MAP 5

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF PERSONS COMMITTING OFFENCES IN 1978

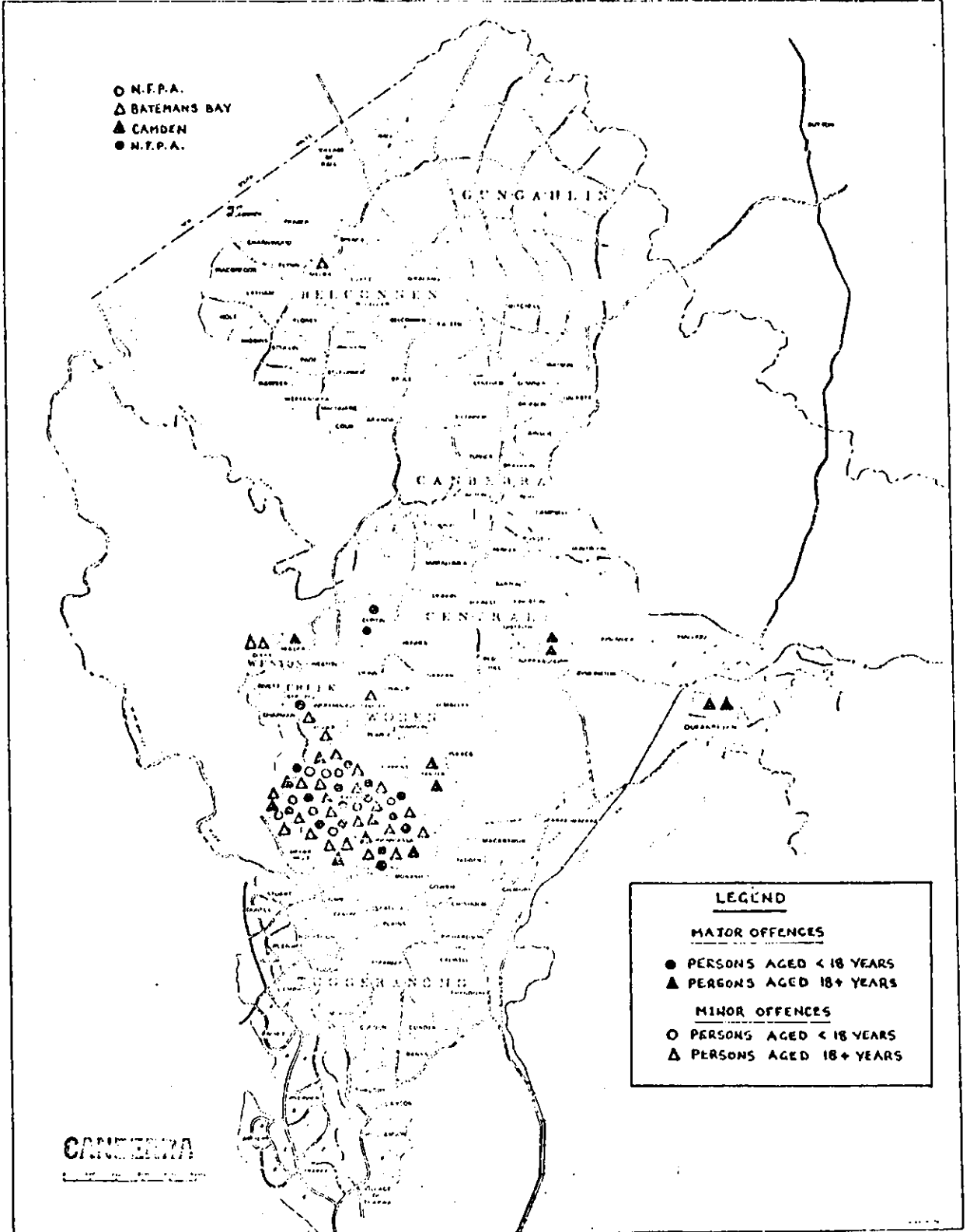


TABLE 9

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS COMMITTING OFFENCES IN TUGGERANONG BY PLACE

OF RESIDENCE AND TYPE OF OFFENCE - 1976 AND 1978

	<u>1976</u>		<u>1978</u>	
	<u>No.</u> <u>Offenders</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>Offenders</u>	<u>%</u>
Place of Residence of Offenders Committing Major Offences.				
Tuggeranong	9	39.1	24	68.6
Other	14	60.9	11	31.4
Sub Total	23	100.0	35	100.0
Place of Residence of Offenders Committing Other Offences				
Tuggeranong	10	71.4	31	79.5
Other	4	28.6	8	20.5
Sub Total	14	100.0	39	100.0
Place of Residence of All Offenders				
Tuggeranong	19	51.4	55	74.3
Other	18	48.6	19	25.7
TOTAL	37	100.0	74	100.0

Source: A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

TABLE 10

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS COMMITTING OFFENCES IN
TUGGERANONG BY AGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE - 1976 AND 1978

<u>Place of Residence</u>		<u>AGE (Years)</u>					<u>TOTAL</u>
		<u>< 15</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30+</u>	
<u>1976 Offenders</u>							
Tuggeranong	No.	9	5	2	1	2	19
	%	47.4	26.3	10.5	5.3	10.5	100.0
Other	No.	1	4	5	3	5	18
	%	5.6	22.2	27.8	16.7	27.8	100.0
<u>1978 Offenders</u>							
Tuggeranong	No.	3	28	9	9	6	55
	%	5.5	50.9	16.4	16.4	10.9	100.0
Other	No.	-	13	3	2	1	19
	%	-	68.4	15.8	10.5	5.3	100.0

Source: A.C.T. Police. Unpublished tabulations.

By 1978 this pattern had changed dramatically. One half of the offenders resident in Tuggeranong were aged 15 to 19 years and a further third between 20 and 30 years, while these age groups accounted for almost 95 per cent of offenders resident in other localities. In short, the distributions of offenders by age for both those resident in Tuggeranong and elsewhere were more similar in 1978 than in 1976 and during the former year the vast majority of offenders in both groups were aged between 15 and 30 years.

DISCUSSION

The above analysis and discussion presents a description of crime patterns in Tuggeranong during two of the first five years of the town's development. Since the first residents arrived in mid 1974 Tuggeranong has experienced a very rapid build-up of population, many aspects of the town thus changing dramatically as families established themselves in a new community geographically, if not socially, distinct from other parts of Canberra.

The Tuggeranong monitoring survey mentioned previously revealed that the area's unique natural environment and perceived high aesthetic attributes of the built environment were major factors attracting residents to live in the town and were greatly valued by the community. Generally speaking residents expressed high levels of satisfaction with neighbourhood design in Tuggeranong; any dissatisfaction was usually directed towards the development programme (e.g. the earlier provision of facilities and services) rather than planning concepts which had been implemented.

This survey and follow up group interviews with selected social groups within Tuggeranong's population give the impression that crime was not perceived by residents to be a problem, or indeed an issue of concern. However, the above analysis, despite its considerable limitations, reveals that Tuggeranong does not have a negligible level of crime. During the years studied there was no police station in Tuggeranong, the area being patrolled by mobile units operating from Woden police station. It may be that the absence of such a facility in Tuggeranong contributed to a lesser amount of crime being reported than would be the case if a police station had been located within the town, but this is only conjecture.

Between 1976 and 1978 Tuggeranong's population increased by about 88 per cent while the number of reported offences increased by 33.6 per cent, the number of major offences increasing by over 50 per cent and other offences decreasing slightly. The overall crime rate was, however, lower in 1978 than in 1976. In both years the offence rates for major, other and total crime were lower in Tuggeranong than in the A.C.T. as a whole. Tuggeranong thus compares favourably with the A.C.T. in terms of crime statistics based upon offences reported or becoming known to police. In 1976 Tuggeranong accounted for 4.9 per cent of the A.C.T.'s population and 3.4 per cent of recorded offences, the proportions for 1978 being 9.0 per cent and 3.8 per cent respectively.

The most commonly committed offences in Tuggeranong during both years were larceny (particularly larceny from building sites and general larceny), breaking and entering (particularly of dwellings other than shops and dwellings and in 1978 dwellings as well), and less serious offences like malicious damage and unlawfully in buildings or on lands.

Numbers of major offences against the person were negligible in both years and most were subsequently cleared. Clear up rates for other major offences varied between the two years under consideration but were generally similar to those for the A.C.T., larceny being the only exception. A good deal of the crime that was committed and subsequently reported (e.g. larceny from building sites, breaking and entering and unlawfully in buildings or on lands) is typical of that expected in new residential areas with much building activity and a fragmentary pattern of occupied housing.

It is significant, though perhaps hardly surprising, that in 1976 about one third of Tuggeranong's crime occurred in Wanniasa which contained only 10 per cent of the town's population. As a more balanced distribution occurred in 1978 it seems reasonable to suggest that low levels of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, inadequate street lighting, and the high ratio of unoccupied to occupied dwellings influenced Wanniasa's comparatively high total offence rate in 1976.

During that year over one half of the offenders apprehended by police lived outside of Tuggeranong, most being aged 20 or more years. Conversely the majority of offenders who resided in Tuggeranong were aged less than 20 years. By 1976 three quarters of the offenders were Tuggeranong residents, half of whom were aged 15 to 19 years. The average age of all offenders who committed major offences was lower in 1978 than in 1976, and this was also the case with respect to total offences. Offenders were apprehended for 10.4 per cent of offences committed in 1976 and 12.6 per cent of those committed in 1978.

Criminologists frequently acknowledge that most crime is committed by males in the 15-24 year age group. In 1976 some 7.2 per cent of the total population were males so aged and of the male population in Tuggeranong, 14.3 per cent were aged 15 to 24 years inclusive. Far more males were aged 20 to 24 years than 15 to 19 years. As the population in Tuggeranong matures there will be a higher proportion of persons in the 15 to 19 year group in particular, assuming that those in the younger age groups today remain in the area. In 1976 29.7 per cent of the total population, and 30.6 per cent of the male population, were aged less than 10 years, so a dramatic increase in the number of teenagers can be expected within the next decade. Whether such demographic changes will drastically alter existing patterns of crime remain to be seen, but increasing leisure opportunities will be needed for the young as their numbers will undoubtedly grow significantly.

As not all crime in the future will be committed by Tuggeranong residents, and as the present analysis is based on data for only two years, it is not possible to outline future crime scenarios for Tuggeranong. It may be that the crime rates in say, 1980, will be lower still than was the case in 1978. Nevertheless it can be anticipated that with the continued, albeit slower, growth of population expected in the future the prevalence of such offences as larceny from building sites, unlawfully on buildings or on lands, malicious damage and breaking and entering may persist. The future geographical patterns of housing development, residential occupancy, landscaping and the like may, in part, influence the level of such offences being committed. Another important factor will be construction of a police station which is to be provided in the near future. But it remains to be seen whether Wanniasa's experience in 1976, for example, will be repeated in proposed residential areas located further down the Tuggeranong valley. Statistics on population change in Canberra and Tuggeranong for the period 1971-1988 are given in Table 11.

TABLE 11

POPULATION CHANGE IN CANBERRA AND TUGGERANONG 1971-1988

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Annual Increase</u>		<u>% Growth</u>	
	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>Canberra</u> (a)	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>Canberra</u> (a)	<u>Tuggeranong</u>	<u>Canberra</u> (a)
1971	-	143,200	-	14,100	-	10.9
1972	-	155,700	-	12,500	-	8.7
1973	-	166,000	-	10,300	-	6.6
1974	50	177,400	50	11,400	-	6.9
1975	3,550	188,800	3,500	11,400	-	6.4
1976	10,100	201,800	6,550	13,000	184.5	6.9
1977	14,700	206,800	4,600	5,000	45.5	2.5
1978	18,000	213,000	3,300	6,200	22.4	3.0
1979	20,850	219,000	2,850	6,000	15.8	2.8
1980	24,750	225,000	3,900	6,000	18.7	2.7
1981	28,950	231,000	4,200	6,000	17.0	2.7
1982	34,250	237,300	5,300	6,300	18.3	2.7
1983	38,350	243,800	4,100	6,500	12.0	2.7
1984	42,650	250,500	4,300	6,700	11.2	2.7
1985	47,750	257,500	5,100	7,000	11.9	2.8
1986	53,950	264,800	6,200	7,300	11.5	2.8
1987	60,850	272,300	6,900	7,500	12.8	2.8
1988	68,050	280,200	7,200	7,900	11.8	2.9

Notes:

(a) Canberra City District

Source:

National Capital Development Commission. 21st Annual Report - Year Ended 30 June, 1978, N.C.D.C. Canberra, 1978 : p.61
 National Capital Development Commission, Population Projections for Canberra 1978-1988, N.C.D.C. Canberra, 1978.

In 1976 about \$52,000 worth of property was involved in criminal offences committed in Tuggeranong (i.e. \$5-13 per head of population), this more than doubling to just over \$117,000 (i.e. \$6-11 per head) in 1978. The value of property recovered in both years was approximately one-fifth the value of property involved. For the A.C.T. the per capita value of property involved (\$9-11 in 1976 and \$13-88 in 1978) was considerably higher although the value of property recovered represented a higher proportion of the value of property involved (46 per cent in 1976 and 29 per cent in 1978). All these figures represent, of course, only a fraction of the actual cost of crime as they do not include such costs as those pertaining to providing police and other criminal justice services and again they refer only to those offences reported to police.

What these figures do indicate, however, is that the 'cost of crime' in Tuggeranong in terms of the value of property involved, is not negligible although it does compare favourably to the A.C.T. as a whole. The doubling of the value of property involved in offences committed in 1976 and 1978 is noteworthy, but whether this will continue to increase is difficult to ascertain. It must also be borne in mind that the available data gives no indication of the human and social costs which emanate from criminal behaviour.

Crime in Tuggeranong during the early years of the development of this new town has been examined but the analysis undertaken probably raises more questions than it answers. The inherent limitations of the data employed have been acknowledged, but so to is their usefulness in providing some insight into the nature of crime. Further research into future patterns of crime in Tuggeranong will no doubt enhance the meaning and value of the data which has been employed in this exploratory study.

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