

PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY
IN NEW PLANNED URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

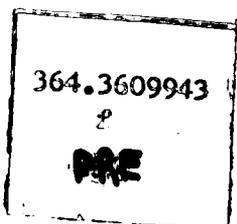
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CRIMINOLOGY RESEARCH COUNCIL

RESEARCH PROJECT NO. 2/73

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This research team is faced with some problems in submitting an interim report at this particular time.

The time-consuming task of data-collection, from a variety of sources, has now been completed. However, there has been no time for anything but the most rudimentary analysis of these data.

This study got under way in March 1974 and, on the original funding, is to continue until March 1975 thus concluding the first year of what has been planned as a two-year study.

It is running close to our original timetable and much is planned for the five months remaining of the first year of the study.

This being so, the scope of any interim report submitted at this stage, is necessarily limited.

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30 October 1974

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PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY
IN NEW PLANNED URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

AN INTERIM REPORT

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30 OCTOBER 1974

PREFACE

Social scientists setting out to report in some detail on a specific group in society are confronted immediately with an ethical dilemma: should the specific group be identified explicitly or should it be concealed under a pseudonym?

This dilemma is particularly acute when the group being studied and reported upon has achieved some degree of fame, or notoriety, in part because of the previous activities of social scientists.

The suburb which is the subject of this investigation is one such area and, as we suspected in advance, preliminary examination of our empirical data shows that stigmatisation of the suburb is seen by a number of the local residents as a problem with which they have to contend. Discussions with community leaders, an important source of data, were most revealing in this respect. Stigmatisation of the suburb by social scientists, and others, was a subject upon which they were quite vehement. Their fear that this present study could only but add to that stigmatisation was obvious and, indeed, bordered on a weary and resigned acceptance.

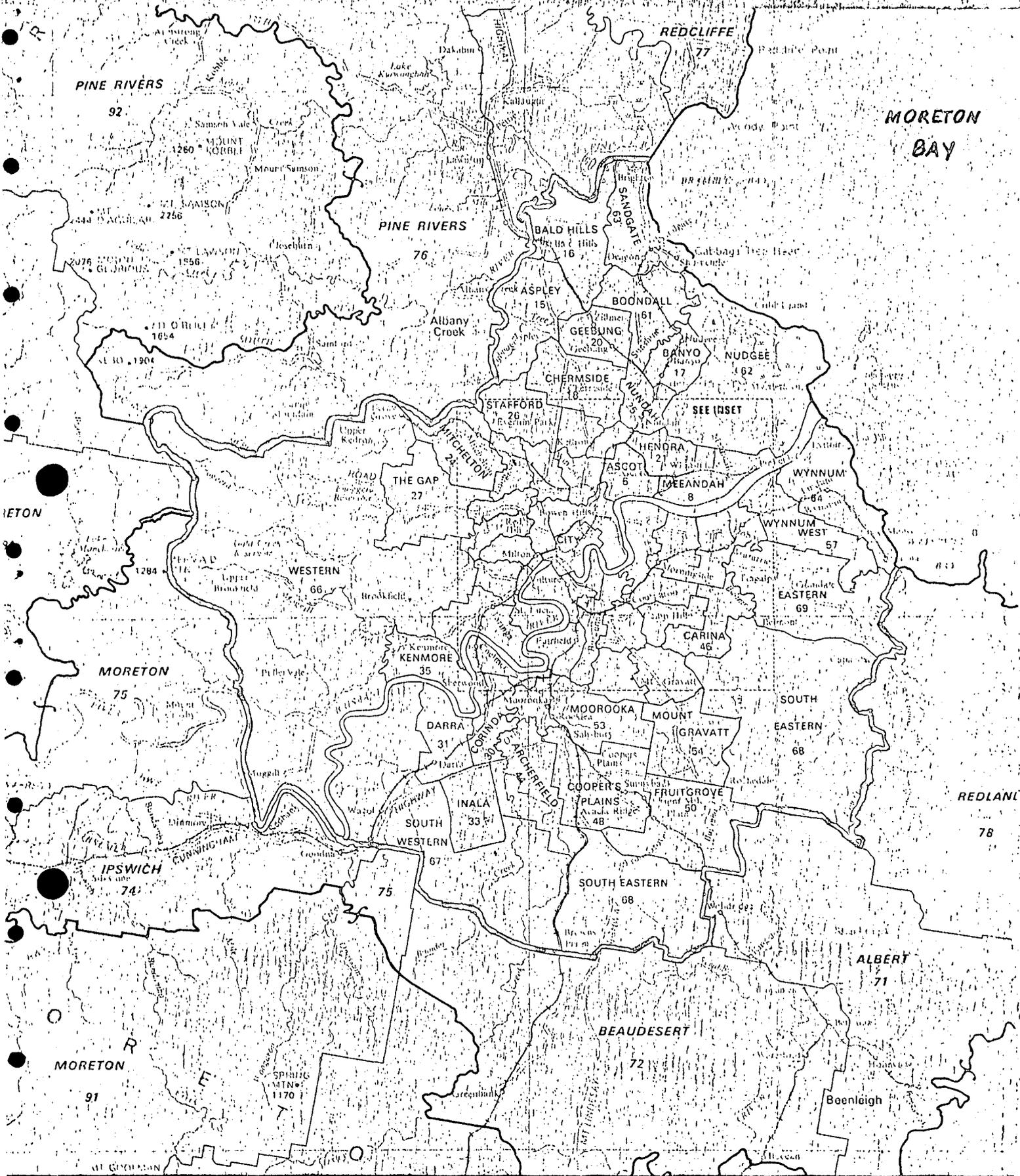
It is certainly true that a great deal has been written about the suburb in recent times and, as one informant put it, it has frequently been "*knee-deep in social scientists of every kind*". Much that has been written has, we feel, overstated the negative aspects whilst failing to give adequate weight to the positive aspects.

It is our intention to give a comprehensive and balanced picture of this suburb and we do not feel the degree of empathy we have achieved with a number of the residents and with what might best be called the ethos of the suburb will be too corrupting in this regard.

A description of the suburb, and an account of the life-style and experiences of a sample of youth resident there,

as comprehensive and balanced as we hope to give, must necessarily include many obvious clues to the identity of the suburb.

To omit these would be to destroy the balance and it is our belief that much would be lost by trying to conceal the fact that the suburb which is the subject of this study is Inala, eleven miles South of the Brisbane G.P.O.



THE CITY OF BRISBANE

showing Statistical Areas (1971 Census)

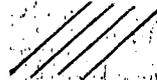
Boundary of the City of Brisbane showed thus



INALA and adjoining suburbs



Areas wholly or largely developed before the expiry of the first Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement in 1956 are shown thus



INALA - HISTORY AND DESCRIPTIVE

INALA is a suburb situated approximately eleven miles South of the Brisbane G.P.O.

It covers an area of 4.27 square miles (1.1% of the total area of the City of Brisbane, of which local government unit it is a part) and has a population¹ of 21,940 (3.26% of the total population of the City of Brisbane).

BRIEF HISTORY²

The area now known as Inala was used for grazing even before the separation of Moreton Bay from the Colony of New South Wales and this continued to be the main use of the land until the Second World War.

It then became a huge ammunition dump for the United States' Army and, even today, unexploded shells (rusting and in a highly dangerous condition) come to the surface following prolonged periods of heavy rain.

At the end of the war, some of the land was purchased by an ex-servicemen's co-operative housing society which named it Serviceton and planned to develop it on a co-operative basis as a residential area. This scheme ran into financial difficulties and the land was sold to the Queensland Housing Commission which re-named the area Inala (an aboriginal word meaning either 'a resting place' or 'a restful place'.)

The Housing Commission quickly began development of the area with low-cost housing for low-income families, particularly those then occupying emergency accommodation in disused Army camps in and around Brisbane.

1 all population and housing figures are taken from the results of the 1971 Census released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

2 the source of much of this condensed history is Halliwell, L.M. (1969), 'Inala' in Halliwell, L.M. (ed) (1969) People Working Together, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press.

Finance for this development was made available under an agreement between the Commonwealth and State Governments which contained a provision that houses could be let at a reduced rental to families in necessitous circumstances, with the balance of the 'economic rental' being recouped by the Queensland Housing Commission from the Commonwealth Government.

When the financial agreement was renewed in 1956 no such provision was made and this has resulted in the rebated-rental scheme applying (almost exclusively) to houses built prior to 1956 and a consequent concentration of families qualifying for rebated rentals in the sub-divisions developed to that date (see map on page 4).

In 1947 Inala had a population of 635. This grew to 2,801 in 1954 and, at the rate of 23.5% per annum, to 12,278 in 1961. Since then the annual growth-rate has declined; between 1961 and 1966 (population 18,766) it was 8.8% and between 1966 and 1971 (population 21,940) it was 3.2%.

DESCRIPTIVE

Of all Brisbane suburbs, Inala is the most clearly delineated - as can be seen from the map on page 3. Inala's boundaries are well-defined and unambiguous and the comparative isolation of the suburb militates against any great amount of casual inter-suburban movement for shopping or recreational purposes.

Inala's Northern boundary is the main Brisbane - Ipswich highway which is lined for much of its length with industrial and commercial development. On the Eastern side of Inala the land is traversed by two creeks each of which rises quickly and frequently to flood adjacent land. There is little development of the land to the immediate South and West of Inala; some of this bushland is used for military training purposes. There are some remaining small farms, orchards and vineyards adjacent to Inala.

PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The suburb suffers from a lack of adequate public transport. There is no railway and the Brisbane City Council, which operates

Brisbane's bus-services, has not extended its bus-routes into Inala. Instead a private operator has been licensed to operate a limited range of services. These are to Darra (the nearest railway station, 2½ miles from the nearest part of Inala and almost 6 miles from the furthest part) with the timetable co-ordinated with that of the railway; to Salisbury (about 4 miles away) where connection can be made with the Brisbane City Council bus-service; and school-buses to the State High schools at Oxley and Corinda.

The relative isolation of Inala makes it ideal for this study in that the effects of contamination of our recreational measures by recreational inputs in adjacent areas is minimised.

POLICE AND COURTS

Inala police-station is a modern building attractively set in gardens amongst trees, a short distance from the Civic Centre. The police-station now houses one of only four Criminal Investigation Branches distributed amongst the forty suburban police-stations in the Metropolitan area.

A Magistrates' Courthouse is adjacent to the police-station. Until recently it was known officially as Inala Magistrates Court but it was then re-named the Western Districts Magistrates Court. For some considerable time there had been pressure from residents and others concerned for the suburb for a change in name, for it was felt that the public at large tended to believe all cases reported as being heard at Inala Magistrates Court involved offences committed within that suburb: the true situation was that cases from many other suburbs (including some of the most prestigious in Brisbane) were heard there.

The re-naming of the Courthouse is one of the few examples of de-stigmatisation efforts in public policy.

HOSPITAL, MEDICAL, HEALTH AND PARA-MEDICAL SERVICES

Although Brisbane has four general public hospitals and these are evenly distributed both North and South of the Brisbane River, the Southside is less well served than the Northside, which has the Prince Charles' Hospital six miles North of the city centre at Chermside.

There is no comparable 'regional' hospital on the Southside, for the Princess Alexandra Hospital and the Mater Hospital are within a mile of each other and neither is more than 3 miles from the centre of Brisbane. The nearest general public hospital to Inala is the Princess Alexandra some nine miles away in South Brisbane.

There are eight doctors in private general practice in Inala at six different locations. Only one of the doctors lives in the suburb.

A dental clinic provides treatment for children up to the age of 16 years and there is one dentist in private practice.

A firm of optometrists operates from premises in the Civic Centre.

The Maternal and Child Welfare Division of the Queensland Department of Health conducts clinics at two centres in Inala.

CHILD-CARE AND KINDERGARTENS

The Pre-School Association conducts a pre-school centre and Inala Community House (about which more later) operates two day-care centres. There is a kindergarten for aboriginal children financed by the 'Save the Children Fund'. Through Community House there is an emergency child-care service which will take care of children for up to 48 hours in situations of great emergency.

PARKS AND LIBRARY

Brisbane City Council operates a municipal reference and lending library from modern premises in the suburb and maintains areas of parkland at various parts of Inala. These areas are made available to the City Council by the Queensland Housing Commission in fulfillment of City Council ordinances requiring developers to make available 5% of the area under development for parkland. The areas so donated by the Housing Commission are, generally, those upon which it would be most difficult or expensive to build; thus the B.C.C. has gained for itself land often requiring extensive and/or expensive work before it can become a real civic amenity. However, some of these areas have been developed with children's swings and other playground equipment.

PLAYGROUNDS

The Playground and Recreation Association of Queensland has one of its four Brisbane playgrounds located in Inala. This provides structured and unstructured (but supervised) recreational facilities for children of school-age outside school hours and during school holidays. It appeals mainly to younger children.

CHURCHES

Twelve churches are represented in Inala. These are:-
Aboriginal Inland Mission; Assembly of God; Baptist; Catholic; Nazarene; Anglican; Mormon; Lutheran; Reformed Church; Salvation Army; a Gospel Chapel; and the Inala Co-operative Christian Parish (which incorporates Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches).

LOCAL NEWSPAPER

A local community leader and businessman edits and publishes the 'Inala Journal', a fortnightly newspaper which is distributed free of charge to all households in Inala.

LEGAL ADVICE

The Lawyers' Community Service provides free legal advice at a half-day session weekly.

POST OFFICES

There is a large Post Office in Inala Civic Centre and three sub-post offices at various locations throughout the suburb.

COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT OFFICES

A district office of the Commonwealth Employment Service is situated in the Civic Centre together with a regional office of the Department of Social Security which opened this year.

STATE GOVERNMENT OFFICES

There is in Inala a branch office of the Queensland Department of Children's Services and there is an estate management office of the Queensland Housing Commission.

VOLUNTARY WELFARE AGENCIES AND SELF-HELP GROUPS

Voluntary agencies exist in Inala in some number. They include a Senior Citizens' Club and the Inala Recreation Association for the Handicapped and branches of the following state-wide or national bodies:- Alcoholics Anonymous; Parents Without Partners; Australian Pensioners' League; Incapacitated Servicemen's and Women's Association of Australia; and the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

The voluntary agency offering the greatest number of varied services to the community is Inala Community House, the premises of which are situated at the Southern boundary of the suburb. Community House provides family counselling, runs day-care centres and undertakes many projects to stimulate community involvement. A full-time social worker is employed and the organisation is under the direction of a Board of Management made up of local residents and clergymen. Community House premises are used by a number of local bodies for meetings and other functions.

OTHER ADULT ORGANISATIONS

These include three Lodges (and an associated women's auxiliary), the St. John's Ambulance Brigade (which has three associated Cadet Divisions for young people in various parts of Inala) and a Lions Club (which has not taken the name Inala but operates as 'Lions Club of Brisbane Western Districts').

ADULTS' CLUBS AND SOCIETIES

There are a number of adults' hobby clubs (catering for photographers, chess players, public speakers (women only), gardeners and lapidarists) together with an amateur theatre group and a slimming group. Adults' sporting clubs include athletics, indoor bowls, ten-pin bowling (women only), fishing, soccer, Australian Rules and rugby-league football, pistol and rifle shooting, swimming and roller-skating.

YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

There are formations of Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides associated with churches in the suburb. The Catholic church has Young Catholic Student and Young Catholic

Worker groups. The Queensland Police-Citizens' Youth Club movement operates a youth-club in Inala and that club, and its development of new premises, will be dealt with more fully later in this study. Suffice to say at present that it operates in a disused cinema on Monday to Thursday evenings of each week. This building was a thriving cinema until the advent of television when it was re-named the Coconut Grove and became the venue for large dances until these too lost popularity.

CHILDREN'S SPORTING CLUBS

There are clubs catering for (boys only) boxing, basketball, soccer, Australian Rules and rugby-league football and (for girls only) softball, dancing and jazz ballet and marching girls. Mixed sporting clubs provide facilities for athletics, gymnastics and judo, swimming and lifesaving, roller-skating and tennis.³

SCHOOLS

There are nine schools in Inala. These comprise six State primary schools, a State Opportunity school, a Catholic primary school and two State High schools.

The six State primary schools together with the Opportunity school (in Queensland, unlike some other States, a school exclusively for slow-learning children) have a total enrolment of 4,489 (2,346 boys and 2,143 girls). The Catholic primary school has an enrolment of 556 (274 boys and 282 girls).

The two State High schools (Inala - opened in 1963, and Richlands - opened in 1970) have a combined enrolment of 1,528 (778 boys and 750 girls).

A number of children travel to schools outside Inala; there are, in fact, school-buses to Oxley and Corinda State High schools. As will be seen when our sample of Inala adolescents is examined in detail, 27% either are still attending a school outside Inala or such a school was the last they did attend.

3 we are indebted to the staff of Inala Community House for assistance in compiling information regarding voluntary, self-help, hobby and sporting groups in Inala.

HOUSING

Inala is, more than any other Brisbane suburb, a Housing Commission area.

Of the 4,789 private dwellings in the suburb 3,426 (68%) are rented directly from the Queensland Housing Commission. A further 1,117 (23%) are being purchased or are privately owned; with few exceptions the original owner of the house was the Housing Commission. Four per cent of houses are described as being rented from other than the Housing Commission; in some cases these are houses purchased, or being purchased, from the Housing Commission and then rented out by the purchasers who are often Public Servants, teachers and so on who are subject to transfer in their employment.

Whilst the Housing Commission has been criticised for the lack of variety of much of the earlier housing and for the degree to which the aesthetics of public housing were ignored in earlier days, there is a noticeable difference in the more recently developed areas where, within tight financial constraints, some attention has been paid to aesthetics. For those whose acquaintance with Inala is only through the abundant literature, the first visit to the suburb can be a pleasant surprise. It is a green and, generally, pleasant place.

Ninety-seven per cent of the population lives in detached houses and less than 1% lives in flats.

Eighty-nine per cent of dwellings are connected to public sewers and 7.5% have septic tanks or similar sewerage arrangements. Only 129 dwellings (under 3%) have non-flushing toilets requiring sanitary-pan collection.

Almost 99% of all households in Inala have the sole use of bathroom and kitchen: 88% have electricity and a further 11% have both electricity and gas.

The outward appearance of the suburb has changed over time with the increasing use of brick for outer walls, either as load-bearing walls or as a veneer. Concrete remains the most ubiquitous

material (almost 49% of all houses) while timber now comprises only 26% of all houses. Brick walls are found in 21% of the houses whilst fibro-cement, traditionally the least prestigious cladding material, is found on only 4% of houses.

By far the bulk of the population (91.5%) is living in single-family units: television is present in 65% of all homes and 81% of all dwellings have at least one motor-vehicle (excluding motor-cycles) with whom a resident of that dwelling is associated.

In 1971 building approvals for Inala totalled \$1,111,000 (0.74% of the total value of building approvals for the City of Brisbane). Interestingly, the mean value of each dwelling thus approved was \$13,716 compared with \$22,777 for the City of Brisbane as a whole and \$17,266 for Queensland as a whole.

SHOPPING

There are 109 retail establishments in the Inala statistical division. These provide a complete range of shops, including one very large supermarket in the Civic Centre. Also included are several shops selling second-hand goods (particularly furniture) and one licensed pawnbroker's establishment, also situated in the Civic Centre.

INDUSTRY

There are only eleven establishments classified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as 'factories'. These include 3 carrying out motor-vehicle repairs, 1 repairing boots and shoes and 1 bakery. These factories employ only 207 workers.

POPULATION

The total population of 21,940 comprises 11,014 males and 10,926 females, giving Inala a 0.4% preponderance of males, a reversal of the situation for the City as a whole.

Of this population 71% were born in Australia; 58% of the total being, in fact, Queensland-born. Twenty-one per cent of the total population were born in the United Kingdom/Ireland/New Zealand. Other countries which have contributed significant numbers of people to Australia do not, however, figure largely in Inala. For instance, Italians and Greeks together comprise less than 0.5% of the population.

TABLE 1 Country of birth of the Inala population

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>number</u>	<u>%</u>
Australia	15,681	71
UK/Eire/NZ	4,543	21
Germany/Austria/ Holland	752	3
Italy	94	0.4
Greece	14	0.1
Eastern Europe	188	0.9
North America	44	0.2
Asia/Africa	270	1
other	354	2

The length of residence in Australia of the overseas-born population is shown in Table 2:

TABLE 2 Length of residence of overseas-born

	<u>% of overseas born pop.</u>	<u>% of total population</u>
less than 1 year	7	2
1 year	14	4
2 years	11	3
3 years	5	1
4 years	5	1
5 - 9 years	21	6
10 - 16 years	19	5
17 years or more	16	4
not stated	4	1

Inala is the first area of settlement for a number of assisted migrants, predominantly British, from the nearby Wacol Hostel. In one corner of the suburb (the South-West) the proportion of recent British migrants is such that the area is known locally as "Pommies' Hill".

The age distribution of the Inala population is shown in Table 3:

TABLE 3 age-distribution of population

	number	%	cumulative %	
0 - 5 yrs	3614	16.46	16.46	
6 - 11 yrs	4301	19.60	36.06	
12 - 17 yrs	3342	15.24	51.30	
18 - 23 yrs	1811	8.24	59.54	
24 - 29 yrs	1764	8.05	67.59	
30 - 39 yrs	3063	13.98	81.57	
40 - 49 yrs	2382	10.87	92.44	
50 - 59 yrs	1062	4.84	97.28	
60 - 69 yrs	380	1.73	99.01	
70 yrs and over	180	0.82	99.83	percentage less than 100 due to rounding.

It will be seen that slightly over 50% of the population is 17 years of age and under and that the proportion of elderly people is small.

Data from the Commonwealth Department of Social Security⁴ show that Inala ranks very low (69th out of 75) of Brisbane Metropolitan post-code areas on the percentage of pensioners (of all types together) in the population (Inala 4.97%, Brisbane Metropolitan area average 10.56%).

However, when those in receipt of age-pensions are omitted from the calculations, which are then confined to widows with dependent children, deserted wives and others in receipt of supporting mothers' pensions, Inala climbs to 2nd out of 75 (Inala 1.45%, Brisbane Metropolitan area average 0.84%).

4 Department of Social Security, Statistics, June 1973. Brisbane.

The level of trade, technical and academic qualifications (a) obtained and (b) being studied for, are shown in Table 6. The right-hand column in each sub-table shows the percentage of males in each row of the table. It will be seen that male domination appears to be increasing insofar as technical and non-degree tertiary qualifications are concerned and remains massive in the area of trade qualifications. Only where academic qualifications are concerned does there appear to be an increase in female participation.

TABLE 6 LEVEL OF QUALIFICATIONS (a) obtained
(b) being studied for

	(a)			(b)		
	male	female	male %	male	female	male %
trade	1476	87	94	274	17	94
technical	131	104	56	59	25	70
non-degree tertiary	62	55	53	26	20	56
bachelor degree	14	5	74	31	14	69
higher degree	5	2	71	1	1	50

Less than 1% of the total population of Inala are employers, and self-employed people represent only a marginally higher percentage (0.8% as opposed to 0.6%). Thirty-three per cent are wage-earners and 65% are not in the labour-force (54% of all males and 77% of all females).

Unemployment (at the time of the 1971 Census) affected 176 people, or 0.8% of the total population. Twenty-six of this group (13 of each sex) were then seeking their first job after leaving school.

The occupational status of the employed Inala population is shown in Table 7. (For reasons associated with the statistical analysis of data obtained from our main questionnaire, the categories 'professional' and 'managerial' are combined throughout this study).⁵

TABLE 7 occupational status of the employed population

	<u>male</u>		<u>female</u>	
	no.	%	no.	%
Professional and managerial	278	5	151	6
Clerical and sales	662	13	931	39
Farmer	14	0.3	2	0.1
Skilled	1700	33	231	10
Semi-skilled	488	9	408	17
Unskilled	1845	36	541	23
Miscellaneous	179	3	104	4
	n= 5166		n= 2368	

A study⁶ carried out in the City of Brisbane recently which sought to identify families 'at risk' as consumers, drew together several different strands of data to find the most relevant sample population. In so doing, some insights into the socio-economic structure of Brisbane, and particularly of Inala's place in that structure, were gained.

The 965 Collectors' Districts in the City were examined and the 100 CDs with the highest percentages of males in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs were extracted. Ten of the twenty CDs in Inala were found to be in this sample of 100 CDs.

The 100 CDs were then examined for the level of education

5 apart from this change, the scale used is the A.N.U. 6 groups scale developed from Broom, Leonard, F. Lancaster Jones, and Jerzy Zubrzycki (1965) 'An occupational classification of the Australian workforce', ANZ J. of Sociology, 1 (Oct):Supplement.

6 Western, J, Payne S, Wilson P, Doube L, 'Consumer problems of low-income families in Brisbane' (1974 in preparation). Report for the Commission of Enquiry into Poverty. University of Queensland, St. Lucia.

achieved by males whose education had been completed; the number of dependent children per woman of child-bearing age; and the proportion of migrants of less than 4 years residence in Australia. When the original 100 CDs were ranked on these variables, 8 from Inala were found in the 'worst' 28.

In absolute numbers, Inala contains more Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders than any other Statistical Area in the City of Brisbane. The 282 Aborigines and Islanders in Inala represent 1.3% of the Inala population. This gives Inala the third highest concentration of Aborigines and Islanders in the 68 Statistical Areas making up the City. The two areas with higher concentrations are the City and South Brisbane, both of which are inner-city rather than suburban areas.

METHODOLOGY

Data collection activities have involved the following:-

1. Questionnaire administered to 518 adolescents resident in Inala.
2. Questionnaire administered to a total of 183 boys attending State High schools at Richlands (in Inala) and at The Gap (a middle-class outer Western suburb of Brisbane). 7
3. Participant observation with a large youth gang in Inala.
4. Interviews with official and informal leaders in the Inala community.
5. Securing data from official records relating to findings of guilt in the Juvenile Courts in Brisbane from 1969 to 1974. 7

It is intended that during the second stage of this study the following will take place:

1. A follow-up questionnaire will be administered to the original sample of 518 adolescents.
2. A different questionnaire will be administered to a random sample of users of the Police-Citizens' Youth Club after that organisation's establishment in permanent premises in early 1975.
3. Participant observation with local police at an operational level. This will be the responsibility of Peter Hines, who served with the London police for nine years and thus has an entree to police circles.
4. Continuing interviews with official and informal leaders in the Inala community.
5. Unstructured in-depth group sessions with adolescent groups in Inala.
6. Participant observation at the new Police-Citizens' Youth Club.
7. Data from official Juvenile Court records will be updated.
8. The establishment of a drop-in youth centre (funded by the Commonwealth Department of Tourism and Recreation) 8
9. Detailed field notes will be collected by an unattached youth worker at the drop-in centre. 8

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7. These two aspects of this study were not funded by the Criminology Research Council but are associated with post graduate research being carried out by Greg Smith and John Braithwaite respectively.
 8. We are in correspondence with the Minister who, at this stage, has expressed 'extreme interest' in our proposals and has arranged for an officer of his Department to discuss the proposals with us in more detail.

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO 518 ADOLESCENTSRESIDENT IN INALA

Our main questionnaire was to be administered to a sample of 13 to 17 year-olds and the size of this sample was to approximate 20% of the total Inala population in that age-group. Given the larger representation of males in the official statistics of delinquency this sample was to be weighted 3:1 in favour of males.

Total 13-17 year old population of Inala is 2,680 (1,420 males and 1,260 females) and the achieved sample was 518 (395 males and 123 females). This represents 19.3% of the total 13-17 year old population (27.8% of the male population and 9.8% of the female population).

It was most desirable, in view of the nature of many of the questions in the questionnaire (particularly the self-report delinquency section) that our interviewers clearly be non-authority figures. Accordingly, all interviewing was carried out by second and third year students from the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology, Government, and Regional and Town Planning in the University of Queensland. Twenty-two interviewers were used of whom 14 were male and 8 female. None of the interviewers was more than 25 years of age and most of the males were determinedly casual in dress and hirsute in appearance.

Interviewers were carefully instructed to maintain an objective attitude at all times and the importance of conducting the interviews under conditions of strict confidentiality was stressed repeatedly. Insofar as the self-report delinquency section of the questionnaire was concerned, special arrangements were made to ensure respondents could answer without fear of being overheard by others. In situations where this was a possibility, the interviewers handed to the respondent copies of the relevant pages of the questionnaire which bore instructions to the respondent that he or she was required only to indicate the number of the appropriate response to each question when the question number was read

THE SAMPLE

The achieved sample was 518 of which 395 (76%) were male and 123 (24%) were female.

The age distribution of the sample, compared with the age distribution of the total 13-17 year old population of Inala, is shown in Table 8:

TABLE 8

	<u>AGE LAST BIRTHDAY</u>				
	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
% total 13-17 pop	26	21	20	17	15
No. of interviews	133	111	105	90	79
% of sample	24	21	21	17	16

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO 183 BOYS ATTENDING
RICHLANDS AND THE GAP STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

With the permission of the Queensland Department of Education and the principals of the schools concerned, a questionnaire was administered to 183 boys in Grade 9 at Richlands State High school, in Inala, and at The Gap State High school.

Several of the questions in this questionnaire are the same as used in the main Inala questionnaire thus enabling comparisons to be made not only between the two sub-groups in this sample but also with our sample of 518 adolescents living in Inala. Most of the questions in the self-report delinquency section of the main Inala questionnaire are duplicated in the two High schools survey.

Other than frequency distributions no analysis of these data has yet been possible.

out by the interviewer. Precautions were taken to ensure that respondents were able adequately to read the questions.

SELECTION OF SAMPLE

Inala is divided into twenty Census Collectors' Districts. One of these CDs was selected at random to be kept as a 'reserve' from which any shortfall in the number of interviews was to be made up.

In each of the remaining 19 CDs, a street and a house within that street were chosen at random. From those starting points interviewers were instructed to call at each house and to gain interviews with all persons encountered aged between 13 and 17 years. Two call-backs were required at houses where no one was at home at the time of the first call.

Females were to be interviewed only in the ratio of one female to each three males. Thus interviewers were instructed to disregard all males encountered until the required one female had been located and interviewed.

In the historical section of this report (see page 6), it will be remembered it was shown that there is an important social difference between those areas developed before the expiry of the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement in 1956 and those developed after that date.

By far the greatest amount of housing let to disadvantaged tenants at a reduced rental is in those older areas, so much so that some parts of the older areas have become ghettos of widows, deserted wives and supporting mothers. It was felt that this older area should, because of this, be slightly over-represented to the extent of contributing 50% of all interviews although containing only 43% of the 13-17 year old population. In the event, 49% of all interviews were gained from the pre 1956 areas.

The age distribution of the sample from the two schools is shown in Table 9:

TABLE 9:

<u>SCHOOL</u>		<u>AGE LAST BIRTHDAY</u>			
		<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
Richlands (n=101)	No.	18	64	19	0
	%	18	63	19	0
The Gap (n=81)	no.	13	55	11	2
	%	16	68	14	2

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION WITH
A LARGE YOUTH GANG IN INALA.

As part of his research as a postgraduate student in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the University of Queensland, Greg Smith participated in the activities of a youth-gang in Inala between August and December 1973.

A first paper reporting this research is attached as Sppendix A.

INTERVIEWS WITH OFFICIAL AND INFORMAL LEADERS
OF THE INALA COMMUNITY

These interviews, which are continuing still, provided us with much background information regarding Inala and gave insights into the leaders' views on the young people of the suburb, on the adequacy or otherwise of existing leisure facilities and on plans for future development of leisure facilities.

They will not be reported on specifically in this interim report.

DATA FROM OFFICIAL JUVENILE COURT RECORDS

With the co-operation of the Minister for Tourism, Sport and Welfare Services in the Queensland Government, we were able to collect data from official records regarding findings of guilt in the Juvenile Courts in Brisbane and Ipswich from 1969 to 1974. The Minister has agreed in principle to our updating this information during 1975 and 1976.

The data contains details of 2,333 offenders against whom findings of guilt were recorded in the Juvenile Courts between 1969 and 1974.

The age distribution of the 2,333 offenders is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10:

	<u>AGE LAST BIRTHDAY</u>									
	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
number	2	13	19	60	121	301	446	572	785	14
per cent	0.1	0.6	0.8	3	5	13	19	24	34	0.6

Only the briefest analysis of these data has been possible to date. However frequencies have been distributed and show that 282 (12.1%) of all offenders were living in the statistical area of Inala at the time the finding of guilt was recorded, although the 8 to 16 year-old population of Inala constitutes only 5.45% of the City of Brisbane total population in that age-group. This was the highest percentage of offenders in any one statistical area.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE DATA

As stated elsewhere in this interim report, little analysis of the considerable quantity of data collected from various sources has yet been possible; this is one of the major tasks to be undertaken in the months remaining of the period for which this research was originally funded.

Processing of the data will be done on the University of Queensland's PDP-10 computer using mainly SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) programmes.

Additionally, it is intended to apply non-metric multivariate techniques (Guttman and Lingoes' SSAIII and MSAII) to the self-report delinquency data. This, it is believed, will overcome the problem with such a data - that it is not normally distributed and that ordinal scaling cannot be assumed.

Some fundamental understandings of the structure of self-reported delinquency are expected to emerge from this type of analysis.

This technique has been pre-tested on a self-report delinquency scale, similar to the one we are now using, which was used in a previous study of youth and leisure.⁹ From this analysis, for which the best and clearest demonstration is a three-dimensional model, there appears to be little relativity between participation in trivial delinquencies and the serious self-report items, and such acts as under-age drinking appear to be quite unrelated to participation in other delinquent acts.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE INALA QUESTIONNAIRE

All frequencies of responses to the questionnaire administered to 518 adolescents living in Inala have been distributed and these

9. Wilson, Paul R., John S. Western, John R. Braithwaite, and Kerry L. Isles, (1972/73), Youth and Leisure: A Report to the YMCA, mimeographed report, University of Queensland, St. Lucia (not yet released publicly by the YMCA).

are shown in full at Appendix 'B', which also constitutes a copy of the questionnaire used.

We do not propose, at this interim report stage, to discuss these frequency distributions since considerable differences were observed at the coding stage between the responses of males and females in several sections of the questionnaire and any discussion of the bare frequency distributions without this factor being allowed for would only be misleading.

CROSS-TABULATIONS BY SEX

Whilst doing test-runs of the SPSS programmes, a few cross-tabulations by sex were done; these relate only to the alienation and self-report delinquency sections of the questionnaire (questions 87-90 and 91-112).

Tables and some discussion of these cross-tabulations follow:

TABLE 11:

PERCENTAGES, BY SEX, AGREEING AND DISAGREEING WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

		<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
"Compared with the rest of society, I think my family is fairly poor"	N.A.	0.3	1	0.4
	Agree	13	14	13
	Disagree	87	85	86
"I think my family has had a raw deal in life"	N.A.	1	2	1
	Agree	29	23	28
	Disagree	70	75	71
"I think that my father is a failure in life"	N.A.	8	8	8
	Agree	12	12	12
	Disagree	80	80	80
"I think I will probably be a failure in life"	N.A.	2	2	2
	Agree	6	10	7
	Disagree	92	88	91

"ALIENATION" ITEMS

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from Table 11 is the congruence of opinion between the sexes; only when confronted with the statement "I think my family has had a raw deal in life" was there a marked difference in response (6%) between males and females.

Again, it was this same statement which gained the greatest degree of agreement. Since this is the least pejorative statement of the four, this may indicate some defensiveness in the respondents when faced with this section of the questionnaire, or, alternatively, a willingness to present one's family as victims of circumstances beyond their control.

The respondents showed more confidence in their own likely success (or lack of failure) in life than they ascribe to their fathers, with boys displaying greater confidence than the girls.

It is appropriate to examine the responses to the self-report delinquency section under six headings, viz:-

1. association with delinquents and criminals; findings of guilt recorded against the respondents in the Juvenile Courts; and opinion as to the amount of crime committed by young people in Inala.
2. acts of stealing and break and enter.
3. acts of violence.
4. acts of destruction to property.
5. delinquent acts involving motor-vehicles.
6. anti-social acts.
7. responses to 'lie-detector' questions designed to test the internal validity of response-scales.

GROUP 1:

Tables 12-15 show responses to questions seeking to elicit the extent to which respondents associate with juvenile delinquents

(defined to the respondents as 'someone up to 17 years old who has been in trouble with the police and been convicted by a court'), with criminals (defined to the respondents as above except that the age given was 'over 17'), have themselves had findings of guilt recorded against them in the Juvenile Courts, and their opinion as to the extent of young persons' involvement in crime and delinquency in Inala.

TABLE 12:

'THINK OF YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS. ARE ANY OF THEM JUVENILE DELINQUENTS?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.3	-	0.2
most	3	-	2
several	5	4	5
some	28	22	27
none	64	74	66

Perhaps predictably, there is a marked (10%) difference between males and females reporting such association(s).

TABLE 13:

'THINK OF YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS AGAIN. ARE ANY OF THEM CRIMINALS?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	1	-	1
most	-	-	-
several	1	1	1
some	14	12	13
none	84	87	85

The numbers reporting such associations are markedly less than those reporting association(s) with juvenile delinquents but it is noticeable that the male and female responses are much closer to each other than in response to the previous question.

TABLE 14:'IS THERE MUCH CRIME OR DELINQUENCY COMMITTED
BY YOUNG PEOPLE (UNDER 21) IN THIS SUBURB?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	1	1	1
almost all	3	2	3
very much	28	16	25
some	48	50	49
not very much	18	27	20
none	2	4	2

Boys were much more ready to claim that 'almost all' or 'very much' crime or delinquency in Inala was committed by persons under 21 years of age than were girls. However, a majority in each case (66% and 77% respectively) chose the two lower categories of positive response whilst only a small percentage claimed 'none'.

TABLE 15:'HAVE YOU EVER BEEN FOUND GUILTY BY
A CHILDREN'S COURT?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.39</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	1	-	0.6
often	0.5	-	0.4
several times	0.5	0.8	0.6
once or twice	8	2	6
never	90	98	92

Ten per cent of boys in the sample and two per cent of girls reported findings of guilt, the majority of these claiming this had happened to them 'once or twice'. The numbers involved were 35 and 3 respectively.

GROUP 2:

Questions included in this group asked respondents to report on the frequency, if at all, they had 'taken things worth between \$2 and \$50' or 'worth more than \$50' that 'did not belong' to them, and

whether they had ever 'broken into a building'. The results are shown in Tables 16 and 17.

TABLE 16:

- (a) 'HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN THINGS WORTH BETWEEN \$2 AND \$50 THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?'
- (b) 'HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN ANYTHING WORTH MORE THAN \$50 THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>		<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
N.A.	0.3	0.5	-	-	0.2	0.4
very often	1	-	-	-	1	-
several times	6	1	3	-	5	0.6
once or twice	31	5	10	2	26	4
never	61	94	87	98	67	95

Thirty-three per cent reported stealing things worth the lesser amount while only 5% reported stealing things worth over \$50. Boys admitted stealing at both levels at a rate three times higher than did the girls.

TABLE 17:

'HAVE YOU EVER BROKEN INTO A BUILDING?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>		<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
N.A.	0.5	-	-	-	0.4	-
very often	1	-	-	-	0.6	-
several times	1	-	-	-	1	-
once or twice	14	-	2	-	11	-
never	83	-	98	-	87	-

Sixteen per cent of boys, but only 2% of girls admitted to committing this offence. Since the question did not specify that a further criminal act was necessarily to follow, it is likely that forcibly entering, say, an unoccupied house with intent only to play inside, may also be recorded in these responses.

GROUP 3:

Questions included in this group considered acts of violence or threats of violence against other persons and the results are shown in Tables 18-21 below.

TABLE 18:'HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN A GANG FIGHT?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.3	-	0.2
very often	3	-	2
several times	10	3	8
once or twice	23	20	22
never	64	76	67

A third of the boys and a quarter of the girls report being involved in acts which could be described as 'gang fights' but very few of the girls admit to such involvement more than 'once or twice'.

TABLE 19:'NOT COUNTING FIGHTS WITH A BROTHER OR SISTER, HAVE YOU EVER BEATEN UP ANYONE OR HURT ANYONE ON PURPOSE?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.5	-	0.4
very often	2	2	2
	11	3	9
	36	20	32
	50	75	56

Half the boys and a quarter of the girls admit to acts in this category.

TABLE 20: 'HAVE YOU EVER USED A WEAPON OF ANY SORT (KNIFE, CLUB, BOTTLE, ETC.) IN A FIGHT?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.5	1	0.6
very often	-	-	-
several times	1	-	0.8
once or twice	9	2	7
never	90	98	91

Less than 1% of the adolescents in the sample reported using a weapon in a fight several times whilst 7% reported 'once or twice'. Boys were five times more likely than girls to admit to this act.

TABLE 21:

'HAVE YOU EVER THREATENED OR FORCED SOMEONE TO GIVE YOU MONEY, CIGARETTES OR ANYTHING ELSE?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	1	-	0.6
often	2	-	1
several times	1	1	1
once or twice	10	6	9
never	86	93	88

Thirteen per cent of the boys but only half that percentage of girls reported committing this act which closely approximates the definition of robbery. There is, however, no measure of the seriousness of the incident and acts of bullying might well be included.

GROUP 4:

The two questions in this section refer to acts involving deliberate damage to property. Results are shown in Tables 22 and 23.

TABLE 22:

'HAVE YOU EVER PURPOSELY DAMAGED SOMETHING THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.5	1	0.6
very often	2	-	1
several times	7	3	6
once or twice	39	28	36
never	51	68	55

Almost half the boys admit to causing deliberate damage to property and almost a third of the girls make a similar admission.

TABLE 23:

'HAVE YOU EVER LIT FIRES ON PURPOSE THAT YOU KNEW WOULD DAMAGE PROPERTY?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	1	1	0.8
Often	-	-	-
several times	1	-	-
once or twice	10	3	8
never	88	96	90

Almost four times as many boys as girls admit to committing this act, only 1% of boys and no girls admit to committing it 'several times' or more frequently.

GROUP 5:

These two questions seek to measure the extent of acts of delinquency involving motor-vehicles and the results are shown in Tables 24 and 25.

TABLE 24:

'HAVE YOU EVER DRIVEN A CAR WITHOUT A DRIVER'S LICENCE?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.3	-	0.2
very often	10	1	8
several times	11	8	10
once or twice	20	15	19
never	59	75	63

Forty-one per cent of all boys admit committing this act and over half of that number report doing it 'several times' or 'very often'. Almost a quarter of the girls admit to the act but the majority of those making that admission claim to have done it only 'once or twice'.

TABLE 25:

'HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN A CAR FOR A JOYRIDE OR BEEN FOR A RIDE IN A CAR THAT YOU KNEW SOMEONE ELSE HAD TAKEN?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.3	1	0.4
very often	1	-	1
several times	1	-	2
once or twice	7	4	6
never	91	95	92

Less than 10% of the boys and something less than half that percentage of girls admit to committing this act.

GROUP 6:

The questions in this section deal with two acts (smoking marijuana and under-age drinking of alcohol) which, whilst offences against the law, involve no victim, and a further two acts (playing truant from school and running away from home) which, although not in themselves criminal acts, can lead, under certain circumstances, to the young offender being brought before a court. Results are shown in Tables 26-29.

TABLE 26:

'HAVE YOU EVER SMOKED MARIJUANA (ALSO CALLED POT OR GRASS)?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	1	-	0.6
often	1	1	0.8
several times	1	1	1
once or twice	5	4	5
never	92	94	92

Slightly less than 7% of the sample admits to having smoked marijuana. Two percent of each sex admits to 'often' or 'several times'. The numbers involved are small and the percentage of boys (7%) is only marginally greater than that of girls (6%).

TABLE 27:

'HAVE YOU EVER BOUGHT OR DRUNK BEER, WINE OR LIQUOR WITH YOUR FRIENDS? (DO NOT INCLUDE DRINKING AT HOME WITH YOUR PARENTS)'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.3	1	0.4
Yes	53	42	51
no	47	57	49

The legal age for drinking in Queensland was, until shortly before this survey was taken, twenty-one years of age. It has now been reduced to eighteen. No one in the sample is older than seventeen years of age. This table, when compared with that showing the response to the question about smoking marijuana, demonstrates quite clearly that Inala adolescents are much more like to turn-on

to the more traditional alcohol than to more recently fashionable drugs. Over half the boys and over 40% of the girls admitted to this act.

TABLE 28:

'HAVE YOU EVER WAGGED SCHOOL? (BEEN AWAY FROM SCHOOL WITHOUT AN ACCEPTABLE REASON)'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.5	1	0.6
very often	12	2	9
several times	17	12	16
once or twice	27	35	29

Twenty-nine per cent of the boys and half that percentage of girls admit to playing truant from school 'very often' or 'several times'. A further 27% of boys and 35% of girls admit to playing truant 'once or twice'. Half the girls and 56% of boys admit to playing truant to some degree.

TABLE 29:

'HAVE YOU EVER RUN AWAY FROM HOME?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n. 518</u>
N.A.	0.3	1	0.4
very often	1	2	1
several times	1	2	2
once or twice	13	14	13
never	85	81	84

This is the only question (except for one of those in the 'lie detector' group) that girls answered affirmatively at a greater rate than boys. The difference is not great.

GROUP 7:

The questions in this section refer to minor acts which it is believed few people honestly can deny committing at some time. They ask about telling lies, taking little things worth less than \$2 that did not belong to the respondent and, the all-embracing question, 'have you ever done anything which would have got you into trouble with your parents if it had been found out?'. The purpose

of these questions is to assist, when more complicated analysis of the self-report delinquency scale is undertaken, in validating individual responses by correlating the answers to these questions with other answers given by individuals in this section. The results are shown in tables 30-32.

TABLE 30:

'HAVE YOU EVER TOLD A LIE TO ANYONE?'

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
N.A.	1	2	1
very often	19	10	17
several times	49	44	47
once or twice	30	44	33
never	2	1	1

A very small percentage of the sample claims never to have told a lie, a result which does have a ring of truth about it! A marginally higher percentage of boys made this claim but the girls, generally, claimed a lower frequency of lying.

TABLE 31:

'HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN LITTLE THINGS (WORTH LESS THAN \$2 THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>n.518</u>
N.A.	0.3	1	0.4
very often	7	2	6
several times	18	7	16
once or twice	44	29	40
never	30	61	38

Seventy per cent of the boys admitted to this act at some frequency or other while less than 40% of the girls made the same admission. The percentage of boys admitting to the two higher frequencies together was almost three times that of girls admitting to the same frequencies.

TABLE 32'HAVE YOU EVER DONE ANYTHING WHICH WOULD HAVE
GOT YOU INTO TROUBLE WITH YOUR PARENTS IF IT
HAD BEEN FOUND OUT?'

	<u>Male</u> <u>n.395</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>n.123</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>nn518</u>
N.A.	0.5	1	0.4
often	7	2	6
several times	18	13	17
once or twice	46	50	47
never	28	35	30

A majority of each sex answered positively to this question with the boys showing a greater tendency to do so as a whole and to admit a higher frequency.

RANK ORDER OF ACTS ADMITTED TO AND COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE SEXES:

Tables 33 and 34 demonstrate where the sexes stand in relation to each other in respect of all the questions examined in this section of this interim report.

TABLE 33:

PERCENTAGE RESPONDING POSITIVELY (AT ALL LEVELS) TO QUESTIONS IN THE SELF-REPORT DELINQUENCY SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, TABULATED BY SEX, AND SHOWING RANK ORDER OF RESPONSES

MALE	% responding positively	FEMALE
	99	told lies
told lies	98	
done anything to get into trouble	72	
steal little things	70	
	65	done anything to get into trouble
played truant	57	
drinking	53	
beat up/hurt someone	50	played truant
caused damage	49	
	43	drinking
unlicensed driving	41	
steal \$2-\$50	39	
gang fight	36	
juvenile delinquent frnds	32	caused damage
	26	juvenile delinquent friends
	25	beat up/hurt someone
	24	unlicensed driving gang fight
	19	run away from home
break into building	17	
criminal friends	16	
run away from home	15	
'robbery' by threat	14	
	13	criminal friends steal \$2-\$50
lit fires - damage	12	
used weapon	10	
finding of guilt in Childrens Crt		
joyriding	9	
smoked marijuana	8	
	7	'robbery' by threat
steal \$50 plus	6	smoked marijuana
	5	joyriding
	4	lit fires - damage
	2	steal \$50 plus finding of guilt in Ch. Crt used weapon break into building

TABLE 34:

PERCENTAGE RESPONDING POSITIVELY (AT THE 'VERY OFTEN', 'OFTEN' OR 'SEVERAL TIMES' LEVEL) TO QUESTIONS IN THE SELF-REPORT DELINQUENCY SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, TABULATED BY SEX, AND SHOWING RANK ORDER OF RESPONSES

<u>MALE</u>	<u>% responding positively</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
told lies	68	
	54	told lies
played truant	29	
done anything to get into trouble	25	
steal little things		
unlicensed driving	21	
	15	done anything to get into trouble
	14	played truant
gang fight	13	
beat up/hurt someone		
caused damage	9	unlicensed driving
juvenile delinq friends	8	
steal \$2-\$50	7	
	5	beat up/hurt someone
	4	juvenile delinq friends
		run away from home
'robbery' by threat	3	steal \$2-\$50
smoked marijuana	2	smoked marijuana
joyriding		
break into building		
finding of guilt in Childrens Court	1	'robbery' by threat
steal \$50 plus		
criminal friends		
used weapon		
lit fires - danger		
	0	break into building
		finding of guilt in Childrens Court
		lit fires - damage
		used weapon
		steal \$50 plus
		joyriding

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LITERATURE REVIEW

of

LEISURE AND DELINQUENCY

Compiled by Greg Smith

INTRODUCTION

Increasing leisure time and greater diversity of choice of how to spend that time, which the affluence of post-industrial society has brought, has also prompted man to review just what this relatively new condition means. In many ways the ability to make satisfying use of this free time has lagged behind its growth. At the same time, the affluence which gives us greater leisure also gives us hitherto unavailable means to develop resources and facilities to meet the needs which leisure brings.

Particularly among the young, who find it more difficult than their elders to find "something to do" in their leisure time, the development of outlets to meet this need is important. While the consequences of having "nothing to do" have been exaggerated at times, there exists an intuitive recognition that existing facilities for leisure and recreation are failing many young people:

"The nothing-to-do syndrome it can be called, and the police, youth group leaders and social workers realise there has to be a giant re-think in the youth department if communication between our two generations isn't to break down completely." ¹

This quotation from the Brisbane Sunday Mail summarises one common feeling about recreation and its importance. Possibly even more in tune with popular intuition, the same article also claims that:

"They (kids these days) have turned into young savages who put Genghis Khan's hordes to shame with their long records of pillage and rape. Cars are stolen and set alight, houses broken into and old people bashed, and all for kicks and because, as I was told, 'There's nothing to do in Brisbane at night and at weekends'." ²

1. The Sunday Mail, Brisbane, October 14, 1973.

2. Ibid.

On the other hand it could be strongly argued that there is in reality more to do today than ever before - wider choice and greater accessibility to facilities through improved transportation and communication. In many ways, it could be argued, this syndrome is largely a state of mind. In any case, this feeling that a lack of suitable recreation contributes to juvenile crime, is an old one. As this and numerous press articles show, there is public concern about how to meet the leisure needs of young people in a changing world. More particularly, they also show that there is concern about the consequences of failing to meet these needs.

In many countries recognition of this problem has led to government response - for example the establishment of a Committee on Youth in Canada, and the Youth Say project here in Australia. In the United States the President's Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime included a section on recreation and delinquency. In introducing that section, authors Bertram M. Beck and Deborah B. Beck expressed the belief that:

"A renewed national effort to reduce crime must bring to bear all the various systems within the community that may help deter criminal behaviour. One such is the recreational system. Although the relation between recreation and delinquency has been the subject of both studies and programs, much recreational programming still fails to face and cope with the basic problems of many young people today - problems that often contribute to delinquency and crime." ³

At the same time many delinquency theorists touch only peripherally upon the role of leisure and recreation in prevention of delinquency. Albert Cohen has suggested for example that part of the cause for the failure of recreation is a class bias in the nature of activities offered, particularly in working class areas:

3. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (U.S. Government Printer, Washington, D.C., 1967) p. 331.

"In settlement houses and other adult-sponsored and managed recreational agencies similar conflicts may often be seen between the middle-class values of the adults in charge and the working-class values of the children for whose benefit the institutions ostensibly exist. Such organisations smile upon neat, orderly, polite, personable, mannerly children who 'want to make something of themselves'." ⁴

Yet at the same time it is common practice for youths serving agencies to make heavy use of their potential for 'building citizenship'⁵ (and thereby reducing delinquency and anti-social behaviour) in fund-raising drives or at other times when they wish to justify their existence. In most cases such statements are unsupported by any evidence, beyond the intuition of the particular agency directors, that their programmes do in fact have an effect on delinquency.

Even in areas where there appears to be adequate recreation, studies such as those of Reed (1948),⁶ Mayo (1969)⁷, HARYOU (1964),⁸ and Morse (1965),⁹ to name only a few, suggest that it is inadequate for delinquents.

Whether it fails to involve delinquents in the first place, to meet their needs while involved, or to retain involvement beyond a trial period, recreation, it is suggested, is falling short of its potential.

Yet despite these apparent shortcomings of organised recreation, few people would call for a decrease in programmes and facilities. As Kahn (1963) has stated:

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6. Ellery F. Reed, 'How Effective are Group-work Agencies in Preventing Delinquency?', in Social Service Review, 22, 1948. pp.340-8.
 7. Patricia Elton Mayo, The Making of a Criminal (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1969).
 8. Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., Youth in the Ghetto (HARYOU, New York, 1964).
 9. Mary Morse, The Unattached (Pelican, England, 1965).

"A well-planned community programme of recreation is of itself an indispensable part of modern community provision for both the young and the old. This remains the case even though the strongly anti-social delinquents tend to be kept out of some recreational centres or are not reached by others." 10

Bearing this in mind, then, what seems to be called for is research to determine just what the needs of these 'strongly anti-social delinquents' are and how the community can best meet these needs. Involved in this of course is the implicit assumption that the community is interested in preventing and reducing delinquency - an assumption which would be difficult to challenge given the amount of resources presently devoted to this task.

The few comments and studies referred to above have therefore served merely to introduce the subject matter of this review: delinquency, leisure, and recreation. A more extensive review of the literature on this subject follows. In general terms, however, these few quotations and remarks delineate some broad areas of concern.

10. Alfred J. Kahn, Planning Community Services for Children in Trouble (Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1963) p. 64

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"If there was more organised activity, the world would be more organised. The trouble is that there are always twits who will not co-operate. Anytime anything is put on the local retards put on a show, posing all the time. Such individuals adopt an inferiority complex towards the authoritarian image set by such people as parents, teachers and police. They begin to feel that the entire world is against them. They look for something to do. Most times they beat up old people and other weaklings. More encouragement should be made towards young people taking an interest in sports such as soccer, playing soccer would teach them to obey leaders and adopt a nature willing to obey them and their orders."

- Brisbane boy, 14, in an essay on the topic 'The trouble with organised recreation, such as sports and dances, is...'

As this boy has intimated, a discussion of leisure, recreation and delinquency necessarily involves two main questions: Does community recreation prevent or reduce delinquency; and do delinquents (his 'twits' and 'retards', presumably) have substantially different interests and attitudes from non-delinquents?

While many writers on delinquency, youth work, or recreation mention the relationship between recreation and delinquency in passing, only a few empirical studies have been done on the subject. There has, on the other hand been a tremendous amount of material written about youth in general, and the provision of leisure facilities for young people. Some of these studies will be discussed later in this review, although they do not by and large concentrate upon delinquent behaviour.

For the present, however, I would like to review some of those studies which have concentrated upon the relationship between recreation and delinquency. Generally they are of two main types: there are those which set out to empirically measure delinquency, usually via official statistics, self-report scales, or some combination of both, and then to relate these to leisure interests; and then

there are the participant-observation studies, which frequently include extensive involvement by the author in the provision of recreation for delinquents - for example as a detached youth worker. These studies vary from the first type in that they are usually more subjective, and in most cases recreation is a subject which is peripheral to the main thrust of the study, often appearing merely as one of many tools used by a worker to reduce delinquent behaviour. They tend to be more valuable in describing the leisure interests of anti-social youths than in measuring the impact of recreation. For the moment, therefore, I will concentrate on the more quantitative studies, and return to these others shortly.

DOES ORGANISED RECREATION PREVENT
OR REDUCE DELINQUENCY?

It has been claimed that:

"Few recreational organisations or character-building agencies have ever permitted an objective appraisal to be made of their programs. The public is asked to contribute to such organisations and take, at face value and without criticism, the reports submitted by their staff members themselves. They naturally play up the good they do, and merely mention their failures; in fact they are often actually unaware of their mistakes or ineffectiveness." 1

There have, however, been a few such studies. One of the earliest was that of Frederic Thrasher. Best known for his classic work, The Gang² he recognised that the existing, non institutional facilities of gangland were often far more attractive than any playgrounds or social centres:

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1. H.E. Barnes and Negley Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, p.609
 2. Frederic M. Thrasher, The Gang: A study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1936).

"The physical layout of gangland provides a realm of adventure with which ny playground can compete. The lack is not of this sort. The real problem is one of developing in these areas or introducing into them leaders who can organise the play of boys, direct it into wholesome channels and give it social significance." ³

Thrasher also published a study which attempted to evaluate the effectiveness for delinquency prevention of a Boys Club.⁴ The club was opened in a high crime area of New York City. Using descriptive, ecological, statistical and case-study methods, over a period of four years, he discovered that although the club attracted a large percentage of the truants and delinquents (officially measured) at which it aimed, many memberships were only nominal. The club failed to reach and hold them, and delinquency rates did not decline, even among its members: in fact they rose, a result which Thrasher attributed to boys reaching an older, higher delinquency age range. It was his belief that a Boys Club which has as a principal aim the prevention of crime, must become part of a concerted community program for this purpose. Oddly enough, he concludes his report with a call for many more boys' clubs, as he

"... feels that the Boys' Club is one of the most important and essential elements in any crime prevention program." ⁵

This appears to contradict his findings that

"... only 18 per cent of the offences of Boys' Club members occurred before membership, while 28 per cent took place after a membership period and 61 per cent occurred during a period of active affiliation with the club." ⁶

3. Ibid., p. 494.

4. Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 42 (July 1936) pp. 61-80

5. Ibid., p. 80.

6. Ibid., p. 75

A more recent study of the effect of a Boys' Club on delinquency was carried out by Roscoe C. Brown, Jr. (1956)⁷ in Kentucky. Three comparable areas in Louisville were selected. Delinquency rates, as measured by official statistics, were compared in these areas over the ten years from 1944 to 1955. In 1946 a Boys Club began operation in one area, and during the period of the study no other significant youth-serving agencies operated in that area. Neither of the other areas had large building-centred recreation programs, although limited other facilities did exist. Brown found that 55 per cent of eligible boys aged 7-17 were club members during the last year of the study. The 10-14 age group had the highest membership rates (71%), while the older more delinquency prone 15-17 year group had the lowest rate (35%). It was also found that the delinquency rate in the boys club area decreased (from 1:19 to 1:39) subsequent to the opening of the Boys Club, while the rate in the comparison areas rose (from 1:44 to 1:16; and from 1:28 to 1:21), as did the rate for the entire city of Louisville (from 1:29 to 1:18). There were no appreciable socioeconomic changes, or changes in extent or quality of other institutional programmes during that time in any of the areas studied. The author does, however, refrain from explicitly claiming that the Boys' Club was responsible for the decline in delinquency.

That this study appears to contradict Thrasher's findings could result from several causes: type of programmes offered by the clubs (neither gave details); the effect of other changes (particularly in Thrasher's area); or even differences in measurement. There are many variables which could have intervened. Of the two studies, however, the Louisville one appears to have accounted for other variables in a more sophisticated way.

7. Roscoe C. Brown, Jr. "A Boys' Club and Delinquency". Monograph No. 2, New York University Center for Community and Field Service (1956).

Another attempt to empirically measure the effectiveness of recreation was that of Ellery F. Reed (1948)⁸. He mentions, as I have already, that group-work agencies (YMCA, Scouts, etc.) base fund appeals upon their role in delinquency prevention. Reed hypothesized, however, that in fact group-work agencies "skim off the cream" of the boy and girl crop - those from stable and wholesome families. In Cincinnati, he compared a sample of 1679 boys and girls obtained from group-work agency files with a matched (for sex and race) sample of 246 drawn from juvenile court files. He believed that a measure of family disruption and instability would be the number of registrations with family welfare, children's and relief agencies. Using these it could be discovered whether group-work agencies served a different group of families than those represented by the courts.

He did find substantial difference between the two groups on a number of variables. Families of group-work youths had only half as many registrations with the Social Service Exchange, and represented a relatively more secure background in all economic areas. The group-work sample youths (primarily under 15) were younger than those in juvenile court (primarily over 15), and were less representative of Negroes, and of males. Group-work youths did have a 20 per cent lower rate of delinquency than the general population, although Reed points out that this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that:

"... their lower delinquency rates were due to the influence of the group-work agencies. Their families may have been above average in security and independence. Comparatively few group-work families may have been heavily weighted with factors making for delinquency."⁹

He points out, furthermore, that this may also be due to the

8. Ellery F. Reed, "How Effective are Group-Work Agencies in Preventing Delinquency?" Social Service Review. 22, 1948, pp. 340-8

9. Ibid., p. 346.

fact that more of those in group-work agencies are in a younger, less delinquent age group. He concludes that:

"... group-work agencies are not in general identified closely with the underprivileged and insecure elements in the population, nor with the age groups among which delinquency is most prevalent. This is not a criticism of the group-work agencies ... but the findings of this study, however, may suggest the question of whether some group-work agencies by the nature of their programs, attitudes and methods do, in fact, screen out the boys and girls who are handicapped physically, mentally, economically, or racially, or who are emotionally maladjusted; or who have an unfortunate and unhappy family background. If this is true, are they failing to serve those who need their service most?" 10

A classic study of recreation and delinquency was carried out by Shanas and Dunning (1942).¹¹ In that study the recreational activities of 15,000 boys and 8,000 girls aged 10 to 17 were examined in five Chicago neighbourhoods. Four were "delinquency areas", as located by Shaw and McKay (1929),¹² and one a middle-class control area. Delinquency was measured by official figures and unofficially in the form of evaluation by the personnel of the agencies co-operating in the study. The unofficial delinquent acts so evaluated were classified as:

- "1. Known delinquent behaviour - stealing, assault, etc.
2. Truancy.
3. Problem behaviour within the agency - malicious mischief." 13

The recreation being examined was defined as that which took place under supervision. Information was gathered by questionnaires and attendance records - including time of entrance and exit, and type

10. Ibid., p. 348.

11. Ethel Shanas and Catherine E. Dunning, Recreation and Delinquency. (Chicago Recreation Commission, 1942).

12. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Delinquency Areas: A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents and Adult Offenders in Chicago. (Chicago, 1929).

13. Shanas and Dunning, (op. cit.), p. 7.

of activity. It was therefore possible to compare stated preferences with actual attendance. The study found that boys over fourteen did not attend recreational agencies in as large numbers as those under fourteen; that delinquents did not take part in supervised recreation in as large proportions as non-delinquents; when they did participate delinquents preferred active competitive sports and non-supervised activities like the games rooms (table tennis and table games). The authors point out that in winter, the games rooms offered shelter from the cold without the burden of supervision. In the high delinquency areas children spent more time in less supervised activities than the low-delinquency area children. Delinquents travelled most from settlement to settlement and park to park.

Shanas and Dunning also found that official delinquents who attend recreation agencies are less likely to commit delinquent acts than those who do not attend them (10.6% versus 5.1%).

Unfortunately, no measure of seriousness of delinquent behaviour was made, apart from the distinction between official and unofficial delinquents. It is therefore possible that the delinquents who used supervised recreation were less seriously delinquent than those who did not - which could account for the difference in their rates of delinquency and negate the apparent influence of the recreation. The same applies to the non-delinquents who became delinquent - those less likely to become officially delinquent could have been attracted to recreation in greater proportion.

Nevertheless, the authors concluded that:

"Participation in supervised recreation reduces juvenile delinquency." 14

14. Ibid., p. x.

Schafer (1969)¹⁵ examined six theoretical positions: delinquency as a result of differential association; of weak social controls; of rebellion; of boredom; of need to assert masculinity; and as a result of labelling, and found that each leads to the hypothesis that:

"Participation in interscholastic athletics can be expected to exert a deterring or negative influence on delinquent behaviour." 16

In his study of 585 boys from two midwestern senior high schools, he found a negative association between athletic participation and delinquency (as measured by juvenile court records). Seven per cent of the athletes had court records as opposed to seventeen per cent of the non-athletes. In controlling for academic achievement and father's occupation, both of which are related to delinquency, he found the relationship between athletics and delinquency virtually eliminated, except for low achieving boys from blue collar homes. For them, athletic participation appeared to make a substantial difference in the chances of becoming delinquent - these chances are reduced by half. But is it the athletic participation which is the deterrent? Schafer sounds a cautionary note:

"Of course it is still possible that athletics attracts conforming types of boys in the first place ... deviant boys are likely to have been formally or informally screened out of sports by coaches during junior high school or even before." 17

Several writers have noted that a study of correlation between recreation and delinquency is invalid for making inferences

15. Walter E. Schafer, "Participation in Interscholastic Athletics and Delinquency: a Preliminary Study", Social Problems, 1969, Vol. 17, Summer. pp. 40-7.

16. Ibid., p. 44.

17. Ibid., p. 47.

about causations unless this problem is controlled for. Unfortunately, few studies, with the exceptions of one or two already mentioned, have attempted to control for this problem. Kvaraceus (1945)¹⁸ in a study of Passaic, New Jersey school children found that whereas 40.5% of all children were members of youth service organisations, only 7.9% of Children's Bureau cases (delinquents) belonged. He attributes this to fear by delinquents, through a sense of inferiority and incompetence, of being shown up: they fear frustration and inability to compete. Programs to overcome this barrier have proceeded well in Passaic in absorbing delinquents into non-delinquent activities, but delinquency rates are still much higher for non-members. Kvaraceus' summary could well apply to most studies of the subject:

"It is not claimed that failure to join a group work organisation is a cause of delinquency. Neither is it claimed that membership in any organisation is the major reason why the delinquency rate among youth agency members is low. It is believed, however, that the same factors which cause a child to seek relief from frustrations in delinquent behaviour operate to deter children from seeking or continuing membership in these organisations. Only a small minority of children, regardless of group work agency membership, become delinquent. The probabilities, however, that a delinquent child will not be a group work agency member are greater than nine out of ten chances."¹⁹

DOES MORE FREE TIME MEAN

MORE DELINQUENCY?

There exists a common belief that any sort of recreation or diversion which occupies the leisure time of delinquents will prevent delinquency. The argument is that people who are participating in recreation or other activities cannot be simultaneously

18. William C. Kvaraceus, "Juvenile Delinquency and the School", (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1945) p. 98.

19. Ibid., p. 109.

committing offences. It should be pointed out, however, that it takes very little time to commit an offence - for example putting a stone through a window, or even stealing a car or assaulting a policeman. In fact it has been frequently pointed out by observers that delinquent behaviour takes up only a minuscule proportion of the time of "delinquents". For example, supporters of the American neighbourhood Youth Corps Program stressed its value in delinquency prevention, based in part upon this belief that those involved would have reduced opportunity to be delinquent. The program was designed to provide part-time jobs for students and full-time jobs to drop-outs in Negro ghettos. However, when Robin (1969)²⁰ analysed the success of the programme, he found in Cincinnati and Detroit that Neighbourhood Youth Corps membership was unrelated to delinquency prevention or reduction. A programme, whether recreational or otherwise, apparently requires some other component than simply consumption of time to be effective. As Kvaraceus and Miller (1959) have phrased it:

"As a preventive, 'keeping youth busy', whether through compulsory education, drafting for service in the armed forces, providing fun through recreation, or early employment, can, at best, only temporarily postpone behaviour that is symptomatic of more deep-seated or culturally oriented factors."²¹

Travis Hirschi (1969)²² in his study of causes of delinquency, examined the belief that involvement in conventional activities is incompatible with delinquent activity. He refers in his introduction to this section to the Report to the Congress on Juvenile Delinquency (1960)²³ by the U.S. Department of Health,

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20. Gerald D. Robin, "Anti-Poverty Programs and Delinquency", The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1969 Vol. 60, pp. 323-31.
21. William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller, Delinquent Behaviour: Culture and the Individual (Washington: National Education Association, 1959), p. 39.
22. Travis Hirschi, Causes of Delinquency (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969) pp. 187-96.
23. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Report to the Congress on Juvenile DELinquency (Washington, USGPO, 1960) p. 21.

Education and Welfare. This report, Hirschi says, examined the thesis that delinquency could be cured by 'getting the kids off the streets'. Little evidence of the validity of this argument was found. In fact that report concludes that the provision of recreational facilities would not reduce delinquency rates. Hirschi's own study is based on data from 4,077 students entering eleven California junior and senior high schools. Measurement of delinquency was based on official statistics and a self-report scale. Working and dating are two conventional activities which, theoretically, should remove the opportunity to commit delinquent acts. However, Hirschi found that boys who worked and boys who dated admitted to more self-reported acts of delinquency than those who did not. He points out, as I have already suggested, that:

"What tricked us ... is the idea that 'delinquency' is a more or less full-time job, a common enough idea in delinquency theory, but highly inappropriate when applied to an explanation of delinquent acts. Most 'conventional' activities are neutral with respect to delinquency; they neither inhibit nor promote it ... we must consider, then, what the child is doing, and assiduously avoid the idea that doing 'something' - anything - is better than, that is, inhibitive of, the commission of delinquent acts." 24

These then, are the principal empirical attempts to measure the relationship between recreation and delinquency, although the Becks mention two other American studies which had similar results to that of Brown: that the introduction of a Boys' Club was accompanied by a reduction in the rate of delinquency. 25

24. Hirschi, (op. cit.) p. 190.

25. For example "Studies in Population and Juvenile Delinquency", Oakland, California: Community Chest Survey (1944-45); "Agency Contacts with Membership of Boys' Clubs of Cincinnati, Inc., Older Unit" (Cincinnati, Ohio: Joint Study with Boys' Clubs of Cincinnati, Citizens Committee on Youth and Police Department, Community Health and Welfare Council Research Department, April 1960) (mimeographed).

As has been seen, in most cases the type of recreation examined was provided by traditional group-work agencies. It was, for example mainly youth clubs, organised sports and building-centred programs. We have also seen, however, that by and large such traditional facilities fail to attract and hold the more delinquent youths, especially those over fourteen. Before discussing more fully a comparison of leisure interests of delinquents and non-delinquents, I would like to summarise to some extent the discussion so far.

The most common position on the question of recreation's role in the prevention of delinquency is that taken by such reports as the President's Task Force on Delinquency (1967) in which the Becks concluded that:

"These studies neither demonstrated in any conclusive fashion that recreation prevented delinquency nor were they able to demonstrate conclusively that recreation was without value in delinquency prevention. The reader is left with the conclusion that recreation is good or at least not harmful and might be of some value in crime prevention.

The picture then is a cloudy one. It would appear that certain types of recreational opportunities may deter youngsters from delinquency, but this effect is largely dependent on the nature of the activity and cannot be attributed to recreation as an entity." 26

Despite the lack of conclusive evidence as to recreation's value in delinquency prevention, however, virtually no one would argue for a reduction in the amount of recreation provided. For example,

26. Bertram M. Beck and Deborah B. Beck, "Recreation and Delinquency", Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, USGPO, Washington, 1967) p. 334.

Kindelsperger (1960) points out that:

"A recreation program does not have to be defended in terms of its ability to prevent delinquency. It has a legitimate and intrinsic function in its own right in the general welfare of the community." 27

Most other writers echo this belief, many pointing out that in a more indirect way recreation may have preventive effects which are not easily measurable. Thus Gold (1963) suggests that:

"... the higher the quality of recreational and educational facilities, the more attractive the community will be to its youngsters, and consequently the less likely they will be delinquent." 28

Kahn (1963) also has argued that recreation, like:

"... education, vocational choices and health facilities, ... is part of the opportunity picture which affects the way in which young people perceive and react to their social environment." 29.

Perhaps the most accurate conclusion to be drawn from the above discussion is that more clear thinking is required on the part of those who provide leisure and recreational programmes and facilities: clearer thinking as to their purposes and more objective evaluation of just whom it is that they reach. To return to Kindelsperger again:

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27. Kenneth W. Kindelsperger, "Recreation and Delinquency", Recreation, 53 (April, 1960) p. 160.
 28. Martin Gold, Status Forces in Delinquent Boys (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1963) P. 39.
 29. Alfred J. Kahn, Planning Community Services for Children in Trouble (Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1963) p. 65. The U.S. Riot Commission Report found that recreation ranked very high as a grievance in cities accounting for most serious disorders. In three out of twenty cities it was top priority, second in one, and third in four. (Quoted in Seymour M. Gold, Urban Recreation Planning, (Lea and Febinger, Philadelphia, 1973), p. 80.

"All this adds up to the rather blunt statement that if a recreation department or agency wants to get involved in a serious program related to the specific problem of reducing troublesome and delinquent behaviour, it should do so with its eyes open and a realisation of the difficulties involved. A fuzzy-minded approach with rather general goals often does more harm than good." 30

THE GROWING FAILURE OF TRADITIONAL RECREATION

It has been seen that delinquents have, on the whole, significantly different leisure interests from non-delinquents. In brief, they are largely uninvolved in traditional community recreation, particularly after the age of fourteen. Those delinquents who are attracted spend more time either in unsupervised activities, or active competitive sports. They are also extremely mobile, frequently moving back and forth between different centres. Group-work agencies also appear to ignore or bypass lower socio-economic groups in favour of the 'cream of the crop'. This tendency for organised recreation to lack appeal for delinquent adolescents is one which most participant-observation studies have noted.

Whyte (1943)³¹ found that street corner boys were less attracted to the facilities offered by a conventional settlement house, preferring their own clubhouses. Yablonsky (1962) found that New York gangs were low in participation in conventional recreational activities. When he established a baseball project, "... the more recalcitrant gang members remained in the back hall, playing cards, or at the old hangouts on the corner."³²

30. Kindelsperger, (op. cit.) p. 160.

31. W.F. Whyte, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum (Chicago, University Press, 1943).

32. Lewis Yablonsky, The Violent Gang (Macmillan, New York and London, 1962).

Others ³³ have also remarked on the lack of attraction traditional established recreational facilities hold for delinquents.

One study which is of particular interest is that of Mary Morse (1965)³⁴. She reports on the experiences of four researchers who were sent out into four different areas in Britain to contact young people, find out their leisure interests, and to try to provide some of the facilities they required. This is one of the most specifically orientated studies toward leisure using such extended research - the field work lasted three years. This study was funded by the Albermarle Committee, which had previously done a national study on Youth services in Britain.³⁵ The researchers with their identities disguised, kept extensive records of young peoples' attitudes towards home, work, money, sex, leisure-time activities, the Youth Service and moral and social values. While not necessarily aimed at delinquent youth, the study was specifically interested in the unattached, whom Morse defines as:

"... those who do not belong to a youth organisation and who are also unhappy and/or delinquent."³⁶

The unattached were characterised by:

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33. For example see New York City Youth Board, Reaching The Fighting Gang (1960); Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor, Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950); Dunphy, Dexter Colby, Cliques, Crowds and Gangs: Group Life of Sydney Adolescents (Melbourne, Cheshire, 1969).
34. Mary Morse, The Unattached (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1965).
35. Albermarle Committee Report, The Youth Service in England and Wales (London H.M.S.), 1958).
36. Morse, (Op. cit.) p. 74.

"... an almost complete dissociation from the world of youth leaders, subscriptions, committees, regular meetings, and organised activities. The most noticeable differences from the local 'attached' youth were the degree of rebelliousness and antagonism towards society and their refusal to accept limitations, whether their own or external." 37

Youth clubs and organised recreation were perceived as too tame and too constraining. On the other hand boredom and apathy commonly characterised the leisure of the unattached. Unstable behaviour patterns were common, as were the desire for short-range pleasures over long range goals; a craving for adventure, often manifested in a reluctance to spend even one evening at home; and a continual search for parties and action. One of the most predominant attitudes shared by the unattached was a hostility to all adults and adult-run activities, including youth clubs. Adults were considered patronising and condescending and relatively unstructured activities such as coffee shops were preferred to youth clubs. Even where a worker managed to draw the unattached into a youth club, the involvement failed - either because they quickly dropped out, or because the activities of the youth club were seriously disrupted by their presence. Yet although clubs which were accessible were not used, the unattached would frequently travel up to forty miles for a dance. This is a strong indication that youth clubs were not providing the facilities which these young people desired - and in fact one worker refused to recommend clubs to them because they were plainly unsuitable.

Hanging around in coffee shops, talking with friends, drinking, some active sports such as swimming, boxing and football, and dances and parties all played a major part in the leisure of the unattached - as did a fair amount of delinquent behaviour, petty theft being a major form.

Other British studies have found much the same thing. Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes (1943)³⁸ found that a significant percentage of delinquents (56.2%) in London had no leisure interests, compared with only 15.2% of controls. In provincial towns the same was found to be the case (delinquents 35.5% vs. 10.3% for controls). The control cases, the authors state, were on the whole a livelier lot than the delinquents, more often being interested in a variety of pursuits such as reading, football, cycling and swimming. The authors conclude that:

"... the delinquents as a whole do not use club facilities to the same extent as controls, but the differences are so slight that it is perhaps wiser not to insist on their existence ... the delinquents are relatively less inclined to indulge in definite pursuits in their playtime." 39

It should be noted, however, that the authors are primarily referring to organised, wholesome pursuits. It is unlikely that these delinquents have no leisure interests - but rather that their interests are such that they do not lean towards the sorts of hobbies, sports and games that the controls do.

Patrick (1973),⁴⁰ who carried out a participant-observation study of a Glasgow gang, observed that its members occasionally attended a youth club, but only to relieve their boredom for a few hours. While the club was well-equipped with ping-pong tables and other games, and had a popular and energetic youth leader, gang involvement was peripheral, and gang members

38. A.M. Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim and E.C. Rhodes, Young Offenders (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1943). pp. 92-5.

39. Ibid., p. 94.

40. James Patrick, A Glasgow Gang Observed (Eyre Methuen Ltd., London, 1973) p. 132.

complained that it closed too early. After closing the gang would often go out looking for trouble. Patrick suggests that:

"The traditional youth club's staple diet of ping-pong, Coca-Cola, and five-a-side football will not cure the gang boy's thirst for thrills. Society must provide socially acceptable outlets for aggression, adventure and excitement." 41

For Patrick's gang, fighting, drinking, stealing and other forms of delinquency were more acceptable ways of achieving these thrills.

It is almost redundant to review other similar studies: the findings are nearly always the same. The more delinquent adolescent does not find the traditional youth club, or organised recreational activity suitably attractive to join, or to remain involved beyond a brief or sporadic trial period. When delinquents do use these facilities, it is often in a distorted manner. Thus Patrick reports that the Glasgow gang would often paint slogans on the walls of the youth club. Mayo (1969)⁴² studied two housing estates - one in Marseille and one in Wrexham, and reported that in the latter, a youth club was frequently smashed up by an anti-club gang. Bloch and Niederhoffer (1958) reported in their study of 'the Pirates', that:

"The large Boys' Club in the neighbourhood should have been another socialising force for the adolescents in the community. But, here again, the boys defined the situation in terms of their own distorted values. Did the club have a boxing ring? Fine! That meant fighting was approved. Only why confine it to the ring? They indulged in 'free-for-alls' inside and outside the club

41. Ibid., p. 227

42. Patricia Elton Mayo, The Making of a Criminal (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1959). p. 115.

buildings which necessitated frequent calls for police assistance to restore order. Were there regular meeting rooms? Good! The Pirates often met in the building for conferences, but they used the boiler room, not the meeting room, to hold their sessions." 43

There is evidence from recent studies of leisure and youth as a whole which appears to indicate a growing movement away from traditional forms of recreation. Mention has already been made of some of these attempts to investigate the leisure needs of young people on a national basis. The Albermarle Report (1958) 43 and its spinoff, The Unattached (1965) 44 in Britain; the Report of the Committee on Youth (1971) 45 in Canada; and the Youth Say Project (1974) 46 in Australia are all examples of such attitudes.

Wilson (1970) 47 reviewed some of the findings of the British studies and found that the Youth Service over the previous ten years was becoming less appealing to older teenagers. After the age of 16 attendance falls away rapidly, and very few over 18's are attracted at all. The Youth Service seemed to lack features relevant to the interests of young adults, and had a juvenile image - in fact the more members under 14, the less attraction it had for those over this age.

Canada's Committee on Youth came to much the same sort of conclusion.

43. Albermarle Committee Report, (op. cit.)

44. Morse, 1965 (op. cit.)

45. The Committee on Youth, It's Your Turn (Information Canada, Ottawa, 1971)

46. National Youth Council of Australia, The Youth Say Project - A Summary Report (Victoria, 1974)

47. Fred Milson, Youth Work in the 1970's (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970) pp. 50-68

"The major challenge is that voluntary youth organisations are losing their appeal for the young; their traditional programmes are becoming less popular. Youth everywhere are frustrated by the fact that adult-run organisations continue to equate leisure activity with competitive physical recreation. Youth are rejecting the highly structured, paternalistic fashion in which many voluntary organisations operate. In this age of 'participatory democracy', youth are demanding upon unstructured situations in which they can shape and determine their own activities. For these reasons, membership in many voluntary organisations is declining. Youth everywhere talk of 'nothing to do' while local clubs and centres operate poorly attended programmes." 48

For some organisations, such as the Boy Scouts, this report says, the decline in membership has been acute, especially among those over the age of fourteen. This has been supported by evidence from the U.S. as well (Kunz, 1968).⁴⁹ Yet despite this failure on the part of traditional programmes, two-thirds of youth organisations surveyed stated that if they were offered unlimited time and funds, they would expand their present programmes and facilities. In other words, despite their declining memberships they refused to recognise the need for new activities and approaches. The relevant chapter of the Canadian report is titled 'The Organisation Kid - an Adult Pursuit' - a reference to the traditional attitude still held by many youth leaders. In a province-by-province analysis of how local governments have responded to these changing needs, the report concludes that most of their programmes do not adequately respond to the changing values and attitudes of youth.

In Australia, much the same sort of situation exists. One can question just how far Australia has come since 1944, when

48. Committee on Youth, 1971 (op. cit.) p. 79

49. Phillip Ray Kunz, "Profile of the Boy Scouts", monograph adapted from doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967.

Kathleen Gordon wrote of indifference and neglect by community and government authorities towards the adolescent, who, upon leaving school, is:

"... thrown upon the adult world, treated and even exploited as an adult, despite the fact that he is still passing through a painful period of social adjustment, both physical and emotional." 50

She was especially concerned, even then, for the 14-18 year old group, who were outside the facilities offered by organised education. She called for the development of youth centres in local communities, which would be building centred meeting places, for social, recreational and educational activities. In 1960 Scott and U'Ren ⁵¹ surveyed a Melbourne housing commission estate and found that only 4% of adolescent respondents attended youth centres, although 55% of all respondents (adults) in the community were favourable to their development. Only 3% were unfavourable (the others: 6% ambivalent and 34% didn't know anything about them). Youth centres were highest in the list of demand of facilities wanted. Perhaps this could be interpreted as indicative of the finding already mentioned - that adults tend to see the needs of young people principally in terms of buildings, in which activities are provided by adults.

In 1973-74 the Youth Say Project investigated the leisure interests of 1,258 young people aged 12 to 20 in 96 different Australian locations. Group discussions were held, accompanied

50. Kathleen M. Gordon, Youth Centres (Commonwealth of Australia, Dept. of Health, Canberra, 1944). pp. 7-8

51. David Scott and Robert U'Ren, Leisure (F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne: Canberra: Sydney, 1960).

by written exercises. Again, the same general pattern as has been observed elsewhere is evident in Australia. After the age of fourteen, interest in team sports has declined, compared to previous generations, and there is a great demand across the board for:

"... informal, loosely-structured, social pastimes, individual, non-competitive sports and outdoor activities along with creative and cultural pursuits all of which are largely under their own control or matters of free choice." 52

Also high on their list of priorities was a desire for a space or place, not necessarily of elaborate or expensive facilities, which they could make into their own; the help of adult youth workers if given in the spirit of a responsible partnership; and more and better information and accessibility to recreational resources, as well as continuing opportunities to be involved in the planning of community recreation which affects themselves. The project also points to a serious incidence of drunkenness and drug abuse among Australian young people.

Young offenders expressed most interest in drop-in centres run by under 18's, speedway clubs, and lighter penalties for carnal knowledge, pot-smoking and under-age drinking. One interesting suggestion from a high delinquency area was that the penal code be revised by a board of youths selected from all sections of society.

There were also significant variations by age. The four requirements most popular across all age ranges were: an old building young people can run the way they want; a regular dance; music centres for rock groups, bands, orchestras, learning instruments; a big block of bus or ground young people can organise the way they want to. These varied in importance within particular age groups --

52. National Youth Council of Australia, 1974 (op.cit.) p. 17.

significantly, however, the 15-17 year age group, which also tends to be the most delinquent, listed them as first in the order shown above. A coffee shop meeting place was fifth priority.

Also of significance is another trend similar to that found in Canada and the U.S. - uniformed groups, scouts, guides, brigades, etc. were unanimously ranked last in order of desirability in all age groups. Meeting rooms for clubs, societies, small groups also came very low on everyone's priorities.

As younger people get older, coffee shop meeting places, developing school facilities for community use out of school hours, and an all ages community centre increased in desirability. As they grew older, too, tracks for mini-bikes, go-karts, motor bikes, old cars, etc.; indoor gymnastics and sports; grounds and club rooms for team sports; and swimming activities all decreased in priority.

Social activities came first in all age and sex groups except for 12-14 year old boys, who preferred team sports and other physical activities. They rated social as sixth.

The report summarises:

"On the very broad view we would seem to have a 'recreational profile' for Australian young people which suggests that new, informal, loosely-structured social outlets would be widely acceptable providing they afford some measure of autonomous management and local initiative.

They will need the right sort of people participating as leaders and workers. They must be partners rather than directors. Whatever happens by way of new policies, there would be no justification in this evidence for believing that some sort of pre-packaged, multi-purpose community recreation centre descending from above - as 'science wings' and 'libraries' used to do in the education field - would do anything to bring a local community to life." 53

The picture presented above, therefore is one of significant change, over the past couple of decades, in the leisure interests and needs of all young people - change which in fact brings the average young person of today closer in interest to what has normally been the case for the more delinquent. While there is still a place for traditional community recreation, it appears to be in need of drastic and fundamental change in approach if it is to once again serve those for whom it is intended.

The most important point to emerge from this quick review is that the 'delinquent' of yesterday is father to the average young person today in terms of leisure interests and requirements. Yet while many delinquents are closer to non-delinquents in leisure interests and activities than formerly there are still some differences as we have seen. The more anti-social youths are in many ways the vanguard of the youth culture. Analysis of the attitudes of the more anti-social adolescent of today may lead to some insight into what the future may hold for the leisure attitudes of other young people. This belief appears to be supported by the evidence which I have cited already.

THIS REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE
IS, AT THIS INTERIM REPORT STAGE,
INCOMPLETE.

AN OUTLINE OF THE YOUTH-CLUB
COMPONENT IN THE PROPOSED SECOND-YEAR STUDY

Central to the second-year study is the Inala Police-Citizens' Youth Club which is at present constructing new premises to replace the converted cinema in which it now operates four evenings per week.

Construction of the new premises has been delayed, first by the Brisbane floods of early 1974 and second, by the consequent heavy commitment of local building resources to making good flood-damaged properties.

The cost of the new club premises has escalated from an original estimate of \$600,000 to \$860,000. The Commonwealth Government has made \$100,000 available for this work and the Queensland Government has contributed \$58,000.

According to the original schedule, the building should by now be completed and the club operating there. However, construction has begun only recently and the estimated completion date is now February with March as the tentative month of opening.

Once the club begins operating from the new, permanent premises we intend to administer a questionnaire to the users and to carry out participant observation at the club. The delay in opening the new club premises has meant our research has been delayed considerably. The earliest we can now expect to be able to begin this stage of our research is March 1975.

The questionnaire we will be using will measure attendance, satisfaction, participation, identification with the club and its aims and socialisation of club members, amongst other aspects.

THE DROP-IN CENTRE - AN ALTERNATIVE YOUTH-CLUB

As mentioned on page 20, it is our intention to establish an unstructured youth club, or drop-in centre, in Inala as soon as is practicable.

We have been in negotiation with the Commonwealth Government

for financial assistance in this aspect of our study. The Federal M.H.R. for the electorate of Oxley, within which Inala is situated, is Mr. Bill Hayden, Minister for Social Security, and our proposal has been considered by his Department and forwarded, with recommendation, to the Commonwealth Department of Tourism and Recreation. Correspondence has been received from Mr. Frank Stewart, the Minister, expressing 'extreme interest' and arrangements have been made for us to supply details of our proposal to his Departmental officers. The prospects of gaining financial assistance, for at least a six-month period, appear good.

The drop-in centre would have an unattached youth-worker associated with it and we have in mind for this position a person with excellent qualifications in the field and substantial experience of similar work with youth gangs in Scotland.

Suitable premises are available in a convenient location in Inala.

The drop-in centre would provide a great contrast to the Police-Citizens' Youth Club and comparisons may be made over a wide range of activities which, in the drop-in centre, will result from the initiative of the users themselves.

A questionnaire designed to elicit the same measures as that to be administered at the Police-Citizens' club will be used at the drop-in centre. It is anticipated that thorough measurement of the impact of these two very different inputs into the recreational facilities of Inala will enable firm recommendations to be made.

KIDS AND COPPERS

A Participant-Observation Study

Greg Smith, Brisbane.

INTRODUCTION

This article is based on a participant-observation study of an adolescent delinquent group. The members of the group are mostly male, although there are a few girls who are core members and who appear to have equality with the males. Ages of members ranged from thirteen to twenty, but the majority were in the fifteen to seventeen age range. Of one hundred and fifty relatively regular attenders, approximately thirty could be considered core members. The group was also mixed racially, with about twenty-five aborigines, mainly male, belonging. There is no formal or institutionalised structure or rules for membership. Whoever turns up at the locale in which the group members spend most time is accepted without question if he is from the same suburb. The period of observation was four months, and most of the comments which I have reproduced herein are taken verbatim from tape recorded conversations and interviews.

While this article contains a report of interactions with, and attitudes towards, the police, this is only part of a wider study of the leisure activities and interests of delinquents.

I have loosely defined these juveniles as a 'delinquent group' because of the frequency with which members come into conflict with the police. Nearly all of the core members of the group have police records, some dating back several years. In addition, even many of those who do not have official records have still had a number of encounters with the police and freely admit to activities which the law defines as illegal.

I used combinations of introductions (what Polsky has described as 'snowballing')¹ and 'hanging around' (Mayo)² at a coffee shop. Through the coffee shop I met many of the scores of teenagers I was to eventually know very well.

After I had spent a few Saturday evenings at the coffee shop, I felt sufficiently confident to approach the group on its own territory (a park in the centre of a Housing Commission estate in Queensland). The park itself has few facilities besides a couple of picnic tables, a barbecue, and a set of swings. Across the street from the park is a shop, and a sporting complex consisting primarily of a roller skating rink and swimming pool. In the darkness of the park group members would gather every evening of the week around dusk. There they could sit in the dark to listen to the music drifting across from the skating rink, engage in the continuous talk and bantering which Yablonsky called 'sounding',³ make plans for the weekend, catch up on news about friends, pool money for a trip to the pub, watch cars go by, or drink beer. The darkness and a gully in the centre of the park made it possible to drink out of sight of the police. Despite the fact that I was older than group members (25) I could blend in when police arrived and they (police) were unaware of the study.

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1. Ned Polsky, Hustlers, Beats and Others. Penguin Books Australia Ltd., Victoria, 1971, p. 129.
 2. Patricia Elton Mayo, The Making of a Criminal. Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1969, p. 26.
 3. L. Yablonsky, The Violent Gang. Pelican Books, Great Britain, 1967.

The members of the group whom I met selected themselves to a large extent, since I merely turned up at the locations where they most frequently gathered. However, based upon the large number of group members that I eventually met, talked to and observed over the period of the study, I believe that the opinions expressed below are representative.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLICE

As might be expected, delinquent gangs have been found by many researchers to be suspicious and cop-fearing (Yablonsky)⁴ "the police are an enemy in perpetual war with the delinquent gangs". (Bloch and Niederhoffer)⁵. From a survey of Boston, Chicago and Washington, Reiss found that 80 per cent regarded juveniles as the hardest class of citizens to police. Most frequent causes given were that juveniles showed less respect for law and authority, were more aggressive and defiant, and more aware of restrictions on police conduct.⁶ In Australia and New Zealand, Chappell and Wilson⁷ have found that this hostility and suspicion extends beyond delinquents to most youth-police relations. The policemen questioned felt that teenagers were second only to criminals in their resentment towards the police. The same survey showed this to be a well-founded belief, since a majority of young people in Australia had little respect for the police.

4. Ibid.

5. Herbert A. Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer, The Gang. A Study in Adolescent Behaviour. Philosophical Library, New York, 1958, p. 209.

6. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. The Police and the Public. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1971, p. 137.

7. D. Chappell and P.R. Wilson, The Police and the Public in Australia and New Zealand. University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1969.

The delinquent group which I observed was no different, although occasionally attitudes to police were somewhat more ambivalent. The following remarks are typical:

"Lately the coppers have been real good. They know there's nothing in (this suburb) for us to do and they're pretty good they just do what they have to."

- a core member female.

"You get your good coppers and your bad ones here."

- a marginal male, 14.

The statement of the last boy sheds some light on why this ambivalent attitude exists. Generally, a policeman is good despite being a policeman. When a group member expresses tolerance for a policeman it is because that constable has distinguished himself from what the boys perceive to be the normal role and personality of a "copper". For example:

"On the Friday night we went up there (to a carnival) and there was these two cadet coppers fucking sitting over there drinking."

G.S.: Were they in uniform?

"No. They're only cadets. Not bad blokes though. They didn't rave on like coppers do, that's for sure. Just sat there minding their own business."

- core male, 16.

As might be expected, the copper who does not harrass a group member is liked more than those who, in the kids' minds, seem to be out to get them. Even so, although I have seen a drunken boy forcibly ejected

from a dance for fighting by two policemen, I have seen the same boy chatting a short time later to one of them. This was despite his feeling that this policeman was "a bastard that copper. He just tries to kick everybody out." Granted, he was suspicious of the constable's attitude, but his comments demonstrate that his hostility was not totally, or at least overtly, constant.

The tougher a cop is, the greater hostility towards him. Despite the occasional concession that "you get some good coppers", most kids feel that:

"They change so much here that you never get to know them. The good coppers usually don't last too long."

- core male, 16.

Incidentally this viewpoint was supported by one of the leading citizens in the community - a local businessman:

"The police used to stay on for a long time. Now they just come and go. This fellow _____ was a real good cop. He had the highest arrest rate in Queensland, real good ethics, he never dropped a brick (set anyone up for an arrest) and he had the respect of the kids and even the no-hopers around here. ... Now he's going to _____ and that's a kind of promotion."

However, despite a certain ambivalence towards individual policemen who may sometimes prove to be not so bad, distrust and hostility were most commonly expressed. Because the park was in a highly central and therefore visible position in the community, and because it was well known as the hangout for some of the most delinquent teenagers, it was visited often by police. They would shine

their spotlights on the kids as they sat in the dark, or drive right into the park, to question people. This happened so frequently it became commonplace. But police intervention also arose from incidents other than routine patrols. Drinking or fighting at dances; vandalism; complaints about disorderly conduct from residents or recreation leaders; boys yelling obscenities or other taunts; and reports of crime for which a boy fell under suspicion - all caused police-youth interaction.

Since many of the boys have had convictions for several offences, and the police were the agents who caught such offenders, they therefore became the enemy.

In the view of the group members - many of whom had no official records - there was justification for their suspicion and hostility. They felt, for one thing, that they were being maligned by the police. I discussed with one boy the possibility of making a radio programme about kids' interests and ideas. Although we had not at that time been talking about the police, he said:

"We should get five or six kids and some coppers together and let each tell their side of the story. If we had a chance to tell our story people could see that we're telling the truth and these kids down here aren't bad, these kids in the park are real good."

- core male, 16.

The roots of this hostility towards the police are often based upon personal experience or the experience of friends.

ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE VIOLENCE

An allegation I heard frequently was that the police beat up kids they detained:

"There was a rape here last year and my brother and another bloke got picked up for it. They were just walking down the street and the coppers took them to the station. They took my brother in the back room and when he came out he had a big gash on his forehead."

- core member, male, 16.

"Sometimes they'll take blokes back to the station and beat them up too. A couple of my friends got taken back one time and _____ took them in the back room and punched them up."

- marginal male, 14.

"They punch you up in the cop shop too."

G.S.: How do you know - have you been punched up there yourself?

"Yeah, I went to _____ lockup one night with another bloke and we were there for four hours and all they did was stood us up and punch fuck out of us the cunts."

- core male, 16.

"You know the time I was in that home for a day? You know they punched me up first in the lockup. I tried to get away you know, and a copper grabbed me and I hit him a couple of times and he started going down and all these coppers grabbed me and took me inside and they punched piss out of me you know. On the way to the home they were real good to me. They said do you want a smoke - so I wouldn't tell anyone what they had done to me."

- core male, 16.

"They won't punch you in the face, but they only slap. They punch you in the guts though."

"Eh, they always punch you up eh?"

"Yeah every time they get a chance the smart cunts."

- Exchange between two boys, both 16.

This belief is a widely held view of what happens to anyone unfortunate to be arrested by the police. Surprisingly enough though, the boys do not mind admitting that they may have provoked the police. Such was the case with the sixteen year old quoted above who punched back. Generally though, they claim that they only fight back as a form of self defence.⁸

ALLEGATIONS OF DRINKING ON DUTY

If police violence against kids is, in their view, a common habit, they allege that drinking on duty and even drunkenness, is another.

8. While I have never witnessed any of the incidents described above, I have on one occasion seen a policeman use physical force against a group member. The boy, 16, was ejected from a dance for drinking and rushed across the street to cool off away from a potentially explosive crowd of his peers. He was leaning against a car when I saw the policeman punch him in the stomach. Although I drifted over to the scene as an observer, I and another boy were warned away on penalty of being charged ourselves. Later I found out from the boy involved what he felt had happened:

"The copper said put your hands on your head eh? So I did and wham he punched me right in the gut. I thought I was going to spill all my tea up. I had already had a few beers."

When he was hit the boy had doubled up in pain and began to cry. A girl who was a core member played a role which I saw two or three times. Although she was only a friend, she went over and pretended to be his girlfriend to help win sympathy for him with the police. This time it apparently worked, for he was let off with a warning. Another factor was probably, in the boy's own words, that:

"When he hit me I told him I'd dob him in for hitting me, so he let me off with just a warning."

One constable in particular appears to best known among the group. Their opinion of him varies from "pretty good" to "he's all right to a certain extent, but you get him when he's drunk he's a cunt."

When I first started spending time with the group, I began to hear stories of policemen drinking on duty. These stories are usually of the following sorts: a constable turns up at a dance with his own bottle; another takes beer from the kids and then gives back half to them in a fifty-fifty split; another is seen drunk on duty; still another is heard popping the top off a can of beer as he drives off:

"The coppers came back here. They took two dozen cans off him and gave him a dozen back again."

"Yeah, you know what the coppers do? They pinch your beer off you. They do. They save it up and take it round to the cop shop."

G.S.: Have you seen them drink it?

Several: "Yeah."

"They save it all up then they go round to the cop shop on Saturday night and they have a big fuckin' party."

"One night I was in the lockup here for drunk in a public place, and I had some beer and I seen one of them take some cans of beer out of the cupboard and start drinkin' away. It's true. That's an old trick that, everywhere, the coppers been doing that ever since they began. They've always done that, police."

"That's all they fucking do, get your grog, save it all up and have a big party."

"Yeah, most people know that. I know that."

- Exchange among several gang boys.

This discussion group included several of those who claimed to have seen policemen drinking, or drunk, on duty. However, in this case resentment of the police appeared to be more because they confiscate the beer, than because they (the police) drink themselves. To the contrary, the fact that some policemen appeared at parties and drank themselves seemed to humanise them to some extent among the boys:

"Sometimes they go to the parties (in the area), even the trainees they go to the parties sometimes you know. Oh, some of 'em are good blokes you know."

- core male, 16.

'NEVER TRUST A COPPER'

Another common criticism of the police by the boys is that they are deceitful. As one boy said, "I reckon you can never trust a copper."

When I asked him why, he told of the time he had been picked up drunk with another fellow he had met at a party in the city. The other fellow had tried to steal his watch and the ensuing argument brought the police, who took them both to "the lockup". The police then asked him to write out a statement accusing the other fellow, who was well known to them:

"I said no. They said look, if you just tell us that he done it we'll let you off from being drunk in a public place ... Go ahead just do it and we'll forget about everything about you.

So I said all right and I wrote it out that he pinched it. Then they grabbed me, took me to the thing and started punching into me (the boy admitted that they had already scuffled previously), and says righto, you have to go to Court on Monday for resisting arrest and drunk in a public place."

- core male, 16.

The same boy alleged that he had also been deceived another time:

"They said if you just admit that you've done one thing like breaking and entry, we've got you on a lot of things, but if you'll admit to one, we'll only charge you with one. So I admitted to that one, they didn't know for sure I'd done anything else. They said go on tell us what else you done. We won't charge you for it. So I said oh a couple of other breakins around here and they charged me for the lot."

The most prevalent perception of the police then is that while there may be one or two 'good coppers', they are the exception rather than the rule.

STATE OF RIVALRY

This belief, which the boys consider to be well-founded as a result of their experience, encourages them to operate in a continuous state of rivalry with the police. This rivalry, coupled with peer group pressure to appear tougher and smarter than the police, leads to abrasive encounters. These usually take the form of open defiance when confronted or more subtle attempts to verbally outsmart the police.

I have witnessed a few examples of the former, usually at dances where the large number of people appear to encourage face-saving belligerence. Typically, a boy is ejected from a dance for drinking and rowdy behaviour. As he is rushed outside by one or two policemen, he resists - but usually only to a point slightly below that which would provoke severe reaction against him.

In one case of this type an aboriginal boy and one or two of his friends were ejected for fighting. On the street outside two policemen attempted to send them home. The younger policeman, in his mid-twenties, appeared to be less angry than his partner, a man of forty or so.

Elder Policeman: "Look fellow, why don't you just start walking. Get along."

Boy: "I can't it's too far. My friend's just inside, I'm waiting for him"

Policeman: "Take the train then. Beat it. You guys just come here to cause trouble. If you don't want to go inside the dance and behave then beat it."

Boy: "I don't have enough money for the train, it costs a lot to get all the way home. Can't I just stay here and wait for my friend? I'm not causin' no trouble here."

After about fifteen minutes of this sort of discussion the two policemen appeared to cool off and eventually relented, permitting the boys to stay at the dance.

In this case, it could be said the boys had 'won!'. Usually however, although a boy would try to push the constable as far as he could, he would eventually back down just short of being booked. It was making the gesture which was apparently the face-saver.

Attempts to outsmart the police appeared to be about as successful as the attempts to defy them. Usually outsmarting a policeman consisted of pretending to be old enough when caught drinking.⁹ More often though, it was the boys

9. The drinking age in Queensland at the time of this research was twenty-one. It has since been lowered to eighteen (as of February 18, 1974). However, since the majority of the members of the group are aged 15-17, they will still be under the legal age for some time.

themselves who were outsmarted by the police. The following encounter is typical:

"and they said to _____, how old are you. He says twenty-one. He had a can of beer in his hand which he was drinking, and the other can of beer which he wasn't drinking in his other hand. So the copper says righto better be on your way. But we started to go and the copper says come back here. Have you got your name on the roll? You know if you're twenty-one you're supposed to have it on the electric roll? (sic) ¹⁰ _____ says yeah. So the copper says where did you put it on there? _____ says Oh I don't know. So the copper says you're not twenty-one. You have to enroll at the post office.

- core male, 14.

Occasionally a boy did get the best of the police in one of these verbal duels - for example another boy was asked the same question as above, but luckily for himself guessed the post office.

In the continual sparring which goes on, what to me did not appear a brilliant repartee by a boy was in fact considered very witty by his peers - at the expense of the policeman's image. For example:

"Was you down here the night he (policeman) says hey I wonder you haven't cooked your tea on there (barbecue) yet. _____ says to him what do you mean I cooked three snakes on there already. He ripped him right up."

- core male, 16.

This story brought loud derisive laughter from the other boys, because they considered it to show up the policeman as a fool. But even when a policeman bested them in a

10. Another such verbal slip which I found especially humorous occurred in a story being told by a boy who was describing his role in a brawl between boys and police: "I got booked for assisting arrest." He said this quite seriously.

verbal duel, it apparently didn't enhance his image either - causing one to wonder, in this case at least, just how it would be possible for a policeman to come out on top in their eyes.

To illustrate: a policeman criticised the group for breaking beer bottles in the park:

"Eh that copper says 'We don't mind you drinking here, but you shouldn't be breaking bottles, you're only making it bad for yourselves.' _____ says oh we don't break the bottles all the little kids do. The copper says 'Well I don't see no adults here.' Stupid cunt.

- core male, 16.

More than once, too, I have heard of a boy who thinks he has got the best of the police - only to discover he was not as successful as he thought. One such was the boy who, in company with three friends, stole two cars. His mates got picked up in one car and he cruised by them in the other with a big smile on his face, unknown to the police who were questioning them at the time. However, he made the mistake of driving straight to his home, parking the car outside and going to bed. There he was arrested the next morning - because one of his friends had informed on him.

Another boy, caught for underage drinking, very cleverly gave a false name. Unfortunately for him, he gave his real address, in a very small town where he was well known and he was soon traced.

In neither of these cases did I observe any sign from the others who were listening to these stories that being caught was a mark of failure. The usual opinion was that it was only another example of how devious policemen can be.

POLICE ARE ILL-INFORMED

One sure way for a policeman to lose respect among the group was to be hopelessly ill-informed about something which was obvious to the group. Thus, when a very drunken boy yelled loud insults to two policemen across the street from the park, they came over and accused the wrong boy of the offence. This was seen as a mark against them, because the boy who had yelled the obscenities was in plain sight at the time, and in fact had walked over very close to the police.

Incidentally, it is an indication of the solidarity of the boys that the one who was mistakenly charged never made the slightest reference to his friend being the actual offender. After the police had left, however, the real offender was severely criticised by the others for getting his mate into trouble.

Another incident which earned the policemen involved the disdain of the group occurred one evening while we were sitting in the park quietly chatting. A cruiser came into the park and two policemen got out. Most of the boys there at the time were aborigines. A constable said: "What are all you darkies doing here, waiting to punch up all the white boys?" Relating the story later, one of the boys described it this way:

"We says no, we don't want to hurt them too much. Then he rabbles on about how they got called down here because there's supposed to be a brawl starting. Then as he's walking off he turns around and says, 'Aw well, don't hurt 'em too much'.

The boy laughed scornfully and said: "Weren't even going to be no fucking brawl."

In this case the policeman was misinformed not only about the potential 'brawl', but also about the internal relationships of the group. In four months I detected no sign of any friction between aboriginal and white members. There were about twenty-five aborigines and one hundred and twenty whites who made up the larger group of core and marginal members. In every respect they were equals, although I noticed a slight tendency for aborigines to spend more time with members of their own race. Even this, however, was not strongly marked, and interaction by and large seemed to ignore race. This applied for relationships between males and females as well.

In the eyes of the group, then, this confirmed their opinion of the police as somewhat distant, ill-informed adversaries.

CONCLUSION

It would be wrong to say that individual policemen have not earned the respect of the group members. On many occasions I have heard people refer to a particular policeman as 'not a bad bloke' or 'a good copper'. However, this tolerance is extended only intermittently to particular individuals - and virtually never to police as a group. Overall, the attitude of group members to the police is one of suspicion, disrespect, distrust, dislike, contempt and occasionally even fear. Group members allege repeatedly that police are brutal; hypocritical in their attitudes towards drinking and the law; deceitful in their dealings with arrested offenders; remote from the daily lives and activities of the group; and in some cases plain foolish.

This derogatory opinion of the police appears not only to emanate from but to help perpetuate a continual state of conflict between the members of the group and the police. Occasionally

this strained situation leads to physical violence between the two groups. A large scale fight in the park two years previously resulted in several arrests for assault. More recently, as this article was being written, several dozen members of the group were again involved in a half hour brawl with police which resulted in several injuries.

The hostility of group members does not seem to be so much directed against the role of the police as enforcer of the law. It appears rather to be directed against the ways in which the local police fulfil this role. The policeman operating from the remoteness of a cruiser has little opportunity to defuse this hostility, since he normally only interacts with people when an offence has been committed. The policeman then becomes a sort of 'bogyman' who lacks any dimension as a real human being, and who appears to lack knowledge of, or interest in, the constructive side of group activity.

Adding to this image of the police as the enemy is the group's opinion that they themselves act in a way which is above the law. Belief that this is so leads to less respect for the laws which the police are trying to enforce. This 'anything goes' attitude results in greater defiance of individual constables, and creates an atmosphere where even a 'good relationship' only appears so on the surface. What may be perceived by a policeman as a friendly conversation may in fact be seen by the group as a successful attempt to outsmart - and further tarnish his image with them.

However, it is worth sounding a cautionary note regarding the accuracy of the stories which group members tell. While they appear to be largely consistent, at least one researcher has found such stories to be exaggerated. Woelcker found that:

"... the youths who relate and believe these stories have absolutely no wish to doubt their authenticity. To them the police are a bad lot and the stories go towards confirming this conviction. And to complete the circulatory, these stories are likely to be true because the police are a bad lot!" 11

However, whether the hostility of these boys, and others like them is justified or not, the fact remains that it exists as a force which mitigates against the effectiveness of the police - not only to detect offenders but to prevent offences from occurring initially.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

This state of friction between police and delinquents is undoubtedly impossible to eliminate completely, given the nature of the police roles. However, there are measures which could reduce such hostility and make the work of the police more effective.

In America the President's Commission report, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, has recognised the importance of the daily informal contacts between police and juveniles - and also recognised the difficulty of resolving the conflicts which these create. The Commission report stressed the need to give juveniles fair treatment which was not degrading, since to do otherwise can result in a lack of respect for authority and deep resentment. Specific recommendations of the President's Commission include: the formulation of policy guidelines for dealing with juveniles as far as is possible; acquainting all officers with the special characteristics of those young people

11. P.M.W. Voelcker, "The Teenage Slant", in C.H. Rolph (ed.), The Police and the Public. Heinemann, London, 1962, p. 82.

with whom they will come into contact; limiting custody (both prolonged street stops and stationhouse visits) to instances where there is objective specifiabile ground for suspicion; and careful, confidential recorded reports of all stops including a frisk or more than a few preliminary questions.¹²

From the point of view of the juveniles in the present study, these are all suggestions which could reduce some of their criticisms of the police being remote and arbitrary. The inability of policemen to develop any form of constructive relationship with gang members could also be overcome by the use of a juvenile liaison bureau staffed by the police. West has described the operation of such a scheme:

"... with the consent of their parents, juvenile offenders who have been cautioned are subsequently visited in their homes by plainclothes policemen, who talk to their parents, enquire after their welfare, and issue authoritative advice and warnings, after the manner of some probation officers. The police also attempt some prevention, by visiting and advising children who have not got so far as to commit crime under circumstances in which they could be convicted, but who are known to them for truancy, disorderly behaviour or keeping bad company." ¹³

The use of juvenile liaison schemes has also been advocated by Patrick,¹⁴ and Chappell and Wilson who strongly recommend the use of "Special youth divisions in each police force".¹⁵ Not only could participation in such divisions contribute to delinquency

12. See the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1968, pp. 213-6.

13. D.J. West, The Young Offender. Penguin Books Australia Ltd., Ringwood, Victoria, Australia, 1967., p. 213.

14. James Patrick, A Glasgow Gang Observed. Eyre Methuen, London, 1973, pp. 226-7.

15. Chappell and Wilson, op. cit., p. 105.

prevention but they argue it would:

"... considerably improve police-youth relations." ¹⁶

Ironically, Chappell and Wilson cite as model the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau which has been greatly downgraded by the police force in the past year. Certainly it is non-existent in the minds of the group members as far as I could determine.

An apparently successful extension of the Juvenile Liaison Bureau is the Joint Youth Force, adopted by Auckland police, where making friends is more important than making arrests.

According to one report, the 'J' teams have "helped to cut crimes by young Maoris by twenty per cent".¹⁷ Furthermore, the Joint Youth Force has also reduced hostility and misunderstanding between police and juveniles. It appears that relations between the Queensland group and police could improve as well from this form of low-friction interaction.

The above suggestions would, if implemented, have an immediate effect on the attitudes of the delinquents to police at a grass roots level. However, the image of the police among young people could also benefit from such structural innovations as community based youth councils organised with police co-operation. Such councils would draw upon interested citizens, who would then help to solve the problems of youth in their suburb.

Chappell and Wilson suggest that:

"... the police should take the initiative in organising neighbourhood delinquency prevention councils, and that once these have come into being police should actively participate in, and to a considerable extent, direct, the policies of the councils." ¹⁸

16. Ibid., p. 110.

17. Telegraph, Wednesday, Nov. 21, 1973.

18. Chappell and Wilson, op. cit. p. 111.

The function of such councils could be to assist in public relations for the police; the provision of suitable recreation and social welfare facilities; and the interpretation of delinquency prevention programmes for the community.

One final important innovation seems warranted. It has been seen that a wide range of very serious complaints and allegations are made against the police. Group members allege brutality, arbitrariness, drunkenness, and deceit against the police. At present there is little civilian opportunity for such complaints to be investigated. Therefore a review board should be set up in every community to deal with such allegations. As outlined by Morris and Hawkins, such a board would:

"... provide adequate procedures, independent of police departments themselves, for processing citizen grievances and complaints." 19

At present, many such grievances are investigated by the police minister - hardly an objective judge of his own department. The members of the group in this study believe their allegations and complaints to be true, and such a review board would provide an opportunity for complaints to be heard. Action could then be taken to either discredit them or correct situations which have led to justified complaints.

It seems clear from the experiences of police forces throughout the world that there are ways of reducing juvenile hostility towards the police. When a concentrated effort is made, it also appears methods such as those suggested here may meet with some success.

19. Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins, The honest politician's guide to crime control. Sun Books Pty. Ltd., Melbourne, 1971 (The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 92.

MAIN INALA QUESTIONNAIRE

(showing all frequency distributions)

INTERVIEW NUMBER:

UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY & SOCIOLOGY

MAY 1974

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS
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FORM: number/per cent

A STUDY OF TEENAGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS
PLANNED RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN AN
URBAN ENVIRONMENT

1	ADDRESS: _____		X X X X
2	SEX:	Male Female	395/76 123/24
3	AGE LAST BIRTHDAY:	13 14 15 16 17	133/26 111/21 105/20 90/17 79/15
4	BIRTHPLACE:	Australia Britain/Ireland/N.Z. Germany/Holland/Austria/Scandinavia Italy Greece Eastern Europe (Yugoslavia/ Czechoslovakia/Ukraine/ Russia/Estonia) North America (US/Canada) South America Asia/Africa	406/78 89/17 13/ 2 - - - - 2/0.4 3/0.6 1/0.2 4/0.8
5	HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING IN AUSTRALIA? (OVERSEAS BORN ONLY)	less than 1 year one to four years five to ten years more than 10 years	n.113 1/0.9 25/22 51/45 36/32
6	WHICH OF THESE GROUPS DO YOU FEEL YOU BELONG TO? (AUSTRALIAN BORN ONLY)	Aboriginal Islander White Other	n.405 14/ 3 4/ 1 385/95 2/0.5
7	WHAT DO YOU DO?	Secondary school Technical college or school (non-tertiary) Business college University or Q.I.T. (tertiary) Working full-time Unemployed - never had a job Unemployed - after holding a job	N.A. 2 358/69 4/0.8 - - 5/ 1 119/23 3/0.6 27/ 5
		Number in education Number finished education	367/71 149/29

8	WHAT GRADE OR YEAR ARE YOU IN?	N.A.	150
	Grade 8 or less		89/24
	Grade 9		125/34
	Grade 10		102/28
	Grade 11		21/6
	Grade 12		23/6
	post-secondary school vocational training		4/1
	tertiary - first year		2/0.5
	tertiary - subsequent years		2/0.5
9	AT WHAT STAGE OR GRADE DID YOU FINISH YOUR EDUCATION?		
	Grade 8 or less		15/10
	Grade 9 or 10		123/84
	Grade 11 or 12		7/5
	Some tertiary		- -
	Some full-time vocational training		2/1
10	WHAT SCHOOL DO YOU (DID YOU) GO TO? (Last school attended)	N.A.	4
	<u>State High School</u>		
	Inala		208/40
	Richlands		168/32
	Oxley		20/4
	Corinda		55/11
	Indooroopilly		- -
	Other		33/6
	<u>Catholic High School</u>		17/3
	<u>Other private school/college</u>		10/2
	Technical college		3/0.6
11	HOW MANY DIFFERENT SCHOOLS HAVE YOU BEEN TO? (DID YOU GO TO?) (Careful probing required to ensure primary school(s) are included and, where applicable, overseas school(s).)		
	1		5/1
	2		226/44
	3		115/22
	4		70/13
	5		49/9
	6		25/5
	7		9/2
	8		8/1
	9 or more		11/2
12	HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN INALA?		
	Less than 1 year		18/3
	one to four years		94/18
	five to ten years		138/27
	more than 10 years		268/52
13	HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS HOUSE?		
	Less than 1 year		30/6
	One to four years		117/23
	five to ten years		141/27
	more than 10 years		230/44

14	WHO DO YOU LIVE WITH; WHO LOOKS AFTER YOU?		N.A. 1
	Living with both parents		412/79
	living with mother; widowed		37/7
	living with mother; divorced/separated		45/9
	living with mother and stepfather		7/1
	living with father; widowed		1/0.2
	living with father; divorced/separated		6/1
	living with father and stepmother		2/0.4
	living with other relatives		4/0.8
	living with non-relatives		3/0.6

15	WHAT KIND OF WORK DOES YOUR FATHER DO?		
		Not applicable	68
		No answer	12
	Professional/Managerial		32/7
	Clerical & sales		54/12
	Farmer		1/0.2
	Skilled		148/34
	Semi-skilled		31/7
	Unskilled		146/33
	Pensioner		26/6
			n.438

16	DOES YOUR MOTHER GO OUT TO WORK?	N.A.	2
		Not applicable	12
	No		216/42
	Yes - part-time		136/26
	Yes - full-time		152/29

17	WHAT KIND OF WORK DOES SHE DO?		
		Not applicable	217
		No answer	10
	Professional/Managerial		31/11
	Clerical & sales		94/32
	Farmer		- -
	Skilled		14/5
	Semi-skilled		27/9
	Unskilled		123/42
	Pensioner		2/1
			n.291

IF STILL IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION, INSERT 'X' HERE AND GO TO Q.27	
---	--

18	WHAT KIND OF WORK DO YOU DO?		Not applicable	380
	Professional/Managerial		- -	
	Clerical & sales		30/22	
	Farmer		1/1	
	Skilled		39/28	
	Semi-skilled		14/10	
	Unskilled		48/35	
	Female respondents			
	caring for parent/siblings/home		2/1	
	Pensioner		- -	
	Never worked since leaving school		4/3	
				n.138

19	HOW LONG HAVE YOU HAD THAT JOB?		Not applicable	392
	Less than one month		22/17	
	1 to 3 months		28/22	
	4 to 6 months		24/19	
	7 months to 1 year		22/17	
	1 to 2 years		26/21	
	more than 2 years		4/3	

20	HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN UNEMPLOYED? (relates only to present state of unemployment - not to any previous bout)	Not applicable	488
	Less than one month		16/53
	1 to 3 months		8/27
	4 to 6 months		4/13
	6 months to 1 year		2/7
	1 to 2 years		- -
	more than 2 years		- -
21	HOW MANY DIFFERENT JOBS HAVE YOU HAD SINCE YOU LEFT SCHOOL?	Not applicable	368
	one		52/35
	two		30/20
	three		21/14
	four		17/11
	five		7/5
	six		7/5
	seven		6/4
	eight or more		7/5
	never worked since leaving school		3/2
			n.150
22	HOW LONG AGO DID YOU LEAVE SCHOOL?	Not applicable	369
	Less than 1 month		1/0.7
	1 to 3 months		7/5
	4 to 6 months		24/16
	7 months to 1 year		29/19
	1 to 2 years		53/36
	more than 2 years		35/23
23	WHEN YOU LEFT SCHOOL DID YOU KNOW EXACTLY WHAT SORT OF WORK YOU WANTED TO DO?	Not applicable	369
	Yes		77/51
	No		70/47
	D.K.		2/1
24	WHAT SORT OF WORK WOULD YOU <u>MOST</u> LIKE TO DO?	Not applicable (still at school)	368
	<p>**** Results enumerated below indicate changes TO categories indicated and changes WITHIN categories to different types of work</p>		
	Professional/Managerial		12/8
	Clerical & sales		13/9
	Farmer		3/2
	Skilled		76/51
	Semi-skilled		7/5
	Unskilled		11/7
	Miscellaneous (unable to classify)		5/3
	No desire to change at all		23/15
			n.150

IF DISCREPANCY BETWEEN TYPES OF
 WORK MENTIONED IN Q18 (ACTUAL)
 AND Q24 (PREFERRED) ASK Q25 AND Q26

IF NO SUCH DISCREPANCY GO TO Q27

25	WHY DON'T YOU HAVE THAT SORT OF JOB?	Not applicable (still at school) and not desiring change	421
	Lack of qualifications		35/36
	No vacancies locally		14/14
	No vacancies generally		21/22
	Too young at present		6/6
	Inconvenient working hours involved		1/1
	Physically not qualified		2/2
	Accident/sickness etc		3/3
	Tried, but left for reasons connected with specific job or firm		5/5
	Don't know/lack of motivation		10/10
			n.97
26	WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MAIN THING IN YOUR LIFE ! THAT STOPS YOU GETTING THE SORT OF WORK YOU MOST WANT TO DO?	Not applicable	427
	Lack of qualifications		18/20
	Lack of education		10/11
	No vacancies locally		9/10
	No vacancies generally		15/16
	Inconvenient working hours involved		7/8
	Physically not qualified		6/7
	Unwilling to settle down yet		4/4
	Too young at present		5/5
	Don't know/lack of motivation		17/19
			n.91
RESPONDENTS IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION REJOIN QUESTIONNAIRE HERE			
27	CAN YOU HAVE FRIENDS ROUND TO YOUR HOME...		
	As often as you want		363/70
	Fairly often		102/20
	Sometimes		39/7
	Not very often		13/2
	Never		1/0.2
28	HOW MUCH TIME WOULD YOU SAY MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY SPEND DOING THINGS TOGETHER...		
	Quite a lot of time		186/36
	Some time		175/34
	Not very much time		138/27
	No time at all		19/4
29	HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS FOR MEMBERS OF A FAMILY TO SPEND A FAIR BIT OF TIME TOGETHER...		
	Very important	N.A.	1
	Somewhat important		267/51
	Not very important		199/38
	Not at all important		47/9
			4/0.8
30	DO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY GO AWAY ON HOLIDAYS TOGETHER...?		
	Every year	N.A.	1
	Most years		126/24
	Some years		115/22
	Hardly ever		135/26
	Never		63/12
			78/15

- 31 DO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY GO OUT TOGETHER...? N.A. 1
- | | |
|-------------------|--------|
| Very often | 42/8 |
| Quite often | 128/25 |
| Sometimes | 223/43 |
| Not very often | 71/14 |
| Never (Go to Q33) | 53/10 |
- 32 WHERE DO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY GENERALLY GO TO WHEN YOU GO OUT TOGETHER?
(circle up to TWO activities)
- | | |
|--|--------|
| Not applicable (from question 31) | 58 |
| No second activity | 108 |
| Visiting relatives or parents' friends | 244/30 |
| picnics | 55/7 |
| sporting events | 129/16 |
| beach | 187/23 |
| for drives | 103/13 |
| clubs/cabarets/movies/town | 77/9 |
| Agricultural & horse shows/rodeo, etc | 3/0.4 |
| camping/fishing | 11/1.3 |
| church functions | 3/0.4 |
| | n.812 |
- 33 DO YOU AND YOUR PARENTS SPEND TIME DOING THINGS TOGETHER?
IF SO, WHAT SORT OF THINGS?
(circle up to TWO activities)
- | | |
|----------------------|--------|
| No | 123/24 |
| ----- n.518 ----- | |
| Only one activity | 182 |
| sport | 150/25 |
| hobbies/indoor games | 85/14 |
| working on cars | 105/17 |
| gardening | 122/20 |
| cooking | 82/13 |
| sewing | 32/5 |
| discussions | 17/3 |
| watch TV | 8/1 |
| homework | 7/1 |
| | n.608 |
- 34 HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS TO HAVE REALLY INTERESTING SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES?... N.A. 2
- | | |
|------------------------|--------|
| Very important | 318/61 |
| Somewhat important | 149/29 |
| Not/not very important | 48/9 |
- 35 HOW MANY REALLY GOOD FRIENDS WOULD YOU SAY YOU HAVE?
- | | |
|----------------------|--------|
| One or two (1 - 2) | 56/11 |
| a few (3 - 5) | 158/30 |
| Quite a few (6 - 10) | 155/30 |
| A lot (10 +) | 137/26 |
| None | 8/1.5 |

- 36 FOR PEOPLE OF YOUR AGE, WHAT IS THE BEST THING ABOUT LIVING IN INALA?
- | | | |
|---|------|--------|
| | N.A. | 26 |
| 'nothing special' | | 46/9 |
| opportunities/facilities for sport/recreation | | 224/46 |
| opportunities/facilities for entertainment | | 7/1 |
| large numbers of others of a similar age | | 102/28 |
| friendly neighbours/people/ community spirit | | 31/6 |
| NOTHING GOOD (OR BEST) ABOUT IT | | 41/8 |
| location/compactness | | 37/7 |
| good schools | | 2/0.4 |
| good housing | | 2/0.4 |
| | n. | 492 |
- 37 FOR PEOPLE OF YOUR AGE, WHAT IS THE WORST THING ABOUT LIVING IN INALA?
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|--------|
| | N.A. | 35 |
| 'nothing special' | | 89/18 |
| poor leisure/recreation facilities | | 45/9 |
| isolation/inadequate public transport | | 53/11 |
| bad reputation of Inala | | 66/14 |
| vandalism/bullies/louts/fights/roughs | | 122/25 |
| attitude/activities of local police | | 22/5 |
| pollution/poor appearance of Inala | | 21/4 |
| colour discrimination | | 2/0.4 |
| boredom/nowhere to go at night | | 63/13 |
| | n. | 492 |
- 38 WOULD YOU PLEASE COMPLETE THIS SENTENCE FOR ME, SAYING WHATEVER YOU THINK IS THE MOST LIKELY THING AN OUTSIDER WOULD SAY ABOUT INALA:
- "Most people who live outside Inala, think Inala is..."
- | | | |
|--|------|--------|
| | N.A. | 15 |
| no different from other suburbs | | 6/1 |
| awful/not good/bad/rotten/horrible | | 244/48 |
| lots of louts/bullies/hooligans/ criminals | | 53/11 |
| a slum/ a dump/ a hole/ a rough place | | 161/32 |
| good place/alright | | 20/4 |
| "where (a lot of) blacks live" | | 5/1 |
| dead/boring/isolated | | 4/0.8 |
| 'nothing special'/ other | | 10/2 |
| | n. | 503 |
- 39 DO YOU THINK PEOPLE FROM OUTSIDE INALA KNOW WHAT THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT? ARE THEY RIGHT IN WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT INALA?
- | | | |
|----------------|------|--------|
| | N.A. | 11 |
| Always | | 18/3 |
| Sometimes | | 102/20 |
| Not very often | | 199/39 |
| Never | | 188/37 |
- 40 DO YOU HAVE A SPECIAL GROUP OF FRIENDS WHO OFTEN GO AROUND TOGETHER?
- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| Yes | | 283/54 |
| No | | 235/45 |

IF ANSWER TO Q.40 WAS 'YES' - ASK Qs. 41 to 46
IF ANSWER TO Q.40 WAS 'NO' - GO TO Q.47

41	HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE THERE IN THE GROUP?	Not applicable	231
	2		7/2
	3		34/12
	4		57/20
	5		50/17
	6		42/15
	7		9/3
	8		16/6
	9		4/1
	10		33/11
	11		5/2
	12		8/3
	13		3/1
	14		4/1
	15		4/1
	18		1/0.3
	20		6/2
	25		1/0.3
	more than 25		2/0.6
			n.287

42 WHAT TIMES OF THE WEEK DO YOU NORMALLY SPEND WITH PEOPLE FROM THAT GROUP (Tick relevant periods)

**** ANSWERS RELATE ONLY TO THOSE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF A GROUP (i.e. the 283 answering YES at Q.40)

**** PERCENTAGES OF THOSE ANSWERING 'YES' ARE SHOWN IN CELLS OF TABLE.

	morning	afternoon	evening
MONDAY	18	36	24
TUESDAY	18	39	26
WEDNESDAY	18	38	30
THURSDAY	18	40	27
FRIDAY	18	39	45
SATURDAY	47	75	61
SUNDAY	43	72	40

43 IS THERE SOME PARTICULAR PLACE WHICH YOU AND YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS THINK OF AS YOUR OWN TERRITORY OR GROUND AND NO ONE ELSE'S?

	Not applicable	236
no special territory		209/74
central park		9/3
shops; Skylark street		7/2
own house		6/2
creek		5/2
Civic Centre		5/2
Skating rink		5/2
near/around school		5/2
bush off Freeman Road		4/1
bush off Blunder Road		4/1
15 other locations mentioned by between 3 and 1 respondents		-

44 WHEN YOU ARE WITH YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS, WHICH OF THESE THINGS DO YOU DO MOST OFTEN OR SPEND MOST TIME DOING (LIST TWO)

Not applicable	237
2 x response	215
1 resp. only	281
TOTAL RESPS.	496
sitting or standing around outdoors talking	101/20
riding around in a car	61/12
at milk-bars and similar shops	39/8
at the homes of people in the group	152/31
at clubs	36/7
at the skating rink	61/12
at the swimming pool	29/6
<u>outside</u> the skating rink	17/3
<u>outside</u> the swimming pool	- -

45 ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES IN THE LAST YEAR HAVE YOU BEEN WITH MEMBERS OF YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS...

<u>INTO BRISBANE</u>	
not applicable	236
once a month or less	124/44
up to once a fortnight	39/14
up to once a week	59/20
up to twice a week or more	15/5
Never	45/16
	n.282
<u>DOWN TO THE GOLD COAST</u>	
not applicable	236
once a month or less	98/35
up to once a fortnight	10/3
up to once a week	11/4
up to twice a week or more	6/2
Never	157/56
	n.282
<u>TO A DANCE OUTSIDE INALA</u>	
not applicable	236
once a month or less	86/30
up to once a fortnight	10
up to once a week	14/5
up to twice a week or more	7/2
Never	163/58
	n.282

46 DO YOU AND YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS THINK OF YOURSELVES AS BELONGING TO THE WHOLE OF INALA OR JUST TO SOME PARTICULAR PART(S) OF THE SUBURB?

Not applicable	236
whole of Inala	180/64
home street or block	57/20
skating rink area	7/2
central park	1/0.3
North/South division	9/3
East/West division	9/3
Civic Centre	4/1
"Pommies' Hill"	8/3
Richlands	7/2

RESPONDENTS WHO ARE NOT GROUP MEMBERS
REJOIN QUESTIONNAIRE HERE

- 47 DO YOU SPEND A LOT OF TIME, SOME TIME, LITTLE TIME OR NO TIME, DOING THESE THINGS.....?
 *** Note: Due to space, percentages only are shown in the cells of the table.

	lot	some	little	none
Watching TV	44	33	19	3
listening to records	35	38	19	7
listening to pop-music on radio	46	29	18	6
reading books or newspapers	17	28	36	18
reading comic-books	14	17	24	44
reading adventure, war, pop-music, movie or TV magazines	12	31	29	28
mucking about with friends	62	27	9	2
swimming	25	28	30	16
skating	18	19	24	38
mixed parties	13	33	32	21
church activities	5	8	15	70

- 48 WHAT ARE YOUR FAVOURITE THREE TV PROGRAMMES (in order)?
Answers weighted; 1st response x 3; 2nd response x 2

SITUATION COMEDY (children and teenage audience). (Gilligan's Island; Hogan's Heroes; Brady Bunch; F Troop; Get Smart; The Munsters, etc)	N.A. 27
ADULT DRAMA (The Box; No. 96)	575/20 399/14
POLICE DRAMA (Homicide; Matlock Police; Division 4; Silent Number; The Rookies; Streets of San Francisco; Adam 12; Hawaii 50, etc)	406/14 227/8
"CLASS OF '74"	
YOUTH CULTURE/POP MUSIC (Blind Date; Young Talent Time; Partridge Family; GTK)	240/8 84/3
CARTOONS	
WESTERNS/ADVENTURE/DRAMA (Emergency; 6-Million Dollar Man; Space adventures; Kung Fu; Combat; Speedway)	452/16 347/12 154/5
SPORT/VARIETY/COMEDY/QUIZ SHOWS	
NEWS & CURRENT AFFAIRS	weighted n.2884

- 49 IS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU SEE ON TV THAT YOU TRY TO COPY?
 Not applicable

NO	7 393/77
Judo/Kung Fu/Karate	48/9
Fashions	7/1
Mimicking comedians	19/4
Hobbies	9/2
Sporting skills	20/4
Dancing	4/1
Fighting/Criminal skills	5/1
Pop-groups	6/1
	n.511

50	IS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU READ THAT YOU TRY TO COPY?	Not applicable	6
	NO		451/87
	Hobbies		11/2
	Judo/Kung Fu/Karate		10/2
	Understanding life		8/1
	Sporting skills		14/2
	Connected with employment		1/0.2
	Fashion & appearance		12/2
	Pop-groups & pop-music		2/0.3
	War stories		3/0.4
51	WHAT SORT OF MOVIES DO YOU LIKE MOST? (List one category only i.e. horror, comedy, westerns)	Not applicable	12
	Comedy		128/25
	Horror		125/24
	Science fiction		37/7
	War		61/12
	Romance/Musical		26/5
	Westerns		57/11
	Adventure		31/6
	Crime-drama-suspense		41/8
	cartoons		-
52	IN THE LAST YEAR, ABOUT HOW OFTEN DID YOU GO TO THE MOVIES AT A THEATRE ...		
	<u>ON YOUR OWN</u>		
	Never		428/83
	1 - 4		71/14
	5 - 12		15/3
	13 - 26		5/1
	<u>WITH ONE FRIEND OF THE OPPOSITE SEX</u>		
	Never		346/67
	1 - 4		90/17
	5 - 12		48/9
	13 - 26		23/4
	27 - 50		9/2
	more than 50		2/0.4
	<u>WITH YOUR MATES</u>		
	Never		119/23
	1 - 4		196/38
	5 - 12		127/24
	13 - 26		49/9
	27 - 50		22/4
	more than 50		5/1
53	IN THE LAST YEAR, ABOUT HOW OFTEN DID YOU GO TO THE DRIVE-IN MOVIES...		
	<u>ON YOUR OWN</u>		
	Never		506/98
	1 - 4		8/1
	5 - 12		4/0.8
	<u>WITH ONE FRIEND OF THE OPPOSITE SEX</u>		
	Never		457/88
	1 - 4		26/5
	5 - 12		20/4
	13 - 26		9/2
	27 - 50		3/0.6
	more than 50		3/0.6

WITH YOUR MATES

Never	299/58
1-4	116/22
5 - 12	68/13
13 - 26	20/4
27 - 50	7/1
more than 50	8/1

54 IN THE LAST YEAR, ABOUT HOW OFTEN DID YOU GO TO A DANCE..

ON YOUR OWN

Never	478/92
1 - 4	32/6
5 - 12	5/1
13 - 26	3/0.6

WITH ONE FRIEND OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

Never	395/76
1 - 4	85/16
5 - 12	33/6
13 - 26	5/1

WITH YOUR MATES

Never	287/55
1 - 4	126/24
5 - 12	70/13

INTERVIEWER: In Qs. 55, 56 & 57
journeys to and from work are to
be excluded. Leisure activities
only are to be recorded.

55 HOW DO YOU USUALLY TRAVEL INTO BRISBANE?

	N.A.	6
car		84/16
bus AND train		420/81
bus AND taxi		3/0.6
taxi AND train		2/0.4
taxi		3/0.6

56 HOW DO YOU USUALLY TRAVEL TO OTHER SUBURBS FOR DANCES, MOVIES AND SO ON?

N.A./not applicable		41
own car		8/2
family or friend's car		209/44
bus AND train		212/45
bus		24/5
taxi AND train		3/0.6
taxi		12/2
hitch-hike		4/0.8
cycle/motor-cycle		5/1

57 HOW DO YOU USUALLY TRAVEL TO THE GOLD COAST

	N.A.	57
own car/friend's car		143/31
family car		299/65
hitch-hike		1/0.2
bus		18/4

58 HOW MUCH MONEY DO YOU HAVE EACH WEEK TO SPEND ON YOURSELF?

nothing	34/7
\$1	99/19
\$2	91/18
\$3	48/9
\$4	30/6
\$5	43/8
\$6	13/2
\$7	8/1
\$8	5/1
\$9	1/0.2
\$10	47/9
\$11 to \$15	23/4
\$16 to \$20	25/5
\$21 to \$25	11/2
\$26 to \$30	21/4
\$31 to \$35	5/1
\$36 to \$40	5/1
\$41 to \$45	1/0.2
\$46 to \$50	3/0.6
\$51 to \$55	3/0.6
\$56 to \$60	1/0.2
\$90	1/0.2

INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT
SET OF CARDS AFTER SHUFFLING
THEM RANDOMLY

59 I WANT TO KNOW WHICH ADULTS YOU THINK UNDERSTAND YOU BEST.
(using cards, the respondent was asked to rank eight different adult-figures or types from 1 - 8. The order in which the cards were returned to the interviewer was recorded and is analysed below.)

<u>FATHER</u>	
N.A./not applicable	47
1st	118/25
2nd	246/52
3rd	44/9
4th	19/4
5th	12/3
6th	10/2
7th	9/2
8th	13/3
	n.471
<u>MOTHER</u>	
N.A./not applicable	9
1st	329/65
2nd	127/25
3rd	22/4
4th	10/2
5th	9/2
6th	4/0.8
7th	5/1
8th	3/0.6
	n.509
<u>SCHOOL-TEACHERS</u>	
N.A./not applicable	18
1st	32/6
2nd	50/10
3rd	199/40
4th	97/19
5th	62/12
6th	39/8
7th	13/3
8th	8/2
	n.500

59. contd.

PEOPLE WHO RUN YOUTH-CLUBS

N.A./not applicable	32
1st	10/2
2nd	18/4
3rd	68/14
4th	105/22
5th	127/26
6th	97/20
7th	43/9
8th	18/4
	n.486

CHURCH PEOPLE

N.A./not applicable	43
1st	9/2
2nd	22/5
3rd	48/10
4th	70/15
5th	76/16
6th	91/19
7th	95/20
8th	64/13
	n.475

PEOPLE WHO RUN MILK-BARS,
HAMBURGER & FISH SHOPS ETC.

N.A./not applicable	21
1st	5/1
2nd	14/3
3rd	36/7
4th	70/14
5th	78/16
6th	87/17
7th	124/25
8th	83/17
	n.497

POLICEMEN

N.A./not applicable	21
1st	3/0.6
2nd	10/2
3rd	35/7
4th	91/18
5th	93/19
6th	119/24
7th	91/18
8th	55/11
	n.497

FOREMEN/SUPERVISORS AT WORK

asked only of respondents with part-time or full-time work experience.

N.A./not applicable	251
1st	9/3
2nd	17/6
3rd	54/20
4th	38/14
5th	34/13
6th	31/12
7th	44/16
8th	40/15

REGAIN AND RETAIN CARDS

60 DO YOU BELONG TO ANY YOUTH CLUBS OR YOUTH ORGANISATIONS?
(list up to four)

No	379/73
1 club	110/21
2 clubs	18/3
3 clubs	5/1
4 or more clubs	6/1
	n.518

BREAKDOWN OF MEMBERSHIP OF PARTICULAR CLUBS AMONGST THE
139 RESPONDENTS CLAIMING A TOTAL OF 185 CLUB MEMBERSHIPS

YMCA/YWCA	9/5
Inala Police-Citizens' Youth Club	24/13
A football club	40/22
other sporting club	45/24
a hobbies club	14/3
church group or fellowship	37/20
boy scouts/girl guides/ boys' brigade/girls' brigade etc.	15/8
service clubs (Apex, Rotary, Lions)	
younger set	1/0.5
	n.185

61 HOW OFTEN PER WEEK DO YOU GO TO THOSE CLUBS?

once	59/43
twice	35/26
three times	23/17
four times	13/10
five times	4/3
six times	- -
seven times	1/0.7
eight times	- -
nine times	1/0.7

62 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A MEMBER OF ONE OF THOSE CLUBS OR
ORGANISATIONS?

Yes	236/60
No	155/40
	n.391

63 WHAT AGE WERE YOU WHEN YOU WERE A MEMBER OF THOSE SORTS
OF CLUBS AND ORGANISATIONS?
(asked of those not currently members but who had
previously been club-members)

<u>FROM WHAT AGE WERE YOU A MEMBER?</u>	
4	1/0.4
5	1/0.4
6	1/0.4
7	11/5
8	25/11
9	9/4
10	20/9
11	40/17
12	45/19
13	41/18
14	22/10
15	8/3
16	6/3
17	1/0.4
	n.231

63 Contd.

TO WHAT AGE WERE YOU A MEMBER?

6	1/0.4
8	3/1
9	7/3
10	9/4
11	22/10
12	36/16
13	59/26
14	46/20
15	29/13
16	14/6
17	5/2

n.231

- 64 THINK OF THE CLUBS YOU ARE IN (WERE IN). WHAT THREE THINGS DO YOU (DID YOU) MOST ENJOY DOING IN THEM? (list in order of importance to respondent.)
weighted: 1st activity x 3, 2nd activity x 2.

Being with/talking with friends	284/17
sport/gymnastics	585/36
Indoor games	147/9
Records/dancing	53/3
Hobbies	128/8
Trips/outings/camping	259/16
movies	7/0.4
discussions	78/5
nothing special	83/5

weighted
n.1624

- 65 WHAT ONE THING DO YOU MOST ENJOY DOING IN YOUR SPARE TIME?

Nothing	15/3
playing sport	82/16
indoor games (pinball, pool etc)	9/2
playing music/in pop-group/ listening or dancing to pop-music	49/9
dancing	6/1
fishing	5/1
sewing/making clothes	8/1
watching TV	41/8
hanging around with friends	60/12
hobbies (unspecified)	25/5
driving around in a car	6/1
riding a motor-bike or mini-bike	19/4
going to the beach	1/0.2
skin-diving/swimming/surfing	16/3
going out with special friend of opposite sex	21/4
going to mate's place	2/0.4
skating	17/3
going away for holidays/weekends	1/0.2
travel	1/0.2
riding around on a bike	23/4
watching sport	5/1
horse-riding	13/2
reading	28/5
movies	2/0.4
cooking	5/1
sailing/boating	2/0.4
parties	2/0.4
building/working on a car	17/3
drinking	6/1
breeding birds/pets	1/0.2
camping	1/0.2
shooting	2/0.4
helping people	2/0.4
meeting people	1/0.2
bushwalking	2/0.4
just relaxing at home	7/1.4

65 Contd.

long-distance cycling	1/0.2
building	1/0.2
drawing	3/0.6
electronics/mechanics	5/1
write poetry	1/0.2
sign-writing	1/0.2
writing letters	1/0.2
N.A.	2/0.4

n.518

66 WHAT ONE THING WOULD YOU MOST ENJOY DOING IN YOUR SPARE TIME IF YOU HAD THE CHANCE TO DO ANYTHING YOU WANTED?

Nothing	24/5
play sport	45/9
indoor games (pool, pinball etc)	9/2
playing music/in pop-group/ listening or dancing to pop-music	17/3
dancing	3/0.6
fishing	12/2
sewing/making clothes	4/0.8
watching TV	7/1
hanging around with friends	24/5
hobbies (unspecified)	19/4
driving around in a car	24/5
riding a motor-bike or mini-bike	33/6
going to the beach	24/5
skin-diving/swimming/surfing	18/3
going out with special friend of opposite sex	40/8
going to mate's place	6/1
skating	19/4
going away for holidays/weekends	13/2
travel	35/7
riding around on a bike	6/1
watching sport	1/0.2
horse-riding	18/3
reading	8/1
movies	20/4
sailing/boating	5/1
building/working on a car	10/2
drinking	1/0.2
breeding birds/pets	1/0.2
camping	2/0.4
flying	6/1
shooting	3/0.6
physical-fitness training	2/0.4
join Armed Forces Cadets	1/0.2
work with children	6/1
take part in motor-races	10/2
parachuting	2/0.4
ten-pin bowling	4/0.8
just relaxing at home	4/0.8
long-distance cycling	3/0.6
karate	3/0.6
theatre	2/0.4
going to town/shopping in town	4/0.8
building	3/0.6
drawing	2/0.4
collecting antiques	1/0.2
electronics/mechanics	2/0.4
sign-writing	1/0.2
DON'T KNOW	11/2

n.518

- 67 IF A NEW YOUTH-CLUB WAS BEING STARTED IN THIS AREA, WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN HAVING YOUR SAY ABOUT WHAT THE CLUB SHOULD DO AND PROVIDE. THIS WOULD PERHAPS MEAN GOING TO MEETINGS OR BEING ON A COMMITTEE?
- | | | |
|--|-----|---------|
| | Yes | N.A. 12 |
| | No | 302/58 |
| | | 203/39 |
- 68 HAVE YOU (OR ANY OF YOUR MATES) BEEN ASKED TO HELP DECIDE WHAT SHOULD BE DONE OR PROVIDED AT ANY OF THE YOUTH-CLUBS IN INALA?
- | | | |
|--|-----|--------|
| | Yes | N.A. 4 |
| | No | 83/16 |
| | | 431/83 |
- 69 DO YOU THINK A YOUTH CLUB SHOULD HAVE ANY RULES?
- | | | |
|--|-----|--------|
| | Yes | 478/92 |
| | No | 40/8 |
| | | n.518 |
- WHAT RULES DO YOU THINK THERE SHOULD BE?
(asked only of those answering 'yes' above.
Up to three rules listed.
- | | |
|--|--------|
| no smoking/drinking | 112/14 |
| dress rules | 38/5 |
| general behaviour rules | 315/39 |
| regular attendance/membership | |
| qualifying rules | 77/10 |
| good manners/obedience/respect | |
| for leaders | 110/14 |
| club should help charity | 1/0.1 |
| organisational rules/committees etc | 57/7 |
| nothing specific but a general belief | |
| that rules are essential for a club to | |
| be workable | 73/9 |
| Don't know | 20/2 |
| | n.803 |
- 70 WHAT TIME DO YOU THINK A YOUTH-CLUB SHOULD CLOSE AT NIGHT?
- | | |
|---------------|--------|
| | N.A. 3 |
| by 9 p.m. | 124/24 |
| by 10 p.m. | 164/32 |
| by 11 p.m. | 87/17 |
| by midnight | 63/12 |
| by 1 a.m. | 10/2 |
| by 2 a.m. | 4/0.8 |
| no fixed time | 46/9 |
| always open | 17/3 |

71 I WILL READ OUT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT MIGHT BE PUT IN A NEW YOUGH CLUB. PLEASE TELL ME FOR EACH ONE WHETHER YOU THINK THAT PARTICULAR THING IS VERY IMPORTANT, IMPORTANT, SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT OR NOT IMPORTANT.

NOTE THAT PERCENTAGES ONLY ARE SHOWN IN THE CELLS OF THE TABLE DUE TO LACK OF SPACE.

	VERY 1	IMPT 2	SWT 3	NOT 4
a large indoor hall or gym	43	44	8	4
a large outdoor space marked out for sport	47	36	12	3
floodlights for outdoor activities after dark	48	36	10	5
pinball machines	14	19	23	44
a place to get drinks & snacks	34	47	15	4
a number of small rooms for doing different things	24	45	20	10
pool-tables	23	29	27	20
a room where members can do whatever they want	20	38	23	19
a room and equipment for playing and listening to records	27	39	21	12
table-tennis tables	13	43	29	14
a covered space somewhere outside the main building where you can just hang around with mates	13	31	21	34

72 AT A CLUB, WHICH WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO HAVE...

N.A. 11
81/16
51/10
375/72

a proper course taught by a trained mechanic on how to look after cars OR

some space where members could bring their own cars and work on them with their mates OR

some space for working on their own cars but with a trained mechanic there to give advice when needed

73 WHICH DO YOU THINK BEST?

N.A. 1
417/80
100/19

one large youth-club in a suburb with lots of equipment and many things organised to do OR

several smaller clubs scattered around a suburb, with not much equipment and not many things organised to do

74 WHICH DO YOU THINK BEST?

N.A. 7

a proper youth-club with equipment,
leaders and things organised to do,
all in a proper building OR

335/65

an old house that teenagers are allowed
to turn into their own club but have to
get the equipment they want by raising
the money themselves

176/34

WE ARE INTERESTED TO KNOW WHAT THE LOCAL
TEENAGERS THINK OF THE POLICE AND THE WAY
THEY DO THEIR JOB. REMEMBER, NOTHING YOU
SAY WILL BE PASSED ON TO ANYONE AND WE DO
NOT WANT TO KNOW YOUR NAME

75 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN SPOKEN TO BY THE POLICE IN INALA WITHOUT
BEING PICKED UP AND TAKEN TO THE POLICE STATION?

Yes

220/42

No

298/58

n.518

TELL ME ABOUT IT

asked only of those answering 'yes'
above. Up to 3 incidents to be
recorded.

in street - passing along

57/20

in street - playing/hanging about/
riding bikes

108/37

in car or on motor-bike

26/9

at entertainment centre

(swimming pool/skating rink)

15/5

outside entertainment centre

16/6

shops/clubs/parties/dances

23/8

at home or at school

17/6

on public transport/waiting for

public transport

14/5

in the park

12/4

n.288

76 WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS SAYS MOST CLOSELY WHAT YOU THINK
ABOUT THE LOCAL POLICE?

Don't know

7/1

Very fair

77/15

Fair

170/33

Fair but hard

143/28

Unfair

41/8

Unfair and hard

50/10

Very unfair

30/6

77 DO YOU THINK THE POLICE ALWAYS BEHAVE PROPERLY?

Yes	183/35
No	335/65
	n.518

IN WHAT WAY DO THEY NOT BEHAVE PROPERLY?
asked only of those answering 'no' above.
Up to 3 reasons to be recorded.

No/Not always (but nothing specified)	46/10
Confiscate cigarettes from teenagers	3/0.6
Assume worst about teenagers/stop teenagers unnecessarily/ don't give teenagers chance to speak or explain themselves/ overbearing towards teenagers/abuse power	162/34
Confiscate drink from teenagers and drink it themselves	4/0.8
Drink on duty/Drunk on duty	68/14
Use unnecessary violence/bash people	98/21
Act like 'lairs' in police cars/drive dangerously/ don't observe road rules	38/8
Neglect their work/indiscipline	52/11
Don't enforce law vigorously enough against teenagers	6/1
	n.477

78 FOR THE LOCAL POLICE DO YOU HAVE GREAT RESPECT, SOME RESPECT,
LITTLE RESPECT OR NO RESPECT?

Don't know	5/1
great respect	86/17
some respect	285/55
little respect	91/18
no respect	51/10

79 ARE THERE SOME LOCAL POLICEMEN WHO ARE WORSE THAN MOST OF
THE OTHERS?

Don't know	32/6
Yes	360/69
No	125/24

80 ARE THERE SOME LOCAL POLICEMEN WHO ARE BETTER THAN MOST OF
THE OTHERS?

Don't know	34/7
Yes	382/74
No	100/19

81 THE LOCAL POLICE PAY QUITE A BIT OF ATTENTION TO TEENAGERS.
WHEN THEY DO THIS DO YOU THINK

Don't know	12/2
they are picking on teenagers	170/33
OR DO YOU THINK	
they are being sensible because a lot of the trouble around Inala is caused by teenagers	334/64

I AM GOING TO SHOW YOU A CARD WITH GROUPS OF POLICEMEN WRITTEN ON THEM. PLEASE READ THEM CAREFULLY.

HAND SET TO RESPONDENT AFTER SHUFFLING.

I HAVE GOT THREE DIFFERENT QUESTIONS ABOUT THOSE GROUPS.

GROUPS LISTED BELOW FOR INTERVIEWER'S REFERENCE ONLY. NOT TO BE READ TO RESPONDENT (UNLESS NECESSARY BECAUSE OF POOR READING CAPACITY). AVOID ANY REFERENCES THROUGHOUT THIS SEQUENCE TO THE ALPHABETICAL IDENTIFICATION OF EACH GROUP TO AVOID PREJUDICING RESPONDENT.

GROUP 'A'	young, new policemen
GROUP 'B'	fairly young policemen, who have been policemen for a few years
GROUP 'C'	older policemen who have been policemen for a long time
GROUP 'D'	all the same - no difference

82 FIRST - WHICH GROUP OF POLICEMEN DO YOU THINK ARE BEST AT THEIR JOBS?

N.A. 3

Group A	46/9
B	155/30
C	256/49
D	52/10
DK	6/1

83 SECOND - WHICH GROUP DO YOU THINK GETS ON BEST WITH TEENAGERS AND SEEMS TO BEST UNDERSTAND THEM?

N.A. 3

Group A	154/30
B	196/38
C	133/26
D	26/5
DK	6/1

84 THIRD - WHICH GROUP DO YOU THINK GETS ON WORST WITH TEENAGERS AND SEEMS TO UNDERSTAND THEM LEAST?

N.A. 4

Group A	167/32
B	54/10
C	247/48
D	30/6
DK	16/3

TAKE CARDS
BACK AND RETAIN

85	DO YOU HAVE ANY RELATIVE(S) IN THE QUEENSLAND POLICE FORCE? ('YES', ascertain relationship(s) and <u>tick up to categories</u> discarding, if necessary, those of least close relationship)		
		NONE	475/92
		Father	3
		Brother/Sister	2
		Uncle	25
		Aunt	-
		Male cousin	14
		Female cousin	<u>1</u>
		TOTAL	45
86	DO YOU THINK THERE ARE ENOUGH POLICEMEN ON DUTY IN INALA?		
		Don't know	25/5
		Yes	244/47
		No	249/48

"PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THESE STATEMENTS. THEY ARE STANDARD QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ASKED OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIA AND ELSEWHERE AND I AM NOT BEING PERSONAL WHEN I ASK THEM"

87	"COMPARED WITH THE REST OF SOCIETY, I THINK MY FAMILY IS FAIRLY POOR"		
		N.A.	2
		Agree	68/13
		Disagree	448/86
88	"I THINK MY FAMILY HAS HAD A RAW DEAL IN LIFE"		
		N.A.	5
		Agree	145/28
		Disagree	368/71
89	"I THINK THAT MY FATHER IS A FAILURE IN LIFE"		
		N.A.	41/8%
		Agree	61/12
		Disagree	416/80
90	"I THINK I WILL PROEABLY BE A FAILURE IN LIFE"		
		N.A.	9
		Agree	38/7
		Disagree	471/91

BEFORE BEGINNING THIS SECTION ENSURE PRIVARY FOR RESPONDENT.

IF OTHERS ARE WITHIN EARSHOT OR ARE CLOSE ENOUGH TO INHIBIT VERBAL RESPONSES, USE YOUR YELLOW SHEETS CONTAINING THESE QUESTIONS.

BEFORE BEGINNING THE QUESTIONS, EITHER READ THE PREAMBLE BELOW ***** OR ASK THE RESPONDENT TO READ IT CAREFULLY ON THE YELLOW SHEETS.

IF USING THE YELLOW SHEETS, IDENTIFY EACH QUESTION TO THE RESPONDENT ONLY BY NUMBER, ENSURE HE READS IT AND THEN SEEK HIS RESPONSE, WHICH SHOULD MERELY INDICATE WHICH OF THE RANGE OF GIVEN ANSWERS IS APPROPRIATE.

***** BEFORE I BEGIN THIS LAST SECTION OF THE SURVEY I WANT TO REMIND YOU THAT YOUR ANSWERS ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL NOT BE PASSED ON TO ANYONE. NO ONE WILL EVER BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY WHICH PERSON GAVE US WHICH ANSWERS.

***** IN THESE QUESTIONS 'A JUVENILE DELINQUENT' MEANS SOMEONE UP TO 17 YEARS OLD WHO HAS BEEN IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE AND BEEN CONVICTED BY A COURT.

'A CRIMINAL' MEANS SOMEONE OVER 17 WHO HAS BEEN IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE AND HAS BEEN CONVICTED BY A COURT.

91.	THINK OF YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS. ARE ANY OF THEM JUVENILE DELINQUENTS?		N.A.	1
		most		11/2
		several		24/5
		some		138/27
		none		344/66
92	THINK OF YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS AGAIN. ARE ANY OF THEM CRIMINALS?		N.A.	3
		most		- -
		several		5/1
		some		70/13
		none		440/85
93	IS THERE MUCH CRIME OR DELINQUENCY COMMITTED BY YOUNG PEOPLE (UNDER 21) IN THIS SUBURB?		N.A.	4
		almost all		16/3
		very much		129/25
		some		253/49
		not very much		103/20
		none		13/2
94	HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN THINGS WORTH BETWEEN \$2 AND \$50 THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?		N.A.	1
		very often		6/1
		several times		27/5
		once or twice		135/26
		never		349/67
95	HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN ANYTHING WORTH MORE THAN \$50 THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?		N.A.	2
		very often		- -
		several times		3/0.6
		once or twice		22/4
		never		491/95
96	HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN A GANG FIGHT?		N.A.	1
		very often		11/2
		several times		42/8
		once or twice		116/22
		never		348/67
97	HAVE YOU EVER DRIVEN A CAR WITHOUT A DRIVER'S LICENCE?		N.A.	1
		very often		41/8
		several times		52/10
		once or twice		99/19
		never		325/63

98	HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN LITTLE THINGS (WORTH LESS THAN \$2) THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?		N.A.	2
		very often		30/6
		several times		81/16
		once or twice		210/40
		never		195/38
99	HAVE YOU EVER BOUGHT OR DRUNK BEER, WINE OR LIQUOR WITH YOUR FRIENDS? (DO NOT INCLUDE DRINKING AT HOME WITH YOUR PARENTS)		N.A.	2
		Yes		262/51
		No		254/49
100	HAVE YOU EVER TOLD A LIE TO ANYONE?		N.A.	6
		very often		87/17
		several times		246/47
		once or twice		171/33
		never		8/1
101	HAVE YOU EVER PURPOSELY DAMAGED SOMETHING THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU?		N.A.	3
		very often		8/1
		several times		32/6
		once or twice		189/36
		never		286/55
102	HAVE YOU EVER WAGGED SCHOOL? (Been away from school without an acceptable reason)		N.A.	3
		very often		49/9
		several times		84/16
		once or twice		151/29
		never		231/45
103	HAVE YOU EVER USED A WEAPON OF ANY SORT (KNIFE, CLUB, BOTTLE, ETC.) IN A FIGHT?		N.A.	3
		very often		- -
		several times		4/0.8
		once or twice		37/7
		never		474/91
104	HAVE YOU EVER RUN AWAY FROM HOME?		N.A.	2
		very often		5/1
		several times		9/2
		once or twice		67/13
		never		435/84
105	HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN A CAR FOR A JOYRIDE OR BEEN FOR A RIDE IN A CAR THAT YOU KNEW SOMEONE ELSE HAD TAKEN?		N.A.	2
		very often		2/0.4
		several times		5/1
		once or twice		32/6
		never		477/92
106	NOT COUNTING FIGHTS WITH A BROTHER OR SISTER, HAVE YOU EVER BEATEN UP ANYONE OR HURT ANYONE ON PURPOSE?		N.A.	2
		very often		11/2
		several times		48/9
		once or twice		168/32
		never		289/56

107	HAVE YOU EVER BROKEN INTO A BUILDING?	N.A.	2
	very often		3/0.6
	several times		6/1
	once or twice		57/11
	never		450/87
108	HAVE YOU EVER SMOKED MARIJUANA (ALSO CALLED POT or GRASS)?	N.A.	3
	often		4/0.8
	several times		6/1
	once or twice		26/5
	never		479/92
109	HAVE YOU EVER THREATENED OR FORCED SOMEONE TO GIVE YOU MONEY, CIGARETTES OR ANYTHING ELSE?	N.A.	3
	often		7/1
	several times		7/1
	once or twice		46/9
	never		455/88
110	HAVE YOU EVER LIT FIRES ON PURPOSE THAT YOU KNEW WOULD DAMAGE PROPERTY?	N.A.	4
	often		- -
	several times		4/0.8
	once or twice		43/8
	never		467/90
111	HAVE YOU EVER DONE ANYTHING WHICH WOULD HAVE GOT YOU INTO TROUBLE WITH YOUR PARENTS IF IT HAD BEEN FOUND OUT?	N.A.	2
	often		29/6
	several times		88/17
	once or twice		244/47
	never		155/30
112	HAVE YOU EVER BEEN FOUND GUILTY BY A CHILDREN'S COURT?	N.A.	3
	often		2/0.4
	several times		3/0.6
	once or twice		33/6
	never		477/92

I certify that this is a true and accurate account of an interview conducted by me between _____ (time) and _____ (time) on _____ (date) in accordance with the instructions contained in this Questionnaire and those given to me verbally during training.

Signature of Interviewer _____

APPENDIX 'C'

DETAILED BUDGET PROPOSAL FOR
SECOND YEAR OF STUDY

MARCH 1975 - MARCH 1976

DETAILED BUDGET PROPOSAL FOR PERIOD MARCH 1975 TO MARCH 1976

Salaries and Interviewing

(a)	Research Assistant, Grade I	\$6630
(b)	518 interviews at \$3 per interview (re-interviewing our original sample after an interval of one year)	\$1554
(c)	an estimated 400 interviews (users of both the Police-Citizens' Youth Club and the drop-in centre) at \$3 per interview	\$1200
(d)	2 clerical assistants (Grade IV) for a total of 8 weeks at \$2.10 (minimum) per hour	\$1243
(e)	payroll tax	\$ 532

Equipment N I L

Maintenance

(a)	Stationery, photo-copying, printing of questionnaires	\$ 500
(b)	Preparation and storage of data from two new questionnaires and continuing storage of data from the 1974 survey. (Punching and verifying of cards, cost of data check, cost of writing data onto disk on PDP-10 computer)	\$ 350
(c)	Computer time (multivariate analysis of delinquency, domain, frequency distributions, cross-tabulations, multiple-linear regressions)	\$ 500

Travel

For consultation and liaison: 4 x economy-class air fares Brisbane-Canberra-Brisbane	\$ 412
allowing 15% for increase in fares	\$ 62

SALARIES	11,159
EQUIPMENT	--
MAINTENANCE	1,350
TRAVEL	474
TOTAL	<u>\$12,983</u>