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**SEVERE LIFE CONSEQUENCES
FOR ALIENATED YOUTH
CASES, ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION**

**A REPORT FOR
THE CRIMINOLOGY RESEARCH COUNCIL**

by

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REPORT TO THE CRIMINOLOGY RESEARCH COUNCIL

CANARY IN A COALMINE

PROSTITUTION, DRUG AND ALCOHOL ADDICTION, CRIME
AND SUICIDE AMONG YOUTHFUL AUSTRALIANS

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PART I

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project is indebted to the grant provided by the Criminology Research Council and the Australian Institute of Criminology for having made funds available and for supporting the concept of the studies on Runaways and Alienated Youth. Sincere appreciation is extended to both these bodies in these endeavours.

Research of this nature requires extensive cooperation from community agencies and the young clients they serve. Linkages were well established with a number of youth service agencies during the collection of data for the Runaway Project (1982). Particular appreciation is due to the Community Youth Support Scheme Centres (C.Y.S.S.) in Brisbane and Southport for this current project.

However, most young people who suffer the ascribed "severe alienation" are not to be located in service agencies, and so it is to personal contacts that thanks are due for providing opportunities to establish relationships with "hidden" subjects who rarely use welfare support services. These individuals who assisted in locating subjects for case studies include Doug, Dave, Trisha, Ray, Paul, Stella, Tim, Tony and Linda. Special thanks to Garry Bennett and Paul

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The students in the Sociology of Criminal Justice and Crime and Deviance courses were able to offer supplementary literature for the areas researched and the Sociology Department (University of Queensland) provided excellent administrative and support services required for the project.

Most importantly, are those young people who told their life stories. This often caused pain in the telling yet they persevered with the arduous series of meetings necessary to collect all the information. Although they cannot be named and identified, their contributions are the research and it is to them that the credit and benefit should go.

INTRODUCTION - THE CANARIES

So many young people in Australia today feel like the canaries used in coalmines - the first to suffer toxic effects of leaking coalgas. The canary, a beautiful and cherished creature, is nevertheless small and fragile. In the coalmine, it is trapped by those who make the rules to keep it there. It serves as an early warning and this is also true of youth today.

A great number of young Australians are trapped in a coalmine which threatens their existence; where the rules are made by others with little concern over the consequences; and from which there is almost no chance of escape. Yet unlike the canaries, some of the youth are fighting back and attempting to run for cover. The methods they adopt however, are usually self-directed. For if there is no access to the perpetrators of the rules, then the only target for action is oneself.

Young people throughout Australia - are killing themselves at an alarming rate. This violence does not reveal itself in the statistics on death for those under eighteen, because the death is not necessary final, but a gradual erosion of a life.

The young are selling their bodies and perhaps even worse, their souls, by engaging in prostitution on

the streets and in the red light areas dotted around the country. They are abusing drugs - alcohol, household pills, cough mixture, paint thinners, correcting fluid and heroin - in ways that will certainly lead to eventual death as a means to escape the life down the mine. Youth are also increasingly involving themselves in serious criminal activity which brings them to the attention of the police and the courts. The crimes are often violent and likewise are the consequences of institutionalization. And, as if these sets of behaviours were not destructive enough, many young people are taking, or attempting to take, their lives through deliberate suicidal and self-mutilatory acts.

If this leads to a picture of rebellious and violent gangs of youth roaming our streets, seeking out violence and trouble to inflict on innocent bystanders, or parents, or the authorities, then the description of our canaries in the Australian coalmine has been misleading. For the most frightening aspect of young life is that youth feel that they are drowning in their own despair. They affect lethargy and apathy and are without the means to cry out for help. While this is not true of all the nation's youth, it is true for a significant and rising proportion. How many canaries have to die before we realize that there is a leak in the coalmine?

While it is true that a plethora of evidence is available on youth and their contacts with the Criminal Justice System, and while it is true that case studies in this area also abound, it is not true that there is available in Australia, recent case study material which examines the problems of youth in the eighties, in a way that allows young people themselves to personally, yet rigorously comment on the Criminal Justice System and how it affects them.

Often in quantitative research we neglect to ask those questions whose answers would show that the "deviant", after all, has done something pretty rotten, and, indeed, pretty much deserves what he/she gets. In consequence, our overall assessment of the problem being studied is one-sided. What we produce is a whitewash of the "deviant" and a condemnation, if only by implication, of those respectable citizens who, we think, have made the deviant what he is (Becker, 1970, p 16).

This report contains no whitewash. The facts are laid open in the histories of the young people under study. They are "deviant" and no excuses are made for their behaviour or attitudes. No attempt is made to formulate policies or devise strategies to change their behaviour and attitudes. But suggestions are put forward by the young people themselves as to how they

and the rest of society can best cope with their deviance.

However, bias does result because the stories are told from the "deviant's" point of view. As Becker 1970, p 18) puts it, "we are biased in favour of the subordinate parties in an apolitical arrangement." In the chapters that follow, there is an inverse of the hierarchy of credibility. No public officials, community leaders or responsible professionals were consulted in the collection and interpretation of the data. The bias therefore is obvious, and cannot be ignored if one is expecting to find a complete picture of the situation of alienated youth in this country.

But then most other sociologists or social scientists who study youth are biased - biased in favour of adults. Most research on youth, after all, is clearly designed to find out why youth are so troublesome for adults, rather than asking the equally interesting sociological question: "Why do adults make so much trouble for youth?"

For the young people involved in this study, there were no evident compunctions about stigmatization in terms of "deviance". While they sometimes accept the labels - unemployed or dole bludger; hustler or call boy; head or drug user - and in conversation, use these labels as excuses for subsequent behaviour, they do not

identify with deviance per se. In all the literature on deviance, labelling and stigmatization, much has been said about conformity to cultures which poses norms for comparison. In the youth culture anomie exists in respect of the wider culture's ascriptions of deviance.

Young people can be highly critical of themselves and each other. The prostitutes were derisive of fellow prostitutes who took drugs for example, or other youths who were involved in criminal activities. But throughout the series of interviews, such derision when queried, became superficial and an acceptance of all other youth, despite overt differences, became obvious. And so, it is with these factors in mind that this report should be read. It should not be undervalued because the "experts" are not powerful; do not address the problems in a scientific way; and do not possess the jargon of bureaucracy or social science.

The young people whose case histories and suggestions are presented here represent the users of services; the bearers of the labels; and the victims of social systems. Their recommendations are valid; can withstand scrutiny and are capable of implementation.

But why such a study? This research on Alienated Youth grew out of the Criminology Research Council funded project on Runaways in Australia (Wilson, 1982).

That project, briefly reported here, was instigated as a result of the media reports and public concern focussed on the number of young people who left home, roamed the streets and subsequently caused trouble for the community. Youth agencies were constantly making demands for additional funding to cope with the flood of runaways using their services. Governments were called on to intervene in this wave of homeless youth and the police were pressured to act to protect the suburbs and save the young from themselves.

During this investigation of runaways, the methods for which are discussed in the following chapter, it became obvious that there were firstly, four distinct types of runaways: (1) Adventure-Seekers who became bored with their home lives and ran to find stimulation and excitement in places which they defined as exotic; (2) Refugees who ran to escape the problems in their family lives which they considered insoluable and unendurable; (3) Escapees who were already in trouble with the law, either directly or indirectly, and so they ran from institutions or foster-homes; and (4) Problem-Solvers who saw running as a way to solve their own personal crises because the resources at home did not help them deal with their traumas.

Within these groups, there were "copers" and "non-copers". For some, the experience of running away did improve their situation; they were away from

distressing problems; they functioned and adapted well to new circumstances; and they coped with any further problems that arose out of the act of running. The Problem-Solvers on the whole, tended to be copers because they were running to solve a particular problem which soon passed or righted itself. Few of them had contact with the juvenile justice system (13 per cent) and most eventually returned home (68 per cent). The Escapee group on the whole was made up of non-copers. They had already been institutionalised in one way or another and had a history of running away and criminal charges. They did not possess the skills to cope with life on the streets and found themselves, repeatedly involved in serious criminal offences (58 per cent).

These were the extreme situations which begged the question as to why such differences. Was it because of family background, education or a previous involvement in criminal activity? If taken on a superficial level, the Problem-Solvers as a group, indeed had better communication with their families than, for example, the Refugees as a group. But how does such an observation assist in changing the situation for the young people when at home or out on the streets? How can we intervene in the family to make it somehow better for those whose home life is not appropriate?

If such broad, yet simplistic questions are asked about all the aspects of the findings of the study on

runaways, then only broad and simplistic answers will be achieved. So it was necessary to design a study which collected and analysed data to give policy and strategy implications beyond the superficial. An on-going, in-depth analyses of the problems of youth was called for.

The research on runaways also indicated the involvement of young people in behaviours that are criminal and dangerous to themselves and others. During the time they were away from home, 34 per cent of the runaways had been charged with serious offences or with committing a series of offences. Over half had experienced juvenile court proceedings. At least twenty per cent of the runaways classed themselves and were classified by others as regular hard drug users. Many in the sample admitted to engaging in prostitution - approximately 25 per cent of both sexes had one or more contacts of this sort. In addition there were cases of runaways who engaged in self-destructive behaviour such as chronic drinking and suicide attempts in order to escape themselves and their lives.

The identification of such behaviours among young people is not new. It is not confined to a runaway sub-group and it is not exclusively occurring in this decade. It is not even specifically applicable to the youth of the nation, for these behaviours can be identified within all age groups in all situations.

Furthermore, there is no realistic way to segregate these behaviours into groups because they are all interrelated. But the case history approach allows the problems to be viewed in isolation, as well as studying the interrelationships between them.

Each of the problem areas is to be discussed in full in Part II of this report. Each designated area will be outlined with reference to world wide literature and studies on the area in relation to youth. Then will follow an examination of the case histories collected from young people who identified themselves as belonging to such a group involved in the ascribed behaviour. Each chapter will conclude with a discussion of the problem, the implications for intervention in the solution to the problem in terms of what the young people themselves have suggested.

At this point though, it is worthwhile to look at the total picture for youth in a more general discussion of the findings of previous research and the structure of the juvenile justice system in this country and how it deals with and affects the lives of young people like those in this study.

Let us examine 'alienation' as a description of youth today. many would suggest that alienation can be only measured by reference to a mass of social indicators (Bevan, 1983) and that if this is performed on variables such as suicide, youth crime rates and violence - then the figures reveal decreasing or stable rates among the young. From such facts, one could only conclude that there is not an alienated generation of Australians under eighteen, hostile and aggressive to their community and to themselves.

In fact, it has been stated that young people of today exhibit conservatism in the extreme (Bevan, 1983). They claim that youth's sole concern is to obtain employment when they complete their studies. It is worth noting however, that these sorts of comments come mainly from University lecturers, who only deal with middle-class students battling through a highly competitive tertiary system in order to obtain results which will permit them to earn money and move up the middle-class ladder.

However, if the quest for employment is such an all-consuming preoccupation for young people, then let us at least include among the social indicators of alienation, the figures on unemployment for young people. This is currently running at 16.8 per cent for fifteen to nineteen year olds, which is three times the national average (Senate Committee, 1982). If the

singular concern of young people is employment, then at least sixteen per cent of those under eighteen must be sensing hostility and aggression in not finding a job.

In opposition to the denial of the alienation of youth however, is an abundance of police, media and welfare agency material, often anecdotal, which heralds the problems of youth in the country.

The police requests for additional recruits and staffing levels to cope with the youth gangs committing violence on the streets are frequent. They increase their numbers of officers in the anti-hoodlum squads (Bevan, 1983). They form the Delta Squad in Melbourne to save young people who are likely to be caught up in an international ring of pornographers and paedophiles (Campaign, 1983). The police have pictures of runaways circulated with captions, that the cynical might imply, indicates that the entire youth population is on the move.

The media, especially tabloids, use youth as a focus to increase circulation. Stories of gangs of youth terrorising local pensioners abound. The runaway photos of the police are accompanied by stories of the one in ten between the ages of twelve to seventeen who will run from home at some time (Brenton, 1978). Articles on prostitution by young people are frequent and always accompanied by banner headlines. A single

suicide of a fifteen year old, adopts the proportions of a nation-wide epidemic of suicides by the time it goes to print. Is this simply the rhetoric of alienation or does one incidence prove the case?

And what of the welfare agencies? Their staff are at the interfaces of youth and the law; youth and homelessness; youth and economic destitution and youth and emotional destruction. The agencies through their agents see alienation as a widespread phenomena - ever increasing in numbers and scope. The 'throwaways' have now been added to the runaways to produce a generation of urban nomads. Welfare agencies can now specialize in throwaways in their requests for additional funding. General welfare bodies like telephone counselling services, seek additional welfare dollars to allow them to cope with the increases and divergences of youth problems. However this search for welfare dollars also applies to the aged, to homosexuals, to migrants and other specialty groups. So given the scarcity of welfare funding the problem must, by matter of course, be embellished to attract additional resources.

There are many other postulated reasons for this alienation of youth today. It is often blamed on parental divorce because older or adolescent children must take the place of the missing parent insofar as younger children are concerned. This places the burden of parental responsibilities on them. So the

adolescent becomes a quasi-parent though still needing his or her own share of parental warmth and affection. In some single-family settings where the brood is large and the pattern of delegated parental responsibility ingrained, each "child-parent" runs into problems. At fifteen or sixteen they often leave home never to return. It is attrition at a steady rate until the family is practically destroyed (Brenton, 1978).

Or often it is parental marital breakdown itself, where the constant fighting creates an unbearable situation, which pushes the young out of the home or into some other form of escape. The many studies on divorce claim far reaching effects on children—from the social, through economic to the psychological (Smiley, 1980). So marital breakdown, which can be measured in the divorce rate where one in four first marriages are ending, is attributed to the disaffection experience by children. For the runaway sample (Wilson, 1982) parents were still married in only thirty-five per cent of the sample.

However, Burns and Dunlop (1983) found that while adolescents may suffer considerable distress when their parents divorce, they possess age-specific coping strength, which they can draw on to aid recovery from this major life event. Most of the subjects however, were from white-collar groups, and there were few extreme situations of other family stress factors -

alcoholism, unemployment, incest etc. The adolescents, on the whole, were also fairly "well adjusted" to begin with, especially when compared with a "delinquent" sample. If the conflict in the family continues and is long term, Burns and Dunlop (1983) agree that all other areas of the child's life suffer - school, personal and sexual development, social interaction and self-concept.

Certainly when the rhetorical and anecdotal evidence is taken into account, it is apparent that many young people must be suffering alienation. Young people have always suffered alienation. They have always been described as social junk in one way or another. In past centuries, children were ignored, totally without power, and were never included in decision making processes which affected them. It is only this century that adolescents or teenagers have been given specific consideration at all. The division, while useful has lead to greater gaps between the ages. During the depression of the thirties, children and adolescents ran from home in large numbers. In the sixties the generation gap became an identifiable phenomena and communication across generations was problematic, if not impossible. So despite the recent youth culture phenomenon, most youth still possess little power.

Today we have an increasing number of young people

who are destructive to themselves and other, withdrawn from society generally, self-obsessively living in the present and devoid of hope for the future. This serves as an interpretation of alienation which cannot always be gauged in the figures for youthful crime, suicide and violence. Alienation is usually overdramatised, but not overestimated in the exclamations of welfare, justice and media personnel. While it cannot be individually measured, it can be exemplified in behaviour - homelessness, prostitution, alcohol and drug abuse, violent crime and suicide. It correlates with changes in social structures - unemployment, marital breakdown, economic disadvantage, sexual mores and emphasis on consumerism.

But it is facile to relate the destructiveness that characterises alienated youth only to selected statistics and too simplistic to accept the reasoning of the child savers for the spectacle of social junk. Danger lies in viewing alienation solely in terms of behaviour, and attributing this only to the effects of changing social conditions.

It is naive to ignore the social changes however. One in six Australians suffer poverty and the gap between the rich and poor is widening (Liffman, 1984). Added to the monetary pressure is the increased reliance and necessity for consumer goods and here the gap becomes obvious creating further disadvantage and

.. certain alienation and hostility.

However, the hostility is channelled off by an apathy or an acceptance of fiscal differences. Unemployment creates fear bred on the need for monetary rewards and the values of enterprise. If unemployment is a threat or a reality, the effect is the same - guilt and powerlessness.

This powerlessness combined with changing relationship values has created divisions within the family. This social institution has broken down, and reformed only to break down again. It abuses and rejects children who become its victims. It has created, not only discontinuity, but fear, violence and oppression.

The problems of the eighties are not confined to the disadvantaged and underprivileged classes. They suffer most, as they have always suffered, but the spectre of social change affects us all.

To understand alienation then, we need to turn to those who are alienated. Those youth who are at the bottom of the social junk pile. They alone can animate the picture created by social statistics. Their individual behaviours can provide the denial or exemplification of their degrees of alienation. their motivations and feelings can reduce the rhetoric to

reality and their understanding of themselves can act as an interpreter of the effects of social change on them.

This is not an easy task. Firstly, to locate those who are the statistics, who exemplify the rhetoric, who act out the behaviours and who have experienced the social changes - is extremely difficult. Secondly, to give them a vehicle to explain their definitions of alienation is problematic for they accept so readily the articulated rhetoric, they are proud to be part of the statistics, they use the social changes as reasons for their situation and they are reluctant to expose the behaviours. Lastly, and most difficult of all, is for these young people to be able to formulate a prescription for alienation. They see it as inevitable and unchangeable. But their views, their suggestions and their hopes are the ways to deal with the consequences of alienation.

METHODOLOGY - THE COALMINE

The Runaway study, previously reported utilized the self-reports of the young absconders, relied on their own perceptions and facts to reflect the "real" world of the runaways. It also attempted to tap an "unseen" population of runaways (Shellow, 1967) who were not visible to public agencies. Extensive, semi-structured interviews with 120 runaways were conducted in non-threatening interview settings.

Following this methodology, the present study of Alienated Youth set out to investigate an "invisible" population of young offenders, using extensive self-report, case study methods. The six sets of behavioural patterns previously identified - alcoholism, severe criminal activity, drug taking, male prostitution, female prostitution and attempted suicide - formed the focus for the study. It was accepted that within subjects and across groups of subjects there would exist much overlap of these behaviour patterns. Nevertheless, discussion of them in the collection of data took place in isolation and the interrelationships were noted.

The project is described as a "participant" observation study on the one hand, and a case history design on the other.

The first ten weeks of the research project involved gaining acceptance to a group of youths, initiating acceptance in the Community Youth Support Scheme (C.Y.S.S.) centres, making contacts on the streets and chasing possible leads through friends, old contacts and university students. It was important not to gather subjects through identifiable sources - by this is meant - through church groups, state institutions or some form of welfare agency. During the runaway research of 1982, it became clear that once one was identified as being part of some institutional structure then the communication processes between researcher and subject are hindered or abandoned totally.

If a runaway was recommended through a parish priest, then the interview would centre on items that would be acceptable to the initiator. If the contact came through a counselling channel then the subject would only talk in terms of the subject matter of previous counselling sessions. This did not apply in total and even where it did, valuable survey material was gained. Nevertheless the link between the agent or agency who recommended a subject for interview appeared to colour the tone of the information. As the runaway research required only one major, formal contact with each interviewee, this problem was not overly critical. However the current case study approach required that the interviewees met several times over a period of weeks or months with the researcher and contact through

or by an agency was deemed a hindrance and obstacle to the collection of data.

However, Community Youth Support Scheme Centres (C.Y.S.S.) were once again used as a starting point for locating young people to participate in this study. The centres have facilitators, or project managers, rather than figures of authority. They are not identified with any particular group or philosophy, despite their federal government funding, states distribution of funds, and the presence of local politicians, business leaders and church members on their boards. They are often seen as adjuncts to employment schemes but their guidelines do not necessarily include employment training or job seeking. They provide a place to go during the day for youth who are unemployed or homeless, as well as facilities and courses.

This study conforms to a methodology adopted by Hans Toch (1970) in part of his research into violence and prisons. He attempted to "blur the line between the observer and the observed." His interviewees were invited to sit down and conceptualise the data obtained from each of them. Each one played the role of subject but also had the opportunity to play scientist and become a partner in the enterprise.

Toch believes that this approach has given him

much better results because of the trust and understanding that his subject/researchers already possess. No amount of background reading, or careful entry into a social setting can compensate for already being a participant in a group to be studied.

The process of gaining rapport in this project was made easier by the familiarity of most youthful settings acquired during the research on runaways. The participant/interviewer can identify and is seen to be identified as a friend (and non-threatening), by the other youth group participants. In the case of personal contacts for locating subjects, there was little problem of open communication and establishing rapport.

However, a researcher is a researcher and there was no attempt to hide the reasons for the presence of the interviewer. This was not possible in one-to-one situations through personal contacts, but may have been the case in the group situation where the knowledge was available but may well have not been circulated to every participant at every session.

Those who took part in the interviews were aware of the interviewer's status. There were no objections to being approached for the first session, which indicates that the interviewer was accepted and the research objectives seen as valid. The attrition rate

however was high when based on first interviews with potential subjects, but often these first sessions were brief. Most subjects who remained were those recommended by youth workers or other subjects. So the initially high drop-out rate decreased considerably once the project was underway and the number of confidantes increased.

This method however involved the subjects in the research process and a high attrition on such a long term project with such a transient population was to be expected. "At best we are supplicants, and at worst, invaders demanding booty of captive audiences." (Toch, 1970, p 35) In return for a vague promise or modest remuneration, most research asks a human subject to bare his soul or to make controversial and potentially incriminating statements. The communication is only one way where the researcher absorbs all the information and does not reciprocate.

We also tend to let the subject know that she or he is indeed a subject in a long line of subjects and our only interest in them is because they represent something larger than themselves, not because of their idiosyncracies, personalities, achievements or individualities. Their reasons for being, become subordinate to our reasons for research and if they have no control over the design, construction, execution or analyses then they cannot hope to

understand nor appreciate the research in the way the researcher does. We are naive if we expect otherwise. "It is destructive and offensive in its extreme" (Toch, 1970, p 36).

In all research we need to foster a concern for the outcomes not only as seen in the statistical results, the length or quality of a report or the implications for policy changes. We need to consider the outcomes in terms of the consequences to the subjects, consider them helpers in the process and have them validate the conclusions.

This research set out to do that and its success can be judged not only in respect of the information gained, but in the involvement of the subjects and the individual and collective assistance that was accorded to them.

One cannot pretend however, that this sort of social research can operate simultaneously with social work. The researcher would need to carry band aids as well as cassette tapes. While individual assistance (legal, welfare, emotional and informational) was given to the participants in this study, the greatest form of help to the participants and therefore to the research was their involvement in the entire project.

A high level of involvement did not eventuate from

all participants. Some were not in a situation to contribute because of their stressed personal circumstances - they had other, more important things on their minds. Others were not as well equipped to deal with the research questions - they did not have the skills of communication and understanding and therefore lacked interest. However all did participate and feedback information and criticisms to varying degrees throughout the entire project.

So the research was designed to interview, observe and allow participation with thirty-six young people who identified themselves as belonging primarily to one of the six groups. They were also required to be agency-identified as belonging to such a group, because each subject needed to have a thorough knowledge, if you like, of the area and to be "active" in it. In the case of suicide, case histories from those who had thought about it was not sufficient. Likewise for those involved in criminal activity - it was not sufficient for the volunteer subjects to be only involved in petty crime. The research approached alienation from its most severe consequences in order to see in an exaggerated form the antecedents, processes and outcomes of the behaviours. The agency-identification did not have to be official, it was just necessary to somehow verify either intuitively, given the case histories of the subjects, from official records if they were available or through other

sources. In all cases, because of the intimate and on-going nature of the study, outside verification was never required.

The subjects did not have to undergo any extensive training as was carried out by Toch (1970) for his subjects/researchers, for these participants were not following any rigid methodology. They were dealing with data about themselves that they themselves had constructed and made recommendations on.

The subjects were treated as researchers in seeking other participants, describing and observing social settings and analysing their own data. Later they were also to analyse the data from other participants.

The data thus collected enabled the subjects to express their emotions, to describe their experiences and to analyse their situations in the form and scope which best suited them. While specific areas were dealt with for every subject, the method of eliciting such details varied greatly.

For some subjects, it was difficult to produce discussion of their family histories. They chose not to be involved with their families; had been "disowned" by them; or were fearful of repercussions from their

families. This latter situation occurred in two instances despite the interviewer's assurance to the contrary. For these cases then, discussions on family backgrounds took the form of more general questions on families in Australia with prompts for disclosing personal details in the general context.

The settings for the series of interviews varied with each subject and often for each interview session. Twelve subjects were located initially at C.Y.S.S. centres. After establishing some rapport and plan on which the interviews could take place, these subjects had their first brief interview in the centres. Such settings tend to be public with a high traffic flow in and around the area. In these cases, it was impossible to obtain more than cursory information at the first session. Those subjects who had a first interview but subsequently became unavailable were all from C.Y.S.S. centres. For three of these, it turned out that they were not "severe" enough to be included in the study. For a further five, there were different sets of personal reasons for them not to continue. Most prominent of these reasons was their lack of continuity to be part of the study. Most subsequent interviews for those who continued on in the study were conducted in private houses, either the residence of the subject or a dwelling of a friend, that was conveniently located. A total of eight of the subsequent interviews for all subjects were located in

developed into assistance or control of a course design and implementation in the centre.

The course was run to assist young people to find employment. While these youth centres are not totally oriented towards training for job skills, nor designed to assist in job procurement, a job interview skills programme was thought to be a practical ideal for the centre to run. It was never intended as a rigorous course promising participants a job at its conclusion, but more designed to once again stir the interests of those who were long-term unemployed, to encourage them to start job hunting again. Secondly, it was intended as a practical course, where assistance was given in compiling a resume folder for each participant. These were invaluable for job seekers and provided them with some encouragement because their job experience was neatly compiled into a single folder. The course was also expected to be beneficial for the centre and the research study by attracting females to the course and thereby having them frequent the centre on a regular basis. This was not to be the case and the ratio of males to females still remains imbalanced in favour of males.

The course itself, was conducted over a three week period falling on the same day each week. In this way, it was hoped that individual assistance could be given on the intervening days. The structure followed a standard format, which included role playing, collation of necessary documents, familiarisation with the Commonwealth Employment Service centres, reviewing skills needed for job applications by letter and phone, and general discussion groups.

This course was thought to be effective in encouraging participants to view themselves as worthwhile, to appreciate their own skills, to attempt interaction with others beyond their usual group, and in attracting members to the C.Y.S.S. centre to take part in other self-development courses offered there regularly.

The job skills course was not designed to find specific employment for participants. There were some successes however, but all of these turned out to short-term positions.

The discussion groups conducted during the course served as a screening process for the selection of subjects into the research project, and also as a pilot test for the discussions which were to follow. They were focussed on the problems of unemployment and the issues that arise in connection with other problems

faced by youth. These groups then became invaluable for the analyses of other factors which were not included in the initial collection of data.

The research design was to include a series of discussion groups consisting of six selected subjects, one from each of the defined categories. These were to analyse the case studies of other subjects by studying the life events and comparing the behavioural consequences of intervention methods encountered. This became impossible because of the lack of continuity by all participants. Once the series of interviews, collecting case histories were complete, it was difficult to locate and maintain contact with these subjects while simultaneously directing resources into locating and collecting data from new subjects.

The procedural method deemed most appropriate for the interview sessions, was to use tape recorders where possible for data collection. In many instances, this was found to be too intrusive and skeleton notes were taken and these notes were expanded at the conclusion of each session. The chronological histories were constructed for each case from these notes.

Consistent feedback and monitoring of the case histories was provided by the research participants. Each subject was given the opportunity to comment on various aspects of the case histories of others in

their groups. This served as a verification method, but more importantly as an avenue for dealing with issues in a general and less personal way. The greatest difficulty in this sort of qualitative research was eliciting from the participants, concise recommendations for their own "dilemmas". Because of the case history approach, much of the data and subject analyses became entrenched in personal details and personal solutions. In an attempt to raise the levels of discussion beyond the personal to the political and social, the interviewer or discussion group leader had to guard against injecting her own comments in sociological jargon.

A step system was devised where individual's personal experiences were multiplied and made applicable to a group of youth with similar experiences, and then further expanded to create a macrocosmic view of the experiences and the problems raised.

A formal discussion group series was held with "paid" participants which dealt with all the issues that had been raised during the research. These participants had already given their case histories and the discussion group focussed only on social problems, not personal problems. This method was necessitated because participants were unwilling to have their own case histories submitted to a group for analyses and

because so much cross-checking had already been achieved within the groups during the collection process. It was also necessary, as previously stated, to elevate discussions to a more global level.

Theme analysis, which was to be used for these discussion sessions, was deemed inappropriate because the themes had already emerged during collection of case histories and analyses of the same. The need in the post-collection phases was focussed on concretising what had already been revealed into a coherent pattern of problem/solution, and this was adopted for the final discussion group phase.

Further post-hoc analysis was done by the interviewer in segregating subjects into definable groups within each category. This was conducted in accord with the participants who were still available at the conclusion of the research and was based on the patterns that emerged from the discussion groups. The typologies that are formed, like all typologies, are not exclusive. Nor are they representative of every subject in each group. However, they are useful in determining differences within and between groups.

This research design, like most valuable research, adopted a serendipitous approach to the collection and analyses of data. The analyses was part of the collection process with each new piece of information

providing a direction for future procedures. The research questions were constantly being refined as new concepts emerged. Its greatest value however, lies in the participation by subjects in the formulation of research problems, question formats and issue oriented analyses.

PART II: ALIENATED YOUTH

This section reports the actual behaviours of subjects in the groups under study. Each section has been arbitrarily divided into its respective category - drugs, prostitution etc. However, the interrelationships between such behaviours and the subjects assigned to these categories must be recognised. The groupings nevertheless allow for discussion of single problems in isolation, in order to attempt understanding of the inherent complexities of each. While such groupings are unrealistic, the concluding chapter will draw together the related behaviours and attitudes displayed in the case studies and examine the relationships between categories.

ALCOHOL: MESSAGE IN THE BOTTLE

Drugs are the new folk devils attributed to today's youth. The abundance of drugs and drug users and the plethora of new substances that are inculcated into a drug market are the fear of the community, the catch-cries of the politicians and the headlines of all the Sunday papers. But the hypocrisy of such a view is enormous when we consider our oldest, most well-ingrained and legal drug - alcohol.

Alcohol causes more destruction and is more widespread among our youth than most of us care to realize. While hard drug use is endemic among a small proportion, alcohol use and abuse often goes unnoticed. It is only in recent times, since the medical profession's inclusion of alcohol among the list of public enemies like sugar, the cholesterol of eggs, tobacco and salt in our diets - that some attention has been paid to youthful consumption of alcohol. Even within the debates of the past decade on drink-driving issues, youth were rarely considered because they do not figure highly among the driving population, although there has admittedly been public concern expressed over the seventeen to twenty-five years group and their high rate of auto accidents.

The condemnation that narcotics use has been accorded has masked the problems of alcohol abuse.

Whenever Royal Commissions are convened and committees assembled, the scourge of the drug world becomes a problem for us all. Our fears are based on a lack of understanding of narcotics. Our fears about alcohol, should we possess them, are based on a lack of knowledge.

It seems a public shame and a private horror to catch one's beloved son or daughter shooting up in the bedroom surrounded by the tools of the drug trade - a hyperdermic syringe, spoon and candle. But when they are cured by extensive therapy and have possibly spent some time in a rehavilitative institution, we would happily send them off to the pub for a night out with friends and greet them with open arms and pats on the back, when they arrived home slobbering and staggering drunk.

This behaviour in our beloved son or daughter, is normal. He or she is behaving like any red-blooded Australian. Just like Australians have been behaving since the days of the First Fleet. Since that time Australians have been consuming alcohol with a passion and verve that has become our national spirit and heritage.

The New South Wales Drug and Alcohol Authority lists all our demon drugs in order of priority. They include the devils such as heroin, cocaine, and

marijuana but it should not come as a surprise to find alcohol at the top of the list. In the 1970s, about 30,000 Australians died through alcohol. More than 250,000 people of all ages are currently alcoholics and over one million are personally affected by alcohol abuse. Alcohol use and abuse is related to our crime rates (where 73 per cent of violent acts are committed by males who have been drinking); it is a serious factor in divorce rates (where estimates show that two in every five divorces and separations are alcohol related); and our hospital beds contain one in five patients there for alcohol induced illnesses (Carey, 1981).

To date, such statistics have been heralded as merely an endorsement of our mateship ethic and the real picture has been obscured in a conspiracy of silence. The adult castigation of the decadence and destruction by youthful drug takers is a mockery in the eyes of the young, when those who castigate refuse to moderate their own drug intake of alcohol. But say those in power, illegal drugs lead to harder illegal drugs, while alcohol is as far as you can go. Marijuana is seen erroneously as the jumping off point for youth to be eventually dragged down the road to mainline addiction. These purveyors of drink would be suprised to learn how often alcohol was likely to lead to hard drug use. That there is no longer a delineation between hard drug users and alcoholics

(Carey, 1981).

Australia ranks among the first ten countries in total absolute alcohol consumption in the world and it is slowly moving up in the ratings. For beer consumption per capita, we are third on the list.

The most alarming aspect of alcohol consumption for youthful drinkers has been the reduction in age of those who are dependent. The average age of those who have been institutionalised in one state for their alcoholism has dropped from twenty years to fifteen years. While drug taking relies on availability of the goods in a black market economy, opportunities to purchase and use, sufficient funds for the transaction and a contact or source within the trade, alcohol is socially acceptable and freely available. There are probably few Australians who do drink, to any degree, who did not enter and consume alcohol on licensed premises while they were underage. This is part of the excitement and challenge of "maturity" to test whether one is able to be accepted as an adult and in outward appearances at least, seemingly over the legal age.

That alcohol is an accepted part of mature social life is reflected in the number of children and adolescents turning to drink. In a recent Brisbane survey conducted by Drug Arm (a division of the Temperance League), it was found that thirty-two per

cent of the twelve to seventeen year olds get drunk once a month, 14.5 per cent get drunk once per fortnight and five per cent at least once each week. They usually drink in hotels, licensed clubs or discos and sixty-nine per cent had never been refused service on licensed premises. Only a small percentage of these (nine per cent) had ever even been questioned about their age by the licensee or a police officer.

It is amusing, yet dangerous, to see the number of anti-drug and anti-drinking/smoking programmes that are in operation in most Australian schools. Legal, medical and social information is packaged together to point the finger at the demon drugs and to encourage a scornful approach. When placed alongside the commercial advertising imploring us to drink, smoke and consume more with the emphasis on the maturity and sex appeal of those who do so, is it any wonder that such educational programmes fail to work. Furthermore, when all the adults around them are drinking, it is not surprising that juveniles wish to be part of the scene.

Any substance that creates mood changes is subject to abuse and this produces severe consequences. Alcohol as a legal substance, is often seen as being part of the socialisation process. So educational programmes are aimed at creating positive habits of social drinking with the emphasis on mature responsibility. But the reasons for abuse of any

substance lie deep within the psyche of the individual who abuses and in the social circumstances in which they live. An appreciation of the consequences of heavy drinking only operates where there is a level of choice about personal life situation. One can positively choose not to drink or to limit drinking if such decisions are made available, but in a situation where the power to decide is absent, then a negative choice is not made, but rather the individual drifts into what appears to be the best possible strategies for coping.

It became clear from the survey of runaway youth (Wilson, 1982), that most young people were drinking large amounts of alcohol and with an alarming frequency. Few considered themselves alcoholics, nor would they have been medically classified as such, but their recreational hours, for want of a better term, were mostly taken up with discos and parties where the "grog" flowed. Many young people on the streets reported that alcohol abuse existed among their peers. It was one way of getting a "buzz" out of life. And even those who reported abuse by an alcoholic parent, found nothing abhorrent in consuming large amounts of alcohol. There is, of course, no reason why the presence of an alcoholic parent would cause the offspring to become tea-totallers. The reverse in fact is true, and one need look no further than to the body of literature on role models and socialisation.

"Getting pissed" is for Australian adults and youth alike, a very celebratory thing to do. It is a mark of esteem especially for males, but the machismo also extends to young females. All the young people whose case studies appear in this report drink, whenever and wherever and as much as they can. The amounts they claimed to consume were seemingly not believable and this is inspite of the expected under-reporting of consumption amounts.

Despite the widespread nature of drinking among the participants in this project and in the previous runaway study, it was difficult to locate individuals under eighteen who were alcoholic or severely dependent on alcohol. One criterion for participation in this study was that each case had to be, in some way, agency defined for the category to which they were assigned. This required the cooperation of six young Australians who had been labelled as, charged with or treated for alcoholism or alcohol related behaviour. Treatment centres for youthful alcoholics exist in most major urban centres in Australia, but for the reasons previously stated, it was not desirable to procure case studies through organizations but rather to aim for contact with young people who had been agency identified, but who were no longer institutionalized.

Previous contacts, made during the runaway study, were the most useful sources in this instance for tracing youthful alcoholics. The final selection or self-selection of case studies to be included in this alcohol group consisted of four individuals eighteen years or younger, who had been institutionalized and treated for alcohol abuse. A further two had not been placed under care for alcoholism, nor any other offence, but had received private treatment and had been charged by the police for other alcohol related misdemeanours.

Subjects in the alcohol group ranged in age from fifteen to eighteen years. There were, as with the other groups, equal numbers of males and females. Two females were known to each other, as were two of the males, although their backgrounds were somewhat dissimilar and their contact was limited and relatively new.

All participants were interviewed in Brisbane in their own homes or a public central location - they were not contacted through an agency or organized centre. All of the participants were originally from another town, city or state. Two were still living with their families and the others shared rental accommodation or stayed in a variety of hostels, crash centres or public locations.

All of the participants had used other drugs but only two of the females continued to be serious users. These young girls had used combinations of heroin, marijuana, alcohol, sniffing products and occasional cocaine. Still, they considered alcohol was the drug that they used most frequently. All other participants used gutter drugs and sniffing products only when alcohol was not available. "Harder" drugs, they felt were so described, more because they were harder to obtain, rather than the extent of the effects or consequences of them.

The participants began drinking at early ages, one male started at ten years of age and was consuming alcohol at least twice a week even then. The reasons for the drinking were: the challenge of obtaining something illegal; the physical effects of the alcohol itself; the desire to escape the situations that confronted them; and because other products were not available. Even at ten years of age, this young male was able to procure a steady supply. His father, described as an alcoholic, always kept a well stocked supply, and alcohol was easy to obtain in the home.

A similar story was told by the female Aboriginal participant, who drank at home from the age of ten, and always found alcohol freely available among her friends and relatives.

For others, the drinking habit started mostly in peer group situations of parties, school dances, discos, drive-ins and all other social occasions. They felt they had not deliberately attempted to seek out alcohol, but that there always appeared to be someone at all social occasions who brought some along.

Like adult alcoholics, these young people did not or could not, acknowledge their alcoholism in a medical sense. Most felt that they could decide when and when not to, drink - that there was still a choice left to them. They also believed that they would and could "grow out" of the drinking habit. That it was a transitional stage, and that once they reached adulthood, or left home, or found a job, there would no longer be the need to drink. They all enjoyed drinking and being drunk and found it difficult to express any negative attitudes towards drinking at all.

In our attempt to analyse the situation of youthful alcoholics, the participants individually and then as a group, felt it was important to define the phases involved in their entry and maintenance of alcohol abuse and the reasons for adopting alcohol instead of other drugs, or their need/reasons for needing a drug in the first instance. These issues were discussed with each participant in an effort to define their drinking habits and to enable them to express opinions on their situations; on treatment

procedures; and recommendations for others.

The phases of drinking habits for these young people were aligned to the amount available to them at any one time. They began in a situation where the alcohol supply was limited or had to be shared among many and so they would take an occasional sip, glass or bottle. During this first phase, they were dependent on others for providing the supplies. It was difficult to establish estimates of the amount of alcohol consumed because access to alcohol was irregular. However, most thought that they initially drank about once a month and then once a week, within a short period of time. For those who started drinking supplies from home, their drinking bouts were more frequent from the start, but the escalation was not as dramatic as those drinking in social groups.

We went to the skateway and I was with some friends....No I really didn't think about getting pissed. I knew about grog and had tasted some at home, but you don't think about it....These guys had some cans and I had one to myself. It was okay. No big deal....There was a party and somebody went to the pub and brought back this ginger wine. I drank nearly the whole bottle and chucked everywhere....It's just always around wherever you go....

The second phase was marked by the active seeking out of alcohol. The procurement of liquor in the home situation became more frequent and the attempts to obtain and conceal became more elaborate. For those who were drinking with peers, there also developed attempts to obtain drink in the home. They also became active procurors of beverages for the social gatherings and did not have to rely solely on other suppliers.

About four of us pissed off from school....We had to get changed out of our uniforms and there was this friend's place where we stashed our gear. We did it all the time, just walked into the pub and no-one said nothing. No-one had much money so we couldn't get real pissed but then we didn't need much then....This girl got pinched one afternoon but the usual was that the pub manager or something would just tell you to get out..... (because of a part-time job) when I had money I'd go down to the boozier by meself and get some beer or whisky from the bottle shop and come home or go up the park....Well only because of the money it was cheaper to drink by yourself.

The third phase involved heavier drinking in terms

of frequency and amounts. Phases one and two contained an escalation of consumption and signs of dependency, in that they begin to search for alcohol rather than simply drinking what comes their way. However, they still tend to drink sporadically dependent on the circumstances in which they find themselves. Many young people from the runaway and alienated youth samples could be described as being in these early stages. For many admit to consuming large amounts of alcohol and with some regularity - but there is an uncertain element in the behaviour which confirms the notion that most are not yet alcohol dependent and few will ever become alcoholic. The third phase for members of the alcohol group, was the stage where their drinking came to the attention of others; it was where their drunken behaviour was causing problems to themselves and that which brought them to the notice of the authorities. Until then, none had suffered serious consequences for their drinking. Some has occasionally been questioned or chastised but they believe their efforts were so carefully planned so as to avoid any problems with parents and others.

Mum wasn't at home so it was easy....Sometimes I worked but it was okay on the dole. There was enough to buy stuff every day because I didn't pay rent then....In fact we bought as whole lot together and I drank it all and (the guys in the flat) chucked me

out because we had a real big fight. Well, but I left because they wer shitheads....If you could get in supermarkets, then I could've nicked some but it's too hard from the pubs....I did some break ins but just for money not because of the piss....at the job the boss was really getting to me, but they all got pissed evey luch time...I drink every day.

In analysing the phases that their drinking progressed through, the participants also came to define the reasons for adopting alcohol, as their selected drug and for needing a drug at all. The reasons, as previously stated concerned the availability of alcohol; its illegality for thsoe underage seen as a challenge; its legality which affected considerations of access and consequences; its association with maturity or adult status; its physical effects of intoxication ; and some suggested pressure by others to join in a drinking group.

The need for a drug of any kind was much more difficult to define. It was at first, seen as not an unreasonable proposition to say that everyone has a drug of some description on which they depend. They felt that this was the case for most people, but agreed that some do survive without resorting to any "crutches".

Well if someone has a really great job, then they get off on all the power they have and bossing people around and stuff....but even my grandma take those aspro powders....

Subsequently to the examination of modern drug devils, they turned to the suggestion that personal crises create stressful conditions which force individuals to seek relief from them. When the circumstances are such that they can't be altered then the drug taking goes on, and becomes a physical adiction or social habit. In terms of their examination of underlying causes of alcoholism, the alcohol group participants did not differ from the drug group participants.

Those in the alcohol group however, appeared to be, and described themselves as consevative. They didn't want to be involved in "crimninal" activities and felt that was why they had drifted into alcoholism. Two of the females had been involved with heroin and had been charged for possession. One of these was convicted for a drug related assault and charges relating to possession and dealing while under State care. The males had been involved in a range of criminal activity from truancy charges, stealing and break and entering to fraudulent claims on Social Security benefits. These crimes however, were deemed as minor and non-threatening. However the appearance of a criminal record has had an affect on their lives,

which they believe has perpetuated their drinking habits.

This lead to further discussion of the maintenance of alcoholism. The participants reverted to personal histories to explain the reasons for not giving up alcohol. An intervening crisis always appeared at times when they were attempting to "dry out". for one it was a series of family and domestic disputes. for another it was losing a job then being charged and convicted on a "B and E". Yet another whose parents had recently moved interstate, then subsequently separated, it was a recent auto accident which caused his heaviest drinking and lead him to attempt to take his life.

As for treatment interventions, the participants were most discouraging. While the problems were still occurring in their lives, they could not see a positive outcome for any treatment programme. This was inspite of the fact that they were confident of giving alcohol away once they were older, more settled or employed.

One who had received private treatment at the insistence of his parents found that it only served to encourage more drinking. He expressed indignity that he should be treated as a case, and that he should be told that he had a problem. The treatment method which was verbally oriented, which held no appeal to this

juvenile alcoholic.

For the others who had undergone treatment, there were also only negative outcomes. The treatment for alcoholism was part of a detention sentence and abstinence was merely part of the pre-requisite for fulfilling the sentence. There was no particular therapy which they could describe as being directly related to alcoholism.

Many suggestions were discussed on how to avoid an involvement with alcohol. The participants felt this was a fruitless exercise for them, given their present circumstances, and in terms of methods to assist others in becoming aware, they could see no successful options. They discussed education programmes with which they had contact at school. These were seen as useless because by banning an item, it only encouraged young people to try it.

In the ensuing discussions, the participants agreed that some form of treatment programme was necessary but that decisions should be made by those who are involved. Their suggestions concentrated on the "rules" of such programmes and who would be making them. Their inability to conform to rules should not be seen as a psychological deficiency but rather a structural problem, where members of these groups have no input into the system in which they operate.

Further questions surrounding teenage drinking were answered by the participants. They felt that to increase the drinking age for legal drinking on licenced premises was to no avail. As few were rarely questioned about their age while on licenced premises, and the availability of other sources through whom they could obtain alcohol, such a move would do nothing to discourage nor prevent underage drinking. Educational programmes about the hazards of drinking they thought were worthwhile in terms of information, but probably of no use in prevention. They called for an abolition of charges related to underage drinking so as not to set in train a cycle of incarceration for youthful offenders.

SERIOUS CRIME: KNIFE ATTACK

Alienation as used in this study denotes a social condition rather than a personality defect of the individual. There are no norms on which to compare the alienated from the non-alienated. As has been discussed, the participants in this study varied on background attributes although they were predominantly from disadvantaged situations. But "alienated" does not equate directly with "disadvantaged". It is exemplified in this section which deals with aggressive behaviour of alienated youth much the same as does the chapter on suicide. Both behavioural sets deal with the fruits of alienation and they are inwardly or outwardly expressed aggression.

Being disadvantaged may lead to a situation of alienation by virtue of a number of routes. Those who are disadvantaged tend to have poor social skills and knowledge through lack of education. They have fewer opportunities for constructive activity and are restricted to those which are inexpensive and accessible. They also lack a secure base from which to explore and develop and often stumble into an alienated condition through bad luck, bad management or both.

A cautionary note which was stipulated for inclusion by the participants is that the aggressiveness that stems from alienation is not all-consuming nor all-powerful. There is a fear that by describing youth as alienated and examining their behaviour according to involvement in sets of criminal, destructive and deviant behaviour, that this will bring even greater control and more sanctions on those who already endure so much. The participants, especially those convicted of aggressive acts, wish to discourage an image of youth as wreaking havoc on neighbourhoods. They would wish it to be understood that it is they who live in daily fear and frustration and the community in general has nothing to fear from them.

With the increase in education, young people are provided with career expectations which are very difficult to fulfill. They are apt to feel that the success of others is largely due to privilege, graft, and influence (Toch 1972, p.21). A resentment naturally develops from such a view of the world. But such grievances will never be acted upon because the young are so powerless that they acknowledge that any attempt to strike back will surely fail.

This self defined group of participants were difficult to obtain because of the serious and sensitive nature of the activities in which they were

involved. Most contacts made during the project had histories of police intervention, but the select group who volunteered as case studies for serious criminal behaviour were hard to locate. Often the self reporting was confirmed by others, either peers or official in the agencies. Given the long term nature of this project, and the way in which the material was collected, it is assumed that credence can be given to all instances of criminal activity reported by participants.

Many areas of interest, both to the research and to the participants developed from the discussions with or about the members of this group. Their behaviour was deemed the most serious and dangerous of all the groups and the criterion on which this judgement was made, was that their behaviour directly affected others. While suicide attempts are life threatening to the individual and destructive for society, severe criminality in the form of assaults, directly threatens another possible uninvolved individual.

The participants of the group itself agreed that the penalties for their behavioural set were most severe but the consequences of the other activities were just as harmful. They cited deaths through drug use and auto accidents after alcohol consumption as their reasons but also stressed the often unintentional nature of their acts and the circumstances which

social life.

Once in the group, the member is under strong pressure from his peers to conform. Gangs or groups make illegal acts attractive and the members get a thrill out of the intimate participation in activities involving conflict. Gangs develop a sense of belonging to members who otherwise would be alone.

In the gangs there develop sets of attitudes, beliefs, values and rules of behaviour which, through the members dire need to conform are strongly accepted. Personal qualities such as toughness and cleverness are seen as being desirable and these can be seen as being conducive to delinquency.

The school also plays its part in this process. This group felt that "they could never fit it" and that all attempts made at school to conform were never reinforced so they usually stopped attending. The school has little to offer and there is no external help to overcome the misfit of individual to school system. "...there are a number of points at which breakdown, or conflict, may occur in the co-ordination of the school and community's response to such pupils and their problems, and that despite intervention problems, far from being solved, can be exacerbated" (Petrie et al 1980, p.52).

degrees of mobility and considerable internal conflict even where the families were intact.

Conflict within the family affects the behaviour of the child. Tension in a marriage or relationship may lead to a child becoming the scapegoat onto which all the aggression and tension is focused or filtered.

Yet tension may develop where these mechanisms fail to produce a sufficient amount of tension release. At this point an appropriate object may be chosen to symbolise the conflict and draw off the tension. A child may become the most appropriate object through which to deal with family tensions. This group decided therefore that:

a child is in a relatively powerless position

the child is dependent on the family and cannot leave

the child's personality is flexible and it can be adapted to the particular role the family assigns or projects.

Many youths as they grow into adolescence join groups or gangs mainly because they represent frames of reference and are seen as a way of obtaining or achieving self identity and a sense of belonging which are not found in their family life. The group becomes a secondary agent in the socialisation process, it becomes a solution to shared problems of family and

produced them.

The particular areas of focus selected by this group were: the law and the courts in general; their background and how it relates to their present; and their prognoses for the future in terms of treatment and punishment.

The six participants in this group were all Australian born from a metropolitan centre. They had all had a history of drug use and two had made suicide attempts. All had been institutionalized for crimes against persons. These were non-monetary crimes. Two were aged eighteen at the time of the interviews and two were awaiting trial for further offences during the period.

The family provides the key entry point to the culture and norms of society. It is a responsible force for socialising a child into the many future roles that will be played and is a significant determiner of the child's eventual attitudes and beliefs (Connell, 1975).

The participants here were especially determined to investigate their family histories which they saw as critical to their present situations. In only one case was there present a relative who had an offence record. But all had unstable family compositions with high

Some of the males in this group had committed sexual offences of a violent nature and it was felt by them particularly that the influences of home, gang and school had brought about these crimes and other delinquent behaviour.

It is difficult to form typologies from such small numbers of case studies. However, because of the depth of the material collated on each participant it is possible to examine specific differences in them and devise types which those individuals may represent. The types are clearly delineated in terms of their responses to criminal acts, rather than being broad overviews of groups of juvenile offenders and the descriptions of each have been honed down. These are briefly described.

NO FAULT

The emotional insecurity of this type is its most striking feature. There has typically been a poor family environment and no subsequent stability. These display a tendency to blame others for their actions.

NO WORRIES

Under this category are behavioural and attitudinal characteristics which are quasi-suicidal. There is no fear of authority and little concern for the consequences of the actions.

NO PITY

Here the individual is concerned for the victim of assault and suffers guilt over the crimes and his own action. It is the sole reaction to the crime and leaves little opportunity for making new beginnings.

So there are basically two ways which youngpeople become young killers. The first relates to the turbulence experience by a child in the home environment - an environment which invariably is disadvantaged. The second way relates to experiences of life out on the streets or of the criminal justice system for life on the street can be criminogenic in itself.

Because we adults consider that we both must help and control children, we subject them to indignities that, as adults, we ourselves do not suffer. This is readily apparent when the great network of control agents and agencies is considered. Child saving in the area of juvenile crime has been disastrous and considerably added to the problems of these six participants.

The child saving movement tried to do for the criminal justice system what industrialists and corporate leaders were trying to do for the economy - that is achieve order, stability and control, while

preserving the existing class system and distribution of wealth (Platt 1977, p.22).

The participants raised the issue of the effects of other external influences on their behaviour. There is much evidence to support and reject the effects for instance, of television violence on youth. Much of the research have contained methodological problems. But if nothing else, it can be said that television violence does create a desire for greater violence and action.

The problem of labelling arose in their discussions particularly when dealing with their various confinements in institutions. The perception of being labelled criminal is negatively related to the quality of the staff-youth interaction in correctional institutions (Grichting. 1979, p.164). Many complaints were put forward by the young offenders.

The other issue covered was why deal differently with juveniles. They accepted that in some cases there is the child's immaturity, dependency, vulnerability and malleability to be considered. Recognition was also given to the specific needs of children and adolescents who are going through demanding stages of growth and development. They are still in the process of moving towards an acceptance of responsibility for themselves and their actions. Of course, it must be acknowledged

that it is often our emotional reaction to children, a reaction which evokes a desire in adults to provide sympathetic care and underlying this is perhaps the realisation that children are a community's most valuable asset.

Nevertheless, the need to treat the child differently from the adult must be balanced against the need to protect the interests of the community as a whole. Few would argue that a young offender whose conduct endangers the physical security of other members of the community should be left at large. The problem confronting the legislature and the courts in each jurisdiction is to attempt to reconcile these two principles.

The large and expanding numbers of youthful social junk are defined often as a homogenous group requiring special services. While the child savers do not generally define their condition as being due to thriftlessness and improvident habits, or to psychiatric or intellectual handicap, definitions and explanations of their behaviour are often ideologically conservative, self-interested and deliberately piecemeal. Little attention is given to the actual motivations and needs of the young themselves.

The response to juvenile crime has reflected the philosophy of the age. Despite the high proportion of juvenile offenders who are unemployed and come from disadvantaged backgrounds, a punitive, throw-away-the-key philosophy is adopted. But we will eventually learn that nothing will be done to reduce crime by this type of approach.

DRUG ABUSE: NOBODY WINS THE DEAL

The consumption of drugs by young people is usually seen as a serious social problem which endangers not only the individuals who indulge, but the communities in which the trafficking and use takes place. As earlier expressed, it is more likely that young Australians are endangering their health and psyche through excessive consumption of alcohol, rather than the ingestion of illegal drugs. The current economic situation combined with restrictions placed on the market flow by authorities, seizing goods and arresting users, has forced the youth of this decade to turn to more readily available goods for "altering their states of consciousness". They drink alcohol in large quantities with high frequency; obtain and swallow whatever pills and medicines are to be found in the family first aid kit; and raid the hardware stores or the tool shed to use any substance that is in any way toxic.

Such a change is reflected in the amount of concern over drugs, drug pushers and drug users. In past decades these were serious threats to society, but today the rhetoric has died, with only occasional attempts to stop a shipment of heroin here; or the arrest of a marijuana grower there; or the charging of a group of youths for possession. In the media and even among youth workers, there is a lack of interest in

drugs as a problem to be solved or at least reckoned with. New folk devils have risen to take their place and authorities have become resigned to the fact that it is difficult to stop the importers and worthless to continually arrest the small time users. One of the folk devils for youth is "sniffing". This has become a widespread activity among the young, given their earlier age to commence experimentation with drugs and the ready availability of such products. Other folk devils for this decade however, include incest, child abuse, educational achievement and unemployment, which have become almost the sole focus as contributors to an explanation of youth and their behaviour. For as social values change, so does the emphasis we place on social phenomena designated as problems or not.

Despite the shift in values, the diminution of public comment, and in spite of police and governmental vigilance for drug dealers and users - which is usually less successful than it appears - many teenagers are still obtaining and using the "horror" drugs of previous decades. Many are regular marijuana smokers or users of cocaine and heroin. The younger ones are turning to the newer drug fads by using "gutter" drugs and "sniffers".

The reasons for drug taking by young people are complex but some have already been discussed - the

involvement of gay youth; the situation of runaways; and the predicament of being unemployed. As with most social problems, it is impossible to find a direct cause for the behaviour. Running away from home doesn't lead directly to drug taking. Several of the runaway youth, in fact, left home because they already were on drugs and were having trouble hiding it from their parents or talking to them about it. Similarly, some youth have reported losing their jobs because of drug problems - rather than a situation of becoming unemployed and then getting into drugs.

Drugs have been a part of Australian culture since its foundation. The main influx of drugs though, directed at a youthful market came in the mid-sixties. The "hippie" people of Haight-Ashbury spread the word through song and film that marijuana or L.S.D. were essential ingredients of life - especially as a means of opposing parents, materialism, the law, the Establishment, and everything else that stood in their way before coming of age (Hirst, 1979).

The fight for freedom in the sixties has given way to a desperation and an unwillingness to fight even for one's own life. It is this desperation which is the social danger, not the taking of drugs. This lethargic alienation is self-destructive and in that sense therefore socially destructive.

Reasons for drug taking certainly are not found in looking at individual pathologies and they can't always be attributed to unemployment, homosexuality or prostitution. The existence of drug use as a social problem depends on definitions within society. Society creates "drug abuse" and "drug abusers" by the social and legal definitions expressed towards these substances of pleasure. If we changed our laws and social attitudes, then what was once criminal becomes socially acceptable.

So, drug taking is not abnormal nor innately criminal. It is often easy to be blinded by the associations that have been pointed out - homelessness, homosexuality, unemployment - and their relationship to drug taking. These relationships often lead us to feel sorry for the poor and disadvantaged or to feel further animosity toward "dole bludging dope fiends" but do little to advance our understanding of drugs.

The case of Peter (as recounted by a project confidante) illustrates the need for alerting us all to the evidence of drug taking in all social groups. Peter came from a stable middle class family. He attended a good private school in Brisbane and had many friends. He started taking drugs at fifteen - mostly

mixing medicine cabinet pills with alcohol stolen from his parent well stocked bar. Peter smoked marijuana at least once a week while in high school and started injecting heroin at sixteen. During his final year of school when the pressures of exams and the competitive push of university entrance was getting him down, he took his own life.

This case was related by Peter's friend, Ray, whose life and activities paralleled his, except for the final act of taking his own life. Ray did not take part in the study as he was then aged nineteen, but he provided contacts for location of subjects. Fortunately he has now kicked his habit through his own efforts. He is at university and doing well, but the memory of Peter's life and death remains with him. Ray says that it was easy to hide the drug use from teachers, friends and parents. He says most people equate drug addicts with Dr Jeckyll and Mr Hyde - but the change is not that evident. A person on a heroin trip doesn't grow hair on their arms or long fanged teeth and they can usually perform most duties in a normal fashion.

Ray stresses though that there are signs to look for. He is still so anxious since Peter's death that he searches for signals from his friends. He worries about them if they are withdrawn or nervous and follows

it up by talking to them. Ray admits he's not a great counsellor, nor does he want to be, but he will not see another friend die when there are steps that he could be taking. He warns too that his friend Peter did not die because he took drugs - it certainly complicated the situation. He died because he couldn't handle life and the pressures put on him, especially by his parents.

There is a belief that if a young person starts taking marijuana, it will only be a matter of time before he or she graduates to cocaine or heroin. In most instances this is not the case. Young people in this study deny that the progression is natural or inevitable. It does happen in some cases, but is not a useful way to look at drug use.

The consequences of taking marijuana or the gutter pills is not necessarily an eventual progression to the harder drugs. The consequences are not necessarily addiction or habitual dependence on drugs. The consequences do not always involve being pushed into a life of prostitution, homosexuality, crime or street living.

Yet these outcomes do occur to a small percentage of the drug using population and an even smaller percentage of the youth population. To the rest of

them the consequences are symptomatic of the reasons for the drug taking. Young people often feel alienated and without hope. Taking drugs only makes them feel more so, once the high has worn off.

Many of the youthful drug takers lay the blame for their situation on governments. They see them as directing their lives to such an extent that the only way out is to trip. They make direct connections between unemployment and drugs like "it's all cause there is no work around. So I've got no future." Furthermore, they admit that "half the people on the dole are on something".

Many of the young drug takers blame their parents. They say "they never understand me or what I wanted to do". Or they relate their past home life - "my parents split up and I was living with my mother. She was too busy with work and her boyfriends and I had to do all the work and look after the kids. I was like a Mike Walsh housewife but instead of taking valium, my friend got me some heroin. Now I still take it cause I like the highs and it give me a different world from my old life."

And in their eagerness to lay blame on the authorities - parents, government, and the like - they also find it easy to initially put forward simple

solutions. They say that drugs should be legalized; more jobs available so that stealing is not essential for those who want to take drugs. Others are moralistic and support mainstream society by indicating that drugs are dangerous and there should be education in schools so that young people will know the evils of drug use.

In their explanations of reason for drug taking and the consequences of it, these young folk put forward simplistic answers that mirror the predominant social values. For instance, they believe that unhappiness comes from not having a job - they are unhappy because they can't find work. To them the creation of jobs would decrease the use of drugs. They also see legalization as a way out. If the police were not constantly picking them up, then they would not have a criminal record and therefore be stigmatized and able to find employment. They live by the rhetoric of politicians in the belief that all would be resolved if there were more jobs.

Jobs of course, should be made available to young people. In our society, self-esteem hinges on employment (Mendlesohn, 1982). This is not an easy task and successive governments all over the world are grappling with the problem. As for the homelessness

that results from a drug taking lifestyle, then facilities need to be set up in every community which allow young people to come and go as they please. Accommodation shelters with few restrictions and easy access in centres where homeless youth congregate. are required. For the problem of prostitution, there seems no need for a solution. Those who are involved express no anxiety, save for police harassment, and usually pass in and out of the business with no long term effects. The consequences of stealing as a result of drug use, can be in part remedied by the provision of heroin centers which run along the lines of the British clinics where it is regularly available to registered addicts. Despite the closure of some of these clinics in recent times, such a scheme, with modifications for the Australian condition should be attempted. The decriminalization of marijuana for personal use will also alleviate the need for large amounts of cash for the drug, as users can then grow their own. This decriminalizing lessens the burden on society and halts the process of institutionalization young offenders for such victimless crimes.

As part of a study in psychoanalysis, Herbert Hendin looked at students from Columbia University. He found two distinct groups - one that mixed their drugs frequently and experimented with different combinations; and those who favoured one particular type or group of drug. Having isolated the two groups and sub-groups of those, he found that there were particular personality or background factors common to the chronic users of one of the drug groups. This choice was dependent on the effect the drug could create. The study showed that heroin users were the most despairing and self-destructive.

There seems little to recommend for a study into personality types of drug users according to their type. Their backgrounds and personal characteristics are diverse and appear to bear no relationship to their use of drugs.

Nevertheless, in criminal law there are many provisions for the arrest and prosecution of individuals associated with illegal drugs. The powers of the police and the courts in dealing with drug offenders can interfere with the lives of young people, usually to no avail - in that treatment or intervention of a constructive kind are not available.

In this study the participants who formed the drug abuse group were from relatively homogenous

backgrounds. Their use of drugs was severe or regular but the type of drug chosen varied from sniffing products to intravenous heroin use. They were all sixteen or seventeen years of age and most had a long history of drug use and abuse. Like all other participants, there were other activities of a criminal or alienated kind which were contingent on their drug taking. Most of them consumed alcohol in large quantities especially when their favoured drug was not available.

As a group, these six young Australians were the most difficult to trace and there were many problems in sustaining contact with them. Only one admitted to an involvement in prostitution, while the others obtained money from an involvement in criminal activities. This is why they were so difficult to maintain as subjects for the sample. Their search for drugs and their avoidance of the law, makes them highly mobile. They reported poor financial security and living conditions because of their mobility and absence of regular employment. Most had histories of institutionalization beginning in their early teens, which commenced with foster care and was later related to drug offences.

The drug abuse group were all located in the Brisbane metropolitan area. Two had recently moved from interstate and one other left shortly after

completing the series of interviews. All were Australian citizens and came from similar working class backgrounds. Included in this chapter on the drug abuse group are comments and recommendations from the members of the male and female prostitution group and other C.Y.S.S. contacts who provided information on the situation for drug users and details regarding other participants of the centres.

Glue sniffing inadvertently became one of the major areas of investigation for this study. During preliminary and first round interviews with workers in juvenile agencies, with potential subjects for the study and with officials in the juvenile justice arena, it became apparent that sniffing had replaced some other forms of drug use. It appeared to be confined to younger participants, but the participants in this group all admitted to experimentation and/or prolonged use of such substances.

The participants in their early adolescence had used inhalants as part of their collection of drug substances. The males were more likely to have successfully "tried" inhalants and the girls acknowledged that their peer group references rarely encountered opportunities to experiment, even though they had eventually all inhaled chemical substances.

The group agreed that inhaling activity appeared to be related to age and access to other drugs. Their individual experimentations were done when they were in confined or monitored environmental situations such as foster care, the parental home or institutions. This took place when they were between eleven and fourteen years of age. Their environment precluded the attainment and use of other drugs so sniffing was the only method available to them. While in these "secured" environs they felt the need to revel and escape.

Then when they moved on from these surroundings, other drugs were available to them and, in their words, had a better effect. Along with inhalant products they added alcohol, marijuana, heroin, morphine, "gutter" drugs and other barbiturates. With age, it seems, it was no longer socially acceptable to continue sniffing. The sorts of products they used for sniffing, while still young, also changed with experience. They usually started with household products such as petrol, lighter fluids and adhesive glues then moved to aerosol sprays and correction fluid which were obtained for the specific purpose of sniffing.

The participants were not aware of the physical dangers of sniffing at the time. They had heard of the effects subsequently and while they do not condemn

adolescents who are now experimenting or using, neither do they condone the behaviour. None had experienced particular problems with the effects of sniffing but they had heard of others who had suffered internal damage or death by inhaling chemical substances.

The progression from sniffing to use of the so-called harder drugs gave to these young people, histories of involvement in the "alienated" conditions which are the subject of this report. The progression produced within them, physical and psychological damage and the descriptions of their daily lives are chilling:

"I been a heavy user of morphine and acid and I was up at _____ where I spent time in the drug rehabilitation centre....You know kids don't get unemployment, so they steal, just little things. They get caught and the parents are upset and condemn the kids. So they run away. Then they get depressed and friends give them some barbs. Many of them get money through prostitution, males and females, you know....they are prostitutes at eleven, and there are a lot of adults with warped minds who pick 'em up....The police don't give a damn, especially if there's a lot of you. They will only hassle you, if you are a loner....Many doctors in _____ will

prescribe junk for the kids. They don't care either, just want to make a buck....it's getting worse more all the time (taking drugs). Lots of them here are on Serepax and carsick tablets. If they can't get them they take paracodine (cough mixture). It is all cause there is no work around, they have no future....grass is too expensive, it ought to be legalized. They can't afford it, it's now one hundred a deal if you want head and seventy for leaf. So they buy barbs for six bucks and bugger up their health....Three of my friends, Mick, Craig and Joe died last Christmas, they were all around twenty....the kids sleep in all sorts of filthy places, where they catch scabies and headlice....yeah and I met a guy up there who was sniffing glue, had an IQ of a demented ant. But some guys are okay, they have a different view of things, see things clearer and know how to look after themselves."

The litany of their crimes, their histories of treatment, the manner in which drugs are obtained and the results of their abuse continue:

"I started drinking, but I did not get enough out of it. Was talking to people on the street, so I went into the chemist and got

carsick tablets....I've given up on jobs. There are no jobs. At most Social Security offices half the people waiting there are on something....I never know what's going on. I try to get rid of my problems, but they are there, double as big, when I come around. I would do things I would not remember next day. People told me that I went beserk. Did it in a shopping centre and broke all the windows....The police are fairly good, although I fought them. They put handcuffs on me and tied me to a bed....I had slashed my arms and legs and chest with broken glass and a razor blade, and my stomach too....When I go to the pub I try to knock back offers, when they want to give me some pills. They are so easy to get in a pub. The publicans don't care, they have seen me take pills. If you don't get stoned, you won't buy more beersome doctors here in _____ prescribe for addicts. One of them is an addict himself. The doctors give out too many prescriptions to kids. You say you are working nightshift and the other guys are making too much noise that you can't sleep, and you got your prescription. There should be a law that two doctors have to see you before you get a prescription. But if it's harder to get

there'll be more crime....you're not one of the crowd if you don't take something. It's pretty bad with most of the unemployed. The other day I had been to see a friend in hospital who had OD. His girl gave me a few pills. Later I walked in here and passed out. I couldn't remember having ben here, but no-one said anything till I asked them. They never said I should not have done it. Couldn't even remember having been to see my friend either....They take drugs because they are depressed. They are unemployed. And then they can't get a job because they are too stoned all the time....I wanted to give everyone hell, give the police hell. We went around in groups to beat people up, anyone that looked at us.

The response to drugs from western societies is usually punitive, expensive and highly ineffective. The moralistic excessences of the criminal ensure that more physical and psychological damage is done by the criminal justice system than by hard drugs themselves. We also see a therapeutic battlegrounds, where conflicting philosophies and programmes compete for governments anxious to save our children from the evils of drugs.

Youth are cynical about the legal and social distinctions that are made between different types of drugs. They are disillusioned by the punitive measures adopted to treat or eradicate drug taking of any sort and yet they see around them the legal drugs of adults taking prime time on television and being upheld as important contributors to the Australian economy or to our social life. Problems of drug and alcohol abuse cannot be divorced from the drug culture of the society in which they take place. These problems will continue among the young until some radical social changes are made.

We live in a society that legally atones the use of drugs to induce sleep or wakefulness, to restore health, to allay depression and apathy and to alter states of consciousness. In relation to this fact, it would be difficult to outrule totally the use of some drugs deemed wrong or inappropriate by the populace. While the use of illegal drugs may be curtailed by various rehabilitative and preventative means, it will not be extirpated while we remain a drug consuming society - a "chemical culture".

FEMALE PROSTITUTION: TENDERNESS ON THE BLOCK

Prostitution of females in Australia is as old as the nation itself. It is abhorred, whispered about and attempts to eliminate it come from the religious "moral majority" and government spokespersons almost daily. But there is nevertheless an unwritten acceptance of prostitution as an ugly yet necessary social service. No-one wishes to accept responsibility for its existence but it goes on regardless.

In recent years, some laws have been changed, even repealed (N.S.W. Summary Offences Act, 1979) which make it impossible for female prostitutes to carry on their trade and there are other severe and consistently enforced sanctions which render the occupation hazardous in legal terms, dangerous in physical terms and oppressive for women in terms of status.

The legalities of prostitution remain that it is prohibited to solicit on the streets, especially near schools, churches or other public places where people are likely to be offended. It is illegal to run a house of prostitution and so the venues change often even though the names remain the same, and there is a great deal of animosity, between the girls who walk the streets and those who work in brothels, as a result of the changes to the laws. It is the former who suffer most severely and are blamed by the latter for problems

in the industry (Gay Counselling Service, 1983).

Female prostitutes are often seen as the predators. They operate almost exclusively in a heterosexual world and the burden of responsibility lies with the prostitute not the client who seeks out the service.

Entry into prostitution by females is always for monetary reasons, because there are no avenues left for choice. It is those who are less powerful who are forced into the occupation from an already powerless societal class - females. Convict conditions in early Australia created the situation where destitute females were made to provide services to those of the officer or military class who could afford to pay (Gay Counselling Service, 1983).

For young females' entry into prostitution, it is necessary to understand social changes which have encouraged the movement of girls from the home and left them on the streets with no sources of economic viability.

There is still a significantly smaller number of girls than boys leaving home at young ages, although the gap is decreasing. When they do leave, girls avail themselves more frequently of services available to homeless youth (Crews, 1981). They suffer severe

emotional consequences and are more likely to receive sanctions for status offences rather than criminal acts.

In capitalist societies it is preferable to have female adolescents who are destitute, powerless and possibly possessive of some delinquent history to serve the rich (relatively) and powerful male clients. In this way, detection of the client's status and background is not at risk.

Female prostitutes unlike their male counterparts, are afforded no status even within their own referent group. Of necessity, they must be removed from their families otherwise the myth of female innocence and possession is broken (Matthews, 1982). Prostitution, in this context though, refers only to common prostitution - streetwalkers or brothel girls - and not to the women in high class escort establishments, of which there are fewer in number.

The definition of what constitutes prostitution is one which can be debated. It runs from a person who derives their total income from sexual activities to the employment of sex to gain a variety of ends such as accommodation, food or gifts. It is the use of sex for other than sexually gratifying ends. The prostitution of one's body by females for non-monetary ends was found to be widespread among runaway youth (Wilson,

1982) where the ends were shelter and food and a sense of emotional commitment.

It is thought that for juveniles the need for money is not as great as for adults, and other explanations are used to account for sexual promiscuity in young people (Gibbens, 1957). This is true if the individual is young, at school and living in some form of stable home environment - despite any other indicators which suggest that instability is not far off. Young girls, when at home, though rarely engaged in this sort of occasional hustling that their male counterparts do with some regularity. Even in this permissive age, the sexual behaviour of females remains rigid in their early years.

I thought that I would be a virgin when I got married. Even when I was fourteen and I knew all the other girls at school were doing it, I thought that I wanted to meet someone who was the right person for me....I soon grew up when I left home and realized what a lot of crap it was....I would like it (to get married) but it's going to be hard now to find someone who would understand about all of this.

They think of sex still in terms of love, and while many admit to voluntary sexual experience at extremely young ages, it is usually with a regular partner. They do not roam the streets looking for casual trade to

earn a few dollars although they may engage in casual sex as they get older.

It is not until young girls are in a no-choice situation, that they turn to prostitution. There may well be other occupations that they could choose but with a combination of pressing financial need, contact with someone who is already in the trade and a lack of emotional security - prostitution appears the most reasonable option.

Of the six subjects who took part in this project as representatives of juvenile female prostitution, two were working in brothels and four were working on the streets. Of the streetwalkers, two were surviving solely on the income from prostitution, they were syndicated by a manager who regulated their trade. The other female streetwalkers were on unemployment benefits and only occasionally took to the streets for extra cash. At various times in the past, these two had relied solely on prostitution and one had worked in a parlour for six months interstate.

The age of five of the girls was sixteen years and one at seventeen years. They had worked on average in the business for eleven months which ranged from five to twenty-seven months involvement. Only one had contact with her parent - a single mother who lived interstate whom the girl saw about twice each year.

All the others had left their homes at fourteen or fifteen because of a variety of circumstances. Circumstances, though which one can callously say have to be expected under these conditions. There were reported problems of alcoholism, separation of parents which caused further financial hardship, one case of incestuous advances by a step-father, problems and lack of interest in school police and social welfare intervention.

These background circumstances certainly afford few life chances for these girls. However, they are not to be interpreted as causing psychological problems which forced them into prostitution. The situations in combination with the girls' own personalities forced them out of their homes, but they all admit that the chances are, even given limited stress from their family environment, that they would have left anyway. For most, the leaving came a little earlier than they now, retrospectively, believed the most opportune time.

I left because I didn't like the others in my class. It was just the whole way that school was. The teachers were real monsters. They didn't encourage us and were only interested in getting their pay packets. I didn't have many friends because I had to go home every afternoon and do the house and get Dad's tea so he could get to work. Mum got home at seven....No-one ever came to our house....No

I don't blame them (parents). They're okay, it was just the pressure that they put on in school....The cops were interviewing everyone about drugs and stealing things and they called me up. I didn't know these others, but they thought I was in it It was a nightmare. I just couldn't go home that day so I took off....I had the baby in a hospital and Mum and Dad signed the papers and....it was three months in the (detention centre) because some fucker reckoned I wasn't well enough or not studying proper. They never really told me... Well I regret not finishing school, because I would have a chance to get other work....I thought about going to university....I nick books and everyone thinks I'm a real reader.. If it weren't for the cops and the baby and all, I would have stuck it out at home and at school for a while, maybe.

Female prostitution participants were surprisingly homogeneous in their behaviours, attitudes, aspirations and past histories. However, it is possible and necessary to view the occupational differences between those who work in brothels and those who are out on the streets.

TYPE A or the DRIFTER female, juvenile prostitutes are those streetwalkers who exclusively or occasionally derive total income from soliciting. As for the males,

there is a tendency to drift in and out of the trade but it is more difficult for females. There is a sense of entrapment, that once the path is chosen there is no deviation from it.

I worked as a clerk in an office but it ended after one month. They reckoned they needed a new receptionist who would do the work that I'd been doing....when we went up north, my girlfriend and me worked on a trawler with these guys for a while. I loved that and I can always go back to that. That's something I could make a living off of for a while but it's seasonal too. It's great you know, out there all by yourself....Yes, so I'll probably be working here on the streets for the next few months but I'm going to get out after that....It's hard to try something different because you don't have experience.. Yes there are a lot of old women still working the streets, like thirty five or forty, but no grandmothers or anything that I know. See you just can't do it forever, but it's like there's no way to get out.

How they drift into the trade is usually a product of the particular set of circumstances of the present. They are on the streets, unemployed, cashless and then they meet someone who's in the business.

I had a job then doing cleaning with (a friend). That was shitty, I mean going to clean all the time. Who wants to do cleaning all time. I'd rather, if I had my choice, I'd rather make a prime minister's salary really in a week than make \$130.00 a week....I didn't know then what else I could do. The money even from cleaning jobs wasn't paying the bills and I was hitting the stuff then so I needed the money (for drugs)....when the cleaning job ran out, well I just couldn't handle going back again so me friend and me. Well she gave me the idea because she used to work in a parlour in Melbourne. There's lots down there she said. Well she said we should go out sleazing and....we picked up two guys and went to a motel room....I didn't want to and he only had \$14.00 left because he'd paid for the rooms....I gave him a head job and he left and I had this great motel room all to myself....then we got kicked out of the flat. We just started working in the afternoon to get somewhere to stay....She took us to her place and told us where we should go and introduced us to her friends....from then we were out every day but you can take a day off when you feel like it not like a job where you only get holdiays once a year.

Unfortunately, life for the girls on the street is

dangerous. For the younger ones, there is some maternal protection afforded them by the older, more experienced women, but the trade is so structured that girls work on their own and full time protection is not possible.

It can be dangerous for the girls on the streets because of the incidence of drug taking among youthful, female prostitutes. The reason for entering prostitution may well be the economic necessity, but the maintenance of an association with prostitution is often because of a drug habit. This is not as common among males, but is frequent among the streetwalking prostitute females.

Drugs are real bad here. They're bad everywhere. You know well, I know a lot of people that are really into it....You don't get into it, like into shit, just because you're a pro but it helps. There is always someone who can give you a score and so you think, what the fuck, it's going to be a long night so I may as well take a hit and it will be easier....Sure there are plenty of girls who don't, but all the ones I know are taking something....It's not really forced, but if you don't, well then you are not really part of the whole scene, and you never hear what is going on even then you think your best friend won't tell you what has been happening

....So the money I make which might be in the one hundred mark tonight, well I'll spend it all by the morning getting a score of stuff. I tried getting off the stuff, like I tried to get a regular job and get out of the game, but it is never easy. Well all my friends are down here and I don't know nobody else.....

TYPE B or the STAYER female prostitutes are those who work in the brothels. Their way of life is somewhat easier than those on the streets. There is less risk of them being beaten, less risk of an involvement in drugs and the money they make is up to one hundred per cent more than the girls working on the streets.

Their entry into the business is often through street hustling in the beginning, but they quickly realise the dangers and become attached to a recognised establishment. The clients then come to them and there is less risk overall. However, these girls do complain about the percentages that have to be paid to the management. They complain of the regularity of busts by the police and how this is a disruption that does and can happen on the streets, but if you are careful, it can be avoided. When on the streets, they say, at least you are more in control of what jobs you take on and how your working life is arrange.

I only did one job just to try it out at first. I'd never done it before although a

friend of mine had been working the streets for two months and had made a lot of cash.... The first night after I had been through the interview with the boss, I did three jobs and made about \$300.00. So did my friend. The next morning we couldn't believe it. We woke up and we had all this money. We went out and bought all this make-up and these clothes and everything. I really got into the work. Like I didn't enjoy it then and I couldn't really handle it, but I really got off on all the money.

The emotional side of the business seems to affect those in the brothels more so than those girls who work on the streets. This is largely due to the drugs that are taken by those on the streets. These act as a buffer to any recognition or recall of the events and they are more easily able to block out the experiences. But the brothel girls, like the brothel boys, tend to sit around and talk about their clients. Drugs are usually not encouraged on the premises, although some told stories of how the management had in some places, insisted that they get a habit otherwise the job was not theirs. The brothel girls express great loathing of their clients. On the one hand they feel that they are actually performing a service, but overall show nothing but contempt for the men who have to come looking for sex and have to pay for it. They see these men as weak and they see their role in the chain of events as the

wider community sees it - prostitution is an ugly enterprise but it is a necessity.

They never enjoy their trade but tend to feel less guilt than the girls on the street. Like homosexual, male prostitutes, there is at least some sense of identification that comes from working in an established call-girl house, which reinforces their place in society. However, the regulation of the trade through the brothel management makes it difficult for the girls to operate freely.

I got into them (pills) heavy. I was taking fits and shit like that, and drinking. I'd just go down and buy a bottle of bourbon and it would soon be gone....Never hardly bought any smack or anything like that, I just didn't want to....I had the mandies and the serepax you know, it was sort of escape I suppose. I used to be able to con more and feel more relaxed and so I could make more money then, because the guy thinks you are having a really good time and he gives a bit extra and says he'll come back....I'm glad now that I'm off all the shit.

The attitude toward the clients can vary and the range is broad, but most often it is the contempt which is uppermost in the girls' descriptions.

...you know you can get some really nice guys. I don't know they are just really nice.

They seem to care but they really don't I suppose....and then you get the mugs, you really do most of the time....they get half an hour and they think they own you and they want to maul you and they say would you like this and if you say you don't, then they go ahead and do it anyway....There was an out call to a really good hotel in the city and I spent half an hour with the guy and we did the usual, then he started coming down real heavy because he had too much grog and he was smacking me around the face....He wanted to do all sorts of weird things and then he belted me with something that was on the table and I went unconscious. He rang the boss and he come and took me to the hospital, but you know that guy never gets charged with anything. How can I get him charged, but once a guy had me charged to taking some money, which I didn't and they had me for two charges and yet I con't do nothing about these other creeps who come'on real heavy.... Yeah we had two girls killed in the other place. They all said suicide and drugs but even the police knew what was going on.

Disease of course, is another problem common to prostitutes. The brothel girls at least have access to regular medical checkups which are arranged through

their parlours. Those on the streets only seek medical attention when the need arises. All the girls who were participants had suffered from venereal disease and/or constant infections, even after a short time in the trade. For the street girls, it is difficult to seek medical attention, difficult to supply the money needed when they have so many other pressing needs, and they are unreliable in terms of carrying out the treatment procedures.

The fundamental issues involved in juvenile prostitution are no different to those for adult prostitution. They are the same for heterosexual and homosexual populations, and they involve the clients as well as the prostitutes. There should be regard for the needs of both the client and the prostitute; mutual consent in the trade generally and the transactions specifically needs to be encouraged; and preference for sexual proclivities or activities should be allowed for. The politicisation of prostitutes has commenced. In some major cities, prostitutes unions or collectives have been formed to look after the needs of their members. In many instances, these have become powerful lobby groups, who oversee the activities and respond to complaints by DRIFTERS and STAYERS of all ages.

The major problem in juvenile prostitution is often the lack of free choice or available alternatives

for the young who are trying to survive on the streets. While their involvement in prostitution may be only transient, it affects their chances in life for their entire future. Because of the lack of economic opportunity, the basis for power structures in our society, juveniles have to achieve some financial independence not only to survive physically, but to create and develop their feelings of self-worth.

Sex is a commodity in our society, which can be purchased in any number of forms under various labels - commercial advertising makes this very obvious. This, of itself, need not be entirely wrong. There are many instances where a sexual service can be seen to be performing a very useful function. The problem is how it becomes embroiled in the larger issues of social inequality. The fact is that it is a service which is socially denigrated and yet performed by those who are victims of social hypocrisy and prejudice. Paradoxically, for those most at liberty to make use of it, this means that it is not a realistic choice for many.

MALE PROSTITUTION: THE BEAT

Prostitution is increasingly becoming the most viable option for young males surviving on the streets. Much of the literature on prostitution is geared to adult populations and relatively little is known about entry into the occupation or the way of life adopted by the young exclusively in this behaviour. Prostitution, however, is done by choice - choice as a method of economic viability or choice as an occupation and way of life. Prostitution is an illegal and "deviant" activity with severe consequences for those who engage in it, in terms of sanctions, legal and social, physical health and self-concept. Male prostitution is significantly different from female prostitution to require separate discussion and analyses. The image of prostitution and prostitutes is usually painted as born of hopelessness and despair, which turns in ever decreasing circles around drugs, sex and death. These factors will be reviewed in the following investigation of six case studies of youthful male prostitution in Australia.

Young males are now more able to adopt the role of prostitute by desire or by need. Historical analysis has shown though, that male prostitution has always been as frequent as female prostitution (Weeks, 1981). The prevalence of such actors and actions appears to be increasing although, no known measures are available on

which to accurately judge such an increase. In terms of this research, one can say, that there were few difficulties in obtaining male prostitutes for inclusion in the project. They were drawn from an identifiable red-light area, where gay activity on the streets and in establishments is known and visible.

The ages of the subjects who volunteered case histories were sixteen years on average, with a range from fourteen to eighteen years. One had been involved in street hustling in his early youth but at the time of interview, did not engage in such behaviour, and in fact rejected the concepts of homosexuality and prostitution. Two subjects were working on the streets. They engaged in prostitution for economic survival but accepted their involvement in it. Two subjects were from brothels or call-boy houses, and chose to be part of prostitution out of desire, as well as for economic reasons. The remaining subject was also from a recognised brothel, but was different in that, he was undergoing the transformation to the female sex. These cases will be discussed in detail and presented with the analysis later.

Prostitution for young males is largely a matter of survival. Therefore, among the runaway, homeless and destitute there is evident, large numbers of boys selling their bodies. An estimate of the proportion of runaways who engage in prostitution would set the

figure at over a quarter (Crews, 1981). Several surveys (Wilson, 1982) have identified such a prevalence of acute or overt prostitution. It is not confined only to the Australian, or for that matter, to the western world context. It is indeed more prevalent in those countries of the third world where rich tourists can obtain the favours of local boys for payment (Wilson, 1981).

When one refers to male prostitution, it is usually in reference to homosexual activities. Heterosexual male prostitution is quite rare due to the relative status and position of men and women in our society. Where it does occur is with older, wealthy women who form relationships that are long-standing, more intimate and involve an emphasis on companionship rather than sexual gratification (Gay Counselling Service, 1983). This situation can arise in a youth cohort and is referred to as "covert" prostitution, where money for specific favours does not take place, but rather a long-term relationship in return for accommodation and domestic provisions occurs (Wilson, 1982).

There is no legitimizing ideology for homosexual prostitution similar to that which condones heterosexual prostitution, even when condemning the female prostitute. Many works have suggested that males who engage in prostitution regard themselves as

heterosexual and devise complex strategies to neutralize the effects (Weeks, 1981). Yet male prostitution is predominantly homosexual for youth in Australia. It occurs within the context of an anti-homosexual culture which tends to place the stigma on the homosexuality rather than on the prostitution for both the client and the prostitute. Because of the significance attached to virility in males in our culture, prostitution becomes an affirmation of this for the sexually active. It is also used by young males as a venue for exploration of their emerging sexuality, for experience per se and for experimentation.

Like female prostitution, it is basically economic circumstances which instigate entry into the field, but not always that which sustains the involvement. Those males who are not homosexual, interpret their actions in purely financial terms. The exploration and experimentation aspects further enhance their virility in a heterosexual world and later may lead to a total rejection of everything homosexual.

For those who do identify themselves as gay, or possibly bisexual, there is afforded to them the opportunity to be part of the gay subculture which decreases the hostilities they usually meet with in the outside world. Yet within this subculture, they are stigmatised because of their poverty and their forced

occupational roles. However, unlike female prostitutes, there is less condemnation of them as a group and the consequences are usually less harmful because of the relative status that males, even homosexual males, have in the community. Also unlike female prostitution, there is greater sympathy by the public for male prostitutes, in the belief that these youth are innocent boys preyed upon by "dirty old men" and so in these transactions, it is often the client who is seen as more "deviant" (Gay Counselling Service, 1983).

In an historical context, the situation for male prostitutes has improved. In the past, most males involved in homosexual prostitution would claim that they were in fact heterosexual, only involved because of financial gain. This situation has now been reversed as a result of the slightly higher profile of gays in the community, but gays are still disadvantaged because of their youth and dependence.

With identified gay or heterosexual prostitutes, there is often only a short-term experience of prostitution. This usually takes the form of street hustling, where the major source of income is supplemented by occasional "scores". Over a third of young gay males engage in this (Bennett, 1983). It has been suggested that prostitution is a transitory stage for the majority and unlikely to be permanent, although

it may recur temporarily during a time of financial crisis (Gibbens, 1957).

While these young kids can be identified as hustlers or child prostitutes, seen in traditional meeting places, labelled as such, and even processed through the courts - they are not necessarily part of the gay world and therefore need to be studied individually within their own locales and subculture. The subculture itself cannot always be seen as a whole or unified sector of the community. The young people who become involved are from diverse backgrounds, enter the business for a variety of reasons and tend to float in and out of the "deviant" group. Furthermore, the entire subculture, if indeed it should be so identified, is diverse in itself. There are the occasional street hustlers, the regular part hustlers, the prostitutes who operate individually, those who work from a brothel, and superimposed on all these stratifications is the identification by the individual as being gay, and therefore participating in other activities of the homosexual world.

Humphrey's (1970) work reminds us that much of the literature on "deviant" behaviour, especially drug use and prostitution, can be seen as the study of particular kinds of hobbyists. Perhaps we need systematic comparisons between the situations of hobbyists and workers whose occupations and hobbies are

legal and those whose are "shady". (The differences between a fisherman and a pornographer or an executive and a transvestite manageress of a brothel for example).

Despite the lack of material on male prostitution, most studies tend to concentrate on the negative effects for the individuals and their own personal shortcomings. They see prostitution by young males as a form of "moral suicide" (Gibbens, 1957) rather than as a choice for personal or economic reasons. Social control is legitimised by reference to the poor backgrounds of the subjects - such as educational achievements, parental separation, illegitimacy, and the poor personal histories, such as lack of stable employment, police and institutional experiences, use of alcohol, narcotics and even inadequate diet. Often the prostitutes are described as neurotic, immature, irresponsible and unstable (MacNamara, 1965). But it is not enough to consider these factors in isolation and then relate them to the practice of prostitution.

There are four reasons or outcomes that can be identified for youth who elect to be involved in male prostitution. They are used as voiced excuses for their behaviour, or are inadvertently revealed in the boys' discussions of their activities. The reasons are not exclusive to each participant because they express varying degrees of each of these at different times,

depending on their present needs.

The first is the most obvious - that of economic need. On first meeting all the youths in this study spoke of the large sums of money that could be earned through prostitution. It can be as a supplement to the other income they receive, or it can be the sole source of income. The amounts they earn can be up to \$1,000 per week but this is extremely rare.

No, I don't really make a lot. But it's better than the dole, cause for under eighteens that is really shithouse. I just want to make some money real quick so I can buy a car and get out of this place. This is the quickest way to make money. Everybody else here (in brothel) is saving up for something - like a holiday overseas or something. Then when they get the money, they go. If I got a standard job well I wouldn't even get \$150.00 a week to take home. In this place I can regulate how much work I do and how much money I make....No I havent saved up much so far but in the next six months, now that I've got myself sorted out with clothes and things, I'm really going to save hard. I don't want to be a whore all my fucking life.

They all make statements of this type initially with the superlatives flowing about the amount of money that can be made if one wishes to take the opportunities. In the brothels, the rates are from \$30.00 to \$60.00 per half hour, with the management taking fifty per cent. On top of that, there are tips from some customers, dinners, taxi fares and the like. Because of the irregularity of the income, little is ever deposited safely in a bank account. But many do stay only long enough to buy personal affects and leave with a few hundred dollars in their pockets. Those not in a regulated establishment go out to hustle once per week or per month when cash flow is low.

We were going to the coast last weekend and I didn't have money for the pub, so on Thursday night I got a score up in _____ Street. He was mean, promised me all sorts of crap (dinner, clothes, job) ...Gave me all this bullshit about staying at his place, rent-free, and everything. But we had a quick job in the car then it was \$10.00 and "piss off".....so I had a run and got \$30.00 to go away with for the weekend with my mates.

Often those on the streets make very little because of the absence of price control, but compared to other financial resources they have at their disposal, money for sex constitutes a windfall. The other aspect of

economic gain is the eternal hope that one will come across a client who will offer to be a benefactor of sorts, or one who will be able to secure them steady employment in a more legitimate or more highly paid occupation.

When looking beyond the financial though, there are other reasons which surface for ongoing or sporadic involvement in prostitution. The most important of these for the young ones is emotional commitment. They can obtain this from clients who eventually do take them into their own homes, or see them on a regular basis, or from the companionship of others in the trade.

When we were up north it was great, you know, he really looked after me and we did everything. I felt really good because I didn't have to worry about where I'd sleep or how to get food. He even bought my dope although we'd usually have a fight about it.. ..He was like a big brother or a father or a mother maybe. I never loved him or anything like that....It was boring after a while. I didn't see any of my friends and we sat and watched T.V. all the time, but he let me drink and I started to get drunk a lot. But he really was sort of a gentle person even though he hassled me....Yeah I think he loved me because it was more then the fucking. He

knew more about me than my mum and dad ever did....

Even where the relationship is not long term, the boys in the brothels and a smaller number of those on the street have regular clients who give them extras and take a personal interest in the boys.

It was like seeing an old friend. I didn't know he came here (to the brothel), because I'd tricked him up at _____ last year about three or four times....He was interested in what I was doing. The first time we talked most of the time and he came back the next afternoon but I wasn't working then....He comes about twice a month. I think he goes to the other houses as well or maybe up to _____ but he makes sure that he sees me when he come here....Not like some of the others, he doesn't want to tell me all his problems but now I ask him all about his family and everything....There are a few like that and the other guys have their regulars, but he's really amazing....

Furthermore, the companionship of the other prostitutes either as they work the streets and parks together in gangs, or the camaraderie that is undeniable in the brothels, gives emotional security to the boys. In one establishment, it was the manageress who genuinely adopted a "mothering" role towards the younger boys.

Homosexual behaviour does not necessarily denote an identification with a homosexual proclivity. This can be found in studies of prison homosexuality, transient practices in public places and in adolescents (Weeks, 1981). However being gay and being a prostitute gives an identification and support of one for the other. It reinforces the choice and fosters acceptance.

Well most of them (clients) are married. They are quite reasonable most of them and it makes you think well they're doing it too.... I had a really rich executive type, he was in some legal thing because he talked about cases he had. He said that he was embarrassed. I asked him why and he gave me the home, wife and family line and I thought, here we go, but he was really talking about being gay and he respected me for being able to do it for a living and everything....They could all get it in the bars, well most of them, really easy but they are busy and have reputations so they pick up the phone and pay their moneyI really like sitting around here and talking. We have coffee after, well like now, and sometimes talk about the guys and what they were like....and it's lonely then when you go out on a job because there is no-one else to talk about it, well not until you get back.

Most of the youth on the street do not enter into any other gay activities. They may frequent the gay bars, as access for those under the legal drinking age is seen as being easier, but their identification comes from being recognised by other youth as one who can "pull a score" and get the money needed. They talk about the men sometimes, and the process is one of rationalising the situation and turning it into a common, legitimate activity - like an in-group joke. For those in the brothels, the identification with the gay and prostitute world is more widespread. Many take part in gay rights groups or in the acting groups in gay drama outlets. They know most of the female prostitutes in their areas and are concerned with the issues, in legal and social terms, of prostitution generally.

Finally, there is the thrill of the business. The kids on the street feel they are winning one over their clients. Those in the brothels have a sense of power and enjoy the fun in a secure environment.

You meet a lot of interesting people in this place. There was a guy last week who had two lines of coke and that was great. So we sat and talked for a two hours about all sorts of things about politics and the police in a really interesting way. He was probably from a university or something....You know you are not stuck with this job or this particular

trick forever. You can leave the business and another client will be along in half an hour. So you don't feel trapped and the scenery is always changing. I've learned a lot and it's just fun....I probably do it because of the excitement. Not excitement about getting busted by the cops, but just the feeling about the place.

For those on the street it can be like a game of chance, you don't know when you will be caught up, you don't know what sort of client you will get, and you never know what the prize will be, in terms of monetary rewards. The widespread use in our time of games of chance as come-ons for potential customers in supermarkets and newspapers, illustrates the drawing power of such devices. Lotto, poker machines and horse racing are endemic in Australian society. The only commodity that these young people really own is themselves and so they gamble their lives, their bodies, their freedom, their future often against all odds for kicks, thrills and turn-ons. If these avenues were legitimate, then these young people would still be the ones who lost consistently. Most of them don't have the skills to know when to quit, how to study the form, or how to hedge a bet. They are all-or-nothing gamblers who constantly get the rotten deal.

Typologies for those in this male prostitute group are no different from the basic description previously

offered for the six participants. The typologies are based on the form that the prostitution takes - common in the streets or parks irregularly, common in the street or parks regularly, participation through a brothel even if relatively short-term, and finally participation in prostitution in a brothel as a transsexual or in terms of it being a lifetime vocation. These boundaries also coincide with personal attitudes towards sexual proclivity of the individual, their commitment to prostitution as an occupation or way of life, and the level of severity of the consequences for engaging in prostitution.

TYPE A or TRANSIENTS includes the hundreds of thousands of young boys throughout Australia who each year engage in some form of sexual gratification with an adult male partner in return for payment. The numbers are not exaggerated for those between the ages of ten and sixteen. Not all male prostitution begins this way, but it seems clear that at least half of our youth population must experiment with sexual activity and receive something in return (Wilson, 1981).

The subject who represents this type is presently aged eighteen years, and is not at all involved in prostitution now. During the summer months when he was twelve to fourteen years, and during school vacations, he and his friends would roam in a group through local parks, up near the public swimming baths and along the

highways towards the beach areas. If a car was parked with a single, older male in it they would go up to the window and start talking. After a few minutes of idle chatter, one of them would say, "If you have five bucks, I'll let you suck my cock."

Later they learned of a network of men who passed on their names and so provided some regular contacts for the boys when they wished. They would go to one of the men's houses and he would phone his friends and then give the boys directions as to how to get there. The boys didn't like going to someone's place alone and usually went in pairs, although this was not always possible. As they got older, the price for their services increased. They could then ask for and threateningly demand ten or twenty dollars for a session, which lasted up to one hour of sexual contact. There was never any problems for the boys, in terms of physical harassment and the use of force. However, he did say that they were always asked to do more than they wished and to stay longer than they wished.

An interesting characteristic of this type, is not their lack of identification with homosexuality but their absolute abhorrence of it. The interview with this participant started in a gay bar where our mutual contact had arranged for us to meet, assuming that this would be an acceptable venue for an interview on male prostitution:

Respondent: I don't like being in this place (gay bar).

Interviewer: Well I thought it was you who suggested we meet here.

Respondent: No, but I suppose it's the closest place where you can get a drink. I feel as if all the queers will rape me or get the wrong impression, you know. I never come to joints like this. I would never come here by myself.

He was obviously uncomfortable at this stage and the first meeting was heated, and could have been dangerous given the setting and his animosity. A tolerance of homosexuality was, in the least, presumed, given his past experiences. However the interview in that setting was abandoned after the participant began to heckle the other patrons at the bar. He revealed how, even during their homosexual prostitution days, that there had been episodes of gay bashings. The group of youths, who one day would turn to older males for money and sexual contact, would the following day go to their regular meeting places with reinforcements and harangue, and on two occasions physically beat, these men.

In terms of commitment, these type of youthful prostitutes, tend to drift out of the behaviour when they are through adolescence or around age sixteen or seventeen years. It is assumed that not all would adopt such an anti-homosexual stance, but most are apparently defensive about their previous activities.

It is suggested that they may indeed number among the married men who frequent the boy brothels.

The TYPE B or REGULAR youth were two who had been working the streets on a permanent basis for at least twelve months. They had some "small-time" contact with the practices of Transients when they were younger and still at school, but since leaving home at thirteen and fourteen respectively, had gone to the central park, three and four nights per week to "score".

Regular prostitutes were typically the most destitute. They had left home, were living in rented or borrowed accommodation and had no financial security. These were the least powerful of all the male prostitute group. They had nothing left to sell but their bodies.

I left (home) because Dad was always drunk and having trouble at work....Mum was always on my back about school....I didn't want to work at _____ where Dad reckoned I could get a job through a friend of his....We were living in this flat and it was great, having an outrageous time....He stole some televisions from a shop and the other guy had the stereos....We sold them and I got \$400 and went up to _____. Then me and a friend came back here and started working the park.... It's pretty useless. They want everything

for ten bucks but if you pick an alright one well once I got a hundred....The cops came over that night and took _____ away. She was dealing, so we had to move the next day.... Last weekend we stayed at (the hostel), but now we're at (a friend's) house.

The Regular group form the most visible group for the child savers. They are the ones "preyed upon by dirty old men". They are the ones from unstable backgrounds with divorce, alcoholism or unemployment in their family history. Their present way of life is one of survival with constant police and welfare intervention: Their futures look unpromising and they also see it that way.

TYPE C or WORKING male prostitutes may have come up through the ranks of the Transients and the Regulars but not always necessarily. They are often from more privileged backgrounds and overall were certainly more articulate, mature and definite in their opinions and attitudes.

It's just like any business, you have to know the market and how to get the most out of it yourself....It's a service and more and more we are moving into mainstream gay life....The work here is what you want to make it. I use fantasy a lot. Think about what I'll spend the money on or what I'm going to have for dinner, and so I'm not really there with it

in my mind....Dope helps but there's no more here than in any other place....There are some really perverted ones that want to use a whip for an hour or to treat you like a baby but most of them just want a straight fuck or a blow job because they're too lazy to go get it for themselves. They're not unattractive or handicapped or mentally deranged or that, they'd just rather pay for it. They don't have to....I like it here. Just taking it easy. It's safer in here than out on the streets.

This group have identified with being gay or bisexual and enjoy prostitution. It is nevertheless viewed as a short term occupation because of the demands of time, late hours, irregular income and unrewarding work.

We waste a lot of time here, waiting for the bell to ring. It's like door-to-door selling only they come to us. It's not that the work is immoral, it's just that it's repetitive and so you need to get out eventually....Bar maids have to take shit from drunks all day, and if you work at the (motor vehicle) factory well it's pretty boring and repetitive. You can stay in those jobs if you want, but anyone with half a brain wants something better in the end....I'll lay off for a while and travel around, then come back here for another year or two. Then I don't

know what.

There is some security in the work for these boys. They are untrained in any formal job skills and so will return to prostitution time and time again. This is usually interspersed with short term work in gay bars, restaurants or cleaning jobs.

TYPE D or the PROFESSIONAL was an isolated but significant case of a young male, aged eighteen, who was working at a brothel saving to undergo a sex change operation. His significance is more than curiosity value. Significant transformations had already commenced and he was firm in his decision to carry it through.

For him, prostitution then became a way of life and he had carved out a place where his services would always be required and business would never be short. While the other boys will grow old and lose some appeal for the majority of clients, who prefer youthful partners, this transsexual (when the operations are complete) will be a prized part of any prostitute organization.

His reasons for a sex change of course, ran deeper than pure marketability but this was something he had considered.

I get lot of the weirdos, because straights are not sure of what they will get with me...

I've been at the place longer than anyone else....because they usually just want to look at me. Some don't even touch. They say how attractive I am....I'll be here or a place like it forever. I would like to run a boy house...could go overseas because I could earn great money but it will be about five years before I can get all the stuff done (operation) and get papers and the money..... they (parents) don't know and I'll never go back home.

Prostitution is then for this participant, a career and is regarded as such by other participants because other avenues of employment are not open to transsexuals. When on the street, they are more likely to be abused and assaulted. There is some security in their profession but the choice element is somewhat removed. They can be stigmatised by both female and gay prostitutes and need to seek a safe environment from which to work.

Because of the nature of prostitution and the legal and social sanction against it, those young males who engage in it tend to have low social status. It is the only avenue open for survival. For some, this is not a problem because they are able to cope with the emotional decisions necessary. Otherwise they rationalise the activity and withdraw when legitimisation processes are no longer sustainable.

Male youth prostitution could be argued to be as necessary a social service as female prostitution. Unfortunately, recruits to its ranks come from alienated runaway young people. Of course, not all runaways end up in prostitution and some who do, enjoy the life. Those who are harmed by the act are damaged far more by the stereotyping of child saving rather than by the sexual acts they engage in.

Young gays under eighteen, who associate with other homosexuals are viewed as being in moral danger. They more than their heterosexual peers, are denied the right to explore their sexuality or to engage in an activity which will be income-producing. Juvenile prostitution is increasingly coming under police attention. While the aim is to cease operations of predatory paedophiles or child-pornography rings, the result is often the destruction of many juveniles' lives.

SUICIDE: GAME OVER, PLAYER ONE

Suicide, both successful and unsuccessful, in many ways is the culmination of all the behaviours that have so far been discussed in this study of alienated youth. It is certainly the most severe consequence of alienation, if life and living are considered the ultimate virtues.

Suicide has accounted for 1,500 deaths in Australia in each of the last ten years. However, there have been marked fluctuations this century across decades and between the sexes (Clifford and Marjoram, 1979). For young people, suicide in 1981 accounted for 12.2 per cent of all deaths (15 to 24 years). Most often suicide is committed by use of firearms (Chynoweth, 1980).

Statistics are not available on all suicide attempts but it has been estimated to be in the range from twenty to one hundred and twenty times the successful suicide rate (Hall, 1974). Even those attempts that are reported are underestimated by a possible factor of three, or as Klagsbrun (1976) suggests, "that for every five people that complete suicide, four have made one or more serious attempts". Investigations into the cause of suicide have shown that there are many contributing factors which interact with each other to form a complex matrix of variables.

What causes a person to commit suicide is not one single factor in isolation, but a whole series of factors which tend to be cumulative. Clifford and Marjoram (1979) in the first major Australian study, reviewed 141 cases of suicide that occurred in South Australia in 1978. They found that in 68.1 per cent of the cases, there were two or more reasons given. Reasons such as bereavement, physical illness, interpersonal disputes within and outside the family, psychiatric illness, alcohol and drug abuse, financial problems and separation were common. But what stood out most of all was depression, reported in 64.5 per cent of the cases. Other researchers have also shown depression to be a major element underlying suicidal attempts and suicide among all age groups (Chynoweth, 1980).

In a younger age group, problems at school or work, drug abuse either dependency or addiction, sexual problems and interpersonal disputes outside the family were dominant. Overall, unemployment was given as a reason in only 4.3 per cent of cases and financial problems, which may or may not be associated with unemployment, in 9.9 per cent of cases. But labelling causes as "depression", or "unemployment", or "problems at school" does little to help us understand the processes at work within youth who decide to take their lives.

Suicide, especially suicide among the young, frightens people, and it threatens them. The self-destructive act of a single person brings into question the basis of everyone's existence, the very meaning of life itself. It is often seen as a cry for help or as a definitive statement about the person's situation. The intent is always clear, even if the attempt is unsuccessful. Yet it is still an unconscious attempt at self-destruction, as a plea to be noticed and helped (Klagsbrun, 1976).

Most teenage boys and young men who kill themselves do so with guns and explosives. Hanging themselves is the second most common method, and taking pills and poison the third. Girls and young women who kill themselves do so most often with pills and poisons, but guns and explosives come as a very close second (Klagsbrun, 1976).

Of a survey conducted among high school students, it was found that one in ten said they had attempted suicide at one stage in their lives. Among the sample of alienated youth in all categories, all participants had contemplated suicide and over half had seriously attempted it. However their more rigorous attempts lay in the elected lifestyles, which brought them into conflict with the law, near death from drugs and alcohol abuse, and risk taking in everything they engaged in.

Often suicide, because it is the antithesis of life, is seen to be an extension of some psychological disturbance. In psychiatric terms, adolescent suicide patients show behavioural manifestations of psychosis. The combination of extremely violent behaviour with suicide is especially characteristic of such psychiatric malfunctions (Inamdar, 1982). But to study hospitalized adolescents who have exhibited such behaviours and to label them with some scientific term is worthless in the extreme.

Like all other studies which focus on the personalities of the psychological dimensions, this investigation of youthful suicide attempts can also delineate the characteristics in socio-psychological terms. All the participants in this group had experienced severe life crises. The subjects ranged in age from fourteen to eighteen and were from varied socio-economic backgrounds. Four had "delinquent" histories, which included running away from home, being institutionalised, an involvement in drugs, unemployment or problems at school.

It is difficult to get beyond such descriptors of family history of life circumstances and the facts are inescapable. Even after a long series of interviews with the young people concerned, there could be formulated only a scant list of critical variables to look for in someone who was a candidate for a suicide attempt and no real solutions to the problem.

In a study of delinquent youth, Miller (1982) found that low self-esteem increased the acting out of abusive behaviours and this led to an increase in actual suicide attempts. He found that adolescent suicide attempters come from conflictual, unstable and unloving home environments and that the conflict between the attempter and family members was a critical predisposing factor in a suicide attempt. The attempters reported that they fought daily with their parents and that these altercations involved considerable physical, sexual and psychological abuse. The attempters had learned from their interactions with their parents to express feelings through actions and to use actions rather than words to resolve conflict (Miller, 1982).

But because suicide is often closely related to other victimless crimes such as alcoholism and drug addiction, it cannot be considered in isolation from the social meanings of the related behaviours (Tomasic, 1977). For alcohol and drugs account for at least one third of all attempts of suicide in New South Wales while in Queensland, the underlying causes are still documented as depression or psychosis (Whitlock, 1968).

But the variables involved in the phenomenon of suicide are many. It is dangerous to oversimplify the phenomenon by only isolating a few. The sociological theories move away from the individual causes and postulate suicide behaviour when social cohesion and social control are low, and while these broader circumstances are absolutely critical to an investigation of youthful suicide, it is also necessary to look at suicidal actions first hand.

While suicide may be the only logical, rational response left to an individual in distressed social circumstances, in assessing the risk or the outcome, we must look at the laws which criminalise this behaviour. No laws in any country have helped to repress suicide. Perhaps they only ensure that those who attempt suicide do it more successfully so as to escape punishment and further distressing social circumstances.

Society constantly reinforces stereotypes of

madness and the media and criminal justice system refer to suicide as a form of mental illness. But in a more humane and unrepressed society, attempted suicides ought not to be victimised but rather their actions seen as rational responses to their social situations. It is this social situation rather than the person who attempts suicide, which needs to be the main target of policy makers (Whitlock, 1968).

In the broader scheme of things, it has been previously suggested in this report that young people in this present decade are suffering alienation, even if they are not the poor and hungry out on the streets. Alienation seems to be woven into the fabric of life for youth. From some quarters comes an explanation that the inevitability of world destruction combined with the level of violence permitted in society, mostly stemming through the electronic media, has instilled in the young a sense of powerlessness. Youth feel powerless because of age restrictions, lack of economic power, political power and autonomy. In the face of nuclear issues, there is always the risk that someone whose young life already feels hopeless for personal or family reasons may use the bleak nuclear picture as a final validation of suicide impulses. It's not that the young dwell on nuclear disarmament arguments, or wish to be involved in such talks or action. They probably don't wish to be involved, not only because of their sense of powerlessness but perhaps for an even

more intrinsic reason. They can't conceive of a peaceful world, only a destroyed one. This is directly linked to the glorification of violence through the media and the ubiquitous video games, which show the recurring theme of the need to destroy depersonalised enemies before they get you, and to kill as many as possible as quickly as possible in order to win (Huggins, 1984).

This violence is shown in the behaviours of the young and the increasing evidence of their destructiveness to themselves. There is a pointlessness to life that endorses the label of alienation. Unfortunately, suicide is often seen by young people as the only form of self-control they can exercise. Their attempts and successes often mirror the powerlessness of others who have not yet made the attempt but are suffering nonetheless.

The sociological and the psychological theories are often in conflict and they always appear to be discussed in isolation from one another. In reality, there is no conflict between the two. The macro explanation, it can be argued, simply exacerbate the personal explanations. The importance of the social and cultural context can be seen clearly when the general life circumstances of the participants in this study are examined. So too, can the immediate catalysts which are usually personal crises. It is the

coordination and culmination of personal despair and social alienation.

Unemployment is a severe problem for youth today and the situation has reached a stage where all hope has vanished for some miraculous recovery of the economy which will allow all young people to take their perceived rightful place in the workforce. In the early twentieth century the young people became the focus of consumer market attention. Those who were raised during the middle part of the century were able to enjoy being the centre of this focus and able to enjoy its benefits. Social mobility for the young and striving youth was a reality, as migrant intake allowed the undesirable positions to be unnecessary considerations for youth entering the workforce. However the competition for social rewards, based on the participation in the workforce, soon became an ideal impossible to live up to. The former virtues of youth have turned into decided disadvantages. This has lead to an increase in suicide rates for the young (Windschuttle, 1979). The "dole-bludgers" of a decade ago have turned into the unemployable, and as the emphasis on production outlets shifts to the third world countries, and gross national production remains low, there is no future offered to young people for stable careers or even permanent work.

When analysing the cases of suicide, the participants in this study at first thought it essential to distinguish between class status of suicide attempters in order to reach some typology. Having investigated the cases individually though, they reached the conclusion that there was some merit in looking at all case histories, as a total explanation of suicide behaviour. After extensive discussion, it seemed that the circumstances of suicide attempts were quite different for those from the middle classes to those who were suffering out on the street, but the emotional and attitudinal aspects of the cases were exactly the same. A dichotomy was also attempted between cases where the suicide attempt was "more successful" as opposed to those that were less. This they felt was an indication of the severity of the attempt and therefore the reasons and circumstances differed. On closer examination, this was not found to be the case either. And so there are no differences among suicide attempters in the preceding behaviours, attitudes or situations and while there are differences in the consequences to the suicide attempt, this appeared to be of no significance in forming a set of types.

The reasons for suicide then, which stem from the macrocosmic view of the individual's circumstances, are tied up with unemployment, adolescent powerlessness, drug use, and lack of social and group cohesion.

"I was on the dole for three months and then they cut me off....Then she moved into the house with the other guys so I was able to live there for a while. But I still had no money so I was hocking things....Well I went to Social Security but no-one would explain to me why I couldn't get the dole anymore. They just said that I would have to wait another six weeks and then re-apply. Well this was shit because I knew three guys who were getting two dole cheques each and I thought those bastards were really getting my money but I wasn't angry with them because if they could do it. Well I only wish I was able to get away with it....Then she left and took off with another bloke and that was when I felt the worst. I started smashing up the place....So then I was doping it up most of the time and I got busted and spent the next three months away. Well at least I didn't need to pay the rent and when I got out they took another six weeks to get me back on the dole and kept giving me all this bullshit about the rules. Well no, I really didn't give a shit about getting a job. It was just that I'd hocked everything I had so I needed some money for the rent and so I stayed at a hostel for a while....I went up north for three months, maybe four and I was dealing up

there and came back with plenty of ready cash so I hung around and got all settled....There was no real reason for doing it. I tried it a couple of times before, but that was mostly when I was really drunk, but this time I really knew what I was doing. And well the times before were about (my girlfriend) but that wasn't what was the real problem this time, I couldn't get it all together....The radio, a stereo, I nicked got pinched by some other bastard and that was a real bad thing for me....I meant it when I did it you know and I would do it again if I felt like it tomorrow.

This participant had some difficulty explaining why he felt that suicide was the only way out for him at that time. He knew it was directly related to the dole and the fact that he was unable to get it and when he did receive the dole, it was never adequate to fulfill his needs. He had no great aspirations for a "swinging" lifestyle, he really felt he was just trying to survive the best he could without bothering too many other people and just sailing through life to the best of his abilities. His deviant activities, if you like, of stealing, drug taking, incarceration and pushing were of no consequence to him. They were not a great source of guilt nor even a threat to his freedom, if and when he were caught in an illegal activity. He just felt the pressures of life closing in on him and he had no

support system to keep him afloat.

Another similar case was that of an eighteen year old in his first year of university studies. He came from a wealthy background and seemed to have all the advantages in life. The other participants at first, objected to his inclusion in the sample because of his privileged position. While the macrosocial conditions of this case history may seem advantageous, the disadvantages were obvious and real to the individual.

"It was okay for the first month, but I had already had to put a lot of my life aside to study and work really hard and the worst part was that no-one really seemed to give a damn anyway. It didn't matter in the end what results I got in school if it was one point better than some of my friends. I thought it was important, but in the end it wasn't at all....Then when I started to slack off everyone was on my back to succeed and try harder....I tried to get some help but you sure don't get any from the lecturers or from the medical people....So I told them I wanted to drop out but that was just not on....Then when I felt I just couldn't do the work, I took off and was away for three weeks. There was a place where a friend said I could stay....Well when I did come home, it was

horrendous. The shit they laid on me about their worry and their anguish. Well it was pathetic. They just couldn't understand, but I guess I never really told them because they just couldn't comprehend the whole deal - assignments, no jobs and the whole boring routine. It all seemed so useless, Well, I don't think I really wanted to die right then and there but it was a serious attempt....It's hard to talk about....a failure because I took a soft way out and next time I would do it better....Because the way it is here now (at home) there is no way that I can explain what's happening....The doctors are really crazy. One is a real dick with all the usual\crap about how I should take advantage of all the good things I have....Yeah I'd do it again and it would be for all the same reasons because not a thing has changed except I suppose I would rather just piss off out of here and let them suffer rather than end my own life."

The only further distinction among the participants of the attempted suicide group was that of sex. The two females in the study expressed much more concern for the personal circumstances in which they found themselves. Although this was also true of the males, with the exception of the somewhat more

articulate, university-educated participant, the males recognised and were recognisably affected by the broader social circumstances in which they were situated. They may have expressed them in personal terms but through analysis, they came to a greater concentration on the social forces impinging on them. The females did not achieve this level of understanding nor did it seem appropriate for them to do so. While their suicide attempts were borne out of destitute circumstances, they had an acceptance of those circumstances that removed the focus to the personal and the particular.

"I went back to stay with Mum after I quit working. She needed someone to help her with the house and the kids and I didn't mind because it was getting too heavy at the house with the cops coming just about every day.... It was the breakup with Mum and Dad that made me leave home. I thought I could have helped....Then I just felt so low about myself. I had a job but I just didn't want it....I was okay at home and really did enjoy it. Well I got on the dole and that helped Mum out and we were getting along really well....It was mostly that I just didn't like myself. I know I am not very pretty and I wish I could change, but it all seemed impossible....It just happened one day that I

thought I would do it and I thought about it for about a week or no, it was even longer because I remember then I went away for the weekend and really had a great time with some friends that I hadn't seen for a long time, like two years since I dropped out. Before we went away that time I was feeling pretty good but it was when I came back that I thought about it again about doing myself in....I made sure that I did it right but it was just that the window was open and when Mum eventually came home she could get in the window, because she thought I had taken off again, but she found me....Yeah I sort of like myself, and I've got some friends. It was just that nothing didn't seem to matter."

When people talk or think of suicide, many think of kids on drugs or alcohol and kids who have been in constant trouble with the law; but it can happen in the best of homes, in the most pleasant of circumstances and in the seemingly happiest people. Deep within a person though, there is confusion and hopelessness borne of entrapment into a life pattern that is out of their control. When the suicide attempt is made, the individual can feel the tensions of life slip away and they become closer to finding relief from the misery of living.

The most effective measure for treating or resolving suicide attempts are those which are least supported in terms of professional acceptance and government support. Therapeutic communities restore to the individual a dignity and purpose and assist in relating to others. There is an argument for intervention on one level but it is extremely hard to achieve successfully. To the social conditions which place an individual under macro-stress, there have been myriads written and such changes are almost impossible to effect.

PART III

CONCLUSIONS: BETTER RUN, BETTER TAKE COVER

Having reviewed the causes, conditions and consequences of sets of behaviours by youth in Australia, it seems possible to arrive at the conclusion that alienation exists. It indeed was evident in the thirty-six participants of the study and among their own peers, by their own admissions.

Alienation has never been specifically defined, nor indeed need it ever be. In the search of an alienated generation, it was not expected to find distinct descriptors for the word or the condition. Alienation, though, is not just a state of mind, it is an actuality for many young people who, for a variety of factors, find themselves caught up in the criminal justice network.

It is reasonable to say that an individual who consistently uses drugs to escape her/his social reality; is subject often to the sanctions of the community for performing acts which are illegal in that community; who is aggressive towards her/himself and others in the social group; and lacks any of the properties which permit status ascription; then surely alienation is a useful nomenclature. It implies estrangement, but is slightly more forceful in its created image. For estrangement is to suggest that

there are two parties involved, who both share some responsibility for the coolness towards each other. This is not the case for the young versus society estrangement. The youthful participants have little control of the state of their relationship with the world.

As a group decision, then, this study produced the scenario of the canary in the coalmines which was deemed the most appropriate description of the youth of Australia, at least a large percentage of them. They lacked any control, or even input into their present circumstances and they felt that they were on a course of destruction or self-destruction.

In this study, an attempt was made to explore six different areas of activity which are both the causes and the consequences of involvement in juvenile justice. The areas, as can be seen from a cursory glance of the lists of cases, are not exclusive. Females who work in brothels, for instance, are likely to be taking drugs. Young men and women with histories of assaultive or other criminal records, have a seemingly greater propensity for alcoholism or prostitution. Those who have at some time attempted to take their lives, often perform other self-destructive acts such as indulgence in drugs or partaking in crime. As a scientific or research exercise, it was useful to

place the participants into groups, to deal exclusively with one particular ascribed behaviour at a time. Such placement was almost arbitrary, given that many had been "agency-identified" for a number of behaviours. But, this nevertheless enabled greater discussion of the isolated activity which increased the likelihood of obtaining more specific comments about the participants own involvement in the area and their suggestions for change.

Descriptions and analyses of the types of youth involved in each category as well as descriptions of the activities themselves and some concomitant problems are provided in the chapters on the case studies. While the facts and themes contained in those chapters may be unremarkable to most of us who have been part of youth activities, to others the report will be shocking. The latter is true of some of the recommendations also. Many of these young people would suggest that nothing should be done to change their situations. They see no hope for the future and have lost any initiative to try for change. But the following is a synopsis of the individual recommendations or suggestions made by the participants. These recommendations are in the form of a discussion and address the broader issues as well as specific areas for youth as a whole, or for change directed at one of the isolated activities. Some

suggestions were clearly not workable, even in the judgement of the participants. Others are already being implemented in some areas, and the recommendations were only that they should be increased or expanded. These recommendations will be placed in the following concise summary.

In all the discussions by participants, either alone or in groups, unemployment featured consistently as the focus of anger and frustration and the source of all problems. In this report, it was often quoted or implied that "all would be well if only I could get a job". The youth had come to believe the rhetoric about jobs, job security and job satisfaction and its effect on their lives. Employment, or rather unemployment was always their first concern.

Youth unemployment is indeed seen as a serious social problem, which promotes the scenario of future generations of aimless youth, without income and without security. There are numerous psychological and social dimensions to unemployment, but a central factor is that of finance. The under eighteen rate for unemployment benefits was \$36.00 per week between 1976 and 1982, and has since increased to \$40.00 in 1982 and then \$45.00 in 1983. So in addition to discussions on procuring employment and the low rates of pay that apply to "junior" anyway, there is considerable

discrimination in the rates of unemployment benefits.

It is ludicrous to believe that most unemployed under eighteen year olds live at home with caring parents. To hold the same belief for those under sixteen years is fast becoming a falsehood. Recognition of the independent status of young people is the first method of approach. This assessment of independence is applied to university or college students who apply for benefits under the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme (T.E.A.S.) and could be immediately implemented for younger employed. Such a move would not be an encouragement for youth to leave home just as the current low level of unemployment benefits is no encouragement to them remaining with their families.

Adult economic status is not extended to the young and this is the first in a long chain of restrictions which drags them into an alienated state or into crime and prostitution. If the independent assessment scheme could be established then this would at least provide some additional security for those surviving without family support. Ideally though, unemployment benefits for all youth who have left school and are seeking employment should be commensurate with the adult rate of payment.

While it may be thought that labelling occurs only when juveniles are subjected to alternative forms of therapy, this is not the case - at least neither position has been tested empirically. Binder and Geis (1984, p8) refer to the rhetoric of the phrase "widening the net" as a blatant emotional bid to "conjure up visions of a mesh that is thrown over thrashing victims, incapacitating them, as they flail about, desperately seeking to avoid captivity". If this is propaganda, then it has a purpose. Its purpose is to alert those "agents of social control" to the consequences of their actions. While in some aspects, Binder and Geis (1984) accurately criticize the opponents of diversion programmes, their criticism of the rhetoric becomes rhetoric in itself. The danger lies in youthful offenders treated as pawns in the social control game by either the child savers or the opponents of ad populum argumentation. Their paper, while cleverly written, does nothing to advance the position of juveniles in the criminal justice system nor to change the direction or policies surrounding diversion programmes.

The evidence for the effects of adjudication is not clear and so it is unlikely that distinct consequences can be determined from the varied and nebulous diversion programmes. As the authors point out, we know that labelling and stigmatization are

realities and obviously have some effect, but the outcomes for each individual in each process differ. This seemed at least to be the case for participants in this study. A comprehensive review of the types of institutions and programmes with which they had all been involved was attempted. The differences in their summaries reflected the differences between them as individuals and also were dependent on the circumstances of their involvement at each point in times.

"Because there exist so many different forms of programmes, operating in so many ways..... This leads inevitably to programme-anchored conclusions which cannot be extended very far beyond the statement that one particular effort produces one particular kind of result" (Binder & Geis 1984, p2). The evaluation of youth services by the participants is no more than an anecdotal inventory. A formal evaluation of every agency would need to be carried out under strict conditions to accurately assess the performance and aim of all these organizations. This, of course, is beyond the scope of this study but it has been done in some institutions with varying degrees of validity. Nevertheless the consequences and characteristics of agencies, as perceived by youth themselves, are valuable, for the criteria employed in many evaluation programmes bear no relation to the needs of young

people in the community. The participants have strongly recommended then an overall policy of youth involvement in all the voluntary private sector and public sector agencies set up to cope with their needs.

Often it is suggested that the programmes available to youth at least accord to lonesome youth some attention which may serve to enhance a self-image beset with doubt about personal (Binder & Geis, 1984). While this is true in many cases, the participants remind us that such attention is short lived and is usually combined with other destructive elements which negate any positive effects. They suggest that the self-image of most youth would be most profitably enhanced if those who used agencies and programmes were part of the design and implementation of them. The participants see most welfare services designed for them as little more than action by and for communities to appease the sense of guilt and to attempt to maintain social order through kindness when more punitive measure fail.

Unlike Binder and Geis (1984), these alienated youth do believe that youth agencies and diversion programmes do in fact "widen the net, increase delinquency and contribute to sex role maintenance (p18). Further they stress, that as with all other

sectors of the helping professions and the programmes and treatments available to young juveniles, it seems that it is the affluent who benefit most from new therapies and options. Because of their structured nature despite seeming flexibility, those who are itinerant and less able to afford and conform to the demands of schedules and appointments, are less likely to succeed in the programmes. Their selection is also based on the criteria of adhering to such schedules and in the information and image they first present to an agency.

School is a critical agent in the processing of children to adulthood. For youth who are unsuccessful at school or for other reasons (poor economic background, problems at home etc) there is no possibility that they will be the quality product that the education system is geared to produce. The youth in this project had only criticism to make of school. There were aspects which they enjoyed but these centred on social activities.

During their time spent at school, participants reported serious conflicts with teachers, and constant disruption in the classrooms. The females expressed the same level of animosity as the males and appeared to be just as actively disruptive. Both laid their blame with teachers. All teachers it seems did not show an interest in them as individuals.

Truancy was a major issue with most of them rarely attending. Some were absent for six months at a time. In such cases they did not suggest that there should be intervention but found it doubly damaging when it appeared that no-one in authority bothered whether they turned up at school or not. Usually these youths went to the shopping malls, video game locations or to friends' houses. The latter was usually where there was only a single working parent and these houses were like "safe houses" to the youths. This was, as previously stated, the period where they first came into contact with the justice system through shop stealing and break and enter offences.

The paradox that the youthful participants highlighted seemed almost insoluble by them. They disliked the school system and were highly critical of teachers. Yet the lack of action over their regular truancy bothered them even more. As recommendations they opted for changes to school curricula so that more special skills courses could be offered. These would

be designed to prepare them for a trade in the workforce as well as other living skills courses. This implies that schools should offer studies which technical colleges currently do or that students could be accepted into colleges at a younger age. What was critical was that the students should receive some form of "junior trade ticket" rather than a more general academic qualification on completing the required years in secondary school.

In addition to this, the subjects felt that some form of evaluation of teachers and subjects should be conducted. This would be centred on comments from students themselves. The participants felt that assessment should be two-way and while teachers assess students' performances, there should be avenues for the reverse to occur.

These young people are treated as being "different" from early ages. If their background is impoverished, they soon realize that they don't have the same material possessions or advantages that others have and such distinctions are made at a young age. In school, if they are not academically successful, or they otherwise don't fit the mould that teachers and the education system apply to students, then a further distinction is made. On leaving school, they soon learn that they will not be procuring employment and

joining the ranks of the mortgaged middle class in double brick homes with two children and pets.

They know and sense that they are not to be of mainstream trouble-free society. In some ways they still aspire to it, but in most cases their outlook is one of derision. But it is an unhealthy scorn borne of the knowledge that no matter how hard they tried, they could never make it to Toorak, Vaucluse or St. Lucia.

As technological improvements change the nature of work in this country and the rest of the developed world, there will be even less access to jobs for youth who are "alienated". New technologies require an even more highly skilled workforce. Jobs that once could have been filled by primary or high school graduates now demand that only the university educated need apply. Critics of such a position would argue that improved technology has lead also to an expansion in the market place in new or previously restricted fields. But these changes do not benefit the young who have been part of this study. They are robbed of a future because of the subtle changes in the nature of organizations and industry which affect their employment prospects the most. These were youth who were destined to work for small shop or factory owners initially in lowly paid junior positions but with opportunities to advance to some cherished situation of

trust and higher wages. Others among them may have secured apprenticeships which required that they train under a caring "father knows best" tradesperson, who would impart all the skills and knowledge required to allow them to advance to a position of power and respect. Many young women like those in this study would have enjoyed a reasonably stimulating clerical position for the period between school and marriage. These positions are no longer open to those like the thirty six participants in this study. But even if they were, there has been such a shift in values that they would no longer accept such jobs.

It is difficult to examine all the social indicators and economic characteristics of the employment situation for "alienated" youth in the eighties. Such a task is beyond many experts and was certainly not feasible for the thirty six subjects of this project. But it is clear that school and work and the problems they engender can set an unchanging course of "alienation" for life.

Drug taking became a by-product of the unwitting adoption of this "alienated" lifestyle. The participants, by and large, know of the dangers both physical and legal, of their drug use. They remained ambivalent to them. Recommendations hinged on legalization and/or decriminalization and increased assistance for those who wished to seek help. For

treatment centres, they indicated that authoritarian or regimented programmes were not successful and that some measures of control and choice should be given to participants.

With reference to therapeutic communities, it should be stressed that such programmes were raised by the interviewer or discussant in the group session, for none of the participants were aware of such an option as described. Some were vaguely aware of group therapy as a term and a couple had experience of group sessions in the institutions in which they had been placed. They also talked of group houses where a form of "time out" could be provided as an alternative to institutionalized care. The characteristics they described were of "therapeutic communities".

These were to be essentially non-medical treatment centres for individuals who were under stress from drug/alcohol abuse, mental illness, including violent behaviour, suicide attempts or other "deviant" and therefore illegal activities. It was proposed that they be self-run, where the members of the group shared the decision making power equally among themselves and with minimal professional involvement. The professionals, in fact, act only as consultants or advisors in the running of the community. The concepts of therapeutic communities were embraced wholeheartedly by the participants.

These thirty six subjects saw "sniffing" as an activity of the young, one that required considered attention. They agreed that this may be because most of them have experimented but now no longer use such substances. This also became a defined issue on which they could express particular points of view.

The use of inhalants by early adolescents is a serious problem. The mortality rate for experimenters, naive users or seasoned users is extremely high. Current opinion sees any public comment on the abuse of inhalants as dangerous. That media presentations directly affect behaviour has been a constant controversy of the social sciences. The alienated and youthful participants in this study felt that a large scale media campaign is preferable to total silence. This would alert potential sniffers to the relatively safer forms of substances to inhale.

As it is now, they say, young adolescents will sniff at anything just to see what the reaction may be. While they agree that all substances used for sniffing are dangerous and potentially lethal, they believe that a little knowledge creates a most harmful situation. Publicity on the topic may well encourage some young people to experiment but the participants believe that a balanced representation of the concomitants of sniffing would save lives by discouraging many

potential sniffers and providing information on relative safety of products along with first aid information. Simple details regarding resuscitation and warnings "not to sniff alone" would be among their recommendations for an educational programme on inhalants.

For the use and abuse of alcohol, the participants felt that increased controls over drinking ages would only lead to increased criminality. At eighteen, they felt all individuals should have access to the same legal drugs as adults and as with unemployment benefits, they felt that age differentiations applied to those who were living independently, were farcical. However when seriously considering the consequences of teenage drinking, they unanimously endorsed a unique approach to alcoholism and alcohol related deaths or injuries.

The participants suggested that limits be placed on the amount of alcohol that could be consumed in public venues. They accepted the problems that the industry would face in accepting such a proposal and they realised that no regulations would nor should be able to invade an individual's behaviour in their own home. However, both "take away" and "drink there" supplies should be limited according to the standard driving regulations for consumption over time. Such restrictions would apply to drinkers of all ages and

not just those under twenty one or twenty five years of age.

The problems of alcohol, drugs and inadequate finances were all related to the activities of prostitution. Some participants were extremely hostile to the topic but saw it as a regrettable situation of lack of choice by those engaging in it. Participants felt that if recommendations on other problem areas were adopted, there would be a reduced need for prostitution by young people. Those who were in the trade were philosophical about their position. As long as they were not physically harmed nor incarcerated, then they accepted the situation as a means to an end which would have but a short duration.

Decriminalisation of prostitution was required they suggested and legalised operations would be tolerated. Following legalisation, problems were anticipated about the restriction of access into the trade by those under age. It could also be seen as a possible condemnation to life as a prostitute rather than permitting the drifting nature the trade currently has. A positive effect may be improved status and conditions for those working. No form of treatment nor punishment was felt necessary for youthful participants in prostitution.

Thirty six young Australians have devoted considerable time and energy to reflect on six designated yet related sets of behaviours with which they have all been involved. At times in their lives when just living is problematic, they have attempted to concern themselves with broader issues. Their solutions are workable in some cases and impossible in others but they have at least made a contribution. The stigmatisation of being labelled and the consequences of being, unemployed or criminal have rendered them among the most disadvantaged, disillusioned and alienated generation. Such alienated behaviour will continue to increase until the basic social structures underlying thier abused condition are re-ordered.

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APPENDICES

THE CASES

It was agreed amongst the researcher and participants that full interviews should not be published. Throughout the study there were fears expressed regarding the anonymity of the information given in interview. Because of the extremely sensitive nature of the data, all identifying codes have been destroyed.

The following case studies have been heavily drawn on in the body of this report. (A further eight subjects were interviewed at length but deemed not suitable for inclusion, or withdrew before adequate data was collected. Quotations have not been referenced however to a particular case, as respondents were concerned with detection by authorities of their illegal behaviours, and were even more concerned at having their personal thoughts and attitudes published.

Their right to privacy has been preserved and the case histories are compilations of the information gained from each subject to ~~offer an overall impression~~ of the background and current situations of those involved in the project. These also serve as a point of comparison for the differences between participants within one identifiable category or between categories.

LIST OF CASES: ALCOHOL GROUP

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Location of Interview</i>	<i>Institution- alization</i>	<i>Other Behaviour</i>
<i>Tony</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Att. suicide, crime</i>
<i>Brian</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Crime</i>
<i>Gary</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Crime</i>
<i>Jackie</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Drugs</i>
<i>Pip</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Ab. Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Att. suicide, crime</i>
<i>Julie</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, crime</i>

CASE HISTORY: ALCOHOL GROUP: PIP

Pip is fifteen and she is an alcoholic. She started drinking seriously at age ten from supplies in the home. At thirteen, she was regularly going to hotels and discos and remaining drunk from one day through the next.

Pip is undergoing medical treatment at the present time. She has been under medical supervision in a girls' home for the past six months. Recently, she was given permission for day access to her home and family, but she must return to the institution each night.

Pip has known the problems of alcohol all her life and finds it not unusual for her to begin drinking. She came from an Aboriginal reserve with her extended family and lived in a house where drinking was the right thing to do. Pip sees her problem as being not able to control herself when drinking. All her peers drink as she did, but they did not cause trouble and make themselves obvious to the authorities as she constantly did.

Pip's parents are both dead, and she has lived with aunts, uncles and cousins most of her life. It is ten years since her family moved to the city. She

denies that life is different in Aboriginal communities. There is much more evident racism which caused her problems at school. Her family say that it was no different in the old place - the drinking and the despair went on just the same.

Pip is extremely bright and quick witted. She likes to laugh a lot especially at herself. She takes pride in her appearance, although she attributes it to the rules of the institution where she has another six months to serve. Her detainment is for a series of offences committed while under the influence. Most of them are minor - drunk in a public place, excessive noise, and status offences. However, Pip has also seriously assaulted two members of her family. She cannot recall these acts, but they are the only regrets she has about her drinking.

The rest, she says, is her business. If she dies early or spends the rest of her life as an alcoholic, then that's okay, because she doesn't hurt anyone but herself. On reflection, Pip is grateful for being assisted in stopping drinking and she vows that she will not start again, but when pushed, realises the difficulties in doing this.

She in fact extols the virtues of being drunk and

by that she means being constantly drunk. It gives a good feeling and everyone in the family forgets their problems. There is a feeling of belonging to one another because they all share the happy times - usually singing and telling stories. Pip enjoys that time when the family feel as one. She also forgets her own troubles and doesn't have to think about the future.

Pip's sister left home last year following an incestuous relationship with their uncle. It wasn't so much the incest as the violence that followed which caused disruption to the family. Pip feels guilt over her sister and wishes she could have intervened. She misses her and doubts whether she will ever see her again.

Pip has never used drugs except for one experiment with glue sniffing. Two of her relations have been hospitalised for problems after sniffing glue. Besides she says, it is not as pleasant a feeling as getting drunk. Especially when it can't be shared as easily with all the family.

Pip is attending some remedial reading and writing classes in the institution but does not have to attend formal school. She would like to take up nursing or do

a secretarial course, but thinks it unlikely. She knows how difficult it is to find jobs, and the situation is even worse for Aborigines. She has a boyfriend whom she loves dearly and she only wishes to be with him. It is one of her fears that he will desert her while she is locked away.

Pip bears several slash marks on her arms. These have been inflicted by herself when drunk and usually she says, the reasons behind this self-mutilation were connected with her relationships with her boyfriend.

She was interviewed in a neutral setting over a period of eight weeks. Pip was very interested in the research project and wished to contribute information about Aboriginal youth problems. She talked about the lack of facilities in her area for young people to go, especially if they were black. Once a group of Aboriginal youth got together, someone in the neighbourhood would call the police immediately just in case trouble broke out. They did this even before it started. The police were often at their house - day and night.

The future for Pip is uncertain. She has no real plans but possesses a couple of vague ideas - most of which are in the immediate future. She has made some

resolutions about her drinking behaviour but none deal with total abstinence. She is concerned about the welfare of her family and wishes she could be there to help them every day.

LIST OF CASES: SERIOUS CRIME

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Location of Interview</i>	<i>Institution- alization</i>	<i>Other Behaviour</i>
<i>Robert</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, alcohol</i>
<i>Warren</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, att. suicide</i>
<i>Stewart</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, prostitution</i>
<i>Sheryl</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, att suicide</i>
<i>Diane</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs,</i>
<i>Leanne</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, alcohol</i>

CASE HISTORY: SERIOUS CRIME: ROBERT

Robert is now eighteen. He has an admitted history of severe criminal behaviour which has been confirmed by authorities from the youth centre. During the period of interviews, he was awaiting arrest by police for an offence of robbery with violence - his second such offence.

Robert is the fourth of five children and his family lived in a small country town. His father was an alcoholic and Robert's early childhood was spent in fear of his father's bouts of drinking and violence. When Robert was seven, his father threatened his mother with a shotgun and she fled with the children and settled in a nearby community.

By the age of eight, Robert had been in trouble with the police on several occasions for stealing bicycles. His mother had to request the police to intervene in an attempt to deter this behaviour. He ran away from home at ten years of age and was sent to a boys' home where he spent four months.

During the next few years, the family moved frequently. Robert attended many schools, at least he was enrolled, but he spent more days absent from school

than present. He left school at thirteen and cannot read nor write. He admits that his mother had no control over him by then. He could do whatever he wanted and if she threatened him, he would imply the threat of leaving home and never returning.

At fifteen, Robert was involved in a gang fight and sent to another state boys' institution. He and five other youths had severely beaten two members of a rival gang. He served eighteen months for this offence. While in the "training centre", he committed many breaches against the institution's regulations. For these he was given an additional two months.

In the past year, Robert has spent several short periods in prison for non payment of fines. During these periods, he received extra time for assaulting other prisoners.

Robert's view of the prison system is one of "Fuck them, they don't give a damn about me". He sees the juvenile system as being excessively harsh for crimes he considers to be harmless pranks. When questioned on the consequences of some "harmless pranks", he accepts the dangerousness of their outcomes but still sees himself not as a brutal murderer or assaulter, just someone letting off steam. He stresses that his bouts

of anger were directed at a person/s who had already aggrieved him and so it is really a payback situation. He also points out that when he has been locked up is the time that he has been his most aggressive. He says, you can never win in those situations, because they always have a rule which maybe you don't know about and before you know it, you've broken it and then you get another few days on no rations or in S Block (solitary).

Robert talks most disparagingly of the psychiatrists and psychologists, who are attached to the juvenile institutions. An interesting comparison is that he perceives the situation in adult institutions as better, because they then know that you are a lost cause. When you're in the kids homes though, they really think they can try and save you and make the world a better place.

The psychiatrists and psychologists have labelled Robert as "mildly mentally handicapped" and "dull, not within the treatable category". He is extremely resentful of such labels, ~~because they give him no~~ chance to get out, or to give him a fresh start. He has been prescribed drugs to treat his condition (Melleril and Largactil). He says these only make him feel worse.

Robert believes that he is bright enough to make it in society. He wants a second chance, and is fearing the forthcoming arrest and charges which seem likely. Those around him describe him as anti-authoritarian. If left to work by himself though, he is meticulous, careful and hard working. He enjoys making screen prints for T-shirts, a skill he learned in the boys' home. He would like to develop this as a full time occupation and believes he could make enough money to live on.

Robert is a loner although he likes to be with others. He finds it difficult to communicate and rarely speaks when in a group. He does not take drugs and drinks occasionally. During the three interview sessions with him over two weeks, Robert had been sleeping in a nearby park because he was afraid to return to his flat for fear of arrest. He was obtaining meals from a charity and the youth centre and spending all his days at the centre.

Robert felt his pending arrest was totally unfair. He described the crime as being inevitable. He was with a group of young men. They were all broke and in need of money. One of them suggested that they take some alcohol from a cellar/wholesale outlet. He knew he would not be able to stop them and so felt he had to

go along. They did not plan to take much money nor alcohol, just enough to see them through the night. In the event, one of his friends had a knife, bottles were broken and used to cut up the two attendants. As one of his friends had already been picked up, Robert knew they would catch up with him quite soon.

LIST OF CASES: DRUG ABUSE

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Location of Interview</i>	<i>Institution- alization</i>	<i>Other Behaviour</i>
<i>Tony</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Alcohol, crime Prostitution</i>
<i>Jason</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Alcohol, crime</i>
<i>Richard</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Crime</i>
<i>Annie</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>'Maggot'</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Crime, Alcohol</i>
<i>Pat</i>	<i>16 -</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Crime</i>

CASE HISTORY: DRUGS GROUP: TONY

Tony, like the others in this group, left home at an early age. He ran away several times because of family problems and trouble at school. As he came from a small community, drugs were not easy to obtain and it was when he left home and ran to the city that he had his first real involvement.

Tony is currently aged 17 years and lives in a rented house with five others in an inner capital city suburb. He receives unemployment benefits and says he has never had a real job. There has been casual employment as a brickie's labourer, a messenger, letterbox dropper and in fast food shops but he doesn't consider these as real jobs because they lasted only a few weeks at a time and had no future for him with respect to long term employment. He does not really wish to find work at the moment because he plans to move interstate and doesn't want any responsibility to hold him in his present location.

Tony is of slight build, in reasonable health, and considers himself unattractive. He describes himself as a loner with few friends. He would like to be in a relationship but is frightened of such a commitment and says it is easier to deal with life on his own. He has had no contact with his family for two years.

Tony was originally contacted through a city youth centre during one of his brief visits to the place. He goes to the centre once a fortnight because his dole cheque is sent there and he rarely stays for more than half an hour. He was visited four times over a five week period - each session lasting for two to three hours.

Tony described himself as hyperactive. He couldn't sit still for very long and would become aggressive if asked to do so. He had been violent in the past with a social worker and members of a youth centre and warned the interviewer that this behaviour may happen again. He said he had no control over his emotions at times.

Tony is in a government sponsored methadone programme, but says it is of little use. He had attended the clinic every day for two months, but says this is only because he doesn't have enough money for a regular supply of heroin at present. He supplements his methadone with prescription barbiturates, cough mixture, the occasional deal of marijuana and alcohol. He is enjoying his current drying out period because when he starts back into the scene, the results will be even better. This "dry" is beneficial in another way, he says, because it is keeping him away from his old contacts and therefore out of trouble.

Tony completed high school requirements to leaving age, but found school lacking anything which could hold his interest. He was not academically adept which in any case would have been frowned on by his peers. Because of his slight build he felt he was never proficient in sport.

Like others in this group, Tony began experimenting with household drugs while at school, mixing them with alcohol. He purchased grass and selections of gutter drugs when he moved to the city and eventually tried harder drugs. But he disputes the progression theory of drugs. He has a binge every now and then, like an alcoholic he says, but can manipulate his intake at will.

Drug taking causes him financial stress and so other aspects of his life have suffered. He has no regrets but only wishes that drugs, or the money to buy them were more freely available. His life does revolve around drugs - how, where and when he can get them. His move interstate is planned on the premise of obtaining cheaper drugs more easily.

Tony has been involved in several break and enters, usually with two acquaintances. He steals regularly from retail outlets and deals in stolen goods as a middle man. Of these enterprises, he is most proud and says he could be a success in business. Tony

has obtained money by selling sexual favours but he is disgusted genuinely by his behaviour and the demands of his erstwhile clients. Nevertheless he has no compunctions about prostituting himself again when necessary. He and his stealing partners have been responsible for three bashings of homosexuals in public meeting places but the money they retrieved from the roll was not as much as they get for sexual acts.

Tony has few plans for the future. He believes, like all the others, that he will be dead before he is twenty-five. His acquaintances who share the house, saw him as shy but very clever. - They thought he knew how to work the system - social security and methadone clinic - but he would never let anyone help him.

Tony knew of the physical dangers of drugs and was conversant with factual information espoused by the staff of the clinic. He stressed that the social dangers were more troublesome to him - obtaining money, obtaining pure deals and avoiding confrontation with the law and drug heavies. For others he worries about their psychological capacity to cope with drugs. He has a mate who has been in hospital thirty one times for overdoses and another who choked to death while tripping. He blames the individual in such cases and says they are out of control in other aspects of their lives, so it is not really the drugs that destroy them.

Of the justice system, Tony advocates legalization of marijuana and greater access to methadone clinics and other forms of treatments for users. He believes the police intervene too often in acts which do not harm others. He endorses the view of young people as an alienated generation primarily because they lack rights of power. In his terms, power is designated by the consumer goods one has access to. Youth do not possess the money to buy their rights in the world. He said, you depend on your parents, and hang around playing Space Invaders all day, until one day you wake up and you need to look after yourself and you haven't got the means. It's too late then, so you just learn quickly how to get by, without really trying.

LIST OF CASES: FEMALE PROSTITUTION

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Location of Interview</i>	<i>Institution- alization</i>	<i>Other Behaviour</i>
<i>Belinda</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Drugs</i>
<i>Susanne</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, crime</i>
<i>Jane</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Alcohol, drugs</i>
<i>Gabrielle</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Brit.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, crime</i>
<i>Sammy</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Brit.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Drugs</i>
<i>Alana</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, att suicide</i>

CASE HISTORY: FEMALE PROSTITUTION: BELINDA

Belinda is a reasonably attractive girl of sixteen. She expresses disappointment with her looks because she says that they are so important to the clients. She has changed her hair colour and starves herself to ensure her body is slim. She agrees to being obsessive about this but accepts it as part of her job.

Belinda's father left home when she was three or four. She can't remember and her mother never talks about him. Her mother has worked most of her life in domestic work. She lives in the outer city suburbs and Belinda sees her about once a month. She loves and respects her mother very much and is ashamed that she can't tell her about her prostitution although she suspects that her mother knows.

When Belinda was thirteen, she and two friends used to go regularly to the city and into the bars. They would meet with males, go to hotel rooms for a couple of hours, be given drinks and often dinner and receive twenty to thirty dollars even if they didn't have sexual intercourse. They would then catch a train home. At first they would all go together with a group of men but within two years, they were working separately. During this time, when they were young, they were treated well by the clients.

Belinda enjoyed school and finished her required years, but saw no point in continuing. She believes she has the intelligence to succeed at study but was always playing up and never did homework. She had too many friends and they preferred to muck around together. At fifteen, she moved into the city and shared a house with some others. She worked in fast food outlets and in retail stores as a shop assistant, but also started going out at nights to crack a score. She went out sleazing alone and initially didn't have trouble with the police or other prostitutes or syndicates of prostitutes. She recalls those days as the best in her life.

Belinda then found herself pregnant and had an abortion, which was expensive and meant the loss of her current day time job. So she went to work in a parlour which she describes as dirty, dull and suburban. There was no problem getting a job. The interview and screening process was non-existent. The management's only seeming concern was that she wasn't using drugs.

The most difficult aspect for her was being labelled as a prostitute. She admits it was okay when she was only doing it part-time, but when people know what you do for a living, it changes the whole situation. She says how difficult it is then to break

out of that situation, when you haven't been in the regular workforce for a year, people want to know what job you've had.

The cops at the parlour were her worst problem. She hates them. They used to hassle the girls at least once a week, so she decided to get out before she was in serious trouble and had during the period of interviews been working the streets for at least six weeks.

Belinda takes drugs when they come to her. She denies ever seeking out a deal but because everybody else is doing it, there is always plenty around. She has tried everything but says she can live without it. At one parlour where she now takes her street trade to rent a room for an hour, the boss there is always trying to get her to score. She agrees that it's easier to work with a head full of smack or a few barbs to lighten the load.

The parlours are well regulated, she says, in comparison to the streets. There, all the crazies in the world come out at night. Some want to maul or take weird photographs. There is no protection even when you use brothel rooms - when the guy gets you outside again he wants to hit you because he feels guilty or else he wants to spend longer with you as if it's an on

going romance. Some of them are really nice, but she says she can't afford to think about them in that sort of way. She just tries to get through the half hour.

Belinda has been in trouble with the police on four occasions for soliciting, but has never been officially charged. She says it was because of her age and that there were always other girls at the parlour who hadn't been picked up for a while so they were taken in. When the raids were on the parlour, she was pushed aside at the last moment and protected by the boss. She describes with bitterness the police actions. They would often call by at all hours and stay for coffee or to watch television. Then they would come by for a customary raid and the worst part was when they did the search for drugs, because that was a serious charge. Then later, the brothel boss would be ringing up the blue boys and telling them to get over and get rid of a freak who was causing trouble in the place.

Belinda sees the major problems of prostitution as being the operations of big management which wants to put all the girls in an area under their control; the police who simply make life difficult for everyone and the situation with drugs which always creates an unrealistic situation where the rules are not always

known by everyone.

For the future, Belinda would like a regular job. She doesn't want to be a forty year old whore like some of those she works with. However, she knows it will be difficult but as long as she keeps out of trouble she'll stay on the streets for the next few years.

LIST OF CASES: MALE PROSTITUTION

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age-</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Nation-</i> <i>ality</i>	<i>Location of</i> <i>Interview</i>	<i>Other</i> <i>Behaviour</i>	<i>Institution-</i> <i>alization</i>
<i>Ben</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Alcohol</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<i>Michael</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>No</i>
<i>Sandy</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N.Z.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>No</i>
<i>Graham</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Alcohol, drugs, crime</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<i>John</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Drugs, minor crime</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<i>Peter</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>No</i>

CASE HISTORY: MALE PROSTITUTION: BEN

When Ben was six years old, his parents separated. He was placed in a Home for six months in his seventh year and ran away constantly. The next four years were spent in various foster homes until he went to live with his father at age twelve. He enjoyed the freedom that resulted from living with his father but his father drank and they argued constantly. At fourteen, he ran away and went north for two years. He later returned to the city and took up work in the establishment where he was first contacted.

Ben began his prostitution when he was twelve years. Usually he was in the company of other young males. They would hitchhike lifts with older men, have sexual contact and receive money. The amount of money depended on how much they asked for, but was usually only a few dollars. Ben recalls that at that stage, the money was more important than the sex even though he enjoyed the activities. He had never had any unpleasant experiences as a young boy.

Later his friends stopped engaging in this activity but Ben continued. He spoke of a group of men who knew each other and referred him on to them. When he went north it was with one of these gentlemen who provided for him for the two years he was away. When

they grew tired of each other, Ben returned to the city.

Ben admits to being almost seventeen, even though his employers believe he is nineteen. He works in one of the well-known call boy houses. The youthfulness of the prostitutes in this establishment is its attraction, but none will admit to being under eighteen. Ben works with sixteen other young men and regards them all as his friends and family. He lives in a house with three of the others from the boy brothel. Ben has worked at the establishment for the past five months.

Ben is blonde haired and blue eyed with an athletic figure that is slightly chubby. The transsexual manager/ess of the place, told how Ben was the toast of the beat before he cut off his long hair. Ben says he did it as a rebellious act, because he was always treated as a child by clients and other prostitutes. He didn't want to be seen as a fragile, naive kid but as a man who could take care of himself. And he stressed that this was also done to underline his choice of occupation. Nobody forced him to work at the house - he did it because he enjoyed it and wanted the money.

Ben has two brothers and a sister who are all married. His father is retired from his job as a

prison officer and screw in a boys' home. His mother still works at the railway. He believes that his family know that he is a prostitute, but they rarely see each other and don't talk about it when they do.

Ben wants to travel in the future. A client had recently offered him a trip to a Pacific island, all expenses paid. Ben elected not to accompany this man, but said it was very tempting for him. Ben is trying to save enough money to allow him to travel around the world without having to work for two years. Most of the guys are there only to save enough money to get out and buy a car, or into a business, or take a trip or whatever. Ben admits though, that he has saved nothing in the five months he's been at the brothel. It is because they get so much money at once, it is easy to spend it on clothes and evenings out as well as paying the rent. The management takes fifty per cent of the \$30.00 per half hour standard rate.

Ben has never taken drugs of any sort. He has never needed to he says - although he usually gets drunk on his days and nights off. The management is strict about drug taking by the boys. Because of the strict rules in the brothel and the closeness among the boys, there is a caring, family atmosphere emanating from the place which Ben believes is important because it distills any thought of feeling dirty or cheap. The boys sit around in the lounge afterwards and discuss

their clients as if they were selling newspapers, not their bodies, and this promotes a healthy atmosphere.

As well as a healthy mind, Ben is very particular about maintaining a healthy body. He and the others have regular checkups to ensure against any venereal disease and the constant checkups have increased considerably because of the recent "AIDS scare".

Ben is intelligent although he has difficulty in articulating his thoughts. He is extremely sensitive and has had some unpleasant experiences with clients because of his sensitivity. Some clients he simply finds repugnant, but others really do give him a hard time. Recently, he went out on a job and the fellow kept calling a faggot and made other derogatory references to his sexuality. While Ben is firm on his sexual proclivity, he felt the client was overly harsh and treated him like some hardened streetwalker.

Ben believes the future for brothels and prostitution for gays is positive. Establishments, like the house he works from, have a great deal of respectability and are expanding. The clients, he says, are not all perverted creeps with whips and leather boots. Nor are they so ugly that the only way they can get some action, is to pay for it. Most of the clients aren't even closet homosexuals. It's just that it is easier to pay for a fuck than to spend all

night cruising the bars with the possibility of going home alone.

The management concentrates heavily on marketing their product. They are conscious of the image of the establishment and particular about the appearances of the boys. Ben finds great security in this and in fact, the transsexual manager/ess, is more of a mother to him than an overseer. He therefore displays great loyalty to the place. He plans to save his money and leave soon however. He may seek work as a model in the fashion industry but says he would not be ashamed to work as a prostitute for many years to come.

LIST OF CASES: ATTEMPTED SUICIDE

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Location of Interview</i>	<i>Institution- alization</i>	<i>Other Behaviour</i>
<i>Phil</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs,</i>
<i>Bevan</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Drugs, alcohol</i>
<i>Steve</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Raelene</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Linda</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Minor crime, drugs</i>
<i>Kerri</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Aust.</i>	<i>Brisbane</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Crime, drugs</i>

CASE HISTORY: ATTEMPTED SUICIDE: RAELENE

Raelene is seventeen and is the most severe case in this group. She first tried to kill herself when she was only seven years old. These two early attempts were not considered serious by her parents or relatives. In the first instance, Raelene threw herself out of a window which was about fifteen feet from the ground. Her second attempt was by slashing herself with a broken glass.

Raelene, herself cannot explain these pre-adolescent attempts to take her own life. On reflection, she thinks she was very happy during that time in her life; that things were less complicated then; she had friends and there was little pressure on at school. However, it seems that it may have been the lack of friends or disputes with friends because this is a problem which still bothers her deeply now.

Raelene lives with her parents who both work in clerical positions. She sees the family as being well off and having no major marital problems. With further exploration, she believes the problem could lie in them not talking at all, not even to fight, which would be better than nothing. Raelene's parents blame themselves for her behaviour, which induces even more guilt in her.

She is unhappy constantly, and during the five interviews, she broke down and wept despairingly at her situation. It took a long time for her to define her problems even though she had been seeing a psychiatrist regularly since her last hospitalization and suicide attempt. She would start off with a denial of any problem and then finally come to admit or remember that there was something there that had already been identified in conjunction with the psychiatrist. He had already told her that "she keeps playing the same old records".

Raelene is an only child and suffers from loneliness. She compares herself only to others with whom she has merely superficial relationships. She doesn't allow herself to get to know others well enough to discover that they have problems, faults and fears just as she does. She believes everyone is happy and well-adjusted but her.

Raelene's more recent attempts on her life brought her very close to death. She tried to hang herself and was unconscious for several days afterwards. Her most recent attempt was three months ago when she tried to slash her wrists. This last time however, there was a different pattern displayed because she did it in a place where she could be easily discovered before it

was too late. Her previous attempts have made discovery as difficult as possible and only accidental discovery has saved her life.

In all Raelene has made eight attempts on her life at different times and to varying degrees. Her major instigators of suicidal behaviour are abandonment by friends and fear of failing at a task. She was plagued by such fears during her high school years, when friends were constantly changing sides and pairing off with others, and when the competitiveness in the classroom made her a nervous wreck. More recently, the same fears have surface as she has been searching for a job. She is attending a youth centre and hopes that all there will like her and is hurt when she perceives the situation as otherwise.

Raelene says she never really thought out the acts of suicide. She planned them carefully at the time of execution, but that usually only involved ten minutes of planning. She never thought about it for days. She would know, and still does know, that she is unhappy or feeling depressed generally, or about something specific. But she never really constantly has suicidal thoughts. She would never go around making threats about her attempts perhaps because, she says, she would fear failing in that as well.

Raelene's hospital stays following her last two suicide attempts were traumatic in themselves. She believes that because they were such awful experiences, they may be enough to prevent her from making another attempt. She does not think she has the right to take her own life because it affects so many other people.

Raelene, in all other respects, is a quiet and eager girl. She admits to her lack of self-confidence and she doesn't think she is as energetic as other people. She still ultimately sees death as her only escape from herself and her life situation and Raelene confesses that she may make another attempt on her life.

So the future for Raelene is not hopeful, but she is trying to make some changes to her perceptions of herself and has been encouraged to actively change some of her behaviours which have left her isolated for too long. One problem for her though is the increased pressure she feels from undergoing psychiatric treatment.

Unlike others in this group, Raelene did not indulge in other forms of self destructive behaviour. She confined her escape attempts to isolated incidents which occurred when she seemed to have reached a peak of frustration and disappointment.

Raelene's involvement in this study became a learning experience for her as she read through the case studies of others and made comments as to their hidden thoughts and feelings. She was eager to cooperate and offer assistance in every way although most reluctant to discuss her own situation.