

Background Paper on

Crime in the Geelong Region

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REJECT

**Australian Institute of Criminology
January 1976**

CRIME IN THE GEELONG REGION

by David Biles* and Alex Copeland**

INTRODUCTION

The Geelong region in Victoria is one of the three major growth centres in Australia, the others being Albury/Wodonga on the Victoria/New South Wales border and Bathurst/Orange in New South Wales. A fourth potential growth centre is Monarto in South Australia. 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 crime and delinquency, largely associated with the two factors of increased population density and population mobility.

The Australian Institute of Criminology has a long-term commitment to assisting with the planning process in growth centres such as these in order to ameliorate the criminogenic conditions which may be created by expansion. In May 1975 the Institute conducted a seminar in Albury/Wodonga in order to set the guidelines for crime prevention planning in that region. That seminar was deemed to be highly successful by the participants and generated a high degree of public interest, but the need was felt by the Institute staff and participants for more information about local crime trends to be used as a basis for discussion. Hence, in the preparation for the Institute's seminar to be held in Geelong in February 1976 considerable thought was given to providing an adequate data base, and this report represents an attempt to meet that need.

The use of hard data in crime prevention planning is intended to do much more than add an air of reality to discussions in the seminar. If the data are comprehensive, accurate and reliable, they should form the basis for a large number of planning decisions. At an elementary level, information on the geographical distribution of offences and likely areas of increase can, for example, be used as a guide to the allocation of police resources. Similarly, an analysis of the areas of residence of offenders may indicate the need for special attention to be paid to the development of recreational and sporting facilities. Such information

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may also suggest changes in educational theory and practice that might be needed to suit particular areas. At a more ambitious level, however, accurate information on the relationship between crime trends and housing styles and street design may provide useful pointers to the type of physical planning which is going to be least criminogenic in the future. The work of Oscar Newman¹ in the United States provides the key to this more ambitious approach to crime prevention planning.

In the preparatory discussions for the Geelong seminar it was decided that the ideal data base required would include all available facts about offences reported and offenders proceeded against in each of the 37 suburbs or sub-districts which make up the total region over a 10-year period. The enormity of the task of collecting these data in the time available precluded the possibility of this ideal being achieved. In the event, it was found possible to only collect detailed information on offenders proceeded against for one period of six months in 1970 and for a further period of six months four years later in 1974. In addition, information was collected on offences reported which remained unsolved for a period of one month in 1973. In total, information on 2067 offences was available, 694 of these being 1970 offenders and 1030 being 1974 offenders. The remaining 343 cases were unsolved crimes which were reported or became known to police in March 1973. This latter group of data were found on inspection to include a number of offences such as driving under the influence which were clearly not correctly classified as 'unsolved', and therefore these data have been excluded from the analyses that comprise the bulk of this report. The remaining two series of cases were further reduced in size in most, but not all, of the analyses by the elimination of offences reported which were solved by a result of 'no offence disclosed'.

For each of the offenders included in the analysis the following information was known : the principal offence, the place of the offence, the offender's home address, age, sex, occupation and country of birth, the type of property stolen, if any, and the number of co-offenders, if any.

The writers of this report would like it to be known that they faced considerable difficulties in their task. In the first place, the computer print-out of data, in a relatively crude form, was first received on 28 January 1976 which allowed very little time for detailed consideration.

1. See Defensible Space; People and Design in the Violent City, Architectural Press, London, 1972.

Secondly, considerable difficulty was found in obtaining accurate population figures to be used as a basis for comparison with the numbers of offences reported to the police. We obtained details of a population census taken in the middle of 1975 and these figures have been used for the calculation of rates, even though the dates of the crime data and the population do not precisely correspond. Thirdly, no information on the socio-economic structure of the sub-districts of the Geelong region was available to us.

As a result of these deficiencies what follows in this report is essentially a description of crime trends and certain facts about known offenders as applies to the two periods named. Much of the interpretation and extrapolation of these data which is highly desirable will only be possible when other information becomes available.

This exercise in providing a solid foundation for rational crime prevention planning has, above all else, established the enormity of the task. Such information as we have is clearly better than none at all, but we are among the first to recognise its inadequacies. We would, however, like to express our deep appreciation to the police officers and staff of the Social Welfare Department regional office in Geelong who undertook the laborious task of coding the basic information, and to Mr. Denbeigh Richards, Regional Superintendent for the Social Welfare Department, who organised and supervised this work. We are also appreciative of the work done by Mr. Dennis Challinger, Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Melbourne, who carried out the computer analysis.

OFFENCE PATTERNS

As a first glance at the information available we have compressed all of the 1970 and 1974 cases into eight crime categories and have compared the incidence of offences in each category for the two data collection periods. We have then calculated the percentage increase from 1970 to 1974 for each crime category and the results are shown in Table 1 over page.

In this table, five cases of robbery have been included in the assault category and two traffic offences have been excluded. The totals for 1970 and 1974 are slightly larger in this table than in later

analyses as, in this instance, cases of 'No Offence Disclosed' have not been eliminated.

TABLE 1 TOTAL OFFENCES CLEARED FOR 6 MONTHS OF 1970 AND 6 MONTHS OF 1974 AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE

Crime Category	1970	1974	% Increase
Assault	56	76 *	26.3
Sex Offences	26	34	30.8
Break & Enter	183	226	23.5
Theft	289	420	45.3
Motor Vehicles	70	119	70.0
False Pretences	26	30	15.4
Other Property Offences	18	60	233.3
Offences Against Good Order	24	65	170.8
TOTAL	692	1030	48.8

* includes 1 homicide

It can be seen from Table 1 that for all crime categories there has been a substantial increase over the 4-year period. The increases shown for 'Other Property Offences' and 'Offences Against Good Order' should be interpreted with caution as these crime categories involve relatively small figures and probably have variable reportability and detection rates. The overall indication of increase, 48.8 per cent, is however highly significant and may be compared with the increase in general population for the region over the 4-year period 1971 to 1975. On the basis of demographic information supplied to us, the total population of the region in 1971 was 141,154 and in 1975 it was 149,647. This difference of 8493 persons represents an increase of 6.02 per cent over a 4-year period. It will be noted that the dates of the population counts are not identical to the dates of the crime data collections, but as there is considerable overlap and both are for precisely four years, it seems reasonable to conclude that crime in the region has

increased at a rate far in excess of the population increase.

In order to examine the geographical distribution of crime in the region we have next drawn up a table showing the 37 sub-districts or suburbs which comprise the area under study, the population as at 30 June 1975 and the offences that occurred in the collection periods of 1970 and 1974 for each sub-district. From these data the offence rates for each sub-district have been calculated and are shown in Table 2 on the following page.

It has not been possible to calculate the changes over time with regard to crime for each sub-district, as the necessary computer analysis was not undertaken and to do so would have involved the calculation of rates on the basis of very small figures which would have introduced a high degree of unreliability. Even with the crime figures shown in Table 2 for the two periods combined, the rates for sub-districts with absolute crime figures of less than ten should be interpreted with caution. Also, distortion may arise in those locations where the population figures are unusually low.

With these qualifications in mind, it is quite apparent that there are wide variations in the incidence of crime in the region. The city centre, not surprisingly, is the most heavily victimised part of the region with a rate more than four times higher than any other. Such a finding is common for all geographical analyses of crime patterns for metropolitan areas, but, in this particular case note should also be taken of the fact that high rates were found for Torquay, North Geelong, Norlane and Winchelsea. In addition to these 'high crime' areas, others with rates above the mean for the region are Anglesea, West Geelong and East Geelong. It is perhaps surprising that all of the remaining 27 sub-districts have rates clearly below the mean for the region, which suggests that the distribution of crime is very uneven indeed.

To take the geographical analysis a little further, our next table analyses the types of crimes which have occurred in each of the 37 sub-districts. Table 3 shows these data and from this it can be seen that the incidence of theft, including that of motor vehicles, is higher in the city centre than the average for the total region.

TABLE 2 CRIME RATES, 1970/74 BY SUB-DISTRICT

Sub-district	Population*	Offences	Rate/1000
Geelong City	2968	434	146.2
South Geelong	2300	17	7.4
Chilwell	2173	7	3.2
Newtown	7994	52	6.5
West Geelong	9480	111	11.7
Herne Hill	7790	31	4.0
Hamlyn Heights	6115	6	1.0
North Geelong	2461	74	30.1
Drumcondra	1008	6	6.0
Bell Park	5322	47	8.8
Norlane	7429	224	30.1
Bellpost Hill	4425	3	0.7
North Shore	511	11	21.5
Corio	11715	85	7.3
Highton	9479	19	2.0
West Belmont	7430	30	4.0
East Belmont	6244	36	5.8
Grovedale	3778	6	1.6
Breakwater	2472	1	0.4
Whittington	3127	2	0.6
East Geelong	7079	80	11.3
Newcomb	3480	32	9.2
Moolap	2999	6	2.0
Drysdale	1584	6	3.8
Portarlington	2588	22	8.5
Leopold	2127	6	2.8
Ocean Grove	3906	35	9.0
Bellrine Rest	2878	7	2.4
Queenscliff	2809	14	5.0
Barwon Heads	1137	24	21.1
Torquay	2373	72	30.3
Anglesea	1244	16	12.9
Barabool Rest	2553	1	0.4
Bannockburn	2288	7	3.0
Lara	2888	7	2.4
Corio Rest	2639	3	1.1
Winchelsea	854	25	29.3
TOTALS	149647	1565	10.5
		+ 47 Offences NFPA or Out of Region	
		1612	

* Population at 30 June 1975.

TABLE 3 PLACE OF OFFENCES BY CRIME CATEGORY

Sub-district	Assault	Sex Offences	Break & Enter	Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft	False Pret.	Other Prop. Off.	Off. Agst. Good Order	TOTAL
Geelong City	29	14	78	198	32	26	26	30	433
South Geelong	1		4	8	4				17
Chilwell				5	1	1			7
Newtown	9	1	9	18	6	2	4	3	52
West Geelong	16	2	32	28	24	6	1	1	110
Herne Hill		1	10	14	5		1		31
Hamlyn Heights			1	5					6
North Geelong	5	2	37	22	6	1	1		74
Drumcondra	1			4	1				6
Bell Park	4	1	22	7	11	1	1		47
Norlane	16	16	76	69	23	7	11	6	224
Bellpost Hill			3						3
North Shore	1		5	5					11
Corio	4	2	8	39	10	2	4	16	85
Highton	2		6	7	3		1		19
West Belmont	2	1	6	15	1	1	3	1	30
East Belmont	2		1	27				6	36
Grovedale				4			1	1	6
Breakwater			1						1
Whittington		1	1						2
East Geelong		2	22	38	10	2	4	2	80
Newcomb	6	3	10	10	1		1	1	32
Moolap		1	2	2			1		6
Drysdale				5				1	6
Portarlington	7		1	8	6				22
Leopold			5					1	6
Ocean Grove	3	5	9	10			3	5	35
Bellrine Rest			2	2				3	7
Queenscliff				9	4		1		14
Barwon Heads	5		11	3	2		2	1	24
Torquay	2	1	12	33	10		8	6	72
Anglesea	1	1	7	5				2	16
Barabool Rest								1	1
Bannockburn	3		4						7
Lara		1	1	1	3	1			7
Corio Rest	1		2						3
Winchelsea	2	2	8	9	4				25
Out of region	8	3	4	13	13	2	3	3	49
TOTAL:	130	66	400	623	130	52	78	89	1612

Also, it is of interest to note that in Norlane, West Geelong and North Geelong the incidence of breaking and entering is higher than that for theft. This suggests that the premises in these areas are more victim-prone than the average. Higher than average figures for assault are found also for Norlane and West Geelong and the only other notable finding from this table is that Corio has a surprisingly high number of cases of offences against good order. Most other figures in this table are too low for rational interpretation.

The significance of the geographical distribution of crime is considered further in Table 4, with the sub-districts ranked in order of increasing population and also a ranking on the basis of offence rates. In addition, this table shows the extent to which each sub-district deviates from the mean crime rate for the region.

A visual inspection of the two ranks in this table suggests that there is no significant relationship between them, and this negative finding has been confirmed by graphical plotting. It had been thought that larger sub-districts may have had correspondingly higher densities of population and consequently higher crime rates, but this is apparently not the case.

It must be pointed out that we do not have available to us at the time of writing any details of the physical size of each sub-district and therefore it is not possible for us to calculate population densities. Nor do we have information on the socio-economic status of the residents of each sub-district. Had these supplementary items of information been available to us, further explanatory research would have been carried out.

The final matter to be considered under the general heading of offence patterns is information available about property stolen or damaged as a result of criminal activity. As shown earlier, theft in one form or another comprises a major part of all crime and Table 5 gives an analysis of the actual items stolen or damaged. From this table it can be seen that small easily transportable items such as television sets, radios, cameras and other household effects are those which are most frequently taken. The next most frequent type of property stolen are motor vehicles and, in many cases, these are probably being used for joy-riding. The information contained in Table 5 clearly suggests that crime could be significantly reduced in the region if

TABLE 4 SUB-DISTRICTS RANKED BY POPULATION, OFFENCE RATES (1970 and 1974), RANKING OF OFFENCE RATE AND DEVIATION FROM MEAN

Sub-district	Pop. Ranked	Pop. as at 30/6/1975	No. of Offences	Rates per 1000 pop.	Rate/1000 Ranked	Deviation from Mean
North Shore	1	511	11	21.5	32	+ 11.0
Winchelsea	2	854	25	29.3	33	+ 18.8
Drumcondra	3	1008	6	6.0	20	- 4.5
Barwon Heads	4	1137	24	21.1	31	+ 10.6
Angelsea	5	1244	16	12.9	30	+ 1.6
Drysdale	6	1584	6	3.8	15	- 6.7
Leopold	7	2127	6	2.8	12	- 7.7
Chilwell	8	2173	7	3.2	14	- 7.3
Bannockburn	9	2288	7	3.0	13	- 7.5
South Geelong	10	2300	17	7.4	23	- 3.1
Torquay	11	2373	72	30.3	36	+ 19.8
North Geelong	12	2461	74	30.1	34	+ 19.6
Breakwater	13	2472	1	0.4	2	- 10.1
Barabool Rest	14	2553	1	0.4	1	- 10.1
Portarlington	15	2588	22	8.5	24	- 2.0
Corio Rest	16	2639	3	1.1	6	- 9.4
Queenscliff	17	2809	14	5.0	18	- 5.5
Bellrine Rest	18	2878	7	2.4	11	- 8.1
Lara	19	2888	7	2.4	10	- 8.1
Geelong City	20	2968	434	146.2	37	+135.7
Moolap	21	2999	6	2.0	8	- 8.5
Whittington	22	3127	2	0.6	3	- 9.9
Newcomb	23	3480	32	9.2	27	- 1.3
Grovedale	24	3778	6	1.6	7	- 8.9
Ocean Grove	25	3906	35	9.0	26	- 1.5
Bellpost Hill	26	4425	3	0.7	4	- 9.8
Bell Park	27	5322	47	8.8	25	- 1.7
Hamlyn Heights	28	6115	6	1.0	5	- 9.5
East Belmont	29	6244	36	5.8	19	- 4.7
East Geelong	30	7079	80	11.3	28	+ 0.8
Norlane	31	7429	224	30.1	35	+ 19.6
West Belmont	32	7430	30	4.0	17	- 6.5
Herne Hill	33	7790	31	4.0	16	- 6.5
Newtown	34	7994	52	6.5	21	- 4.0
Highton	35	9479	19	2.0	9	- 1.5
West Geelong	36	9480	111	11.7	29	+ 1.2
Corio	37	11715	85	7.3	22	- 3.2

TOTALS

149647

1565

10.5

+ 47 offences, BPA or Out of Region

1612

private citizens undertook to exercise more care in the management of their property.

TABLE 5 OFFENCES IN WHICH PROPERTY WAS STOLEN, DAMAGED OR USED

	Absolute Frequency	% of Total
Motor Vehicle Theft	155	13.4
Motor Car, Motor Cycle	92	8.0
Caravans, Boats etc.	8	0.7
Bicycles	70	6.0
Tools	61	5.3
Toys and Sporting Goods	69	6.0
T.V., Radio, Cameras etc.	295	25.5
Tobacco, Alcohol etc.	60	5.2
Household Effects	261	22.6
Building Materials	28	2.4
Property Damage	40	3.5
Animals	16	1.4
TOTAL	1155	100.0

THE OFFENDERS

In this section, the major part of this paper, the known facts about offenders in the Geelong region are analysed in detail. In the first place, it is possible to chart the home addresses of offenders and relate this to the type of offence committed. This is done in Table 6, which provides a striking contrast to the pattern shown in Table 3. Table 3 plotted where offences took place in the region, whereas Table 6 shows where the offenders live. The most noticeable difference between these two cross tabulations is that whereas the Geelong City is easily the highest crime area in the region, Table 6 shows that very few of the offenders, less than 5 per cent, actually live there. This suggests

TABLE 6 OFFENDERS HOME ADDRESS BY OFFENCE-TYPE, 1970/74

Sub-district	Assault	Sex Offences	Break & Enter	Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft	False Pret.	Other Prop. Off.	Off. Agst. Good Order	TOTAL
Geelong City	10	2	8	36	4	1	3	10	74
South Geelong	2		1	2		1		2	8
Chilwell		1	8	8	1	6			24
Newtown	9	3	15	21	3		7	3	61
West Geelong	14	4	22	44	28	2	4	5	123
Herne Hill	1	1	11	6	1	1	1	1	23
Hamlyn Heights	3			2		1			6
North Geelong	5	2	35	14	8	3	4	1	72
Drumcondra				7	1		1	1	10
Bell Park	4	3	35	12	5		3	1	63
Norlane	20	13	69	98	24	1	13	5	243
Bellpost Hill			4						4
North Shore				1					1
Corio	4	4	25	50	16	1	4	3	107
Highton	3	1	24	19	5				52
West Belmont	3	1	3	7	1	1	1		17
East Belmont	2			16	4	2	2	2	28
Grovedale	1			2			1		4
Breakwater				7	1	1	1		10
Whittington		1	4	2	1				8
East Geelong	5	2	23	42	14	3	8	6	103
Newcomb	6	1	9	46	2		7	3	74
Moolap			1	3					4
Drysdale				4			1	2	7
Portarlington	2			6					8
Leopold			2	2					4
Ocean Grove	2	2	6	5	1		3	6	25
Bellrine Rest				1	1			3	5
Queenscliff		1		5	1		1		8
Barwon Heads	1		2	3				1	7
Torquay	4		2	11	4		2	4	27
Anglesea		1	3	3					7
Barabool Rest		1		2				2	5
Bannockburn			1	1					2
Lara	1	1		3		1			6
Corio Rest				1					1
Winchelsea	1	6	2	6	2				17
Out of Region	26	9	57	101	47	21	8	19	292
NFPA	1		28	22	4	5	3	9	72
TOTALS	130	60	400	623	180	52	78	89	1612

that for at least some offence types there is considerable mobility by offenders.

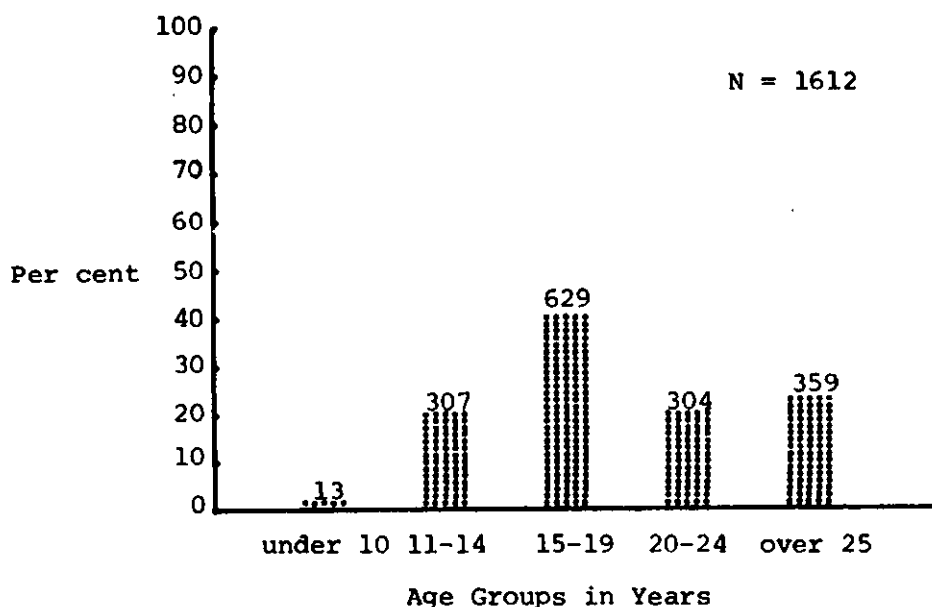
Table 6 also shows, perhaps not surprisingly to local residents, that Norlane has the highest concentration of offenders for the whole region, the absolute number here being more than twice as high as the next highest. Other sub-districts with disproportionately high numbers of offender/residents are West Geelong, Corio and East Geelong, and it is of interest to note that these sub-districts also have higher than average crime rates. Apart from offences committed in the city centre therefore, it seems that a high proportion of crime in the region is committed close to home. A possible application of the information contained in Table 6 would be a proposal for more intensive primary crime prevention efforts to be made in Norlane, West Geelong, Corio and East Geelong, but the necessity or desirability of this proposal is dependent upon a survey of the facilities currently available in those areas.

The hypothesis of offender mobility gains some additional credence from the fact shown in Table 6 that 292, or more than 18 per cent, of the persons known to have committed offences in the region were not resident therein. Other implications and interpretations may be placed on comparison between Tables 3 and 6, and undoubtedly local residents will wish to identify their own sub-districts, but these finer explorations of the data are left to the reader.

In addition to the home address of offenders, we have reasonably detailed information on their ages. The general pattern of age distribution is shown in Figure 1 which indicates, in common with nearly all other analyses of offenders, that the vast majority are young. In fact, it can be calculated from the raw figures shown in Figure 1 that nearly 20 per cent of the offenders are under 15 years of age and nearly 60 per cent are under 20. The most predominant age group is 15-19 years, which accounts for over 39 per cent.

Figure 1 is shown on page 13

FIGURE 1 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS



A more detailed examination of the significance of age distribution is shown in Table 7, in which it can be seen that certain sub-districts have higher than average proportions of young offenders. In Highton, for example, nearly 85 per cent of the offender/residents are under the age of 15 and also in Norlane, West Geelong, Newtown and East Geelong, there are higher than average numbers in this category. It is perhaps also worth noting that some sub-districts fortuitously produce either none or very small numbers indeed of young offenders. These presumably 'happy locations' may be readily identified in Table 7.

A further aspect of the significance of age on crime is shown in Table 8 which analyses offence types by age groups. An examination of this table reveals that the predominant offences committed by young persons are motor vehicle theft, breaking and entering and other forms of theft. By contrast, the majority of cases of assault, sex offences and offences against good order are committed by persons aged 20 or more. Most significantly, 26 out of 60, or more than 43 per cent, of the sex offenders are older than 24 years. There is another significant group of sex offenders, however, who fall into the 15 to 19 years age group.

TABLE 7 OFFENDERS HOME ADDRESS BY AGE GROUP, 1970/74

Sub-district	Up to 9	10-14	15-19	20-24	Over 25	TOTAL
Geelong City	1	5	18	16	34	74
South Geelong			2	2	4	8
Chilwell		5	7	2	10	24
Newtown	1	6	26	8	20	61
West Geelong		34	41	31	17	123
Herne Hill		10	8	2	3	23
Hamlyn Heights	1		1		4	6
North Geelong		8	28	23	13	72
Drumcondra			2	8		10
Bell Park	1	29	24	4	5	63
Norlane	5	61	119	30	28	243
Bellpost Hill		2	1		1	4
North Shore					1	1
Corio		30	58	8	11	107
Highton		44	5	3		52
West Belmont		2	8	1	6	17
East Belmont		6	12	3	7	28
Grovedale			2		2	4
Breakwater		1	6	1	2	10
Whittington		6	1		1	8
East Geelong	4	12	48	22	17	103
Newcomb		8	12	19	35	74
Moolap			1		3	4
Drysdale		1	2	3	1	7
Portarlington		3	3	1	1	8
Leopold				4		4
Ocean Grove		9	1	7	8	25
Bellrine Rest			1	3	1	5
Queenscliff			3	4	1	8
Barwon Heads		3	1	3		7
Torquay			14	7	6	27
Anglesea			4	1	2	7
Barabool Rest			1	4		5
Bannockburn				1	1	2
Lara		1	2	2	1	6
Corio Rest		1				1
Winchelsea		1	5	1	10	17
Out of Region		19	123	77	73	292
NFPA			40	7	25	72
TOTALS	13	307	630	308	354	1612

TABLE 8 OFFENCE TYPE BY AGE GROUP

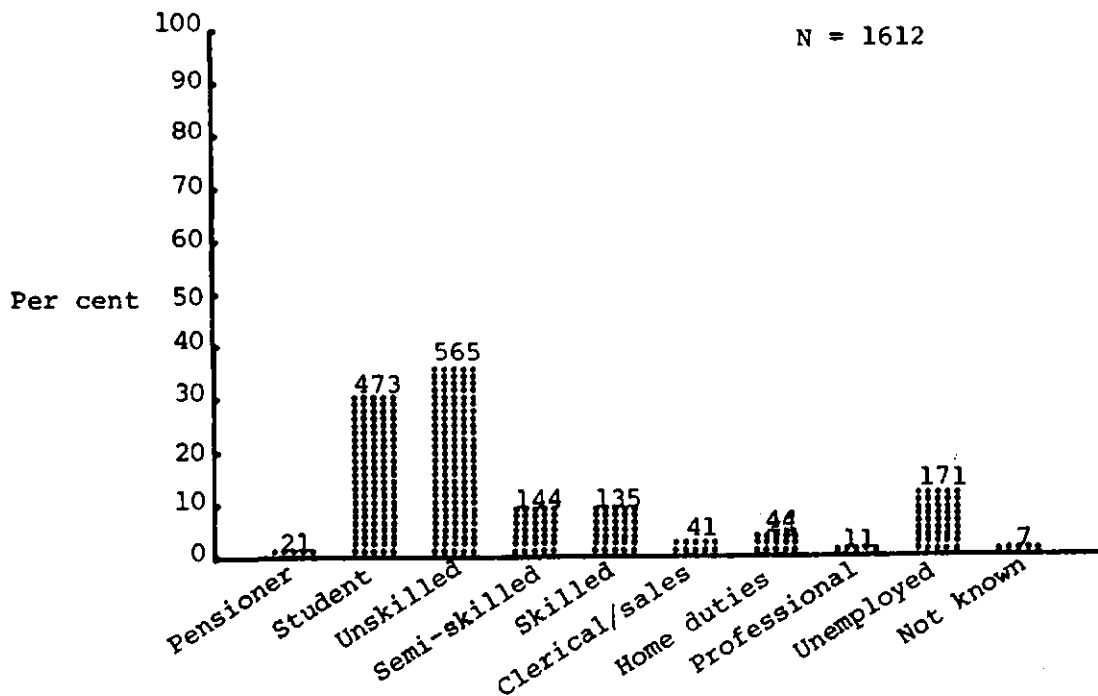
	Up to 9	11-14	15-19	20-24	25+	Total
Assault	0	3	40	37	50	130
Sex Offences	0	1	20	13	26	60
Break & Enter	1	129	170	51	49	400
Theft	12	140	219	99	153	623
Motor Vehicle Theft	0	20	121	26	13	180
False Pretences	0	1	13	12	26	52
Other Property Offences	0	13	27	17	21	78
Offences Against Good Order	0	0	19	49	21	89
TOTAL	13	307	629	304	359	1612
Per cent	.8	19.0	39.0	18.9	22.3	100.0

There may be value of interest for the reader to compare the patterns shown in Table 8 with those indicated by Tables 6 and 7 in order to relate the three factors of offence type, offender's home address and the significance of age.

Another factor about offenders which is always of interest is their sex. We have no cross tabulations showing the relationship between sex and offence type or location, but we do know that of the 1612 offenders in the 1970/74 group only 144, or 8.9 per cent, were female. Similar discrepancies between the sexes in analyses of offenders have been found on many occasions, and recently speculations have been made suggesting that a contributory factor is the preferential treatment which females receive from victims, the police and the public. We have no evidence, however, to indicate whether or not this speculation is soundly based. A further aspect of the known offenders in the Geelong region is their

occupational status. The general picture is shown in Figure 2, which indicates that unskilled workers are the predominant group. Students comprise the second largest group, followed by those who are unemployed. It is noticeable that the number of offenders coming from professional occupations is extremely small. These findings, again, are similar to those revealed by criminological research elsewhere.

FIGURE 2 OFFENDER'S OCCUPATION



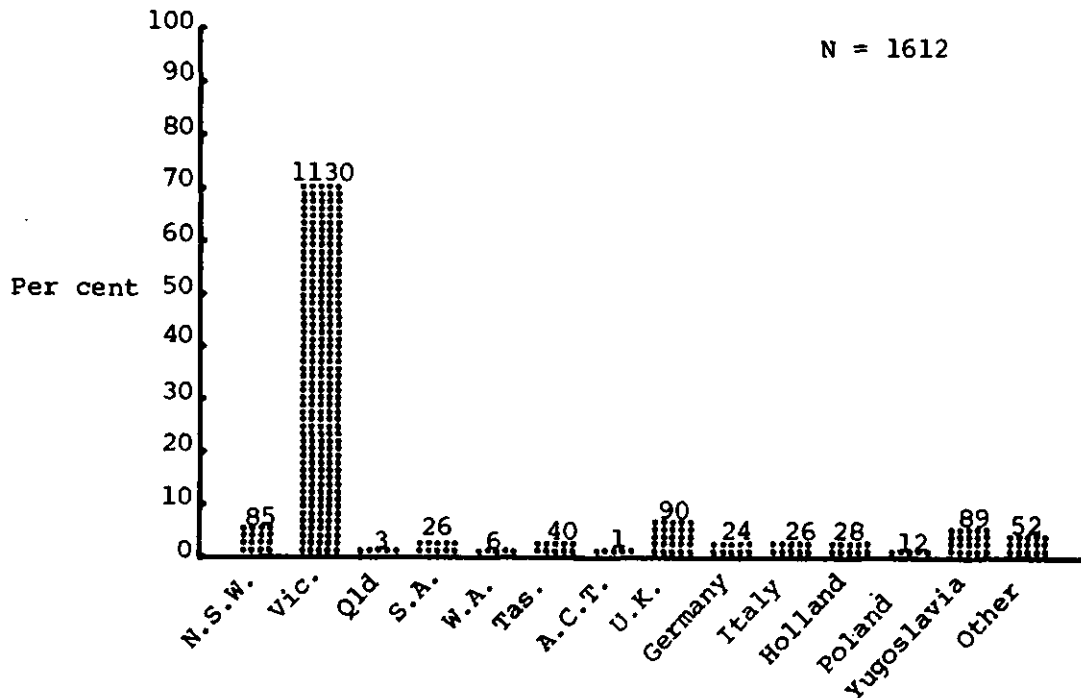
The significance of offender's occupation is further detailed in Table 9 which shows the relationship between this factor and the type of offence committed. From this table it can be deduced that the different occupational groups have different offence patterns. Students and those engaged in home duties, for example, are much more likely than the average to be convicted of theft, and presumably for these two groups the principal form of theft is that of shop-lifting. Similarly, it is also noticeable that the unskilled and semi-skilled occupational groups show a higher than average participation in assault. It is also noticeable that the bulk of motor vehicle theft is also committed by persons in these two occupational groups.

TABLE 9 OFFENDER'S OCCUPATION BY OFFENCE TYPE, 1970/74

	Assault	Sex Offences	Break & Enter	Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft	False Pret.	Other Prop. Off.	Off. Agst. Good Order	TOTAL
Pensioner	1	2	3	11	4				21
Student	10	8	176	213	40	4	14	8	473
Unskilled	64	25	147	188	73	12	26	30	565
Semi-skilled	24	10	19	39	22	9	8	13	144
Skilled	18	5	12	46	16	5	16	17	135
Sales/Clerical	4	5	1	21	2	3	2	3	41
Home Duties	2		2	32		7		1	44
Professional	3			4		1	1	2	11
Unemployed	4	4	40	67	22	9	11	14	171
Not Known		1		2	1	2		1	7
TOTALS	130	60	400	623	180	52	78	89	1612

The final major factor available for analysis of the 1612 offenders which form the basis of this study is their ethnic origin or place of birth. The essential data here is presented in graphical form in Figure 3 below.

FIGURE 3 OFFENDER'S PLACE OF BIRTH



From this figure it may be seen, not surprisingly, that the vast bulk, 1130 or approximately 70 per cent, of the offenders were born in Victoria. Those coming from other Australian States or Territories comprise a further 10 per cent and the remaining 20 per cent were born overseas. The two major overseas-born groups are British and Yugoslav.

The relationship between offender's home address and place of birth is shown in detail on Table 10 and from this it can be seen that there seem to be clusters of Yugoslav offenders in Bell Park, Norlane and North Geelong and clusters of British offenders in West Geelong, Norlane and Corio. Similarly, there seems to be a concentration of Dutch offenders in Norlane and of Italian offenders in Highton. These observations should be treated with caution however as the numbers involved are relatively small and may be the result of small numbers of offenders committing many minor offences during the periods of time being studied.

TABLE 10 OFFENDERS HOME ADDRESS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1970/74

Sub-district	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	ACT	UK	Ger- many	Italy	Hol- land	Poland	Yugo- slavia	Other	TOTAL
Geelong City	5	50		8	1			3	2			2		3	74
South Geelong		7												1	8
Chilwell		20			1								2	1	24
Newtown		52				1		3		3			1	1	61
West Geelong	6	88		2				13		4	2		8		123
Herne Hill		23													23
Hamlyn Heights		3											1	2	6
North Geelong		55						1			1		14	1	72
Drumcondra	1	9													10
Bell Park	2	28						2	1	1		1	27	1	63
Norlane	2	172		3		10		13	2	2	12	1	18	8	243
Bellpost Hill		4													4
North Shore								1							1
Corio		59			3	22		12			3	1	5	2	107
Highton	4	37						2		9					52
West Belmont		14						2		1					17
East Belmont	1	21						1	1	1		1		2	28
Grovedale		4													4
Breakwater		4						5		1					10
Whittington		8													8
East Geelong	3	83		6				2	1		3		1	4	103
Newcomb	11	48				1		4	6	1	2		1		74
Moolap		2								2					4
Drysdale		5						2							7
Portarlington		8													8
Leopold			2	2											4
Ocean Grove	3	16		1				5							25
Bellrine Rest		4						1							5
Queenscliff		7		1											8
Barwon Heads	1	5						1							7
Torouay	2	22	1											2	27
Anglesea	1	6													7
Barcbool Rest		3									1			1	5
Bannockburn		1												1	2
Lara		5						1							6
Corio Rest		1													1
Winchelsea		15											2		17
Out of Region	32	199		3		3	1	13		1	3	6	8	20	289
NFPA	11	42			1	3		3	11		1		1	2	75
TOTALS	85	1130	3	26	6	40	1	90	24	26	28	12	89	52	1612

TABLE 11 PLACE OF BIRTH BY OFFENCE TYPE, 1970/74

	Assault	Sex Offences	Break & Enter	Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft	False Pret.	Other Prop. Off.	Off. Agat. Good Order	TOTAL
New South Wales	6	3	11	39	7	3	8	8	85
Victoria	80	44	285	431	143	39	49	59	1130
Queensland	1			2					3
South Australia		1	6	14	3			2	26
Western Australia		1	3	2					6
Tasmania	1		1	30	5	2		1	40
Australian Capital Territory								1	1
United Kingdom	9	2	18	33	9	1	10	8	90
Germany	2	1	9	11	1				24
Italy	6		9	7	1	1	1	1	26
Holland	4	2	4	14	1	1		2	28
Poland	3		6	3					12
Yugoslavia	11	5	42	19	5		5	2	89
Other	7	1	6	18	5		5	5	52
TOTALS	130	60	400	623	180	52	78	89	1612

Table 11 presents the facts relating offence-type to place of birth and from this there is a slight suggestion that Yugoslav offenders are more inclined than the average to become involved in assault, breaking and entering and theft. No other significant trends can be readily deduced from this table.

In addition to what has been presented about the offence, residence, age, occupation and place of birth of the offenders in the region, we have some information which indicates the extent to which offenders operate by themselves or in the company of others.

Table 12 below shows the number of co-offenders who were detected by the police for each offence. In this table it should be noted that the total number of offenders is 2067, this difference being due to the fact that here the 1973 series has not been excluded, as has been done in all previous analyses.

TABLE 12 NUMBER OF CO-OFFENDERS

No. of co-offenders	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency percentage
0	1378	66.7
1	408	19.7
2	182	8.8
3	57	2.8
4	15	0.7
5	12	0.6
6+	15	0.7
TOTAL	2067	100.0

From Table 12 it can be seen that approximately two-thirds of the offenders indulged in their criminal behaviour by themselves and declining proportions had more than one compatriot with them during their escapades. There is no evidence here to suggest that the Geelong region has a large-scale

problem of gang delinquency, but further analysis of offence-type by numbers of co-offenders would be necessary to verify this tentative conclusion. The necessary computer cross tabulation to undertake this has not been obtained.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN GEELONG AND CANBERRA

Fortuitously, during the time that this study was undertaken, we were able to obtain some reliable data on crime in the Australian Capital Territory for the year 1974 which provides some interesting comparisons with that described for the Geelong region. In order to make any comparisons possible, it is necessary to assume for the Geelong region that the two 6-month periods for which data were collected in 1970 and 1974 may be aggregated to provide an approximation of one year's crime. This has been done in many of the analyses presented above. It is also necessary to assume that the population figures for the Geelong region as at 30 June 1975 are sufficiently accurate to provide a basis for the calculation of crime rates.

As indicated previously, the total population of the Geelong region is approximately 150,000. That of the Australian Capital Territory is fairly similar at approximately 180,000. The total of offences cleared for the Geelong region was 1612 and for the Australian Capital Territory the equivalent figure is 1914. Surprisingly, these figures yield identical crime rates for both areas of 11.0 offences per 1000 of the population. There is a clear tendency, however, for the Geelong offenders to be younger than those detected in the Australian Capital Territory.

Larger differences are to be found, however, when one compares the specific offence types in each region. Breaking and entering is much more prevalent in Geelong, constituting 25 per cent of the total crime, than it is in Canberra, where it constitutes only 14 per cent. Motor vehicle theft is also slightly more prevalent in Geelong than Canberra, but sex offences comprise 4 per cent of the total crime in both jurisdictions. On the other hand, false pretences is apparently a much more frequent offence in Canberra than it is in the Geelong region, the comparative contributions to the totality of crime being 20 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. Similarly, assault (including

robbery) accounts for 15 per cent of crime in Canberra, but only 8 per cent in Geelong.

It would be possible to speculate endlessly about the similarities and differences of these two regions, but it is hypothesised that significant explanatory variables are differences in the age structure of the total populations and differences in socio-economic status.

GENERAL COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS

We are both acutely conscious of the deficiencies which permeate this paper. The basic data on crime are not as extensive as we would have hoped, and we have been hampered by the lack of demographic and socio-economic data. Most seriously of all, we have had insufficient time to arrange for more sophisticated computer print-outs to be generated and to carry out a number of statistical tests which would have been appropriate. Despite these deficiencies, we are fairly confident in suggesting that this study marks the most systematic attempt yet made in Australia to provide an empirical basis for crime prevention planning. It is our earnest hope, however, that this study is not for long able to claim that distinction and that very soon other regions of Australia, including Geelong, will produce more comprehensive studies than this one.

In summary, this study has shown which parts of the region have the highest crime rates and it has also shown where the known offenders live. As indicated in our introduction, these two sets of data suggest quite different types of action : better security and surveillance in high crime areas, and more vigorous attempts to keep potential offenders out of trouble in areas which house high numbers of offenders. Ironically, this study has shown that there are clearly defined sub-districts within the region to which both of these sets of needs apply. We refer, of course, to Norlane, West Geelong, Corio and East Geelong.

These four sub-districts comprise 23.8 per cent of the total population of the region and yet 31.0 per cent of the total crime of the region is committed in them, and they house 35 per cent of all of the known offenders. In view of these facts, we recommend that a

special study be mounted in the near future to investigate in detail the social structure, recreation and leisure facilities, educational opportunities, housing styles and physical security measures taken in these four areas. As so much of the crime and delinquency problem of the region is specifically located in these four sub-districts, we believe that such an investigation would amply repay the costs and effort involved.

In addition, there are four other sub-districts, Torquay, Winchelsea, Barwon Heads and Anglesea, which, according to our figures, produce comparatively low numbers of offenders but suffer at fairly high rates from offenders coming from other areas. For these four sub-districts we recommend that special efforts be made to improve the quality of physical security provided in private houses and other buildings.

We express the hope that the comments and interpretations of statistics that we have made in this report will be of some assistance to the residents and planners of the Geelong Regional Growth Centre in their aspirations to create a crime-free and harmonious living environment.

APPENDIX

This letter which was published in The Australian on 3 February 1976 is reproduced here because of its critical relevance to the matters considered in this paper.

An urgent role for growth centres

SIR—I refer to your editorial on the quality of life and speculation on the need for growth centres in the face of reduced population increases (26/1).

Consider the rather conservative assumption that Australia's population may grow by only five million by the magic year 2000. A large part of that growth will come from the marriages of today's teenagers, who will need to build houses rather faster than they become available on the deaths of their grandparents.

If urban development reverts to the pattern of the 'sixties, most of these houses will be on the outer fringes of Sydney and Melbourne, although some of the families who can't stand that prospect will accept the cost and crowding of inner-suburban sub-standard apartments. Both these trends will make our least-attractive concentrations even less pleasant.

There are, of course, good things about the bigger cities. Reasonably large concentrations of people are needed to support first-rate choices in education, recreation, work and personal associations. Hence the sustained drift from the country and small towns to the cities.

The growth centres program offers the first real alternative location for new metropolitan families, and the first major dampening of the metropolitan magnet for children of country families. It can also offer a high level of effectiveness in use of the tax dollar.

If the program could establish eight new cities, each twice the present size of Canberra or Geelong, it would provide for only half the population growth we must still expect.

Certainly many aspects of the program deserve review, but it should not be brought to a halt on the pretext of a stock-taking. If this happens, it will take a long time to re-establish the momentum, and the loss will be painful — both for the big cities and for people in areas now remote from metropolitan facilities.

My council is adamant that the better distribution of urban development is a national goal which still requires forceful policy initiatives and sustained investment, in which the growth centres have an urgent role to play.

JOHN J. BAYLY
Hawthorn, Vic

(The writer is president of the Australian Council for Balanced Development.)